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 (see Chapter 10). This is the case, for example, with the following words:

SKARMA 'star', SKYUR 'sour', SKRA 'hair', KHA 'mouth', KHAB 'needle', KHRAG 'blood', RGAD 'old (for animated beings)', NZONG 'blue' (or SONGO), LCAGS 'iron', LCE 'tongue', CHU 'water', MCHIN.PA 'liver', NYA 'fish', NYE 'near', DUG 'poison', MDA 'arrow', NAG 'black', PHAG 'pig', BYA 'bird', MING (archaic form MYING), MI 'human being' (archaic form MY), MIG 'eye' (archaic form DMIYG), ME 'fire' (archaic form MYE), SMAN 'medicine', RTSWA 'grass', TSHA 'hot', MTSHO 'lake', WO 'fox', ZAM 'bridge', ZLA 'moon' (archaic form SLA), RUS 'bone', RING 'long', LAM 'road', SHA 'meat', SHES 'to know', SHI 'die', 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-tä < PTB *dzam 'bridge'; SHA 'meat' Bur. ša < PTB *ya 'animal, body'; PHAG 'pig' Bur. wak < PTB *wak 'pig'; SONGO (and derivatives) 'blue, green' < *gaw 'blue, green'; so 'tooth' Bur. swä < PTB *swa 'tooth'; SKYUR < PTB *kwar 'acid, sour'; LAM 'road' Bur. lam < PTB *lam 'road'; SMAN 'medicine' < PTB *man 'medicine'; MIG/MYING 'eye' Bur. myak < PTB *mak/*myak 'eye'; SHING 'wood' Bur. me < PTB *sin/*sik 'wood'. The reconstruction of PTB used here is from Matisoff (2003).
include: COG, 'eight', 'two', SRAM 710

The pandialectal words also include **numbers** such as COG, GNG 'one', GAT 'two', GSUM 'three', GZH 'four', LNGA 'five', DRG 'six', BRGYAD 'eight', DGU 'nine', BCU 'ten', BRGYA 'hundred' and STONG 'thousand'.

Other (nearly) pandialectal words include **ancient loanwords**, such as TSE 'lion' (< Sanskrit), DPA 'PADMA 'lotus' (< Sanskrit), DPA 'TSAN.DAN' sandalwood' (< Sanskrit), BYLLA 'cat' (< tibetan Sanskrit), JA 'tea' (< Chinese), COG.TSE 'table' (< Chinese) and PAG 'PAG' alcohol' (< Persian < Arabic).

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

- **nouns** such as RKG 'leg', SKD 'thread', KLA 'brain', KHABA 'snow', GRI 'knife', GLO 'lung', MGO 'head', GLA 'elephant' and its archaic variant LAM.CHEN 'elephant', MGAR.BA 'blacksmith', MKHAS.PA 'expert', RTG 'RGL.PA 'king', LCA 'willow', CHA 'pair', RTGS 'sign', RTA 'horse', STG 'tiger', STON 'autumn', THANG 'prairie', RDO 'stone', DRG 'smell', NAD 'patient', NAS 'barley', GNAM 'sky', PAK 'skinn', DPE 'model', SPRA 'monkey', PHY 'outside', PHYL 'marmot', BAL 'wool', BU 'insect', BYM 'sand', BRG 'rock', BRKG 'chest', ME.TOG 'flower' (archaic form MCHEN ME.TOG), RTSA 'vein', TSNG 'nest', TSHE 'life span', MDZO 'hybrid of yak and cow', GZHU 'bow', GZI 'agate stone', GY 'yak', GYU 'turquoise', RE.BA 'hope', RLNG 'air', LA 'mountain pass', LO 'year', LUD 'manure', LHJM 'boot', SHUG.PA 'juniper', SHEL 'crystal', GSR 'gold', SRB 'horsebit', SRAN.MA 'bean, pea' and SROG 'life energy, breath';
verbs such as (CT present and past forms): འཁྲུད་‘KHRUD’/བཀྲུས་‘BKRS’ ‘to wash’, དྲི་‘DRI’/དྲིས་‘DRIS’ ‘to ask’, འཚོང་‘TSHONG’/བཙོངས་‘BTSONGS’ ‘to sell’, འབྲི་‘BRI’/བྲིས་‘BRIS’ ‘to write’, འདྲི་‘DRI’/དྲིས་‘DRIS’ ‘to ask’, འཁོལ་‘KHOL’/ཁོལ་‘KHOL’ ‘to be boiled’, ལྟ་‘LTA’ ‘to look’, ལང་‘LANG’/ལངས་‘LANGS’ ‘to stand up’, རྗེད་/བརྗེད་‘RJED’/BRJED ‘to forget’, བསྒྱུར་‘BSGYUR’ ‘to change’, བསྐོལ་/བཅག་‘BSKOL’/BCAG ‘to break’, ཞར་‘SHAR’ ‘to rise; east’, བཟོས་/བཟས་‘BS’/BZA ‘to eat’, རོག་‘RNG’ ‘old (of things)’, སྐྱིད་‘SKYID’/སྐྱིད་‘SKYID’ ‘clean’, མངར་‘MNGAR’ ‘sweet’;

adjectives, especially adjectives of color, such as དམར་‘DMAR’ ‘red’, དཀར་‘DKAR’ ‘white’, དེར་‘SER’ ‘yellow’, དྙམ་‘DRANG’ ‘straight, honest’, རློབ་‘MTHO’ ‘high’, ནགུག་‘PHYUG’ ‘rich’, དྲོང་‘STONG’ ‘empty’, བཙོངས་‘MA’ ‘clean’, སྲབ་‘SRAB’ ‘thin’; རྙིང་‘RNYING’ ‘old (of things)’, དཀར་‘DKAR’/འཇུག་‘MNGAR’ ‘sweet’;

some grammatical words, such as མ་‘MA’ ‘negation’, དོན་‘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 Gyalrongic languages, either because they have been borrowed or because they are genetically related. However, in the Tibetic languages, reflexes of the lexical forms listed above will be perfectly regular following the rules of the phonology in the given language or dialect (see Chapter 11). In the non-Tibetic languages, the reflexes may be irregular.

In other words, in order to be identified as Tibetic, a given language should not only have cognates of the pandialectal words (such as those listed above), but should also have cognates which are regularly derived from Classical Tibetan (see Chapter 4). The use of these two criteria, phonological and lexical, should help to quickly determine whether a given language belongs to the Tibetic family. The criteria to distinguish Tibetic from other TB languages should, however, be based on a broader set of criteria, including morphology and syntax.

2. The word ZA ‘to eat’ is nearly pandialectal, but another form derived from ‘CHA’ ‘lit. to chew’ is found instead of ZA in a few heterodox languages (Semkyi Nyid 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, Bumthang, 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 བི’ ལི’ ‘cat’. This root is not attested in CT, probably because it was replaced at an early stage by the Sanskrit loanword བྱིལ་ BYILA. The root སྐྱོག་ nyok ‘child’ is attested in several Eastern languages as སྐྱོག སྐྱོག NYAG.NYOG or སྐྱོག སྐྱོག NYOG. The word ‘to carry’ is conveyed by the root སྐྱབས་ BAG *bak/, which is not found in CT, in a couple of languages (Kh, Dz, Lho). The number of roots that have cognates in neither CT nor OT is very limited. Such roots should not be confused with those that have slightly different forms, but are clearly cognate. This second type is much more frequent. Even more frequent are words made of stems that have CT correspondences, but with affixes not found in CT. Finally, a great number of compounds not attested in the written form are made of lexemes that are found in CT (see below).

11.3. Typology of the main differences between the languages

Beyond the common core vocabulary, Tibetic languages display a great variation in their phonology, vocabulary and grammar. When the modern languages are compared, the number of pandialectal words is limited, making intelligibility very low between languages belonging to different sections. If we compare the Tibetic dialects to Classical Tibetan, the picture is fundamentally different: we then find that the modern languages share more than 90% of their basic vocabulary with CT. In the present lexicon (see HCTL, Chapter 12), this percentage is about 95%. Some languages at the periphery of the Tibetic area may have borrowed much of their lexicon, but their basic vocabulary usually remains Tibetan.
Let us note that the modern languages often use different terms for the same meaning, but the overwhelming majority of these terms are derived from CT roots.

We will present a brief summary of the main ways in which the various languages differ.

From our extensive fieldwork and the systematic comparison of the dialects, we can summarize the main differences and present them in the following hierarchy:

a) phonetic differences,

b) morphological and morphosyntactic differences,

c) lexical and semantic differences.

The complete lack of intelligibility, or relatively low intelligibility, between some Tibetic languages may be explained by the accumulation of these 3 types of differences. These types may be further analyzed in subtypes, as we will see.

a) Phonetic differences

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 སྣ ལུ 'meat, flesh', སྣ མིང་ 'blood', སྣ སོ་ 'tooth', སྣ རི་ 'liver', སྣ མ་ 'star', སྣ ཚི་ 'lake', སྣ 'water', སྣ ལྷ་ 'hair', སྣ མཚོ་ 'lake', སྣ རྗུ་ 'sand', སྣ བཀའ་ 'to block, stop', སྣ བུ་ 'to write', སྣ གླི་ 'to watch, look at', སྣ གསུམ་ 'three' (and all the numbers up to 'ten'), སྣ ལྷ་ 'to open', སྣ འགུ་ 'to drink', སྣ རི་ 'to know', སྣ མཐོ་ 'to grow', སྣ བཀུ་ 'to die' and སྣ རྐུ་ '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:

**SKR**: 'hair': /s kra/, /ʈ a/, /ʂ a/, /r kya/, /r cha/, /s’a/ (note that several languages use other roots or compound words to designate ‘human hair’; see HCLT).

**BYENA**: ‘sand’: /byama/, /byanga/, /pema/, /e’m a/ /ʃim/ /shema/, /sema/, /tsema/.

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 **STON.KHA, STON.PO, or simply **STON**; another example is the root **SLA** ‘clear, thin (of liquid)’: **SLA.PO, SLA.D.E.** The roots **SRU** and **ZHANG** – respectively ‘maternal aunt’ and ‘maternal uncle’ – appear either with suffixes or with a prefix: **SRU.MO, SRU.D.E.**, **ZHANG.MO, ZHANG.D.E.** There may also be differences arising from reduplication of the stem, as opposed to affixation: for example, **SRAB.PO or SRAB.D.MO** ‘thin (tissue)’ versus **SRAB.SRAB, NAG.PO or NAG.MO** NAG.NAG ‘black’; **DMAR.PO or DMAR.D.MAR** ‘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 **GLAG** versus **BYA.GLAG** ‘eagle’, **KHRA** versus **BYA.KHRA** ‘hawk’, **RGOD** versus **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 ‘brother’; བྲེལ་ LDE, MIG and བྲེལ་ LDE, MYIG ‘key’; མེ་ཏོག་ ME, TOG and མེན་ཏོག་ MEN, TOG ‘flower’; སྡེ LCI and སྡེ LJID ‘heavy’; དུ་ DUBA and དུ་ DUDA ‘smoke’; རི CI and རི 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': རྟོག་ KHANG, གློག་ KHYIM.
- 'face': རྒྱོ་ NGO, སྩོང་ GDONG.
- 'snow' འཁྲུངས་ KHA.BA, ཀནས་ GANZS (and the variant འཁྲུངས་ KHANGS).
- 'spring' དཔོད་ཀ་ DPYID.KA, སོས་ཀ་ SOS.KA.
- 'to see': རྒྱོ་ MTHONG, རྒྱོ་ RIG.
- 'to arrive': འཁྲུངས་ SLEBS, བྲོ་ THON.
- 'to place, put': རྒྱོ་ BZHAG, རྒྱོ་ BOR.
- 'new': འཁྲུངས་ GSAR.PA, འཁྲུངས་ SOMA.
- 'hard, solid': རྒྱོ་ SRA, རྒྱོ་ MKHREGS.
- 'cold': རྒྱོ་ KHYAG, རྒྱོ་ GRANG.
- 'day': རྒྱོ་ NYI.MA, རྒྱོ་ ZHAG.
- 'yesterday': འཁྲུངས་ MDANG, འཁྲུངས་ KHA.RTSANG, etc.
- 'what': རྒྱོ་ GANG, རྒྱོ་ CI.

**Three main roots:**

- 'to hear': རྒྱོ་ GO, རྒྱོ་ THOS, རྒྱོ་ TSHOR.
- 'village': རྒྱོ་ GRONG, རྒྱོ་ YUL and རྒྱོ་ SDE.

**Four or more roots:**

- 'body': རྒྱོ་ GZUGS, རྒྱོ་ LUS, རྒྱོ་ PHUNG and རྒྱོ་ RGO.
- 'belly' or 'stomach': རྒྱོ་ GROD.PA, རྒྱོ་ PHO.BA, རྒྱོ་ བསོད་ འཁྲུངས་ GSUS.PA and རྒྱོ་ LTO.BA.
‘to do’: བྱད་ BYED, བྱས་ BYAS, ཞེས་ LAS, བགྱིད་ BGYID, བགྱིས་ BGYIS, ཅོས་ 'CHOS', BCOS.

‘to be afraid, to fear’: གནང་ JIGS, བཟད་ ZHED, སྒྲག་ SKRAG, བཟད་ ZHED, བྲེད་ BRED, ཞུམ་ ZHUM, དངངས་ DNGANGS and དྲོག་ DROG. All these items originally had similar but slightly different meanings in CT or OT: གནང་ JIGS and སྒྲག་ SKRAG ‘to be terrified, terrorized, scared’, ཞུམ་ ZHUM ‘to be discouraged, intimidated, afraid’, བྲེད་ BRED ‘to be alarmed, depressed’, དངངས་ DNGANGS ‘to gasp, to pant (from surprise or fear), to fear, to be out of breath’, དྲོག་ 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, གནང་ JIGS is predominant in the majority of languages, whereas སྒྲག་ 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་སྐྲ་ MGO.SKRA ‘head hair’, མགོ་སྒྲོ་ MGO.SGRO ‘head feather’, མགོ་སྤུ་ MGO.SPU ‘head, body hair’, སྐྲ་སྤུ་ SKRA.SPU ‘hair, body hair’ and དྲོག་ COTOG, a form found in Old Tibetan ( < co ‘head’ + to/tog ‘top’) (see HCTL). The word ‘weather’ may appear as various compounds: གནམ་གཤིས་ GNAM.GSHIS lit. ‘sky temperament’, གནམ་ངོ་ GNAM.NGO ‘sky face’, གནམ་ཟླ་ 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’ ◊ བཟུག་ SADONG ‘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 Tibetan languages into its lexicon.

The lexicostatistical data might at first glance suggest that there is a considerable distance between the various Tibetan languages. However, if we take into account the Classical literary language, it becomes obvious that the modern languages have preserved a very close relation to CT, and in some cases to OT.

Before presenting the Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon (HCTL), we will examine some specific issues related to the Tibetic vocabulary. First, we will describe the various types of greetings found in the Tibetic area, and then we will look at the field of kinship terms, with the aim of illustrating the diversity of terms across the languages.

### 11.4. Greetings in the Tibetic area

There is a diversity of greetings throughout the area. The pervasive formula བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། BKRASHIS BDE LEGS / tashi ‘telek/4 ‘best wishes’ is generally used in Common Tibetan in Central Tibet and among the the Tibetan diaspora. The two other pervasive greetings are བཀྲ་མོ་ KHAMS, SANGS /k’amsang/ ‘are you well?’ (lit. ‘are you refreshed? are you in high spirits?’) and its variant བཀྲ་མོ་ KHAMS, BZANG /k’amzang/ ‘are you well?’ lit. ‘are you healthy?’; this has an honorific form, སྐུ་ཀྲ་མོ་ SKU KHAMS, SANGS / (s)ku k’amsang/, which is ubiquitous (from Ladakh to Bhutan and also Central Tibet). There is also a form བདེ་མོ། v demo/, used mainly in Amdo and other regions of eastern Tibet.

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3. See, for example, the two dictionaries comparing the lexicon of TB languages (Huang & Dai 1992; Sun 1991), including various Tibetan dialects, such as Lhasa, Bathang (Kham), Labrang (Amdo), Arik (Amdo) and Derge (Kham). However, etymologies are not provided.

4. The pronunciations presented here are for Common Tibetan, except where other language names are specified.
The use of the formula ‘Trashi delek’ བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། ‘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 བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། བདེ་ལེགས། / 🏃‍♂️ngä ’telek/ and བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། བདེ་ལེགས། / 遴 tëkt, 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 བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། བདེ་ལེགས། / 遴 tëkt/ was borrowed into Tibetan, probably under the influence of the British and Indian Army officers in Gyantse at the beginning of the twentieth century.

However, these expressions are rarely used in rural areas, as traditional greetings are still the normal way to address people there. In Ü-Tsang, although the expression བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས། བདེ་ལེགས། / 遴 tëkt/ is commonly used, it would be avoided in the case of a misfortune or accident, because its original meaning of ‘best wishes’ is still perceived.

Essentially the following types of greetings are found in Tibetic languages and dialects:

a) asking about direction of movement,
b) expressing a welcome formula or a generic polite greeting,
c) asking about the difficulty of a trip,
d) asking about health,
e) wishing long life.

Perhaps the most frequent address when meeting acquaintances casually on the road is:

ག་པར་འགྲོ་ག GAPAR ‘GRO-KA’ / ’k’apa: ‘to-ka/ ’where are you going?’ or ག་པར་ཕེབས་ཀ GAPAR ‘PHYN-Pa’ / ’k’apa: ‘chinpa/ ’where have you been?’, or their honorific variants: ག་པར་ཕེབས་ཀ GAPAR ‘PHEBS-KA’ / ’k’apa: ‘p’ep-ka/ ’where are you going?’ and ག་པར་ཕེབས་ཀ GAPAR ‘PHEBS-Pa’ / ’k’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: ཉ་ཕར་ཙ་དེར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན། NGA PHAR-TSAR GRO-GLYIN/ 'nga ’p’artsa ’t'er ’to-giyin/ 'I am going just over there' or ཉ་པར་ཙ་དེར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན། NGA MAR GRO-GLYIN/ 'nga ’mar ‘t'o-giyin/ 'I am going down' but sometimes the answer may be more specific: ཉ་ལུགས་མཐོང་བར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན། MI GCIG BTSAL-GAR GRO-GLYIN/ 'mi ‘čik ’tsä-kar 'to-giyin/ 'I am going to look for someone'.

The choice of the future ('where are you going?') or the past ('where have you been?') depends on the relative location of the addressee’s residence.

When people lack the time for an extensive salutation, which is often the case in Lhasa or Zhikatse because of the urban way of life, they may simply say: ཉ་ཕེབས་ལོ། NGA PHEBS-FO/ 'p'e(p)-o/ '(you) go'.

A more polite expression corresponding to 'welcome' is frequently used for greeting in Central and Tsang provinces: ཉ་ཕྱག་ཕེབས་གནང་བྱུང་། PHYAG PHEBS GNANG BYUNG/ 'ča: 'p'ep ’nang-čung/ '(you) have come!'. The traditional answer is ཉ་ལགས་ཐོ། LAGS-YOD/ 'la: ’yö:/ 'I am here'. In Kongpo, a usual greeting is ཉ་སྣེགས-ཡིན། SLEBS-YIN/ 'lep(p)’ yin/ '(you) have arrived!'.

Another formal locution meaning 'welcome', used in most western regions such as Ngari, Ladakh, Baltistan, Spiti, Garsha and Khunu, is derived from Classical Tibetan ཉ་ལོགས། BYON.PA LEGS (literally: 'well come'), abbreviated to ཉ་ལོགས། BYON.LEGS, which has a reading pronunciation /jönlek/; in Tö Ngari it is colloquially pronounced /jönle'/.

In Ladakh, Spiti and other Western regions, the generic salutation ཚ་ལ་/jule/ is very common. This is probably derived from CT ཉ་ལོགས་ ZHULAGS. The form ཉ་ ZHU is the ubiquitous humilific form of address (< CT 'to say, ask, beg, inform', use to address a superior or to politely aggress an equal), while ཉ་ LAGS – pronounced ཉ་LE in Ladaks – is a polite enclitic address word that is very frequent in CT. Note that in Purik, the form ཉ་ ZHU is used in a way similar to ཉ་LE in Ladaks and to ཉ་ KYA (of unclear origin) in Zanhar, as a generic expression of politeness. For example, in Ladakh: ཉ་ཕེབས་ལོ། ZHU-PHEBS-YOD ’mother (H)' corresponds to ཉ་ལོགས་ ZHU-LAGS ’mother (H)' in Common Tibetan.
The Purik form ◊ཡའ་ཞུ'/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 ◊བྱོན་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་འཚལ།/phyag'tshal 'I prostrate' is also attested – particularly, but not only, with monks.

In Ü, Tsang, Kham, Hor and Amdo dialects, there is a whole range of expressions used for meeting and saying hello that basically mean 'are you tired?', such as ◊དཀའ་ཨ་ཐལ།/dka'-a-thal/ ('I am not tired'). In the Hor speaking area, a similar expression is used: ◊དཀའ་ལས་དཀའ་ཐལ།/dka'.las.dka.thal/ 'I am not tired'. The Amdo equivalent is ◊ཨ་དཀའ་ཐལ།/a-dka.thal/, to which the expected answer is again: ◊མ་དཀའ་ཐལ།/ma.dka.thal/ '(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), /^opgya/ in Tsang and /`oji/ in Jonda Kham.

In eastern Tö (Dangra Yumtsho), one hears the expression ◊སླ་ལོས།/sla.loš/ 'is it easy?' and the expected answer: ◊སླ་འོང་འདུག/sla.ong.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.nyé/ 'Has the road been short?', which is answered ◊ཉེ་ཐལ།/nye.thal/ '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 \textit{dsod skyid che} /\textit{dö `kyi `e/} ‘Was the stay pleasant?’, to which the answers is \textit{che-thal} /\textit{`e-t'i/} < \textit{kelsang} ‘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: \textit{zänza a-thon} /s̪e sa \textit{za t'un/} ‘Have you finished having a meal?’

Finally, there are also many expressions asking about health or physical condition. The most common, already mentioned above, is \textit{kham sangs} /\textit{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: \textit{sku gzugs bde po yin pas} /\textit{ku s̪o t'en/} lit. ‘is (your) body well?’ or simply \textit{bde po yin pas} /\textit{tepo yin/}. The usual answer to these questions is \textit{bde po yin} /\textit{tepo yin/}, or the more emphatic form \textit{bde po bde kyang} /\textit{tepo te-kang/} ‘I am perfectly well!’

In Amdo, the most common greeting is \textit{khyod bde mo} /\textit{bde mo/}, which is a variant of the above expression. It is sometimes abbreviated to \textit{bde mo} /\textit{bde mo/}. The habitual answer is simply: \textit{bde mo} /\textit{bde mo/}. This form is also frequently used in Kham. Amdo-speakers in the Kham region also employ the greeting \textit{bza bde} /\textit{za dë/} ‘good morning’, though only in the morning.

A similar but more sophisticated expression is also used in Ü-Tsang: \textit{sku dkyil gsäl thang} /\textit{k'i kyi/} sät'ang/ ‘Is the mandala of your body clear and healthy?’. In Purik, aside from \textit{ya' azhu} /\textit{yazhu/}, the traditional Arabic greeting \textit{salam alekhum} /\textit{sa lam a le khum/} \textit{SALLAM?A.LE.KHUM} is also used.\footnote{Derived from Arabic \textit{as-salamu `alaykum} /\textit{salam alaykum/} ‘peace upon you’. The speaker may add in his greeting /\textit{first class yot-u/} ‘are you feeling well? (first class!).’ Thus the greeting mixes three languages: Arabic, English and Purik (Tibetic).}
Valedictory expressions are nearly as numerous as salutations. Many of these expressions are related to the verbs བཞུགས་ BZHUGS ‘stay (H)’ and ལས་ PHERS ‘go (H)’.

In Central Tibet and Tsang, the usual way of saying ‘goodbye’ to a person who is leaving is ག་ལེ་ཕེབས། GA LE PHEBS-Ɂo/ ‘(Please) go quietly’, while ག་ལེ་བཞུགས། GA LE BZHUGS-Ɂo/ ‘(Please) sit or stay quietly’ is said to the one who stays. These forms are sometimes abbreviated as བཞུགས། BZHUGS-Ɂo/ ‘(please) stay’ and ལས། PHEBS-Ɂo/ ‘(please) go’.

In some parts of Kham and Kongo, a similar expression is used: ག་ལེ་ GALE SONG-Ɂo/ ‘kale’ ‘go quietly’, however, a form which seems to be its abbreviation, ག་ལེ། GA LE /kale/, is also frequently attested.

In Ü-Tsang, the honorific expressions བཞུགས་གདན་འཇག་གོ BZHUGS GDAN’JAG-GO /‘shu: tänja-ko/ ‘please stay (or sit)’, སྐུ་བཞུགས་གནང་གོ SKU BZHUGS GNANG-GO /‘kushu: nang-go/ ‘please stay’, and ཆིབས་སྒྱུར་གནང་གོ CHIBS,SGYUR GNANG-GO /‘č’ipkuru nang-go/ ‘(please) turn the horse’ are used.

The expression རྗུ་ /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 ཡུ་ཚེ་རིང་ TSHER.RING /ts’eri/ ‘(wish you) long life’ or སྐུ་ཚེ་རིང་ SKU TSHER.RING /ku ts’eri/ ‘long life (to your) body!’, བ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཚེ་རིང་ DA LO BRGYA TSHE.RING /ta lo ts’eri/ ‘a hundred years, long life’, and in Kandze and Derge བཞུགས་བཀྲ་ཤིས BZHUGS.BK RA SHIS /ts’eri tashi/. The expression འཛུ་ཚེ་རིང་ MO AZHU TSHE.RING /azhu ts’eri/ ‘wish (you) long life’ is employed in Purik.

In Amdo རྗུ་ /bDE.MO BYOS/ ‘demo shi/ and རྗུ་ /bDE.MO/ ‘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' འི་ཁུ་/ak’a/ is used to designate both 'paternal uncle' and 'monk'. In Central Tibet, the word for 'paternal aunt' འི་ནེ་/ani/ also designates a 'nun', in which case, it is sometimes written འི་ནེ་/ani/. In Central Tibet, the word for 'elder sister', འི་ཆེ་/ače/ is derived from CT འི་ཆེ་/ače/. The term འི་ཆེ་/ače/, which is also clearly derived from འི་ཆེ་/ače/ 'elder sister', is also used to designate both 'woman' and 'wife'. Again, the CT terms འི་ཇོ་/ajo/ 'elder brother' and འི་ཇོ་/ajo/ 'elder brother' have yielded the terms འི་བོ་/co/,/co/ and འི་བོ་/co/,/co/ in Common Tibetan. The terms འི་བོ་/co/,/co/ 'elder brother (H)' and འི་ཆེ་/ače/ 'elder sister (H)' are used respectively for 'man' and 'woman', and also by extension for 'husband' and 'wife'. In Lhasa, the term འི་བོ་/co/ /co/ 'elder brother Hor', designates pastoralists from Nagchu.

The use of kinship terms sometimes extends to animals (such as bears, monkeys or even insects). In some Kham areas, monkeys are འི་རྒས་/rgas/, which literally means 'grandfather monkey', while bears are called འི་མྱེས་/mys/, lit. 'grandfather Bear'. In some areas of Tö, the Tibetan bear dremong is called འི་མྱེས་/mys/, lit. 'grandfather throwing stones'. In Tshawarong and Sikkim, tigers are referred to as འི་མྱེས་/mys/ and འི་མེས་/mes/ respectively, both meaning 'grandfather tiger'. In many stories found throughout Tibet and the Himalayas, the parrot is frequently called འི་ཁུ་/ak/ /ak/ 'uncle parrot'. In Purik, there is the legend of འི་ཁུ་/ak/ /ak/ 'grandmother spider' (or

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7. This strategy is also found in Indo-Aryan languages.
its variant ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ་(note that the term SRI N JAMO is the usual word for 'spider' in this region; see the HCTL). There is also the term ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ་ སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། 'spider' lit. 'weaving grandma' (Kharu), and Norman (2019) mentions a kind of insect pupa called ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། 'spider', lit. 'grandmother-where-does-the-sun-rise'. In many areas 'moths' are referred to as ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། or ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། 'spider', both meaning 'old woman jumping into the fire'. Note that in Zhanhar, grasshoppers are referred to as ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། '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.

Finally, celestial bodies (such as the sun or the moon) may also be referred to using kinship terms. In Kañtsha Amdo, the sun and the moon may be referred to as ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། 'uncle sun' and ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། 'mother moon'. The gender of the moon and the sun are not always the same: in the Sherpa area, the name of the moon ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། is derived from ཆགས་པོ་མི་ཟེར། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། སྲིན་ཇ་མོ། 'uncle moon'.

Most Tibetic languages make a lexical distinction between older and younger brothers and between older and younger sisters. They usually lack a general term for 'brother' and for 'sister'. There is sometimes a cover term meaning 'sibling' for both 'brother' and 'sister' (see below), and other hypernyms with a broader meaning that usually also include 'cousins'. We should also mention that a distinction is frequently made between address terms and reference terms.

In addition to this, a number of dialects use terms that depend on the sexual identity of the siblings. The word used for 'brother' in relation to a female sibling is

8. Generally speaking, many languages have names for animals or plants related to mythical stories or tales. See, for example, in Basque: Videgain (2008–2010).

9. This difference between address terms and reference terms is often found in Asia. For example, Japanese distinguishes onii-chan 'address term for an elder brother', whereas the reference term is an. The 'address term for an elder sister' is onee-chan whereas the reference term is onee. In European languages, there are usually no special terms for one's own brother or sister.
thus different to that used for a male sibling. The same is true for the words for ‘sister’. Accordingly, in the Tibetic languages, there are theoretically eight basic terms corresponding to ‘brother’ and ‘sister’:

1. ‘elder brother (in relation to a male sibling)’
2. ‘elder brother (in relation to a female sibling)’
3. ‘elder sister (in relation to a male sibling)’
4. ‘elder sister (in relation to a female sibling)’
5. ‘younger brother (in relation to a male sibling)’
6. ‘younger brother (in relation to a female sibling)’
7. ‘younger sister (in relation to a male sibling)’
8. ‘younger sister (in relation to a female sibling)’

However, most modern Tibetic languages have lost some of these distinctions (see the examples below). According to our data, only one Amdo dialect has preserved all eight terms. Some languages have only preserved three terms: ‘elder brother’ versus ‘elder sister’ versus ‘younger sibling (brother or sister)’.

Additionally, in some dialects, there are also specific honorific terms used for both address and reference. This is the case, for example, in Central Tibet, with བྱུང་གུང་ JÖ.LAGS ‘elder brother (H)’ and ཁྲུང་ CHE-LAGS, also written ཁྲུང་གུང་ བྱུང་གུང་ ALCAG-LAGS11 ‘elder sister (H)’. As a rule, older brothers and sisters are addressed with appropriate kinship terms, whereas younger brothers or sisters are often called by their names.

It is worth noting that there is significant variation in the terms brother and sister even within a single group of dialects. For example, if we consider only Amdo dialects, we find for ‘elder brother’ the following: བྱུང་ /aja/ (Rebgong), ཆུ་ /apa/ (Themchen), ཆུ་ /aga/ (Dazhi), ཆུ་ /ada/ (Golok).

10. This distinction is rather rare in world languages, but is attested some, such as Basque. It is also attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages (for example, see Davids & van Driem 1985) and Amerindian languages such as Quechua.
11. This is a recently conceived spelling.
Most terms found in the modern languages are derived from the following literary roots found in Classical Tibetan: གུ་བོ PHU 'elder brother', གུ་མོ PHU 'elder sister', ལྷེ་ PHCHE 'elder sister', དུ་ སུ་ NUMO 'younger brother', དུ་ སྲིང་ MING.PO 'brother', སྲིང་ SRING.MO 'sister', བཤེས GCEN.PO 'elder brother', སྲིང་ MO GCUNG.PO 'younger brother', ཐེ་ GCEN.MO 'elder sister' and སྲིང་ MO 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 མུ་ SPUN. Another common root is མིང་སྲིང་ MING.SRING (Kh, La), or its archaic variant མྱིང་སྲིང་ MYING.SRING (Am), a compound of མིང་ MING('po) 'brother' and སྲིང་ SRING('mo) 'sister'. In Kham and Amdo, one also encounters the word ཕ་SHA 'flesh' and རེ NYE 'close'.

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

**Skardo Balti:**

Elder brother: བཀ ཀ་ KAKA/kaka/
Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: བཀ གོ་ PHO.NO/p'ono/
Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: བཀ གོ MING.MO/mingmo/ (< བཀ གོ)
Elder sister: བཀ གེས PHCHE/ashe/ (< བཀ གེས PHCHE)
Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: བཀ སྲིང་ SRING.MO/stringmo/
Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: བཀ སྲིང་ SRING.MO/stringmo/

**Purik Kargil:**

Elder brother: བཀ ཀ་ KAKA/kaka/
Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: བཀ གོ NO.NO/nono/
Younger brother [in rel. to a female] (CT: བཀ གོ MING.MO/mingmo/
Elder sister: བཀ གེས PHCHE/ae'e/
Younger sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: བཀ སྲིང་ SRING.MO/stringmo/
Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling] (CT: གཅུང་མོ / no, no / nomo/

Leh Ladak:

Elder brother: གཞལ་ ?A.CHO / ač'o/
Younger brother: ཅེན་ NO / no/ and དཔོན་ NO.NO / nono/
Elder sister: གཞལ་ ?A.CHE / ač'e/
Younger sister: ཆེན་ NO.MO / nomo/
Brother [in relation to a female sibling]: སྲིང་པོ་ MING.PO / mingpo/
Sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྲིང་མོ་ SRING.MO / singmo/

Themchen Amdo:

Elder brother [in relation to a male sibling]: བུ་པར་ HUR.RGAN (< བུ་པར་) /hurgän/
Elder brother [in relation to a female sibling]: གཞལ་ ?APA / apa/
Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: ཁེན་ NOU / nu/
Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling] (CT: གཞལ་): སྲིང་ BO / nyangwo/12
Elder sister: གཞལ་ ?A.CHE / ač'e/
Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྲིང་ BO / singmo/
Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: ཁེན་ NO.MO / nomo/

Tsigorthang Amdo:

Elder brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: བུ་པར་ HUR.RGAN (< བུ་པར་) /hurgän/
Elder brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: སྲིང་ BO / nyanggo'n/
Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: ཁེན་ NOU / nu/
Younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: སྲིང་ BO / nyangwo/
Elder sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: སྲིང་ BO / singganma/ 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.
Lexical features of the Tibetic languages

Elder sister: སྐྱེ་ /ache/
Younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: ལྷུན་ /sringmo/
Younger sister [in relation to a female sibling]: ང་ /numo/

Sogwo (central) Amdo:
Elder brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: སྤེ་ /aga/
Elder brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: ོ་ /myingbo/ or ོ་ /'e/
Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: སྤིན་ /spun/  ང་ /chungwa/
Younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: ཿ ལུ /'unwawo/
Elder sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: སྐྱེ་ /ache/
Elder sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: སྐྱེ་ /ache/
Younger sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: ལྷུན་ /sringmo/
Younger sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: ཊ ང་ /numa/

Derje Northern Route Kham:
Elder or younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: སྤུན་ /shanye/
Elder or younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: ཊ ང་ /myengpo/
Elder or younger sister [in relation to a male sibling]: སྤུན་ /sringmo/
Elder or younger sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: ཊ ང་ /spun/  ང་ /yama/

Lhagang Minyag Rabgang Kham:
Elder brother: སྐྱེ་ /argea/  སྐྱེ་ /'a/  Younger brother: ཊ ང་ /ti/  (Chinese loan)
Elder sister: སྐྱེ་ /ače/  སྐྱེ་ /'ače/

13. སྐྱེ་ in Rebgong and Tsekhok.
Younger sister: མེ་མེ ME /'meme/ (Chinese loan)

Hor (Amdo county):
Elder brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: གུ་རྒན་ PHU.RGAN /'p'ugän/
Elder brother [in relation to a female sibling]: ཀུན་ གུན་ CHUNG /'noshung/
Younger brother [in relation to a male sibling]: ནུ་ཆུང་ NUN.GAN /'noshung/
Younger brother [in relation to a female sibling]: གི་ོླ་ MING.PO /'mingpo/
Elder sister: འི་ འི་ A.CHE /'ačə/
Younger sister: གྲུ་ཡ་ SPUN.YA /'pünya/

Wadmar Čone:
Elder brother: གུན་ གུན་ CHUNG /'noshung/
Younger brother: གྲུ་བ་ SPUN.BA /hɑː/]
Elder sister: འི་ འི་ A.CHE /'ačə/
Younger sister: འི་ འི་ A.CHE /'ačə/

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

štaglo dPalskyid:
Elder and younger brother: གྲོ་སྣྱེ་ SHANYE /x’a nya/
Elder and younger sister: གྲོ་སྣྱེ་ SRING.MO /ʃaː ma/

These are reference terms. To be more specific, one can add འི་ CHE for older siblings, and གྲོ་ CHUNG.BA for younger siblings to each of these terms. Proper names are required when addressing them.

Lhasa Tibetan (and Common Tibetan):
Elder brother: བུ་ཆུང་ C.O.COG /'.cbo:/ < མི་ m'i
Younger brother and younger sister: བུ་ཆུང་ O.G.MA /'fiokma/
Elder sister: འི་ འི་ A.CHE /'ačə:/ < འི་ A.CHE
Lhoke (Gangtok):\(^1\)

- Elder brother: གུ་ཅུ / acu/
- Younger brother [in rel. to a male sibling]: གུ་ལོ / pünlo /
- Younger brother [in rel. to a female sibling]: གུ་སྤྱིི / p‘aming /
- Elder sister: གུ་ཞི / azhi /
- Younger sister [in rel. to a male sibling]: གུ་སྲིང / p’usim /
- Younger sister [in rel. to a female sibling]: གུ / p’aming /

Spiti (Yiki):

- Elder brother: གུ / aco /
- Younger brother: གུ / no: /
- Elder sister: གུ / aco /
- Younger sister: གུ / numo /

Tsamang (Tokari) Choça-ngača:

- Elder brother: གུ / aco / (< གུ)
- Younger brother: གུ / nyungpo / (< གུ)
- Elder sister: གུ / ahe / (< གུ)
- Younger sister: གུ / numo / (< གུ)

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 *saya* means ‘million’ in Common Tibetan, whereas in Tsang it means ‘ten million’. The list below presents, of course, just a small sample of such semantic discrepancies. We do not provide the differences in pronunciation here. For more details, see the HCTL in Chapter 12.

\(^{14}\) /ayi/ ‘any elder woman’ /agyá/ ‘any elder man’ in Lhoke.
**Nouns:**

- **KHALAG** ‘mouth and hand’ (CT), ‘mouth and hand (washing)’ (La), ‘food’ (U).
- **DU.TSHOD** ‘time’ (CT), ‘time’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘hour’ (Am, Kh), ‘watch’ (Am).
- **CHU.TSHOD** ‘hour’ (CT), ‘hour’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘time/hour’ (SKh).
- **SGOR.MO** ‘monetary unit, round (coin) (CT), ‘monetary unit’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘money, monetary unit’ (Am, Kh).
- **DNGUL** ‘silver’ (CT); ‘silver, money’ (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, etc.), ‘silver’ (Am, Kh), ‘silver, money, monetary unit’ (Kh).

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

- **SPYI.TSHOGS** ‘society’ (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.), ‘parliament’ (Dz).
- **BOD** ‘Tibet’ (CT): ‘Tibet’ (most languages), ‘lower valleys of Central Tibet’ (Nyemo), ‘Tibetan Buddhist area’ (Ba).
- **PA.KHU** ‘paternal uncle’ (CT), ‘paternal uncle’ (most languages), ‘elder brother’ (Am: Rebgong), ‘monk’ (Am).
- **PA.PHA** (CT), ‘father’ (most languages), ‘elder brother’ (Am: Rebgong, Kangtsa). Note there are several other words for ‘father’, such as ‘a/gya’ in some Amo dialects, and ‘ata’ in Balti (see HCTL).
- **PA.AJO** ‘elder brother’ (CT), **PA.CO’ elder brother’ (La), **AJO’ grandfather’ (Lho).
- **CHANG** ‘alcohol drink’ (CT), ‘barley beer’ (Ü, Ts, etc.), ‘alcohol’ (Am), ‘dark or non-transparent alcohol’ (Kh, Za, La).
- **SHOG.BU** ‘paper’ (CT), ‘paper’ (pandialectal), ‘book’ (Ba).
- **RK.ANG.TSE’ socks’ (Pur, Ba), ‘trousers’ (La).
Lexical features of the Tibetic languages

THUR.MA (THUR.MANG) 'spoon' (Ü, La, etc.), 'chopstick' (Kh Am).

YUL 'place' (CT), 'region' (Kh), 'country, region' (Ba), 'village' (Dz, Am, Sh) (spelled སྲུལ་ YUL in Dzongkha and སྲུལ་འབ་ YUL in Amdo), 'homeland, home' (Am).

THUR.MANG 'spoon' (Ü, La, etc.), 'chopstick' (Kh Am).

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ICANG.MA 'willow tree' (most languages), 'tree' (La, Za).

SEMS.CAN 'sentient beings' (CT), 'animal' (Ü, Tsang).

LUG 'sheep' (CT), 'sheep' (most languages), 'ewe' (Ba).

MAR 'butter' (CT), 'butter' (most languages), 'butter, oil' (Ba).

SPAGS 'barley dough' (Ü, Ts, etc.), 'any curry or dish accompanying staples (rice, bread or barley dough)' (La, Za).

ZHO 'milk' (OT), 'yoghurt' (CT), 'yoghurt' (most languages), 'milk' (Cho).

TSHO.MA 'vegetable' (La), 'dumpling' (Am).

RKUB (CT): 'buttock' (most languages), 'vagina, female genitals' (La, Sh).

DPYT (CT): 'hip', often with a suffix as DPYT'GO (most languages), 'vagina, female genitals' (Ba, Pur).

SPU 'body hair' (most languages), 'pubic hair' (Ba).

SGO,NGA 'egg' (CT), 'egg' (Ü, Tsang, etc.), 'testicles' (Sh).

ROGSPA 'companion' (CT), 'companion' (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.), 'boyfriend, girlfriend' (Am: Čäntsha).

Pronouns:

KHONG 'they' (OT), 's/he' (honorific) (CT), 's/he' (honorific) (Ü, Tsang, etc.), 'they' (Dz), 'they (H)' (La).

KHYED 'you (plural)' (OT), 'you (singular, H)' (CT), 'you (singular, honorific)' (Ü, Tsang, etc.), 'you (plural, H)' (Dz).

This semantic flipflop, although surprising, is not rare in world languages. See for example the word *fanny*, which means 'vagina' in British English slang but 'buttocks' in American slang.
Adjectives/adverbs:

- **MO RANG** 'she' (CT), 'she' (many languages), 'he/she' (Lhasa).

- **YAG** 'good, well' (CT): 'good, well' (many languages), 'beautiful' (Am).
- **BDE.MO** 'well, peaceful' (CT): 'well' (many languages), 'beautiful' (La, Za, Pur).
- **MDANG** 'last night' (OT): 'yesterday' (Sh, La, Sp, Cho, Drug).
- **THO,RENGS** 'dawn' (CT): 'tomorrow' (Sharkhok, Thewo, Khöpokhok, La, Za).

Verbs:

- **RTSE** 'to play' (CT), 'to play' (Ü, Ts, Sh, Kh, etc.), 'to dance' (La, Ba, Am).
- **THON** 'to go out, to leave, to come out, to come' (CT), 'to leave' (Ü, Ts, etc.), 'to come' (Am), 'to complete' [Aux] (Kh).
- **BRDAB** 'to hit, to collide with, to fold' (CT), 'to beat, to bang, to collide with' (Ü, Ts, etc.), 'to kill' (Ba).
- **DZEGS** 'to climb' (CT), 'to climb' (Ü, Ts, etc.), 'to climb, to have sex' (Am).
- **ZHON** 'to ride' (CT), 'to ride' (Ü, Ts, Am, etc.), 'to have sex' (Ho).

As in other closely related linguistic families, semantic differences are due to the selection of various strategies of designation. Among the frequent strategies attested in the Tibetic languages, we find (a) hyponymy, (b) parasynonymy, (c) metonymy, (d) metaphor and (e) onomatopoeia and ideophony.

a) Hyponymy

As an example of hyponymy, the word **LCANG.MA** < CT 'willow' is used in western languages (La, Za, Pur) to replace the CT generic word (hyponym) **SDONG.PO** 'tree'. The hypernym 'tree' has thus been replaced in these languages by a hyponym – a 'willow' is a kind of tree. This is also the case with the hypernym **DPE.CHA**, which in CT designates any type of book, but has come to mean specifically 'Tibetan-style book' (a hyponym) in some Central Tibetan dialects; **SPU** in Balti and Purik means 'pubic hair', whereas in most other languages it means 'body hair' (note that in Purik, 'body hair' is called /real/, which originally meant 'goat hair'; see
the HCTL). The same phenomenon is found, for example, in Romance languages: *oiseau* 'bird' (French) < Latin *avis* but *pajar* (Spanish) and *passaro* (Portuguese) < Lat. *passer* 'sparrow'.

b) **Parasynonymy**

Quite frequently a given dialect or language will select one term which is a close synonym or parasynonym of the original term. For example, the pandialectal word for *འཇིགས* 'JIGS' to fear' has probably been replaced in Dzongkha by *འདྲོག* 'DROG' 'to fear', which is derived from CT 'to be startled, frightened, scared (often used of horses)'. Sometimes, a few terms coexist in CT, but their semantic differences are quite subtle and difficult to determine. This is the case with *སྐྲག* *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.CH* is not used in Balti, which instead uses the word *སྙོག་བུ* *SHOG.BU*, with the original meaning of 'paper'. The strategy of metonymy is sometimes used with taboo words: for example, the classical word *སྟུ* *STU* 'vagina' has been replaced by *དཔྱི* *DPYI* < CT 'hip' in Purik and by *རྐུབ* *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 *འཇི་* *JA*, or more marginally, the variant *གཞི* *GZH* *A*. However, in two cases, the traditional words have been replaced by metaphorical expressions: *ཉི་མས་ཆུ་འཐུང་མ་* *NYI* - *S CHU* *THUNG* - *MA* (Pur) 'The sun is drinking water' and *གཟའ་ཆུ་འཐུང་* *GZA* *CHU* *THUNG* (Za) 'the planet is drinking water'. Another example is the replacement of the pandialectal word *འཕྱི་བ* *PHYI* *BA* 'marmot' by *སྒོམ་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’. In some languages (Amdo, Purik and Balti), the quasi-pandialectal verb མ་ NA ‘to be sick’ has been replaced by the verb མ་ 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 ོགས་རྟ་ LCAGS RTA lit. ‘iron horse’ for ‘bicycle’ and ོགས་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 བ་དག་ BAG (Ü, Ts) and བུད་པུད་ PHAD.PHAD.DA (Pur). Some dialects (Central Tibet) use the word ོགས་་ BLAMAMANI 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 བུད་ 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 kargus ‘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 & L HABYAMS 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 མོ ‘cattle’,¹⁷ a generic term derived from the term for ‘wealth’; གཡག ‘wild yak’, མཁ ‘pack yak’. One also finds a lot of terms designating hybrids: རྟོལ་མོ ‘male dzo, a crossbreed of a male yak and a female cow’, རྟོལ་ཕོ་ ‘female hybrid usually of bull and dzomo’, འགར་པོ ‘male hybrid usually of yak and dzomo’, འགར་མོ ‘female hybrid usually of yak and dzomo’.

There is also a number of terms specifically related to products derived from the yaks such as བལ་‘yak dung’, རི་པ་‘tsipa, yak coarse hair’, ཁུ་ལུ་‘khulu, soft yak wool’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Generic term</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any age</td>
<td>བལ་ཤེས་ ZOG.NAG</td>
<td>ལྣ་གི་ G-YAG</td>
<td>བྲི་ BRI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>བེའུ་ལུ་ BEU.LU</td>
<td>གོ་བེའུ་ PHO.BEU</td>
<td>བེའུ་ལུ་ BEU.LU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>ཨུ་ཡར་ YAR.BEU (or ‘ཐུ་’) YARU</td>
<td>རྟོལ་པོ་ PHO.YAR</td>
<td>རྟོལ་པོ་ MO.YAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>ཨཱ་ SHAD</td>
<td>རྟོལ་པོ་ PHO.SHAM</td>
<td>རྟོལ་པོ་ MO.SHAM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁷ In some areas, this term designates only black cattle (mainly yaks, dri, dzo, and dzom) but in the eastern section it refers to any kind of cattle.
Another area where the lexicon is rich is the set of terms related to spirits, deities, gods and demons. According to the Tibetan tradition, spirits, deities and supernatural beings belong to the ‘eight classes of gods and demons’. It would be difficult to compile an exhaustive list of spirits, deities and supernatural beings. They include at least the following: ཕིན་རྗེ་ (GSHIN.RJE) shinje, མམ་ (MAMO) mamo, རྔོན་ (SRIN.PO) sinpo, འཇིག་ (GNOD.SBYIN) njijn, ཁྱིག་ (MI.MCI) miimci, སདོད་ (SA.BDAG) sadak, ནགོན་ (ZHL.BDAG) zhidak, ངས་ (BTSAN) tsän, ཁྱ་ (KLU) lu, སྒན་ (GNYAN) nyän, རྒྱལ་ (BDUD) du, རྷ་ (LHA) lha, དུང་ (YUL,LHA) yullha, ངས་ (DOD.LHA) döllha, སྒྲོན་ (GZA) za, ཡོན་ (DMU) mu, རྡོ་ (RGYAL.PO) gyalpo, མིང་ (DON) dön, ངག་ (GDU.GRE) dorgdre/dongdre, གཙན་ (GDON.DRE) dönbre, མོ་ (BYUNG.PO) jumgo, འོག་ (ROLANG) rolang, ཁགས་ (DAS.LOG) dalok, etc. Additionally, some areas have their own specific spirits and supernatural creatures. This is the case in Ladakh with the ིན་ /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 Tibetic cultures. These include རྗེ་ lu, གཉན་ nyän and ངས་ 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. Other important types include the ཡུལ་ལྷ yullha and གཞི་བདག藏 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’, SNYING.RJE ‘compassion’, DAM.TSHIG ‘tantric commitments, samaya link’ and 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 SNYING.RJE in its colloquial use essentially means ‘poor dear’ or ‘miserable person’.

Additionally, in Ü and Tsang, the corresponding adjectives SNYING.RJE.PO and SNYING.RJE.DE have come to mean ‘beautiful, nice’. The colloquial meanings of DAM.TSHIG and BSOD.BDE, are respectively ‘lucky coincidence’ and ‘good luck, good fortune’ in Lhasa. In Kham, DAM.TSHIG is used with the meaning of ‘complaint, lament’.

11.7.2. The quasi-absence of some semantic fields

By contrast, some lexical fields are particularly poor. For example, the Tibetic-speaking people have very few terms to designate types of fish. Fish are traditionally not eaten, an attitude which may in some cases be motivated by a fear of dangerous waters and the belief in ཀླུ་ KLU, who dwell in water. In most areas, attempts to elicit fish names may result in terms such as ཉ་ NYA ‘fish’ (generic), SER.NYA ‘golden fish (symbol of happiness and utility)’ CHUSPIN ‘marine monster, crocodile’, ཉ་ CHU.SRN ‘big fish, whale’, LCONG.MO ‘tadpole’, NYAPHYS ‘oyster’ and NYASKYOG ‘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 btsan du milieu (bar btsan), 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 གཡ་ཁ་ལེབ PHAKHALER 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:

- ལོ་ LKO 'leather', མོ་ KO.BA 'leather', རེ་ GO.CH'A 'armour', འོ་ GO.KHRAB 'harness', རུ་ GOS 'cloth', ནོ་ GOS.CHEN 'brocade', བོ་ GON 'to wear', རི་ GYON 'to wear', ཚོ་ BGO (Bgos, Bgos) 'to wear, to make wear'. This word family is derived from a root *ko, which is related to clothing and armour.
- པོ་ MGO 'head', མོ་ MGO.RTSON or མོ་ MGO.GO 'to begin, to start', ཿ་ GO.PA 'chief, leader', བོ་ RL.MGO 'mountain peak, top (lit. 'mountain head')', ཚོ་ MGON.PO 'protector', རོ་ '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).
- ཀོ་ KHOR.LO 'wheel', འཁོར་ KHOR 'to turn, spin', འཁོར་ KHOR 'entourage', བདོན་ KHOR 'lord and retinue, master and servants', རི་ SKOR 'to turn round, revolve, encircle', རི་ SKOR.BA 'circumambulation', འགོ་ LT.SKOR 'sightseeing, visit, tour', འབོས་ NYS.KOR 'vicinity, surrounding', འྲ་ KLAD.KOR 'zero' (lit. 'circle above'), འདོ་ RN.A.KOR 'earring', རོ་ GOR 'to take time, to elapse', རོ་ GOR.PO 'time-consuming, slow', རོ་ 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 (great Tibetan-Chinese dictionary). It is a variant of KO.BA, and occurs in some compounds such as LKO.LHAM 'leather boot'.

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longer road, a detour, \textit{sgor.sgor} 'round, circular', \textit{sgor} \textit{mo} 'currency unit, round (coin)', \textit{gor.ba} 'a type of (round) bread', \textit{gor.sgor} 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'.

\textit{kha} 'mouth, surface, opening, shore', \textit{kha.rgyag} 'to close (an object)', \textit{kha.phye} 'to open (an object)', \textit{bka}slob' 'advice, teaching (H)', \textit{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' \textit{skad} (most languages) or \textit{kha} (Dz, Cho) are derived from the root meaning 'mouth'.

\textit{khag.po} 'difficult', \textit{dkag.po} 'difficult', \textit{bka}.las 'hardship'. \textit{gag} 'to be obstructed, halted, blocked', \textit{gag.pa} 'diphtheria', \textit{gag.na}d 'diphtheria', \textit{gegs} 'obstacle, hindrance', \textit{bgegs} 'obstructing force, noxious spirit, hindering demon', \textit{dkag} 'to congeal, to coagulate', \textit{lo.ska}g 'blocked year, unlucky year', \textit{lo.skyeg} 'blocked year, unlucky year', \textit{gag} 'to block, to stop', \textit{hag.sgra} 'throat-clearing sound', \textit{kheg} 'to be blocked'. Thus the root *kag is related to 'difficulty' or 'obstacle'.

\textit{skam} 'to become dry', \textit{bskam} 'to dry something', \textit{skam.sai} 'dry land', \textit{skam} 'dry dairy cattle', \textit{hia} skom 'to be thirsty' (lit. 'to have a dry mouth'), \textit{skem} 'drink, beverage (H)', \textit{zhial.skyem}s 'to be thirsty (H)'.

\textit{brum} 'smallpox',\textsuperscript{23} \textit{rgun} 'brum' 'grape', \textit{kyag.brum} 'goose-flesh', \textit{sbrum} 'pregnant woman', \textit{phru} 'womb, uterus', \textit{rum} 'womb, uterus', \textit{rum} 'cuddling with someone to

\textsuperscript{23} In which the skin develops fluid-filled blisters.
warm up’, སྐོར་ LHUMS ’womb’.
• ཙུ་ཐྲི་ CHUNG (past ཙུ་ཐྲི་ CHUNGS) ’to be small’, ཙུ་ཐྲི་ MA ’second wife, younger spouse’, ཙུ་ཐྲི་ ZAD ’a little’, ཙུ་ཐྲི་ GCUNG.PO ’younger brother’, ཙུ་ཐྲི་ SKYUNG (BSKYUNG, SKYUNG, SKYUNG) ’to make smaller’.
• རྒྱ་ LTA (BLTAS, BLTALTOS) ’to look at’, རྒྱ་ BZOLTA ’shape’, རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ DLTASTE ’like this’, རྒྱ་ LTA.MO ’show’, རྒྱ་ LTS BZANG ’good sign’, རྒྱ་ LTS NGAN ’bad sign’, རྒྱ་ LTS (bltos) ’to rely upon, concerning’, རྒྱ་ NGO.LTOS ’master and servant’, རྒྱ་ DLTA now (lit. ’look now’).
• བུག་ BUG.PA ’hole, cave’, བུག་ BUG (DBUG, PHUG) ’to pierce a hole’ བུག་ BIG (BIGS PHIGS) ’to pierce a hole’, བུག་ PHUG.PA ’a cave’; in our analysis this is probably also cognate with the following words: བུག་ SBUG ‘innermost room or place in a house’, བུག་ PHUGS.BSJM ’ideal, hope’, བུག་ 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’.
• རྒྱ་ MIHO.PO ’high’, རྒྱ་ MTHON.PO, རྒྱ་ THO.RDO ’lit. ’high stones, stones piled up to indicate a boundary’ (same meaning as རྒྱ་ THO.YOR and རྒྱ་ THO PO). རྒྱ་ STOD ’upper part’, རྒྱ་ THOD ’above’, རྒྱ་ THOD.PA ’skull, forehead’, རྒྱ་ THOD ’turban’, རྒྱ་ 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.
• རྒྱ་ZA ’to eat’, རྒྱ་ ZAS ’food’, རྒྱ་ ZAN ’kneaded tsampa’, རྒྱ་ BZA ’married couple’, རྒྱ་ BZA ’husband and wife’.
• རྒྱ་ SHA ’flesh, meat’, རྒྱ་ BSHOR ’pursue, hunt’, རྒྱ་ SHAN.PA ’butcher’, རྒྱ་ SHEN.PA ’butcher’, རྒྱ་ GSHED.MA ’executioner, murderer’, རྒྱ་ BSHA ’portion, share’, རྒྱ་ SHE.SBYOR ’copulation’, རྒྱ་ 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 \textit{SHA} also has sexual connotations.

- དེབ་ \textit{DEB} ‘book’, སྡེབ་ \textit{SDEB} ‘join together’, སྡེབ་ལ་ \textit{SDEB.LA} ‘together’. These cognate words suggest that the word ‘book’ is derived from \textit{SDEB} ‘join together (pages)’. A དེབ་ \textit{DEB} ‘bound volume’ is distinct from a སྡེབ། \textit{DPE.CHJ} ‘Tibetan-style book’, which is unbound.

- ཐག་ \textit{THAG} (pres.) བཏགས་ \textit{BTAGS} (past) ‘to weave’, བཏགས་མ་ \textit{BTAGS.MA} ‘reed (tool for weaving)’, རིང་ \textit{RING} ‘reed’, ཐགས་མ་ \textit{THAGS.MA} ‘female weaver’, ཐག་ \textit{THAG.PA} ‘rope’, རིང་ཁྲི་ \textit{RING.KHRI} ‘loom’, རིང་མ་ \textit{RING.MA} ‘reed (tool for weaving)’, རིང་པོ་ \textit{RING.PO} ‘long distance (lit. ‘long rope’)’, ཐག་ \textit{THAG} ‘long distance’, ཐག་པ་ \textit{THAG.PA} ‘rope’, ཐག་མ་ \textit{THAG.MA} ‘female weaver’, ཐག་པ་ \textit{THAG.PA} ‘rope’, ཐག་ལྕིབས་ \textit{THAG.LCIBS} ‘thimble used for sewing rope’, ཐག་ \textit{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 \textit{decidere}, which also literally means ‘to cut off’.

\textbf{PART 3 – CHAP 11. **Lexical features of the Tibetic languages**}
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-nāča (Cho), Jirel (Jir), Kongpo (Ko), Sharkhok (Shar) and others.

The HCTL includes the great majority of the words of the Swadesh list (Swadesh 1971: 283), which has been used for historical-comparative linguistics. The words were originally chosen for their universal and culturally independent availability in as many languages as possible. This list was somewhat culturally biased. To address this problem, Matisoff adapted the Swadesh list to southeast Asian languages as CALMSEA (the Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatistical Model for Southeastern Asia), also as referred to as the “Matisoff 200-word list.” Other word lists have also been developed, such as the Southeast Asia Wordlist (Miller 1994). However, even the CALMSEA word list contains items which do not exist in the Tibetic basic lexicon (see Hongladarom 2000).

Some basic words pertaining to southeast Asia, such as ‘paddy field’ and ‘banana’, are not found in the HCTL as they are absent from most Tibetic areas.

The words listed in the lexicon include religious concepts frequently used in Buddhism and Bön, including ‘karma’, ‘khatak’, ‘lama’, ‘pecha (Tibetan-style book)’, ‘deity’, ‘yülha (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 HCTL lists English–Tibetic equivalents according to lexical class: nouns, demonstratives and proforms, numerals, quantifiers and intensifiers, adjectives and verbs. The noun entries are listed in a thematic way. An index of the English terms (in Latin alphabetic order) with page numbers is provided after the lexicon.
One should bear in mind that this lexicon does not provide a systematic presentation of phonetic or phonological variations. For this purpose, refer to Chapter 7.

12.2. Results and limitations of the lexicon

The HCTL confirms various fundamental characteristics that we discussed in Section 11.2. As we showed earlier, discrepancies in the lexical items are quite significant when we compare modern languages, but the vocabulary is nearly always inherited from Classical or Old Tibetan. Note that in the HCTL, we write < CT to indicate that a word is a direct reflex of a CT word, which normally implies that it is also inherited from OT. We use the notation < OT only for words which have a different form in CT and OT.

Although many words have a unique pandialectal root (or word) common to all the Tibetic languages, some words are derived from several roots attested in CT or OT. The number of CT roots for a single lexical item rarely exceeds five or six.

The HCTL has some of the limitations inherent to many lexicographic works of this type, especially when the source and target languages (in this case English and Tibetan) are very distant with respect to both linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Among the problems, the two languages differ greatly in the structure of their lexicons. Tibetan often lacks basic hypernyms that we might consider universal. This absence is usually related to traditional taxonomy. A number of Tibetan words do not have direct English equivalents, and their meaning may correspond to two or more English terms. The reverse is also true. Thus, the main difficulties in this kind of lexicographic work are related to semantic overlaps and hypernymy. Here are some illustrations: The term 'animal' does not have a perfect match in the Tibetic languages. It may be rendered by several terms derived from CT, such as སེམས་ཅན་ ('having a mind, sentient being'), དད་འགྲོ་ ('(one which) walks bending'), བྱོལ་སོང་ ('(one which) turns away, flees', depending on the given language. But in speakers' mind, these three terms are mostly likely to refer to 'beast of burden'.

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1. We should distinguish here between folk and scientific taxonomies. The latter is still under development in Tibetan. The conflict between scientific and folk taxonomies is well attested in European languages: for example, a spider may commonly be considered an insect, though from a scientific point of view it is not.
'cattle', and 'mammal' than, say, to 'insect' or 'worm' (for the latter, most Tibetic
speakers would prefer to use another term, such as བུ། BU). In Classical Tibetan, the
term སེམས་ཅན་SEMS.CAN (lit. 'having a mind, sentient being, animated being') was not
strictly the equivalent of 'animal' but rather of 'animated being', and would include
human beings. The word insect itself provides another example of a discrepancy
between English and Tibetan: the latter lacks a generic term and makes a distinction
between བུ། BU'crawling insects, including worms and other small animals' and སྲིང་བུ་SBRANG.BU 'winged insects'. The word life does not have a direct equivalent, and can
be translated by two words: སྲོག་SROG and མཚེ TSHE. The former is related to 'life force,
breath, wind', whereas the latter means 'life span'.

Analogous problems arise with common words such as 'finger',2 'back (of body)',
'brother', 'sister' (see Section 11.5), 'uncle', 'cattle', 'afternoon', 'old', 'thin', 'big', 'to
pour', 'to cut', 'to carry', etc.

For the verb 'to carry', some Tibetic languages make a distinction also found in
Classical Tibetan between ཁུར་ KHUR 'to carry on the back' and མཛུར་ 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'
གདང་ 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 བླུག་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 བོད་MO for 'finger'
and 'toe', the word བིགས་ MDZUB.MO 'index finger' can be used to refer to some the fingers, e.g. བིགས་
MTHE.RONG 'thumbs', བིགས་ MDZUB.MO 'index finger', རྟྨ་ GUNG 'middle finger', སྲིན་MDZUB 'ring finger', སྲིན་MDZUB 'ring finger', མཐེ་ཆུང་MTHE.CHUNG 'little finger'.
Another problem that arose during fieldwork is related to the potential confusion of concepts that are distinguished in neighboring dialects. For example, the words གོ་རོགས་ PHO.ROGS and མཱ་ KHAT.A 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, སྐྱར་ཏོ་ SKUR.TO and སྐྱར་མོ་ SKYUR.MO both mean ‘acid’, and མི་མོ་ KHER.RO and མི་ཐུག་ KHER.DUG both mean ‘alone, lonely’, but སྐྱར་ཏོ་ SKUR.TO and མི་ 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 སྨན་ SMAN usually refers to traditional Tibetan medicine, but may be used for Chinese and Western medicine (and even for non-medical ‘drugs’ and ‘spices’). In a rural context, the word དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་ DPE.MDZOD.KHANG will normally refer to a monastery library, rather than to a school or university library.

Some abstract concepts on the list proved difficult to elicitate in certain dialects. This is, for example, the case with items such as peace, nationality, and compassion. Nevertheless, we have kept these terms on the list.

Finally, the mismatch between the lexical categories of the target language (English) and the source languages (Tibetic) presents a potential source of problems. In many cases, a noun may be absent from the latter, with the concept only appearing in the form of a verb. This is, for example, the case with the word ‘rain’. Whereas in English the single word ‘rain’ is both a noun and a verb, and many even serve as basis for a derived adjective ‘rainy’, some eastern Tibetic languages lack a specific noun for ‘rain’, instead using the compound verb གནམ་འབབ་ GNAM.BAB ‘sky’ + ‘to fall’, so ‘it is raining’ can be rendered as ‘the sky is falling’. The English adjective old as applied to people is usually rendered in Tibetic languages by a noun, རྒད་པོ་ RGAD.PO ‘old man’ or རྒད་མོ་ RGAD.MO ‘old woman’, rather than by an adjective. Very often, the equivalents
of English adjectives such as 'quick' and 'slow' – མགྱོགས་པོ MGYOGS.PO and ལེ་ག་ལེ GA.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 དོར 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), SKA.LBZANG ’GYUR.MED & SKA.LBZANG 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**: pandialectical word. When not only the root, but also the affixes and compound forms, are the same throughout the languages of the eight sections, we refer to the words as a PW, rather than a PR. Again there may be some local languages or dialects with divergent forms.

- **FFW**: frequently found word. This indicates that a word is found in dialects and dialects 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 ※'i 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 ※'ruv '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
**Historical and Comparative Tibetic Lexicon**

**BODY (human)**

1. **BODY** རེ་མོ། GZUGS [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Tö, Yol, La, Pur, Dz, Lho) < CT ‘shape’. The root may occur alone རེ་ GZUGS (Dz, Lho, Sh, Thewo-Mā, Jir, etc.), pronounced /zu(k)(s)/ or /su(k)/. It is often followed by a suffix: རེ་པོ GZUGS.PO (Ü, Ts, Tö, La, Pur). The root བོད་ 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 བོད་ LUS (La), but is often followed by a suffix: བོད་མོ LUS.MO (Kh, Ko), བོད་པོ LUS.PO (Kh, Yol), བོད་པོ LUS.BO (Sp). Another root, སྤུང་ PHUNG (Am, Skh) < CT སྤུང་ PHUNG.PO ‘aggregate’ is often attested in Southern Kham and in Amdo, where it is pronounced སྤུང་/hungngo/. The body is thus conceived as a ‘pile, aggregate’, which corresponds to the Sanskrit notion of ēkaṃśa. In some cases, the two roots combine to form the compound བོད་ཕུང་ LUS.PHUNG. In Balti, the word སྤེ་ RGO /go/ (Ba) may be derived from the CT word སྤེ། SGO ‘door’ since, in Buddhist
philosophy, the body is considered to be a 'door' (the སྒོ་གསུམ་ SGO GSUM or three doors are 'body', 'speech' and 'mind'). Roerich’s dictionary mentions the word སྒོ་ལོ་ SGO LO with the meaning 'body, face'. See also སྒོ་ཕྱག་ RGO PHYAG (La) 'to protraste'. There are also other plausible hypotheses: སྒོ་/rgo/ might be derived from Zhangzhung /rko/ 'body' (cf. Matisoff). Finally, the form /go/ may be related to the honorific root སྐུ་ SKU 'body (H)' (Ü, Ts, La, Dz).

2. HEAD མགོ་ MGO [PR] pronounced /go/ (Am: dr) /n go/ (Kh) and /go/ in most languages. It may occur alone as མགོ་ MGO (most languages) or མགུ་ MGU (Dz), but is sometimes followed by a suffix: མགོ་བོ་ MGO BO also attested in CT, མགོ་བ་ MGO BA, མགོ་ཏུ་ MGO TU (Am). The honorific root is སྐུ་ DBU (Û, Ts, La, Dz).

3. HAIR སྐྲ་ SKRA [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ts, Ü Dz, Jir, etc.) < CT. Various pronunciations are attested: སྐྲ་/skra/ (Pur), སྐྲ་/sì/ (Ü, Ts), སྐྲ་/za/ (La, ZA), སྐྲ་/kyal/ /ca/ (Am), /ca/ (Dz), /ka/ (Lho), etc. There are a number of other terms, usually compound words, across the Tibetic area: གཙང་ CO TOG lit. 'head summit' is found in Eastern Tibet (Kham and Amdo) < CT གྲེ།, an archaic word for 'head' and སྐྲ་ TOG 'summit'. Other compound words are also used, such as མགོ་སྤུ་ MGO SPU (Ho, Kh, Pur) 'head hair', སྐྲ་ SSKRA SPU 'hair-(body)hair', མགོ་ SMO SSKRA 'head hair', སྐྲ་ SGO SGO /'gojo/ (Am: Dzorje) < CT སྐྲ་ SGO SMO 'head feather'. The word རལ་ RAL for 'head hair' in Baltistan is probably related to CT རལ་ RAL PA 'dreadlock, long hair'. The Tibetan emperor Thrilsuk Detsän (KHRI GTSUG LDE BTSAN) was also common known as རལ་ RAL PA CAN 'the long-haired one'. In western languages (Za, Pur), རལ་ RAL means 'goat’s hair'. See WOOL.

4. FOREHEAD དཔྲལ་ DPRAL [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Yol, Tö, Ko, etc.) < CT. The root དཔྲལ་ DPRAL is pronounced in various ways: དཔྲལ་ /pral/ (Pur), དཔྲལ་ /pä:/ (Ü), དཔྲལ་ /tal/ (Tö, Jir), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: དཔྲལ་ MGO /pä:/ (Ü), དཔྲལ་ DPRAL, BA (Tö, Yol), དཔྲལ་ DPRAL TER (Ko). The root གྲེ། THOD [FFR] (Kh, Ho, Ts, Tö, Lho, Am, La, Za) < CT 'skull' is also frequently attested. It is followed by a suffix: གྲེ། THOD PA. The root THOD is cognate with
words such as མཐོ་ MTHO 'high' and སྟོད་ STOD 'upper part'. In Yolmo, ཇོ /murtsa/, which might be related to བུར་ RUR 'eminent', is used.

5. **EYE** མིག་ MIG [PW] < CT. Its archaic form མིག་ MYIG, pronounced /myok/ in Amdo, is used in some eastern Tibetan languages and is attested in OT. It is originally derived from the root མའབུར་ DMYIG. The high tone of མིག་ MIG / mi(k)/ in many central and southern dialects confirms the existence of the preradical in earlier forms. མིག་ཏོ་ MIG (Dz) and མིག་རྡོ་ MIG (Am) are also attested. The honorific forms are ལྡན་ SPYAN (Ü, Ts, La, Lho, etc.) and ལྡན་མིག་ GZIGS.MIG (Ba, Pur).

6. **EYELID** མིག་ལྤགས་ MIG.LPAGS [PW] < CT lit. 'eye skin'. The archaic form མིག་ལྤགས་ MYIG.LPAGS is attested in Amdo.

7. **EYEBROW** མིག་སྤུ་ MIG.SPU [PW] < CT. It is pronounced in various ways: /mikspu/ (La, Pur), /mikpu/ (Ü, Ts), /mifu/ (Za), etc. In CT, མིག་སྤུ་ MIG.SPU literally means 'eye hair'; མིག་སྨ་ MIG.SMA (La) 'eye moustache', མིག་ཙ་ MIG.TSA (Yol). A number of compound words are also found, such as མིག་རྫིམ་ MIG.RDZIM lit. 'eye eyelash' (Dz), མིག་གཤོག་ MIG.GSHOG (La, Za, Pur) lit. 'eye wing'. མིག་སྤུ་ MIG.SPU (Yol) < CT 'eye hair'. Some dialects confuse 'eyelash' and 'eyebrow'.

8. **NOSE** སྣ་ SNA [PR] < CT. Various pronunciations are attested: /na/ (La, Pur), /na/ (Am), /n’a/ (Kh), /na/ (Ü, Ts, Ho, Sh), /ha/ (Dz), etc. This root is usually followed by a second syllable: སྣ་འགོ་ SNA.GO, སྣ་པ་ SNA.PA. The Dzongkha word སྣ་བ་ /hapa/ is derived from སྣ་པ་ SNA.PA. Compound words are attested: སྣ་ཁུངས་ SNA.KHUNGS lit. 'nostril, nose hole', སྣ་ཁུག་ SNA.KHUG lit. 'nose curve', སྣ་མདོ་ SNA.MDO (Am), སྣ་གདོང་ SNA.GDONG lit. 'front of nose, bridge of the nose', སྣ་མོ་ SNA.M.TSHUI (Pur). The honorific form is སྣ་ཤངས་ SHANGS (Ü, Ts, Dz, La, Lho, etc.).

9. **EAR** རྣ་ RNA [PR] < CT Various pronunciations are attested: /na/ (Am), /na/ (La, Pur), /′na/ (Ko, Ho), etc. The root can be used alone རྣ་ RNA 'perfect, sublime'; རྣ་མཆོག་ MCHOG.
RNA.MCHOG (Th, Ga, Yol, Dz, La, Jir) or by a suffix: དགོ རོ དཀོ. In some cases, the root RNA has lost its radical N and is pronounced /a/ as ཁ་མོ དཀོ (Ú, Ts, Tö, Dz). The honorific form is ཞེན མོ དཀོ or ཞེན མོ དཀོ བཀྲ. In some cases, RNA.MCHOG is followed by a suffix: རྣ་བ་ རོ དཀོ. In some cases, the root RNA has lost its radical N and is pronounced /a/ as ཀ་མཆོག་ འ. The honorific form is ཞེན་ མོ ཁ་མོ or ཞེན་ མོ ཁ་མོ བཀྲ. The combination of both roots is attested: རྣ་ཁྲོ རོ དཀོ. In some languages, both roots are used with different meaning: རྣ་ཁྲོ རོ དཀོ is used for 'emotional or social face' and རྣ་ཁྲོ རོ དཀོ is used for the 'physical face' (Norman 2019). For example, རྣ་ཁྲོ is used in expressions such as རྣ་ཁྲོ རོ དཀོ (Ko), རྣ་ཁྲོ རོ དཀོ (Th, Kh). The honorific forms are ཞེན་ཁྲོ འ རོ དཀོ (Ú, Ts), ཞེན་ཁྲོ འ རོ དཀོ (Ú, Ts) and ཞེན་ཁྲོ འ རོ དཀོ (La).

11. FACE རྣ་ཁྲོ [FFW] (Kh, Ho, Tö, Am, La, Ba) < CT. Another root is also widespread: རྣ་ཁྲོ དཀོ བཀྲ [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Ú, Dz) < CT. It is often followed by a suffix: རྣ་ཁྲོ དཀོ བཀྲ. The combination of both roots is attested: རྣ་ཁྲོ དཀོ བཀྲ. In some languages, both roots are used with different meaning: རྣ་ཁྲོ is used for 'emotional or social face' and རྣ་ཁྲོ is used for the 'physical face' (Norman 2019). For example, རྣ་ཁྲོ is used in expressions such as རྣ་ཁྲོ རོ དཀོ (Ko), རྣ་ཁྲོ རོ དཀོ (Th, Kh). The honorific forms are ཞེན་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (Ú, Ts), ཞེན་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (Ú, Ts) and ཞེན་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (La).

12. CHEEK རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ or རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ [PR] < CT related to རྣ་ཁྲོ 'side'. Various pronunciations of the root are attested: /gram/ (Pur), /jam/ (Dz, Am), /djam/ (Ú, Ts), etc. Other words are also found: འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ < lit. 'cheekbone' (CT).

13. MOUTH རྣ་ཁྲོ [PW] < CT. Some dialects in Kham and the eastern section use རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ < lit. 'lip, beak'. The honorific form is ཞེན་ཁྲོ (Ú, Ts, Dz, La, Lho, etc.).

14. LIP རྣ་ཁྲོ [PR] < CT. རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (Am, Kh, E. Dz), རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (Ú, Yol), རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (Ba). An original compound is attested in Ladakh: རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (La), རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ (Za) < lit. 'mouth skin'. In many languages, there is an additional distinction between 'upper lip' རྣ་ཁྲོ and 'lower lip': རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ. Furthermore, in many languages, the word for 'lip' is identical to 'beak'.

15. MOUSTACHE རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Ho, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT 'mouth hair'. Other words include རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ (Ú, Kh, etc.), རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ (Ú, CT), རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ (Ú, Ts), རྣ་ཁྲོ བཀྲ འ རོ དཀོ བཀྲ (Ú, La), etc.
16. **BEARD** [KHAL.SPU] < CT. There are a number of words across the Tibetic area: 

* RGYA or RGYABO (Am, Ü, Yol, etc.), * SMAGRA (Ba), 

/smiagra/ (Pur), * SAMLAL (La), * GYAMZHAL (Dz) < CT. 

The term * RGYABO is derived from CT * RGYA 'beard'. In some languages, 

* RGYA refers rather to a 'bearded man'; * POG.TSHOM (Am: Sog) 

< CT * PHRAG.TSOM, * GRAM.RTSID (Am: Sog) < CT lit. 'cheek-yak hair', * GRAM.SPU (Am: Sog) < CT lit. 'cheek-hair'.

17. **CHIN** [MANE] < CT or the variant * MALE (La, Za). 

Other words are attested: * KOSKO (Ba, Pur), * KOS.SMYUNG (Ü), 

/'pointy chin', * KOSMA (Yol), * MAM.GAL (Dz) < CT 'lower jaw', 

ZALTAB (Dz) 'jaw', * POGMA (Ü) 'lower chin', * PUKHU /uku/ (Sh), * KO (Jir) < CT.

18. **THROAT** [ROG] (Kh, Am) < CT. * POG.RA (Am), * KOS.LALO 

POG.MUD (Am) or * LOM.MUD lit. 'Adam’s apple'; * MID or * MID.LA 

MYID [FFR] (Ü, E, Sh, Jir); * MID/PA/mikpa/ (Ü), * MYID (E), * MID (E), 

* MID.THAG (Am); * MGIL (Am, Yol); * LOKOSMA (La, Pur, Ba, Kh); * MING.PA (Yol) < CT 'neck'. The honorific form is * MGUL (Ü, Ts, etc.).

19. **JAW**: see CHIN.

20. **NECK** [SKE] < CT, which is pronounced in various ways: /ke/ (La), /she/ (Za), /ke/ (Ü), etc. * MING.PA < CT usually 'back of the neck' (Ü, Jir, Yol, etc.). * ZHING.LTAG (Pur).

21. **SHOULDER** [PHRAG] (Ba, Pur, Tö, Ts, Ü, Yol, Kh, E, Am, etc.) 

< CT 'upper arm'. This root is pronounced in various ways: * /p'ak/ (Pur, Kyir), * p'ak/ (Pur: Chiktan), * /p'ak/ (Tö: Ger), * /'ak/ (Ü), 

* /'ak/ (Am), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: * PHRAG.MA or * PHRAG.PA. Another root * TPUN [DPUNG] (Pur, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Jir, etc.) <
CT ‘shoulder’ is frequently attested, and is pronounced /pung/ (Pur), /s.pung/ (La), /spung/ (U, s, Sp, Za), /xwung/ (Am), etc. The root is normally followed by a suffix: DPUNG.PA, DPUNG.MA, DPUNG.PO, DPUNG.MGO. Other words are also attested, such as ‘rostod’ (lit. the upper part of the back).

22. SHOULDER BLADE སོག་པ་ [PW] < CT, སོགས་པ་ (La, Pur) སོག་ཧྭ་ (Am). In Dzongkha, དཔུང་རུས་ lit. ‘shoulder bone’ is used.

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

24. ELBOW གྲུ་མོ་ GRU [PW] < CT. Some variants are found: གྲུ་མོ་ GRU (Am), གྲུ་མོ་འཇོང་ (Am), གྲུ་མོགས་ GRU.MOGS (Pur, Ba). The distinction between གྲུ་དུ་རུ་མོ་ ‘inner part of the elbow’ and གྲུ་འགོ་ ‘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་ངར་ 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, T, Ts, Kh, Hor), ལག་གྭ་ LAG.GWA (Am) or ལག་པ་ LAG.GO, ལག་པ་ LAGP (Dz), ལག་ཀོ་ LAG.KO (Lho). In the Nagchu area (Hor), སྦར་ར་ SBAR.RA < CT lit. ‘handful’ is attested < CT སྦར་མོ་ SBAR.MO, གྲྲ་PHYAG/tvāʔ/ (Hor. Bachen) < CT ‘hand (H)’.

26. WRIST ལག་ཚིགས་ LAG.TSHIGS [FFR] (La, Pur, Kh, Am, Dz, etc.) < CT ‘hand joint’, བཀྲིག་པ་ MKHRIG.PA ‘U, Ts, ི་ /p’rak pi’/ lit. ‘joint of the arm’ (Ba).

27. FINGER མཛུབ་ MDZUB or མདུག་ MDZUG [FFR] (Pur, La, U, T, Am, Kh, Yol, J, Dz) < CT ‘index finger’. མདུག་ MDZUG.MO (Dz), མདུག་ MDZUG.TOG (Sh), མདུག་ MDZUG.GU (U, T, Am, Kh, Pur). The root མཛུབ་ MDZUB is cognate with the verb བཀྲིག་ ‘to point with the finger’ and originally designates only the ‘index finger’. The CT word for ‘finger’ is བཀྲིག་ SOR,MO; this is still used, for example, in some Amdo dialects. Balti uses ཡེ་ན་ SEN.MO, which originally
meant ‘fingernail’ in CT. The origin of the Spiti words ◊ /ṭä/ is not clear.

28. PALM བལྗ་མཐིལ་ LAG.MTHIL [PW] < CT. The form བལྗ་པའི་མཐིལ་ LAG.PAY MTHIL (Sh) is also attested.

29. THUMB མཐེ་ MTHE [PR], alt. form མཐེབ་ MTHEB < CT ‘distance between the small finger and the thumb’. In modern languages one finds compound words. མཐེ་བོང་ MTHE BONG (Sh) is also attested.

30. NAIL སེན་མོ་ SEN.MO [PW] < CT. The word for ‘nail’ in Balti is སེན་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] (Û, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT or ན་མའི་མཐོང་ སྒལ་པ་ SGAL.BA (Am). Other roots are attested: མཐེ་བོ་ RGYAB (Tö, Kh, Ba, Yol) < CT ‘(at the) back’, བཤེད་པ་ SKED.PA (La, Za, Pur, Ba) < CT ‘waist’. In many dialects there is a distinction between the upper back, བཤེད་པ་ STOD, རཤེད་པ་ ROSTOD, རཤེད་པ་ KHOG.STOD, སྨིང་ཁ་ SONYING.KHA, དུུུུ་ རོ་གུང་ GSUL /gshul/ (Ba) ( < ? CT དུུུ རུ་ སྨུག་ 'trace', ‘after’, hence 'back') and the lower part of back: འོུ་ བཤེད་པ་ TSHANG.RA, ཛྷུལ་ བཤེད་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་པ་ སྒལ་ission 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་པུ་ MCHAN.KHUNG (Û, Ts), མཆན་པུ་
33. CHEST རྒྱུད་པ་ BRANG [PR]. The root is pronounced in various ways: /braŋ/ (Pur, Ba, Cho), /töŋ/ (Tö, Sp, La, Am), /țöŋ/ (Ü), /’jöŋ/ (Dz), /p’yang/ (Lho), etc. In many languages, it is followed by a suffix: རྒྱུད་པ་ རྒྱུད་པ་ /brang.khog/ (Kh, Ü), རྒྱུད་པ་ /brang.da/ (Sh), རྒྱུད་པ་ /brang.go/ (Ü), རྒྱུད་པ་ /byang.do/ (Dz), རྒྱུད་པ་ /byang.go/ (Lho). It is used in Sherpa.

34. BREAST (woman’s), TEAT རྒྱུད་པ་ NUMLA [PR] < CT ‘breast’ < སྐེད་པ་ NU ‘to suck’ and སྐེད་པ་ OMA (Ü, Yol, etc.) lit. CT ‘milk’, see སྐེད་པ་ PLPI (La, Pur).

35. BELLY/STOMACH རྒྱུད་པ་ GROD.PA [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, etc.) < CT. This word is pronounced in various ways: /krotpa/ (Pur), /tötpa/ (La), /’tota/ (Tö), /gyodp/ (Dz), /’jöp/ (Lo), or as the variant རྒྱུད་པ་ GROD.KHOG < རྒྱུད་པ་ GROD.BA (FFW) (Dz, Am, Ü, Yol, etc.) རྒྱུད་པ་ PHOW (Dz), རྒྱུད་པ་ PHO.CUNGM (Dz), རྒྱུད་པ་ howa/ (Am), རྒྱུད་པ་ HO.KHA, རྒྱུད་པ་ LTO.BA /toa/ (Pur), /töu/ (Dz) < CT, related to རྒྱུད་པ་ LTO ‘food’; རྒྱུད་པ་ GSUS.PA (Kh, Jir, E, Th, Lho) < CT. རྒྱུད་པ་ 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 རྒྱུད་པ་ GROD.PA and its variant རྒྱུད་པ་ /’jöpa/ (Am) only refer to animals’ stomachs. རྒྱུད་པ་ KHOG.PA < CT is used in Sherpa. In Ladaks, རྒྱུད་པ་ is also used for ‘abdominal pain’ (Norman 1919).

36. Navel རྒྱུད་པ་ LTE.BA [PW] < CT. Often pronounced /'rea/. The reflex རྒྱུད་པ་ /Te/ (Sh) is exceptional.

37. WAIST རྒྱུད་པ་ SKED.PA [PW] < CT. In some dialects, the word རྒྱུད་པ་ SKED.PA or རྒྱུད་པ་ 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 རྒྱུད་པ་ ZLAMTSAN < CT ‘month sign’, རྒྱུད་པ་ SKED.PA (Ü), རྒྱུད་པ་ རྒྱུད་པ་ GZHANG KHRAG (La), རྒྱུད་པ་ KHYAG (Am) < CT ‘blood’.
39. BUTTOCKS རྐུབ་RKUB [FFW] (Ū, Ts, Yol, Sp, E: Th) < CT, originally < CT 'bottom'. Other roots are also found: མོང་JONG and རང་ZANG [FFW] (Tö, Am, Dz, Lho) are widespread: མོང་པོ་JONG.DO [FFW] < CT (Tö, Am, Kh), རང་པོ་ZANG.DO: མོང་པོ་JONG.SHI (Am), རང་པོ་ZANG.BU (Lho); རང་ /jang/ is attested in Tö. Another CT root, ཝ་པི་DPYI [FFW] (Sh, E: Th), /spi/ (La), /hi/ (Za) < CT 'hip', 'hipbone', is also fairly frequent, as in ཝ་པི་འགོ་DPYI.GO (Tewo-må), ཝ་པི་འགོ་/pelang/ (Sh). Other forms are also found, such as ཝ་པི་འཕོམ་DPYI.PHOM, ཝ་པི་འཕོམ་/phom/; ཝ་པི་པོན་པོན་/ponpon/ (Ba) < CT ཝ་པི་འཕོངས་ཚོས་DPYI.PHONGS.TSHOS, also meaning 'buttocks', and ཝ་པི་SHA.SNA (Pur) lit. 'meat nose'. The word ལྷུབ་ZHABS (Am) is also attested for the meaning 'buttocks', derived from an honorific CT term meaning 'foot, bottom'.

40. ANUS འོག་ ལྷུབ་ མཇེ་MJE [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Yol, Tö, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am) < CT. It is pronounced /mje/ (Am), /je/ (Tö, Kh) /je/ (Ts, Ù, Ba), /zhe/ (Pur). འོག་པ་MJE.NGAN lit. 'wicked penis' is also used (Am). Another frequent word is རྲིག་པ་RLIG.PA [FFW] (Ū, Yol, etc.) < CT. A compound རྲིག་པུ་BULLU (Am) lit. 'little worm' is also attested. འཁྲོ་KHALO (Za) 'head of the penis'.

41. PENIS རྒྱུད་མཇེ་SGONG.MJE [FFW] (Ü), རྒྱུད་SGONG.MJE [FFW] (Yol, Sh) < CT 'egg'; རྒྱུད་KHALO (Za), རྒྱུད་SGO.MA/yoma/ (Pur), རྒྱུད་/yolul/ (Pur), རྒྱུད་/yol/ (Pur), རྒྱུད་LYIG.PA (La) cognate with CT རྲིག་པ་RLIG.PA 'penis', རྲིག་པ་ RLIG.PA (Am).

42. TESTICLE རྒྱུད་དགེ་SGONG.DOG (Ü), རྒྱུད་དགེ་SGONG.DOG (Yol, Sh) < CT 'egg'; རྒྱུད་KHALO (Za), རྒྱུད་SGO.MA/yoma/ (Pur), རྒྱུད་/yolul/ (Pur), རྒྱུད་LYIG.PA (La) cognate with CT རྲིག་པ་RLIG.PA 'penis', རྲིག་པ་ RLIG.PA (Am).

43. SPERM རིག་པ་THIGLE < CT 'essential drop', རིག་KHUBA (Ū, Am) < CT. རིག་ MANU (La) < CT.

44. VAGINA རྐུབ་ བྱ་ལུ་RKUB.LYA [FFW] (Ts, Ù, Dz, Yol) < CT. Other words are found, such as རྐུབ་RKUB (La, Yol) < lit. 'buttocks', རྐུབ་GNYA.MA, རྐུབ་SNYA.MA (Am), རྐུབ་BYALU (Am) < CT རྐུབ་BYALLE 'clitoris' and རྐུབ་ /pi/ (Pur) < CT ཝ་པི་DPYI 'hip'.
45. **CLITORIS** བྱ་ལེ་ BYA.LCE [PW] lit. ‘hen’s tongue’ or CT བྱ་ལེ་ BYALE. It is often pronounced /čale/; བོད་ལྕེ་ LAILI (Am). In the folk tradition, the clitoris is said to be similar to hen’s tongue. The archaic form བྱ་ལེ་ BYA.LCE /byalče/ is found in Balti. A Balti proverb says བལ་བི་སི་ལག་པི་ང་བཀལ་ན་ཨ་མོའི་བྱ་ལེ་ཆོད། BAL.BIS-SI LAG.PING GRI BKL-NA A.MO’ BYALCE CHOD ‘if a child has a knife in his hand, he may even cut his mother’s clitoris (BYALCE)’.

46. **THIGH** བརླ་ BRLA [FFR] (Ü, Ts, La, Za) < CT. བརླ་ཤ་ BRLA.SHA (Ü, Ts, La, Za), བརླད་དོ་ BRLAD.DO (Dz), རྒ སཐུམ་ CHANA (LSham), ཆུལ་ GZUG (Ba). ཕུང་"dum" (Pur), བོས་ཤོ་ (Southern Kh, E.), བོ་མོ་མོའི་བྱ་ལེ་ཆོད། BIRI.LCE CHOD ’I BYA.LCE CHOD’.

47. **KNEE** རྐང་ PUS or its variant རྐང་ལྡིག་ PUS.DIK (La), རྐང་གུ་ PUS.GU /hangku/ (Za). See also LEG. The honorific རྐང་ཚིགས་ PUS.TSHIGS < CT lit. ‘on the joint is used. In Thewo (E), the word རྐང་ཚིགས་པོ་ NGAR.GDONG.SGANG < CT lit. ‘shin-above’ is used.

48. **CALF** ཉྭ་ NYWA [PR] < CT. ཉྭ་ཤ་ NYWA.SHA /nyasha/ is also frequently used. ཉྭ་ལྡིག་ /nyaldik/ (La), ཉྭ་ཏོ་ NYAL.BRI (Hor), ཉྭ་ཏོ་ NYALRI (Am), ཉྭ་ལྡིག་ /pimpa/ (Pur, Yol).

49. **FOOT** རྐང་ RKANG [PR] < CT. རྐང་ RKANG (SKh, E.), རྐང་ RKANG.PA (Ü, Ts, Sh, Yol, etc.), རྐང་ RKANG.BA (Am), རྐང་ RKANG.MA (Ba, Pur), རྐང་ RKANGM /kam/ (Dz), རྐང་ RKANG.GU /hangku/ (Za). See also LEG. The honorific རྐང་ཚིགས་ ZHABS (Ü, Ts, La, Dz, Yol) is frequently used.

50. **ANKLE** རྐང་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: རྐང་ཚིགས་/kangmai gat/ (Ba), རྐང་ཚིགས་/telung/ ‘ankle bone’ (Sh), རྗེ་ རྗེ་ /monglo/ ‘ankle bone’ (La).

51. **SKIN** བུགས་ PAGS.PA [PW] < CT alt. form བུགས་ PA.GW. In some Amdo and Hor dialects, the term བུགས་ PA.GW is only used for the skin of tigers, bears and other animals, whereas the term བུགས་ PA.BA (Ba).
SKYI is used for 'human skin'. SHULU [La] is also attested for 'skin' < CT BSHU 'to peel'.

52. WRINKLE GNYER MA [PW] < CT, SUL [La, Za, Pur]. It also refers to the pleat of Ladakh women’s dress.

53. WOUND & RMA [PW] < CT. Some dialects use RMA KHA (lit.) 'surface of the wound' for 'wound'.

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

55. BLOOD KHRAG [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced /k’rak/ (Pur), /ʃa/ (Ú, Ts, Kh), /ʃa/ (Am).

56. VEIN/PULSE RTS A [PW] < CT. Often pronounced /tsa/ or /tsa/ but realized as /sa/ in Zangskar and Spiti. In some dialects, it is sometimes preceded by the word KHRAG 'blood': KHRAG RTS A. In the Phuri dialect (Kh), the word KHRAG LAM lit. ‘road of blood’ is used. The pulse plays an important role in Tibetan medical diagnosis. The term RTS A has also the meaning of ‘channel’ in the Tibetan yogic practices called RTS A RLUNG PHRUL KHOR.

57. BRAIN KLAD PA [PW] < CT 'brain' lit. '(on the) top'. KLAD sometimes occurs alone. The variant LAD PA /datpa/ is used in Ladakh, Purik and Zangskar, and is probably a result of metathesis. The form KLAD alone and MGO KLAD lit. 'head brain' are also attested.

58. BONE RUS [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: RUS PA /ruspa/ (La, Pur), /ʃa/ (Za), RUS THOG, RUS KHOG, (Ú, Ts, Yol), etc.

59. SPINE SGAL TSHIGS [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, To, Ts, Ú, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT. GZHUNG RUS lit. ‘the middle bone’ (Pur).
60. RIB རྩིབ་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 རྩིབ་གས་RTSIG.GU (Am) is also attested.

61. JOINT མཚོན་TSHIGS [PW] < CT. The final /s/ is still pronounced in the Western regions (La, Pur).

62. TOOTH སོ་SO [PW] < CT. Note the irregular pronunciation ས་/sa/ in Sherpa. The honorific form མཆེན་SO (Ü, Ts, Dz, La) is frequent.

63. CUSPID/CANINE TOOTH མཆེ་MCHE [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix: མཆེ་བ་MCHE.BA (Am) མཆེ་ཤོ་MCHE.SO lit. ‘canine-tooth’ is also found, and is also used for ‘tusk’. མཁྲིས་པ་MKHRIS.PA lit. ‘dog-tooth’ is also attested.

64. TONGUE ལེ་LCE [PR] < CT. ལྕེ་LCE (Am, Ba, La, Dz, Pur, etc.); ལེ་ལེ་LCE.LE (Yol, Ü, Ts, Am, etc.) may be derived from CT ལྕེ་ལེབ་LCE.LEB lit. ‘flat tongue’, ལྕེ་འགོ་LCE.GO (Kh) is also attested.

65. LUNGS གློ་GLO [PR] < CT. In many dialects, the root is followed by a suffix: གློ་བ་GLO.BA often pronounced /loa/ or /l'oa/.

66. HEART སྙིང་SNYING [PW] < CT. Other roots are marginally attested སེམས་SEMS (E, Kh: Gyalthang) < CT ‘mind’, བསམ་BSAM (E), མོང་KHOG.PA or མོང་KHOG.MA (Yol) < CT ‘rib-cage’, སེམས་BU (Am). Many dialects distinguish སེམས་SEMS ‘emotional heart’ from སྙིང་SNYING ‘physical heart’ (Norman 2019).

67. LIVER མཆིན་པ་MCHIN.PA [PW] < CT. The variant མཆིན་མ་MCHIN.MA (Pur) is also attested.

68. SPLEEN མཚེར་པ་MTSHER.PA [PW] < CT, alt. མཆེར་པ་MCHIN.PA (Am) མཆེར་པ་MTSHER.PA (La, Pur).

69. KIDNEY མཁལ་མ་MKHAL.MA [PW] < CT.

70. GALL BLADDER/BILE མཁྲིས་པ་MKHRIS.PA [PW] or མཁྲིས་པ་MKHRIS.BA (Am). The variant མཁྲིས་པ་MKHRIGS.PA is used in Purik and Ladaks. In modern Balti, another word /χo/ is used. It is possibly related to CT ས་KHA 'bitter'.
71. INTESTINE  √ རྒྱུ་ [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix: རྒྱུ་མ་ [Pur, Ba], lit. ‘white intestine’ or རྒྱུ་དཀར་ [Pur, Ba] or རྒྱུ་དཀར་པོ་ [Pur, Ba], lit. ‘black intestine’ or རྒྱུ་ཏྲེག་ [Pur, Ba] or རྒྱུ་ཆུང་ [Pur, Ba]. The word རྒྱུ་སྦོམ་ [La] for ‘small intestine’ is also attested.

72. HIPBONE ཉོན་ [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT. This is often followed by a suffix, as in ཉོན་མགོ་ [Ts, Ü], གྱེ་ཞུར་ [Purik].

73. EXCREMENT/FECES སྐྱག་ [PR] < CT In most languages, this is followed by the suffix PA: སྐྱག་པ་ [Am], སྐྱོག་གྭ་ [Am]. Also attested is གཅིན་ [La] for ‘small intestine’.

74. DIARRHEIC STOOL རྙང་མ་ [FFW] (Ts), རྙང་བ་ [Am], རྙང་པ་ [La].

75. URINE གཅིན་ [FFR] < CT. This is pronounced གཅིན་/cin/ in some western languages (La, Za, Pur). It is often followed by a suffix: གཅིན་པ་ [Am], གཅིན་པ་ [La]. In some dialects, the word རྩུ་ ‘water’ is used to refer to urine. In Hor, northern Kham and Amdo, རྩུ་ ‘water reservoir’ is used. The word པྱེང་ལྡེ་ ‘secret water’ is the honorific.

76. FART གཡག་ [Am, Hor]. In Amdo and Hor, གཡག་ refers to the sound, whereas རུལ་ རྡུག་ (Am) and རུལ་ རྡུག་ (Hor: Am) mean a fart with the accompanying bad smell. རུལ་དྲུ་ [La, Kh, E] is used in Ladaks and Purik. In traditional Tibetan society, farting in public was considered very rude, and could lead to suicide, particularly among women.

77. SWEAT རྙུལ་ [PR] < CT. This usually occurs in compound words such as རྙུལ་ སྤྱུར་ (Pur, La). The archaic form རྙུལ་ ཚུ་ [Pur, La] is also attested.
78. **SALIVA** ཁ་ཆུ ’KHA CHU’ [PW] < CT ‘mouth water’. མཆིལ་མག་ < CT ‘saliva, spit’ (La, Za) and མཆིལ་མང་ < CT ‘spittle’ is also used.

79. **TEAR** མིག་ཆུ ’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་ཆུ (Am). The root མཆི་ < CT ‘tear’ is often followed by a suffix: མཆི་མ་ < CT ‘tear’.

80. **PUS** རྣག་ < CT.

81. **SOUND/VOICE** སྐད་ [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, E, Am, etc.) < CT and སྒྲ་ < CT, ཀུ་ཅོ་ < CT, ཉེ་བ་ (La).

82. **CORPSE** རོ ’RO’ [PW] < CT. The word རོ is used for animals and human beings. However, in some dialects, the use of རོ for human being is considered impolite. For human corpses, one also finds འབུམ་ ’lifeless object’ (Amdo), འབར་ (Amo, northern Kokonor), སྤུར་ /fur/ (La), /fur/ (Za) < CT ‘corpse’. The word མེན་ཏོག་ ’flower’ is used in Purik, Zanhar and Ladaks as a respectful word for ‘corpse’. In Amdo, the word རོ 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** སྲོག་ [PW] < CT. Pronounced in several ways: /strøq/ (Ba, Pur), /søk/ (La, Za), /ˈtoʔ/ (Ü, Kh), /ˈtoʔ/, /ˈsoʔ/ (Ts, Sh), etc.

84. **LIFE SPAN** གྲེ་བ་ ’GRE BA’ /tea/ (La).

85. **HUMAN BEING, PERSON** མི ’MI’ [PW] < CT. The form མི, which is used in Amdo, is attested in OT. An exceptional form, མི, is attested in the Southern Kham area. The CT word མི ‘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, དཔེ་CHE MI < CT ‘big person’ designates an adult or elder person.

86. A PEOPLE མི་མཛད་MLDMANGS [FFW] < CT. The word sense of ‘a people’, referring to an abstract political concept, is not always present in languages, particularly in rural areas. A modern word, མི་མཛད་ MLDMANGS, is currently used in Common Tibetan and in Amdo under the variant མི་མཛད་ MYLDANGS. Traditionally the word མི་མཛད ‘subject’ was used in the sense of ‘people’. Another traditional word derived from CT, མི་སེར་ MLSER, meaning ‘serf, subject’ (as opposed to ‘leader’) has come to mean ‘citizen, people’.

87. TIBETAN བོད་པ་BOD.PA [PW] < CT. The word is also found without the suffix: བོད BOD (Am, Southern Kham). The Amdo pronunciation of BOD for ‘Amdo Tibetans’ is /wol/ or /wot/, which can contrast with /pol/ or /pot/ denoting ‘Tibetans of the central area’. In some dialects in Sharkhok, གོ་སྤོད SPOD is used. See TIBET.

88. CHINESE (HAN) རྒྱ་རིགས་RGYALMI [PW] < CT. The word is abbreviated as རྒྱ་ RGYA in some languages of Eastern Tibet. A modern compound རྒྱ་རིགས་ RGYALRIGS ‘ethnic Han’ lit. ‘Chinese race, type’, is also widely used. In Baltistan, the root རྒྱ་ RGYA is now nearly lost and people use the Urdu-English word /cin/ ‘Chinese’ followed by the nominal suffix پا PA: سینپا CIN.PA (Ba, Pur).

89. MONGOL གོ་པོ SOG.PO [FFW] གོ་པོ SOG.BO.

90. TURKIC PEOPLE རྒྱུན HOR [FFW]. Note that རྒྱུན 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 གཞིང JANG.

92. ETHNIC GROUP མི་རིགས་MLRIGS [FFW] < CT. lit. ‘race of humans’. In the Chinese context this is translated as ‘nationality’. This is a recent concept not
found in remote rural areas. The Amdo form is མྱི་རིགས་ MYI.RIGS. However, it is often understood as a literary word, and thus does not always follow the regular sound correspondences.

93. BUDDHIST ནང་པ་ NANG.PA [PW]. The term བོད་ BO.D.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 མགོ་དཀར་ MGO.DKAR lit. ‘white head’ (because white headwear) and རྒྱ་སོག་ RGYA.SOG lit. ‘Chinese Mongol’ (Am). In Lhasa, there are two Muslim communities, the Lhasa Khache from Kashmir and the གྲོ་བཤེ། GRO.BXI ‘outer kingdom’, གྲོ་བཤེ། གིང་ GRO.BXI.GLING alt. ཡོག་ཀློ། YOG.KLO ‘musulman’ is used. འཛིན་པོ་ Arghon is used for mixed families descended from Muslim (Sunni) traders and Ladakhi women.

96. CHRISTIAN ཡེ་ཤུ། YE.SHU.

97. FOREIGNER རི་ལུང་ RYE.LUNG [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Yol, etc.) < CT ‘outer kingdom’, རི་ལུང་ PHYLGLING.PA PHYLGLING alt. རི་ལུང་ PHYLGLING (FFW), lit. ‘outer island or continent’, རི་ལུང་ PHYLMI (Dz) ‘outer person’, རི་ལུང་/hep’i/ < ‘hippie’ was used in Purik and other places in Ladakh. In Jirel, རི་ལུང་ PHYLMI.MI ‘person from another country’ is found. རི་ལུང་ MYI.YUL ‘people’s country’; རི་ལུང་ KHAMS MI.YUL.KHAMS are also attested. The word རི་ལུང་ MI < CT ‘human being’ has also acquired the meaning of ‘people’ and hence ‘others, other people’, which has been reinterpreted as
‘foreigners’. བོད་ལེགས་/angrespa/ from Hindi-Urdu ‘English person/foreigner’ and བོད་ལེགས་MGO.SER ‘yellow head’ are also commonly used (La, etc). In Yunnan, a Chinese loan 洋人 yangren is also used.

98. OLD MAN རྒད་པོ RGAD.PO [PW] < CT verb རྒ་ RGA, རྒས་ RGAS ‘to be old’. The word is pronounced in various ways: རྒྱ་ /gatpo/ (Pur, La, Am), རྒྱ་ /yatpo/ (Za), རཀ /kä:po/ (U, Ts). The variants རྒད་པོ RGAD.PO /gpo/ (Dz) and རྒས་པོ RGAS.PO are also used. The honorific word བགྲེས་པོ BGRES.PO is used in some areas (U, Ts). See also OLD (adjective), GRANDFATHER.

99. OLD WOMAN རྒད་མོ RGAD.MO [PW] < CT. The variant རྒན་མོ RGAN.MO is also encountered. Another term derived from རྒྱལ་ PHO.GSAR (lit.) ‘new male’, སྤོན་པོ་ GSAR.RU lit. ‘new male’ are also frequent in Kham and Amdo. རྒྱལ་ KHYOG.THONG (Pur, La) is also sometimes heard. In some western languages, the Persian loanword /jawan/ is used.

100. YOUNG MAN རྒྱལ་པ་ GZHON.PA or རྒྱལ་ནུ་ GZHON.NU [FFW] < CT. རྒྱལ་ PHO.GSAR, སྤོན་པོ་ GSAR.RU lit. ‘new male’. སྨན་པོ་ SMAN.SHAR (Kh, Am) is also attested. རྒྱལ་ KHOG.THONG (Pur, La) is sometimes heard. In some western languages, the Persian loanword /jawan/ is used.

101. YOUNG LADY རྒྱལ་མ་ GZHON.MA, རྒྱལ་ནུ་མ་ GZHON.NU.MA [FFW] ‘young woman’. The compound སྤོད་ལྷ་ MO.GSAR lit. ‘new female’ is also frequent in Kham and Amdo. སྨན་པོ་ SMAN.SHAR (Kh, Am) is also attested. སྨན་ PB ME.PA (La, Za), རྒྱལ་ KHYO.ME.ME.YA (Yol).

102. ANCESTOR རྒྱལ་ MES, alt. form: རྒྱལ་ MYES [PR] < CT རྒྱལ་ PO, MES.PO ‘forefathers, ancestors’, or རྒྱལ་ སྤོད་ལྷ་ MYES, YANG, MYES (Hor, Am) lit. ‘grandfathers and greatgrandfathers’. རྒྱལ་ MES, YANG, MYES (Am, Ho, Kh). Other roots are also attested: རྒྱལ་ PHA.ME.PA (La, Za).

103. GRANDFATHER རྒྱལ་ MES [PR] < CT, alt. རྒྱལ་ MYES < OT ‘ancestor’. རྒྱལ་ MES, ME.PA (Tö, La, Sp, Yol, etc.) རྒྱལ་ MES, MYES, ME.PO (Ba), རྒྱལ་ རྒྱལ་ 2.4 ME.PA (Dz), རྒྱལ་ 2.4 RGAN (Ko) lit. ‘the old one’ (with the རྒ་ 2.4 used to designate
relatives), अन्तः 2APO (Ba, Pur), अन्तः 2APACHE (Am), अन्तः 2PARGARGA (Sh) lit. ‘old father’, अन्तः 2AJO (Lho). The words स्पोः SPO.Bo, अन्तः 2PO.PO and the honorific form स्पोः.अलग्स SPO.LAGs, which is used in Central and Southern Tibet, are cognate with फ्हो‘male’ (the spelling स्पो does not reflect an old form and is probably an innovation). Jirel has र्गो धो RGO.DOH < CT ‘strong, untamed’.

104. GRANDMOTHER अन्तः 2APHITI [FFW] (E, La, Ba, Sp) < CT. The word is pronounced in various ways अन्तः /ashi/ (E), अन्तः 2AYI (Am, Kh, Ho), अन्तः 2APHI (La, Ba), अन्तः 2ABI (Pur, La, Za), अन्तः 2PHI (Ts), अन्तः 2BI (Sp, Yol). Other words include अन्तः 2AYA (Ko, SouthKh), अन्तः 2ARYA (SouthKh), अन्तः 2ANYO (Lho). Two areas, Central Tibet and the southern Himalayas, make use of other roots: अन्तः 2MAMA.रगारगा MAMA.RAGA/RAGA lit. ‘old mother’. Words such as अन्तः 2RMO.सो मो RMO.BO/MO and the honorific form र्गो धो अलग्स RGO.DOH.LAGs are cognate with CT मो MO ‘female’. Jirel has र्गो धो RGO.DOH < 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 स्क्येश.बू SKEYES.BU for this purpose. In the modern languages, several terms convey this meaning. अन्तः 2HOSKEYES (Am) < CT अन्तः 2PHOSKEYES. The term मित्र MI ‘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 बौय BOY, सौन SON, हूस्बैंड HUSBAND, ओल्ड MAN, उन्कल UNCLE are also found.

106. WOMAN बुद्दमेड BUD.MYED < OT. This classical term may be derived from BUD ‘expelled, pulled outside’ + MYED or MYED (OT) ‘negation’, i.e. ‘without [genitals] outside [of the body]’. An alternative interpretation of BUD.MYED has been proposed by Zeisler (pers. comm. 2020): बुद्दम्र BUD.MAD lit. ‘child+low’. The word is pronounced in various ways बुद्दमेड BUD.MED (Ts, Tö, Yol), बुद्दमेड BUD.MYED (Am), बुद्दमेड BUR.MI (Sh). Other related words include: अन्तः 2Ban.मेड.मी BAN.MED.MI (Jir), अन्तः 2MO.BUD (Lho) < ? मो.बुद्दमेड MO.BUD; Another classical term is also used: अन्तः 2MOSKEYES (Am) <
There is a rich variety of words meaning ‘woman’ across the Tibetic languages. Despite the fact that the status of women is higher in Tibetic areas than in China or India, terms referring to ‘woman’ are usually connected with the derogatory concepts ‘black’ or ‘inferior’, which reflect probably ancient conceptions of women on the high plateau. A fairly frequent term for ‘woman’ is ནག་མོ (NAG MO) < CT lit. ‘black one’. Other terms include ནག་ཆགས་(Kh, Hor, Am, Tö) lit. ‘the one who loves black (deeds)’. Another root frequently encountered is སྨད་(SMAD) or དམན་(DMAN) ‘inferior’: སྨད་ཆགས་(Ko) lit. ‘the one who loves inferior (deeds)’; བུ་མོ (BU MO) (Kh) is also attested. 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.

སྨན་བཟང་མོ (SMAN BZANG MO) or སྨ་བཟང་མོ (SMA BZANG MO) ‘woman’ are also attested in Amdo and Kham. སྨན་and སྨ་are probably related to སྨད་in the word བུ་སྨད་found, for example, in Milārapa’s biography with the meaning ‘mother and child’. Other terms for ‘woman’ are mostly derived from words designating female relatives: རྔ་ཕྱི ‘grandmother’ (Am), ‘mother’ རྔ་ཆེ ‘elder sister’ (Ü, La), རྔ་མ་ ‘aunt (paternal)’, རྔ་ནེ་ ‘paternal aunt’ (Sp, Pur), བུ་སྲི ‘child’<SRING ‘sister’. Finally ‘women’ are simply called by the words བུ་མོ (BU MO) (Tö, Kh, La, Za) ‘girl, woman’ (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 རྩ་ཕ་ < CT. Often pronounced /ʔapa/ or /ʔaba/ with an unaspirated consonant, མ་ཕ་ < PAPHA. In some dialects in southern Kham, རྩ་ཏག་ PHARGAN lit. ‘old father’ is used. There are other forms such as རྩ་པ་ རྩ་ལ་ in Amdo or རྩ་ in Baltistan and Purik, which could be borrowed from Turkic languages, but this is not certain, since the form རྩ་ is also found in other dialects, such as Kongpo, with the meaning ‘brother’. In Daan (Kh), རྩ་ DI
is used, which may be borrowed from Chinese 爹 die. The honorific forms are སྤྱ་སྨག་ PALAGS or སྤྱ་ལགས་ YAB ‘father of an honored person’.

108. MOTHERཔ་ལགས་ PĀ.LAGS < CT In some dialects from southern Kham, the root སྤ་ MA alone is used. In the Lithang and Lhagang dialects (Kh), one finds སྤ་ སྤྱིི་ MARGA.IN lit. ‘old mother’. In a few languages, other words are: སྤ་ སྤྱིི་ AICE (Th) < ‘elder sister’; སྤ་ སྤྱིི་ AAPHYI ‘grandmother’. The respectful terms are སྤ་ལགས་ A.MA.LAGS ‘mother (H)’ སྤུ་ YUM ‘mother of an honored person’.

109. PARENTSཕ་མ་ PHA.MA < CT lit. ‘father-mother’. In Amdo, this is pronounced ṭ སྤ་ hama/. སྤ་ལགས་ A.MA.LAGS (Pur, Ba). In some Southern Kham dialects, སྤ་ལགས་ A.PHA.MA is used in order to avoid sound changes that would happen. There is also the form སྤུ་ YUM ‘parents of an honored person (H)’.

110. CHILD (see also BOY and GIRL) སྤྱ་ས་ BYIS [FFR] (Ts., Sh, Kh, Am and Ba) < CT སྤྱ་ས་ BYIS.PA ‘child’. The root is used alone in some languages (Kh) but usually occurs in a compound. In northeastern Tibet, we find སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ ZHA.BYIS or སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ ZHA.YIS/shayi/ (Am), /shashi/ (Am, Th), also sometimes spelled སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ BYAB.YIS. However, given that it is pronounced /zhayi/ in Ngawa, the spelling སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ ZHAB.YIS is justified. In other languages, it often occurs with the lexeme སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ TSRA < CT ‘nephew’ or ‘grandson’ or སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ SRING ‘younger sister’: སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ BYIS.TSHA. For example, we find /p’isa/ (Ts), /p’esa/ (Yol) and སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ /p’esa/ (Sh, Jir), སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ /p’i/tʃiŋ/ < * སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ BYIS.SRING (Ṭö). In Balti སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ BAL.BYIS/balis/ is a compound made of སྤྱ་ སྤྱིི་ BYIS and /bəl/ ‘young, child’, a loanword from the neighboring Dardic languages. The second frequent root is སྤྱ། PHRU or སྤྱ་ PHRUG [FFR] (Ū, Ko, Ho, La, Ba, Pur, Sp) < CT སྤྱ། PHRU ‘child or young of any animal’. The root may be used alone, as in Balti and Purik སྤ། /p’ru/, but is usually followed by a diminutive suffix, as in སྤ་ PHRUGU, སྤ སྤ སྤ། /p’ku/ (Sp), སྤ སྤ སྤ། /p’ku/ (Ū, Ko), /t’u/gu/ (La, Za) and སྤ སྤ སྤ། PHRUPHRA (Ba). In Amdo སྤ། PHRUGU /t’ag/ is also used, but refers to ‘young of animals’ as in CT, and even to objects, e.g. སྤ་ PHRUGU SGIL.PHRUG ‘small box’. This is also attested in
Balti: ལྷེ་སྒོམ་ཕྲུ་ 'small box' < CT ལྷེ་སྒོམ་. The combination of the two roots for 'child' is attested in Kham: ལྷེ་སྒོམ་ཕྲུ་ 'small box'. Apart from these two frequent roots, there is considerable variation for the word 'child' in Tibetic languages. Words derived from the compounds ལྷེ་སྒོམ་པྱི་ (Lho) and ལྷེ་སྒོམ་པྱི་ (Lho), from ལྷེ་ 'son, boy' and from ལྷེ་ 'son, grandson' can be encountered. Other words not attested in CT are also found: these are usually onomatopoeic word, baby babbling sounds, or motherese: ཛོ་ལེ་ (Ts), ཛོ་ལེ་ (Ts), ཛོ་ལེ་ (Ts), ཛོ་ལེ་ (Ts). Another root for 'child' not found in CT is ཙོག་ 'many kids, gang of kids' (Am), ཙོག་ 'many kids, gang of kids' (Am), ཙོག་ 'many kids, gang of kids' (Am). See also CHILD and SON.

111. BOY ལྷེ་ (PR) < CT. This root is normally used alone but frequently occurs in the compound form ལྷེ་སྒོམ་ (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Dz, Am) < CT 'son, nephew'. It is pronounced in various ways, such as /buts’a/ (Pur, La), /b’us/ (Dz) and /p’os/ (Lho). In several languages, the word is derived from roots that designate a child: ལྷེ་ 'girl child' is attested in few languages of Nepal, such as Yolmo and Sherpa. In Amdo, 'boy' is a reflex of ལྷེ་ 'boy child'. In modern Amdo, it is also spelled ལྷེ་/shimo/, which corresponds to the pronunciation attested in pastoralists' dialects such as Golok and Ngawa. See also CHILD and SON.

112. GIRL ལྷེ་ 'girl' < CT. The final vowel 'o' is dropped in Dzongkha, Lhoke and Sherpa: ལྷེ་ ལྷེ་ (Dz) and ལྷེ་ (Lho, Sh). The compound word ལྷེ་ 'girl' is attested in few languages of Nepal, such as Yolmo and Sherpa. In Amdo, the word for 'girl' is a reflex of ལྷེ་ 'girl' is spelled ལྷེ་/shimo/, which corresponds to the pronunciation attested in pastoralists' dialects such as Golok and Ngawa. See also BOY and CHILD.

113. SON ལྷེ་ (PW) < CT. This word may be pronounced in various ways, including /bu/ /pu/, /p’u/ and /wa/. Compound words made with the lexeme ལྷེ་ are also encountered: ལྷེ་ 'son-nephew' (Am, La, Ba, Pur); ལྷེ་ 'son-nephew' (Am, La, Ba, Pur); ལྷེ་ 'son-nephew' (Am, La, Ba, Pur).
meaning: བྱིས་ TSHA lit. 'child-nephew' pronounced བི་ས་ /pisa/ (Ts), and in Amdo བྱིས་ TSHA. The honorific form is སྲས་ SRAS (U, Ts, La, Dz, Lho, etc.)

114. DAUGHTER ཆུ་ LUMO [PW] < CT. The root བྱིས་ BYIS < CT 'child' followed by the feminine suffix MO is also used for this meaning: བྱིས་ TSHA /shimo/ lit. 'female child'. (See GIRL) The honorific form is སྲས་ SRAS.MO (U, Ts, La, Dz, Lho, etc.)

115. DAUGHTER-IN-LAW གནའ་ MNA.MA [PW] < CT 'daughter-in-law' derived from གནའ། MNA 'oath'. This is pronounced གནའ།/nam/ (La), གནའ།/naga/ (Ba), གནའ།/nam/ (Dz), གནའ།/na:/ (Tö, Kh), etc. Note that in Dzongkha གནའ་ MNA.MA/nam/ has also acquired the sense of 'sister-in-law'. Another frequent root is བག་ BAG < CT 'bride, newly married wife' related to བག་ TSON 'marriage ceremony' (see MARRY). This is pronounced in various ways: བག་ TSONMO/ (Ba), བག་/wa'ma/ or /wa'mo/ (Am), བག་/pa'ma/ (Ts), བག་/pa'm/ (Lho), etc. Although a few languages have maintained the distinction between the meanings of གནའ་ MNA.MA 'bride' and བག་ BAG.MA, 'daughter-in-law', the majority no longer make this distinction. The bride is usually sent to live with her husband's family. See MARRY.

116. BRIDE: see DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

117. SON-IN-LAW བག་ BAG.PA [PW] < CT. Reflexes of the variant བག་ RMAG.PA are also attested (Am, Tö, Dz). In Dzongkha, this word is spelt རལག་ RMAG 'army, sentinel, guard' and thus that the son-in-law is considered 'protection for his new family'. The term བག་ BAG.PA is often used as well to designate the 'bridegroom' or 'husband' who lives with his wife's family. བག་ BAG.PA (Ba) is also attested. See MARRY.

118. BRIDEGROOM: see SON-IN-LAW.

119. GRANDSON སྐར་ TSHABO [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 བོ་ན་ TSHA (Sh) < Nep., བོ་ན་ སུན་ཙེ་ SUN.TSE (SKh) < Chin. བོ་ན་ སུན་ སུན་ SUN.SUN (SKh) < Chin. བོ་ན་ སུན་. Even in such cases, བོ་ན་ TSHA 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 ལུའི་ལུ་ BU.BU 'son's son' or ལུ་མོའི་ ལུ་ BU.BU 'daughter's son'.

120. GRANDDAUGHTER བོ་ན་ TSHA [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 བོ་ན་ MING.SRING (Kh, La) or its archaic variant བོ་ན་ MING.SRING (Kh, Am, E) < CT (see below) (younger) brother and 'younger sister'. A frequent root བོ་ན་ SPUN < CT often designates 'siblings', but also more generally 'kinsfolk' and 'relatives': བོ་ན་ སུན་ SPUN (Am), བོ་ན་ སུན་ KYAG (Ü, Ts), བོ་ན་ SPUN.ZLA (La), བོ་ན་ སུན་ MCHED (Am). The word བོ་ན་ SHA.NYE (Kh, Am) < CT བོ་ན་ 'flesh' and བོ་ན་ 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 བོ་ན་ ACHO [FFW] (La, Lho, Sp, Cho, etc.) or the variant བོ་ན་ CHO.CHO.ČO/ČO (U) < CT respectively བོ་ན་ AJO and བོ་ན་ AJO. There are some limited variations in the pronunciation, such as བོ་ན་ ACU (Lho). In CT, བོ་ན་ GENC.PO is also used. Other words are attested. The main terms are: བོ་ན་ SHA.NYE/Šanye/ (Kh; Derge, etc.), བོ་ན་ KAKA (Bal, Pur), བོ་ན་ PAGA (Am: Sogwo), བོ་ན་ PARGA (Am: Chabcha), བོ་ན་ PABA (Am), བོ་ན་ PABU (Hor), བོ་ན་ PADA (Yol), བོ་ན་ PHUR.GAN (Am, Hor) < CT བོ་ན་ PHU 'elder brother' + RGAN 'old'; བོ་ན་ MYENG.PO /MYENGO/ (Kh), བོ་ན་ 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: ཐུ་རྒན་ PHUR.GAN vs. མི་ལ་ ZAPA (Am: Themchen), ཐུ་རྒན་ PHUR.GAN vs. མི་ལ་ MYING.RGAN (Am: Tsigorthang). See Section 11.5 for details.

124. ELDER SISTER བླུ་ཆེ་ A.CHE [PW] < CT. There are some variations in the pronunciation of this, such as ཐུ་རྒན་ PHUR.GAN /'ahe/ (Cho), མྱིང་རྒན་ MYING.RGAN /'ača/ (U, Ts). In CT, ཅེན་མོ GCHEN.MO is also used. A few other terms are attested: མི་ལ་ SRING.MO /sengmo/ (Kh) and མི་ལ་ SRING.RGAN.MA /gangganna/ (Am), མི་ལ་ SPUN.YAMA /pinyama/ (Kh). A few dialects make a distinction between 'elder sister (word used by a male speaker)' and 'elder sister (word used by a female speaker)', respectively: མི་ལ་ SRING.RGAN.MA vs. བླུ་ཆེ་ A.CHE (Am: Tsigorthang). See Section 11.5 for details.

125. YOUNGER BROTHER Many dialects (Ba, Pur, Am, Hor, etc.) make a distinction between a) 'younger brother (word used by a male speaker)' and b) 'younger brother (word used by a female speaker)'. For a), the root སྲི གོ་ PHO.NO (Ba), སྲི གོ་ NO.NO /'nono/ (Pur, La, Sp, Yol, etc.), སྲི གོ་ N'U (Am), སྲི གོ་ MICHUNG (Hor). For b), the root སྲི MING and its archaic variant སྲི MYING are frequently attested: སྲི MING.MO (Ba, Pur), སྲི MING.BO /nyangwo/ (Am), སྲི MING.MO (Kh: Derge), སྲི PHAMING (Lho). Other words are also found: སྲི གོ་ SPUN.CHUNG.BA, སྲི གོ་ CHUNG.BA (Am), སྲི གོ་ 'under'. In CT, སྲི གོ་ 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 སྲི SRING.MO [FFR] < CT is frequently attested (Ba, Pur, La, Am, Kh, etc.), སྲི SRING.MO /'p'usim/ (Lho) < སྲི SRING.MO. For b), the word སྲི NO.MO frequently occurs: སྲི NO.MO [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Sp, La) or སྲི NO.MO (Am, Cho), སྲི NUM
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(Lho) < CT लो MO. In CT, लू छु GCUNG.MO is also used. Other words are attested, such as लू छु SPUN.YAMA (Kh), लू स्कु SPUN.YA (Hor), लू छु ‘OG.MA (U) < CT 'OG. 'under'. In CT, लू छु 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. लू AKHU is widely used as an address term for an unfamiliar older male person; in some dialects (such as Minyak Rabgang), लू AZHANG is used. See PATERNAL UNCLE and MATERNAL UNCLE.

128. UNCLE (PATERNAL) लू AKHU [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. In Amdo, the term लू AKHU also refers to monks. Some very few dialects use a different root, such as लू ARGAN lit. ‘elder’ in Kongpo. Some dialects (e.g. Am: Sog) make no difference between paternal and maternal uncles, using only लू AZHANG; 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: लू TA CHO.GO (Ba, Pur) and लू APA.CHEN.MO (Sham, LJ, etc.) or simply लू APA (Sham) refer to the ‘big father’ whereas लू APANG.CUNG.TSE (Ba, Pur), लू TSE.TSE (Pur), and लू 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 लू CA/छा/ is used by Ladakhi Muslims.

129. UNCLE (MATERNAL) लू AZHANG [PR] < CT. लू AZHANG, लू ZHANG.PO, लू छु ZHANG.ZHANG. In Purik, लू छु ZHANG.CHO.GO ‘big azhang’ (Pur) for ‘mother’s elder brother’ and लू छु ZHANG.CUNG.TSE for ‘mother’s younger brother’. Note that in Ladakh, the term लू AZHANG is a term of address for monks. In some Kham dialects, लू /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: ཅན་པེ་ བོད, བོད་པེ་ བོས་ཐེ, བོས་ཐེ་ བོད་པེ་, 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) √ བོད NE PR CT ཅན་པེ་ /ani/ (ǚ, Am, Yol), བོད་པེ་ བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད Bolton

132. AUNT (MATERNAL) √ བོད SRU FFR CT ཅན་པེ་ /ani/ (ǚ, Am, Yol), བོད་པེ་ བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད བོད Bolton

In some dialects (Minyak Rabgang), ཅན་པེ་ /ani/ (Th, Am) < CT ‘grandmother’ or ཅན་པེ་ བོད བོད Bolton

Other roots are other found: ཅན་པེ་ བོད བོད Bolton

In a number of languages, compound words meaning ‘small mother’ are attested: ཅན་པེ་ བོད Bolton

In some languages of Southern Kham. In a number of languages, compound words meaning ‘small mother’ are attested: ཅན་པེ་ བོད Bolton
**CUNG.TSE** (Ba), **ZAMA TSE** (Pur). In most cases, this refers only to the mother’s younger sister; the words, **ACHEN** (Sp, Tö), **ZAMO CHO.GO** (Ba, Pur) and **ZAMO 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** མཁྱིམ་ཚང་ **KHYIM.TSHANG** [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. ‘house nest’. The variant མཁྱིམ་ཁ མཁྱིམ་ཁ མཁྱིམ་ཁ མཁྱིམ་ཁ is also attested (Am). Other compound words are also attested: མི་ཚང་ **MI.TSHANG** ‘human nest’, གཙུ་ཚང་ **GTS.TSHANG** (Am) lit. ‘eating nest’, དུད་ཚང་ **DUD.TSHANG** ‘household, family’ < CT lit. ‘smoke nest’. Another root is also found: བཟའ་ཚང་ **ZA.TSHANG** (Am) lit. ‘food eating (companion)’. The word རྡོ་རྗེ་ **'KHOR.BA** (Am: Sog) ‘family’ < CT ‘circle’ is also used.

136. **RELATIVE/COUSIN** གཉེན་ **GNYEN** [FFR] < CT, ཙུན་ **SPUN**, ཇྱུག་ **SHA.KHYAG** (Am) < CT ‘flesh and blood’.

137. **GROUP OF FAMILIES** ལྷ་སྤུན་ **PHA.SPUN** (La). In Ladakh, the *phaspun* help each other with major social events (birth, wedding, funerals, etc). They share the same *LHA* (deity).

138. **HUSBAND**. Many roots are found for the word ‘husband’ across the languages, all derived from CT roots. The main forms are རྡོ་རྗེ་ **ZLA.BO** (Ü) < CT ‘assistant, cooperator, friend, husband, wife’ and some compound words such as ལྡོ་རྗེ་ **MI.ROGS** (Tö) ‘human companion’, བློ་རྗེས་ **TSHE.ROGS** (Tö) ‘life companion’ (Tö, Kh, Ho); ཁྲུག་རྗེས་ **DUG.ROGS** (Tö) ‘staying companion’. Other words include རྡོ་ **MI** or རྡོ་ **MYT** (Kh, Ho, Am, Pur) < CT ‘person, man’; རྡོ་རྗེས་ **MAG.PA** (Dz, La, Am, Pur) < CT ‘groom’; རྡོ་ **BDAG.PO** < CT ‘master’; རྡོ་/♂u: (Sp)
probably < CT འཁུ ‘paternal uncle’; འཁུ་ KHU ‘paternal uncle’; མོ་ KHU ‘man’; འབྲ རག་ འབྲེག བོ་ RGAD.RGAD ‘old one’, རྒྱུ་ ལྟོ་HO.SKYE ‘male’, བཱི་སྐྱེ SKYE.PA ‘honor’ (Pur). In Purik, འཁུ་ འཁུའ་ KHU.SKYE.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’: བུད་ རྗེ་ BUD.RGED (Yol, etc.), ◊ བུད་ རྗེད་ BUD.RGED (Am, etc.), ◊ མོ་ བུད་ MO.BUD (Lho), ◊ བེར་ རྗེ་ BER.SKYE (Sh), ◊ བེན་ རྗེ BEN.SKYE (Jir), རྒན་ རྗེ་ NAG.RGAD, རྒན་ རྗེ་ CHAGS.RGAD, རྒན་ རྗེ་ DME.RGAD (see WOMAN).

b) One finds རྒྱུ་ རྟའོ་ ZLA.BR or CT ‘companion’, བཟའ་རྟོ་ BZA.ZLA ‘eating companion’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ TSHANG CT ‘eating nest’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ ZANZOS (Ba) ‘eating meal (together)’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ TSHANG CT ‘eating nest’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ ZAMAMO (Am) ‘female + female’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ GNASMO ‘hostess, mistress of the house’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ DUG.ROG (Kh) ‘staying companion’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ TSHE.ROGS (Kh) lit. ‘life companion’

c) རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ ZAYE.RAYE < ZAPHY ‘grandmother’ (Am), རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ ZATE ‘elder sister’ (Ü), རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ ZANE ‘aunt’ (Pur), རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ ZAMS ‘tamsu’ (Dz) < * རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ ZAM SRU.MO lit. ‘mother aunt’, རྒྱུ་ རྟོ་ BURRING/BURRING.BR ‘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 Tibetan areas.

d) ‘The word རྐྱུལ་ རྡོ་ MNA.MA lit. ‘bride’ (La, Za, Dz) or རྡོ་ རྡོ་ BRAG.MA are also used as ‘wife’, རྡོ་ LCAM ‘honorific for ‘wife’ in Ladaks.

e) Finally, age is also at the origin of some words referring to ‘wife’: རྒྱུ་ རྡོ་ RGAN.MO ‘old one’ or རྒྱུ་ རྡོ་ CHUNG.MA ‘small one’ (La, Am, Yol, etc).
The literary word CHUNG.MA, which may also refer to the King’s spouse, is still used in some Ladaks and Amdo dialects.

140. WIDOW (MALE) ྦྱུག་པོ YUG.PO < CT ྦྱུག་ཟ་ YUG.ZA (In Purik /yuksa/ and /yuksam/ means somebody who has never been married), ལྟུག་པོ PHO.RGYANG (Pur).

141. WIDOW (FEMALE) ྦྱུག་མོ YUG.MO < CT ྦྱུག་ཟ་མ་ YUG.ZAMA, ལྟུག་པོཉི་ PHO.RGYANG.MO (Pur).

142. TWINS མཚེ་ MTSHE [PR] < CT མཚེ་མ་ MTSHE.MA; མཚེ་གུ་ MTSHE MA /ts’eki/ (Am); མཚེ་ཕྲུག MTSHE.PHRUG. The term ཆང་ཡ་ TSHANG.YA (Pur, Sham) < CT lit. ‘match, equal in a nest’.

143. ORPHAN དབྱ་ཕྲུག DWA.PHRUG [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT. དོ་ཚེ /totse/ (Pur), ད་ཚེ /tatse/ (La, Sham, Yol).

144. MERCHANT མིག་པ་ TSHONG.PA [PW] < CT lit. ‘seller’ [PW]. Other words are found marginally, such as མིག་དཔོན་ TSHONG.DPON ‘chief of seller’ and མིག་པ་ TSHONG.PA. Other words are also found, such as ཆུབ་ ཆུབ་ ཆུབ་ 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 ཆུ་ ཆུ་ ཆུ་ LHA.RJE [CT lit. ‘divine lord’ is used in Kham and Ladakh. More marginally, one also finds ཆུ་ ཆུ་ ཆུ་ DRUNG.TSHO (Dz),  ཆུ་ ཆུ་ ‘TSHO.BYED (Am) < CT lit. ‘curer’. The English loanword ‘doctor’ is also frequently used in India and Nepal.

146. FARMER མིང་པ་ ZHING.PA [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT མིང་ ZHING ‘field’ with a suffix. Some languages of eastern Tibet use the word ངང་པ་ RONG.PA or ངང་བ་ RONG.BA /rongwa/ (Am, Kh) < CT ངང་ ‘lower valley’, followed by a suffix. Other more marginal terms are also used, including གྲུབ་ གྲུབ་ གྲུབ་ SO.NAM.PA (La) < CT ‘cultivator’, ཆུ་ ཆུ་ ཆུ་ /zamindar/ (Ba) (< Pers.), ཆུ་ ཆུ་ ཆུ་ SA.GYED.PA (Ba, Pur), ཆུ་ ཆུ་ ཆུ་ ZHING.BAD.PA (La). Interestingly, the
word བོད་པ་ ‘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 སྲི་པ་ ‘SLPA’ (< Urd and Pers.) is used in Ladakh. The English loanword ‘military’ is also used in some areas.

148. PASTORALIST/CATTLE BREEDER བྲོག་པ་ ‘BROG’ [PW] < CT ‘pasture’. This is pronounced in various ways: /brokpa/, /d̪ɔkpa/, /’d̪ɔq̪wa/, 0 /’jo:p/, etc. The word བྲོག་པ་ ‘BROG’ designates breeders of animals (yak, dzo, sheep, goats, etc.), who are traditionally nomads. Note that, in Balti and Purik, the word བྲོག་པ་ refers to ‘Broskata-speaking people’ (who speak an Indo-Aryan language) and is not related to pastoralism. Marginally, other words such as གྱི་སྲི་པ་ ‘BYANG.PA’ lit. ‘northern people’ (La), རྒྱ་འབྲོག་པ་ ‘THANG.PA’ (Ba) < CT lit. ‘people (from the high) plains’ are also found. རྒྱ་སྲི་པ་ ‘RE.BO.PA’ (LJ) lit. ‘black tent people’. The word རྒྱ་ ‘RA.RDZI’ < CT lit. ‘goat herder’ is also used in Ladakh.

149. AGROPASTORALIST སྣ་མ་བྲོག་ ‘SAMA.BROG’ [FFW] < CT ‘field and pasture’. Agropastoralists (half-farmers half-pastoralists) are found in most Tibetic areas, but do not have a specific name in most regions outside Tibet, because these regions lack pure pastoralist communities (with some exceptions). In Tibet, there are many other compound words to designate agropastoralists: རོང་མ་བྲོག་ ‘RONG.MA.BROG’ (Am), རོང་འབྲོག་ ‘RONG.MA.RONG’ (Am), ཡུལ་མ་བྲོག་ ‘YUL.MA.BROG’ (Kh), རྒྱ་བྲོག་ ‘BOD.MA.BROG’ (Ts: Nyemo), རོང་བྲོག་ ‘ZHING.MA.BROG’ (Kh, Am), རོང་ ‘ZHING.BROG’ (Kh), རོང་ཕྱེད་ ‘RONG.PHYED’ (Khar), རྒྱ་ཕྱེད་ ‘RA.RDZI.PHYED’ (Khar), རྒྱ་ ‘RA.RDZI’ (Lithang), རོང་ ‘RONG’ (Gyang, Kyi, Ngam, Rong, Panyi, Phyed, Brok, Phyed). The compound words are made up of ‘བྲོག་’ ‘BROG’ ‘pasture’, the negation་ ‘MA’, and various terms designating farmers: CT རོང་ ‘RONG’ lit. ‘lower valleys, gorge’, རོང་ ‘RONG’ lit. ‘cultivated field’, ས་ ‘SA’ lit. ‘village’ and བོད་ ‘BOD’, which here refers to ‘(lower valleys of Central) Tibet’.
150. **SHEPHERD** √ RDZI [PR] < CT 'to watch, to keep'. This is usually followed by a suffix, as in √ RDZLBO, or appears as part of a compound: √ LUG.RDZI 'sheep shepherd', √ RA.RDZI 'goat shepherd', √ NOR.RDZI 'yak shepherd', √ BZHON.PA (La, Pur) lit. milker (male), √ BZHON.MA lit. milker (female).

151. **CARPENTER** √ SHING.BZO [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT 'wood craftsman'. √ SHING.MKHan (Pur, La), lit. 'wood expert'. Sometimes, √ BZO 'craftsman' is used alone.

152. **BLACKSMITH** √ MGAR.BA [PW] < CT. This word is pronounced in various ways: /garba/ (Ba, Pur), /gvara/ (Am), √ MGARWA / 'gara/ (Dz), /gara/ (Ho, Kh), /gara/ (Ü, Ts, Sh, etc.), etc. √ LCAGS.RDUNG MA 'iron beating' and √ LCAGS.BZO 'iron making' are also attested. The Nepali loanword /kami/ is used in Nepal.

153. **CORPSE-CUTTER** √ STOBS.LDAN (Ü, Ts) < CT 'strong one'. The variant √ STOGLS.LDAN and the term √ RO.RGYAB.PA are also attested. Sky burial is only only practiced in some areas of Tibet, and this profession is not found in the southern and western Himalayas or in the Karakoram.

154. **HUNTER** √ RNGON.PA [FFW] (Eastern regions) < CT. This noun is derived from CT √ RNGON 'to hunt' or √ RI.DWAGS RNGON 'to hunt game'. Other words are also attested: √ LING.S.PA (La, Pur), √ KHYI.RABA (To) < CT, a term derived form the noun √ KHYI 'hunting', from √ KHYI 'dog', followed by a nominal suffix; in some Amdo dialects, √ BU’U CHI < Chin is used. Some languages may form the noun 'hunter' with a compound of √ RI.DWAGS 'game animal' followed by a lexical verb or light verb: √ BDA 'follow', √ BTANG LV, √ CHOR 'hunt', √ BSAD 'to kill'. The compound √ SHVA.BDA lit. 'follow-deer' is also attested.

155. **COOK** √ BAYAN or √ MACHEN [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT. √ JAMA (Am) < CT lit. 'tea maker (female)'; √ THAB.TSHANG [Dz], lit. 'kitchen-er' (like French 'cuisinier'), √ ZAMA.LAS.MKHAN, √ ZAN.BZO lit. 'meal maker' (SKh), √ KHAM.JI.SKL.MKHAN 'meal cooker' (La),
156. MUSICIAN རིལ་འོང་ རིལ་CHOL, BA (CT), རིལ་CHABA (CT), རིལ་DBYANGS.BA རིལ་CHABA, MKHAS.BA རིལ་CHABA, MKHAS.BA (Û, Ts). In Ladakh, a caste of itinerant musicians is called སྤེན་ རིང་པུ་ Beda `BEDA.

157. HERO ལྷག་པར་ DPA’BO [PW] < CT. The syllable ལྷག་ DPA’ is found in SKh. Other compounds are also attested, such as ལྷག་པར་ DPA’ RGOOD‘ strong/wild hero’. The compounds ལྷག་པར་ BU.RGOOD' wild boy, strong boy' and ལྷག་པར་ MIY.RGOOD' wild man, strong man' are found. ལྷག་པར་ KHRAM.PA (Pur) is attested.

158. HEROINE ལྷག་པར་ DPA’MO [PW] < CT.

159. TRANSLATOR ཞྭ་བཀུར་ SKAD.SGYUR [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Dz, Sh, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'to change language'. The word ཞྭ་བཀུར་ LO.TSA.BA < Skt. lokaḥvā lit. 'eye of the world', which was used to designate Tibetan translators of canonical texts, is also attested. In Purik, སྤེན་པོི་ SKAD.SHES is found. In the eastern area, a Chinese loan སྤེན་པོི་ /t’ongs/ < Chin. 通事 tongshi ‘translator’ is also used.

160. EXPERT རིལ་འོང་ MHKAS.PA [PW] < CT. རིལ་འོང་ MKHAS.PA /k’aspa/ (La), /k’eba/ (Za), རིལ་འོང་ /k’auma/ (Sh), རིལ་འོང་ MKHAS.PA /k’i’a/ (Dz), རིལ་འོང་ MKHAS.PA /k’i’wa/ (Am). Marginally other words are found: རིལ་འོང་ BYANG.PA (Am) < CT 'to assimilate completely, to know’ and རིལ་འོང་ BYANG, CHUB, PA < CT ‘expert, enlightened’ are also attested. In Purik the form སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་ LAG.SHES (Pur) < CT lit. 'hand knowledge' is found.

161. BEGGAR སྤྱི་ SPRANG [FFR] (Û, Ts, Lho, Sh, etc.) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: སྤྱི་ SPRANG.PO, སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་ SPRANG.PO /perangpo/ (Sh), སྤྱི་ SPRANG.CA /’jangka/ (Dz), སྤྱི་ SPRANG.SLON /’yanglong/ (Lho), སྤྱི་ SPRANG.GO /’ganggo/ (Û). The root སྤྱི་ SPRANG/SLON ‘to beg’ is found in various dialects in forms such as སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་ SLONG.MKHA’N (Ts, Tö) and སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་ SLANG.MKHA’N /itsangk’an/ (Pur, La) < CT lit. 'one who begs', as well as as the compound words སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་ SPRANG,SLONG (Ts, Kh), སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་ LTO,SLONG (Ko), སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་ ZAS,SLONG ‘to beg (for) food’. The word སྤྱི་ SKRUMI < CT སྤྱི་
SKRUMA 'beggar' is used in Kham. In some areas, the word refers to the supposed geographic origin of beggars: KHAMS.PA 'Kham-pa' in Kongpo, RGYASPRANG 'Chinese beggar' in Amdo and AMDOSPANG.GO (U) lit. 'Amdo beggar' in Central Tibet. The word Prénges AROGS (Kh) refers to the greeting 'Hey friend!' used by beggars; AMDO SPANG.GO (U) 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 RKKUN.MA [PW] < CT. Derived from the verb RKKU 'to steal'. RKKUN.PA (U, Ts) is used in many areas. The form RKKUN.PA is attested in Balti and RKKUMEN in Yolmo. In Dzongkha, a word /aw/ derived from AR.PA lit. 'bandit' is used. The compound form AR.JAG is also attested.

163. ROBBER JAG.PA [PW] < CT. Other words are also attested, e.g. RKOG.MKHAN < CT LKO 'do something secretly', PHROG.MI < CT PHROG 'take by force'. KHRAM.PA are also used. Robbery was traditionally practiced in some pastoralist areas of Amdo and Kham.

164. PATIENT NAD.PA [PW] < CT. This is derived from the nominal form NAD of the verb NAM 'to be sick', followed by a suffix PA. It is pronounced[n̥A:] (La, Pur, Am), [n̥A:] (U, Ts), [n̥ep:] (Sh), [n̥ep:] (Dz). In Southern Kham and the Eastern area, words derived from KHAL 'to boil, be sick' are used, e.g. [n̥ep:] KHOL.NAD.

165. FRIEND GROGS.RAGS [FFR] (U, Ts, Lho, Am, Dz, Yol, etc.) < CT related to the verb GROGS 'to accompany'. GROGS (La), GROGS.PA (U), GROGS.KU (Lho); GROGS.MO (U) 'female friend'; RAGS (Kh) and RAGS.KU (Kh) and RAGS.HWA (Am) < CT RAGS; BUTSHA.RAGS 'male friend' (Kh), BUTSHA.RAGS 'female friend' (Kh); CHA.RAGS (Dz). Other words are also attested: SHAG.PO (Khi) < CT 'cell, room' lit. 'room mate'. The CT root MDZA is also attested: [n̥ep:] AMDO.ZLAL MDZA/dalza/ (Sh) < CT ZLA 'companion'+ AMDO.MDZA 'friend';
The words བཟང་ས་ (Am) < CT lit. ‘excellent person’, བཟང་ས་ མ་ or བཟང་ས་ རྒྱན་ས་ lit. ‘excellent person (and) ornament’ are used mainly in Amdo and in various dialects in Sharkhok, Paskyi, Thewo (E). Another term, འགྱོ་ རོགས་ (Am) < CT ‘match’, is also frequent in the western regions. འགྱོ་ རོགས་ (Am) is also attested. འགྱོ་ རོགས་ (Am) and འགྱོ་ རོགས་ (Am) often mean ‘girlfriend’ or ‘boyfriend’. The forms འདཱར་ པ་ and འདཱར་ པ་ are also attested for ‘boyfriend’ and ‘girlfriend’. འདཱར་ པ་ (La, Pur, Sp) is frequent in Western languages. འདཱར་ པ་ is used all over Ladakh.

The word འདཱར་ པ་ (Am) < CT lit. ‘non-loving one’. The loanword འདཱར་ པ་ < Urd. And Pers. is also heard in Ladakh.

In some Amdo dialects, this word is pronounced /jamo/ as opposed to /jowo/ ‘king’.

169. QUEEN བཟང་ས་ རྒྱལ་མོ་ < CT. In some Amdo dialects, this word is pronounced /'jalo/' as opposed to /'jowo/' 'king'.

170. ARISTOCRAT བཟང་ས་ ཕྱུན་ སྐྱུ་ བྱུང་ སྐྱུ་ ང་ < CT.
171. OFFICIAL དྲག་ཤོས་ DRAG.SHOS (Dz) < དྲག་ DRAG ‘powerful’. The Drasho or Dasho, senior officials and aristocrats of the Bhutanese government, wear scarves whose color depends on their rank.

172. REGENT གླིང་ SDE,SRID, སྐྲིད་ RGYAl, TSHAB.

173. ZHABDRUNG ཆབས་དྲིང་ 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, Ù, 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’: མཁན་ KHA, GO, བོད་ KHA, PHRO, In Purik, མཁན་ /sargoro/ (< Pers.) is used.

175. REPRESENTATIVE རྣ་ Tshab [PR] < CT. རྣ་ TSHAB.PO, ཆུས། In Purik, རྣ་ /sargoro/ (< Pers.) is used.

176. VILLAGE LEADER གོ་པ་ GO.PA [PW] < CT. alt.forms གོ་པ་ GO.BA (Am). In Dzongkha གོ་པ་ RGASP ‘ge:p/ lit. ‘elder’ is used for ‘village head’ whereas གོ་ སྒྲོ་ refers to a ‘ military rank’. Some languages also use གོ་པ་ KHRI < CT ‘leader’, lit. ‘ head leading’. མཁན་ Mokhdam < Pers < Arab is used in Balti and Purik. See also CHIEF.

177. TEACHER དགེ་རྒན་ DGE.RGAN [FFW] (Ù, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘ old virtuous (one)’. The honorific form is དགེ་རྒན་ རྒན་ལགས་ RGAN.LAGS. In some dialects, this word is replaced by another compound སློ་བ་དཔོན་ SLAB.DPON ‘master of teachings’ (Dz, La, Sharkhok, Yol, etc.), སློ་པོ་ སློ་བ་མཁན་ SLAB.MKHAN /lsp-k’an/ (Ba, Pur) ‘ one who teaches’. In some Kham dialects, མཁན་ LAO SI, a loanword from the Chinese 老师 laoshi, has been used, whereas in the Himalaya, the Indian སྤྲུན་ guru, the Persian སྤེན། usud and the English སྤེན། teacher and master have sometimes been borrowed. In Sangdam (Myanmar), the word མཁན་ SARA /s’ara/
has been borrowed from Burmese. In Purik མིན་ཤི་ 'teacher' is used for respectful address as རྒན་ལགས་ in Central Tibet.

178. CIVIL SERVANT/GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE ལས་འབྱེད་པ་ [FFW] (U, Ts, Ko, To, Am, Kh, etc.) < CT ལས་ 'work'. 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་ < Hindi–Urdu < Arab.

179. WORKER བཟོ་པ་ [FFW] (U, Ts, Am) < CT བཟོ་ 'make'. Another root བས ལས་ 'work' has produced many words, such as: བས ལས་ 'workman', མཁས་པ་ 'expert', བཟོ་བ་ 'deity maker'. In Ladaks and Purik འབྲིས་པ་ 'deity painter', འཚེམ་ 'to sew'. The loanword རྡ་མེ་ is used in some languages of the southern Himalayas.

180. PAINTER (thangkha painter) སྣང་པ་ [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, To, Ts, U, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, etc.) < CT སྣང་ 'to slaughter' and སྣ་ 'meat'. In some areas, this word may also means 'bloodthirsty' or 'great meat-eater'. In Yunnan, the term གསྦ་ཤུ་ 'pig slaughter' is widespread. རྡ་མེ་ གསྦ་ཤུ་ 'shablas' lit. 'person working with meat', རྡ་མེ་ གསྦ་ཤུ་ 'shablas' lit. 'meat-seller' are also attested.

181. BUTCHER རྡ་པ་ [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, To, Ts, U, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, etc.) < CT རྡ་ 'meat'. In some areas, this word may also means 'bloodthirsty' or 'great meat-eater'. In Yunnan, the term གསྦ་ཤུ་ 'shablas' lit. 'shablas' lit. 'meat-seller' are also attested.

182. LAY PERSON མི་སྐྱ་ [FFW] (U Ts, Am, etc.) < CT མི་ 'black person'. སྐྱ་ 'gray' (La), སྐྱ་ 'gray'.
184. **BLIND PERSON** བིན་པོ་ཞར་བ་ [PW] < CT 'one-eyed, blind in one eye', often used in the compound མིག་ཞར་བ་ MIG ZHAR.BA. In some languages, བིན་པོ་ཞར་ཁོག་ ZHAR.KHOG (Û, La, Am), མིག་ཞར་ལོང་ BA LONG.BA (La, Hor) < CT 'blind' is used together with 'eye': མིག་དཀར་ MYIG.DKAR 'white eye' is also attested in many southern Kham dialects. Also མིག་ཞར་བ་ DMUS.LONG (Am) < CT 'blind'

185. **DEAF PERSON** འོན་པ་ 'FFW (Û, Ts, Kh, Jir, etc.) < CT 'deaf' or its variant འོན་པ་ YON.PA (Hor). In some languages (Kh), it is used with 'ear': འོན་ཞིག་ RNA.ON lit. 'ear deaf' and འོན་ལོང་ RNA.LONG 'ear blind'. The feminine form is also found འོན་མ་ BAN.MA (e.g. Jir). The word འོན་བེན་ BAN.BEN is used in Balti and འོན་ཐུཡ་ འོན་འལྷུད་ /lu:/ (Am), འོན་དྲུན་ /lu:/ (La, Ba) < CT འོན་rgud 'to decline, to be weak' (Norman 2019).

186. **IDIOT/Fool** རྡུགས་པ་ 'FFW (Û, Ts, Kh, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT 'mute, stupid, idiot'. རྡུགས་པ་ GLEN [FFR] < CT 'stupid': རྡུགས་ GLEN.PA 'stupid' GLEN.MA (Kh, Ba, La, etc.), རྡུགས་ /lu:/ (Am), རྡུགས་ KLAD.RDOL lit. 'punctured brain', རྡུགས་ HAN.LDANG (La, Pur, Za).

187. **MADMAN/CRAZY PERSON/LUNATIC** སྨྱོན་པ་ 'FFW (Û, Ts, Kh, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT a nominal form of the verb སྨོན། smoy 'to be crazy'. The words སྨྱོན་མ་ BTSONMA /tsöm/ (Dz). In a few Amdo dialects, alternative words such as སྨྱོན་མ་ KHRIMS.PA (Am: Ng) derived from སྨྱོན་ KHIMS 'law' and སྨྱོན་ /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 བདག་པོ་ BDAG.PO ‘sponsor, benefactor’ < CT lit. ‘donor, sponsor’ is also widespread.

191. **GUEST** ལའོ་བན་ laoban and མ་ལིག་ malik are also used.

192. **TRAVELER** ལག་གཡོག་ laga.g.yog (Pur) is also used.

193. **ANGER** བྱེས་པ་ byes.pa (La, Pur, Ba) is also attested < CT བྱས་པ་ byes.pa. Note that in some dialects in eastern Tibet, this word also means ‘guest’; see GUEST.
compound verb, བཙོག་པ་ཟ་ TSHIG.PA ZA 'to be angry', lit. 'to eat fire'. The verb བཙོག་ bar 'to be angry' < CT 'to burn' is also used in Amdo. In southern Kham, the compound word བཙོག་པ་ཟ་ / TSHIG.PA ZA 'to be angry', lit. 'to eat fire'. The verb བཙོག་ BAR 'to be angry' < CT 'to burn' is also used in Amdo. In southern Kham, the compound word སྙིང་ཁ་ SNYING KHA < CT SNYING 'heart' + KHA 'bitter' is widely used. The word སྙིང་ཁ་ / SNYING KHA 'heart' + KHA 'bitter' is found in Balti and Purik. In the expression / xa ong-nget / 'is getting angry', / xa / is probably derived from CT བཙོག་ KHA (< TIG) / KHA (PO) 'bitter'. Another word སྙིང་དབུགས་ SNYING DBUGS < CT 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 བཙོག་ TSHIG 'to burn', བཙོག་པ་ TSHIG.PA 'to burn (smth. burning), བཙོག་ BAR 'to burn' (fire burning).

195. DISEASE/SICKNESS སྦན་ NAD [FFR] (La, Ba, Lho), སྦན་ NA.TSHA [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, Am) < CT, སྦན་ NAD.TSHAD (Pur) < CT verb སྦན་ NA 'to be ill, sick'. The second syllable སྦན་ TSHA or སྦན་ TSHAD originally means 'heat/hot or burning acute pain'. སྦན་ ZUR.MO (La, Za) is also attested in Western languages. See also 'to be sick' in the verb section.

196. FEVER སྦན་ TSHA, སྦན་ TSHAD.NAD [FFW] (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Dz, Ba, La, Jir, etc.) < CT 'heat, fever'; སྦན་ TSHA (Kh) སྦན་ TSHA.BA (Ü, Yol); སྦན་ TSHAD.BA.

197. COLD/INFLUENZA སྦོས་ CHAM.PA [PW] < CT. སྦོས་ KHYAG < CT 'cold'; སྦོས་ GRANG < CT 'cold'. In Amdo, a compound word is attested སྦོས་ KHYAG. DROS.KHYAG < CT 'warm–cold'. A few compounds are frequently heard. སྦོས་ GOS.CHAM 'epidemic cold', སྦོས་ SNA.CHAM 'nose cold', སྦོས་ RIMS.CHAM 'influenza, flu', སྦོས་ GUL.CHAM 'cold (H)'.

198. HOPE སྒོ་ RE.BA [PW] < CT. སྒོ་ RE.CHIA is found in Lhoke. སྒོ་ སྒོ་ GDYANG (Ba) < CT སྒོ་ GDENG 'trust', སྒོ་ GDYANG.MA (Pur). In the
southern Himalayas (Yol, Jir) the loanword སྐྱེ /as/ is used (from Hindi आशा /asya/).

199. SELF གཉིས /rang/ [PW] < CT. In some Southern Kham dialects, the words གནས /nga/ < CT 'myself', གལས /urang/ < CT 'ourself' and even གནས /nga/ are used for 'self'.

RELIGION and SPIRITUALITY

200. RELIGION གོན /chos/ [PW] < CT. The word གོན /chos/ is used to translate the Sanskrit word 'dharma' but has a more general meaning of 'religion'. It is often followed by འབྲགས /lugs/ 'tradition': གོན་དབྱིངས /chos.lugs/. In some languages (Kh, Jir), the term refers to Buddhist scriptures. In general གོན /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 གོན /chos/ [PW] < CT. This translates the Sanskrit term 'dharma', which is used in a Buddhist context, but the Tibetan word གོན /chos/ has acquired a broader meaning. See RELIGION. In Tibet, since གོན /chos/ is often associated with the Buddhist Dharma, Bönpo followers use བོན /bon/ instead.

202. BUDDHISM གནས་དཔའི་ཆོས་ལུགས /sangs.rgyas.pai.chos.lugs/ [PW] < CT lit. 'Buddhist's religion'. Also གནས་པའི་ཆོས /nga.pai.chos/ < CT lit. 'dharma of insiders', opposed to གནས་པའི་ཆོས /nga.pai.chos/ < CT lit. 'dharma of outsiders' referring to religions other than Buddhism.

203. BÖN RELIGION བོན /bon/ [PW] < CT.

204. ISLAM བཀྲ་ཆེའི་ཆོས་ལུགས /kha che'chos.lugs/ [FFW]

205. CHRISTIANITY རྒྱ་ཤུའི་ཆོས་ལུགས /ye.shu'chos.lugs/ [FFW]

206. HINDUISM རྒྱ་དུའི་ཆོས་ལུགས /rin.du'chos.lugs/ [FFW]

207. DOCTRINE, VIEW གྲངས /lta/ [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, E, Am) < CT གྲང་ /lta/ 'to look at'.

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208. BELIEF (FAITH) བོད་པ་ GDENG.PA [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, E, Am) < CT The word བོད་པ་ GYANGP.A is also found in Kham. See TRUST, དོན་པ་ 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 Bon cultures. It is interesting to note that, in the Shi’ah Muslim community of Baltistan, the words LHA and LHAMO ‘deities’ are sometimes used alongside the term jin, a type of spirit found in the Islamic world. The word དོན་/soda/ ‘Lord, God’, derived from the Persian مَلِک /malk/, is used in Balti and Purik. It appears in some texts such as the Khache Palu, spelt གོ་བྲ་ 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 དཀོན་པོ་ GDON.BDAG.PO ‘Lord of the Sky’ is used to designate God as the ‘creator of the universe’.

210. DEITY (FEMALE)/ GODDESS ལྷ་མོ་ LHAMO [PW] < CT.

211. LOCAL DEITY This concept is found in most Buddhist and Bon communities. The word used is ཡུལ་ལྷ་ YUL.LHA < CT ‘village or place deity’. An alternative word is བཞི་པདག་ BZHI.BDAG < CT ‘lord of the soil’. Another form རྩི་པདག་ RI.BDAG ‘mountain deity’ is also attested; this might have arisen through phonetic confusion with བཞི་པདག་ BZHI.BDAG. Each deity has a LHAMO 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’; གདོན་འདྲེ་ GDON.DRE (Skh) < CT ‘mantra ghost’, སྐྱ་འདྲེ་ SLH.DRE (La); གདུག་འདྲེ་ GDUG.DRE /donq/ (Central) < CT ‘poisonous, malevolent ghost’. ཧཟི་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་པའི་ SRIN.DRE is used in Sherpa (see GHOST).

214. BUDDHA སངས་རྒྱས་ SANGS.RGYAS [PW] < CT. This is a compound of སངས་ SANG ‘awakened’ and རྒྱས་ RGYAS ‘expanded’. A few rare languages use other words instead of སངས་རྒྱས་ SANGS.RGYAS, such as རྭ /Tø/a/ (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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 ལྷ /LHA. < CT ‘deity’ (SKh, E). The word SANGS.RGYAS is no longer used in Bali...
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་ཏེ། BAN.DE is also used; this ultimately comes from the Sanskrit and Pali བདེའེ། vande or bande 'venerable', (lit. 'I praise', an address term for 'monk'). This 'bande' should not to be confused with another loanword བཀྲ་ཤིས། PAN.DI.TA 'Pandit', which means 'expert, scholar'; derived from this in turn is the word བཀྲ་ཤིས། PAN.CHEN 'great pandit', often used in the compound བཀྲ་ཤིས། PAN.CHEN.BLA.MA. In some regions (Ladakh, Nepal, etc.), the word བཀྲ་ཤིས། BLA.MA 'lama' may also convey the meaning of 'monk'. The literary word བཀྲ་ཤིས། DGE.DUN.PA < CT '(person) longing for virtue' may be marginally used in the spoken languages.

221. NUN རྗོ་མོ། JO.MO [PW] < CT 'noblewoman, lady'. In some areas, the compound རྗོ་མོ། DANE.JO.MO 'aunt nun' or simply རྗོ་མོ། DANE 'aunt' (Ü, Ts) is used; རྗོ་མོ། DRE.BTSUN.MA 'reverend lady' is found in Dechen (Kh). In some areas, the term རྗོ་མོ། CHOS.MKHA. 'dākinī' may also be used for 'nun'. རྗོ་མོ། CHOS.MKHA. is the honorific form in Ladakh (Norman 2019).

222. MONASTERY STEWARD, KEY-HOLDER ཞྫོན་གཉེར། DKON.GNYER [PW] < CT. ཞྫོན་གཉེར། DCON.GNYER

223. TANTRIC PRIEST, NGAGPA ནང་གས། 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 ནང་གས་ SNGAGS 'mantra' is cognate with the root NGAG 'speech'. Note that in Balti ནང་གས་ SNGAGS means 'to hypnotize using the voice/sound' (as with snakes). In Amdo, the word for 'tantric priest' is བོད། DPAON 'chief, leader'. The variant རྗེ་དཔོན། DPAON.KHU is also attested. In Yunnan, the term རྗེ་དཔོན། MTSHAMS.PA 'hermit, one on retreat' is found.

224. ASTROLOGER རྡི་ས། RTSIS.PA [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. རྡི་ས། 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** རྒྱུན་པོས་མ་ *MKHA’ GRO MA* or རྒྱུན་པོས་མ། *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 འབྲེས་པ་/APA/ < CT ‘spirit medium’, དཔའ་བོ་/pawo/ < CT ‘hero’, རྣམ་པ་/labön/, རྩ་བབ་/tampa/ < CT ‘story teller’, རྒྱལ་ཏི་/bongthing/ (in Sikkim)

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

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

229. **MULLAH** རྒྱལ་/AHWON /aًxan/ (Ba, Pur, Am) < Pers. اخوِن also borrowed as Chin. 阿訇 abong, مリフォーム /mulvi/ is used by Sunni Muslim.

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

231. **HELL** རྒྱལ་/DMYAL.BA [FFW] (La, Sp, Yol, Ts, Ü, Tö, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /nyalba/, nyala/, etc. The alternative རྒྱལ་/DMYAL.KHAMS < CT ‘hell realm’ is found in Kham. One often finds the expression: རྒྱལ་/TSHADDMYAL. ‘hot hell’ and རྒྱལ་/GRANG.DMYAL. ‘cold hell’. The Arabic word རྒྱལ་/JAH.NAM is used in Purik and Balti.
232. MONASTERY ལྟྭ་དགོན་ [PR] < CT ‘refuge, protection’ and cognate with མགོན་ ‘protector, lord, guardian’. From these roots, we find the derivations ལྟྭ་དགོན་པ་ and ལྟྭ་དགོན་སྡེ།. ལྟྭ་ས་ lit. ‘monk place’ (in Western areas) and ལྟྭ་ཚང་ lit. ‘college’ in Kham are frequently used. Some Kham dialects have འདུ་ཁང་ < CT ‘assembly hall’ instead of ལྟྭ་དགོན་པ་. In some Amdo and Kham areas, the word is also attested མཆོད་ཁང་ lit. ‘unit of solitude’.

233. TEMPLE ལྷ་ཁང་ [PW] < CT lit. ‘deity house’. In several dialects of Kham and Ladakh, ལྟྭ་དགོན་ is also used with the same meaning and ལྷ་ཁང་ refers to the home chapels, also called མཆོད་ཁང་. Other words designating religious buildings may be used instead of temple: e.g. མཁྲིད་ཙོ་ཁང་, བླ་མ་མཚོ་སྐྲ་ཐོད་ ‘Matamsarai, mourning hall’, མཁྲིད་ ‘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.

234. CHAPEL (PRIVATE) མཆོད་ཁང་ [PW] < CT ‘offering room’.

235. MOSQUE ལྷ་ཁང་ མྱ་ཆེ་ [FFW] (U, Ts, Kh, La, etc) < CT ‘Muslim temple’. The word khache is derived from Kashmir ལྷ་ཆེ་ བྱ་ ‘khacheyul’. The Baltis use བྱ་ཁམས་ ‘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 བླ་མ་མྱ་ matamsara ‘Matamsarai, mourning hall’, སྤྲོ་མ་ ‘imambarga or imambara and མཁྲིད་ ‘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 ལྷ་ ‘mani’ [PW] < CT < Skr mani. ‘jewel’. The Avalokiteśvara six-syllable mantra is so popular in Tibetic cultures that it is referred to as just mani. Many objects with the mantra written on them have the term ‘mani’ in their name. These include stone walls (ཐོ་སྐྲ་མ་པོ་ ‘ManiRdo.Bum’), prayer wheels (ཐོ་ ‘Mani’), water powered prayer wheels (མཁྲིད་ ‘Mani Chu.Khor’), དབྱང་ལྷེ་ ‘Blama Mani’ ‘Buddhist storyteller’, see also DRAGONFLY, etc.
237. **PRAYER-WHEEL** མ་ཎི་འཁོར་ལོ MA.NI‘KHO.R.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: བྲངས་PHYUR ‘large prayer wheel’ (lit. ‘conch wheel’), མ་ཎི་ལག་བསྐོར་ MA.NI‘LAG.BSKOR ‘hand-operated prayer wheel’, མ་ཎི་མཐེབ་བསྐོར་ MA.NI‘MTHEB.BSKOR lit. ‘thumb turn’ table-top prayer wheel’.

238. **PRAYER FLAG** དར་ལྕོ་ག་ DAR.LCOG [PW]. Prayer flags are made of white or colored cloths that are said to represent the ‘five elements’. The blue, yellow and white colors correspond to the sky, the earth and the wind. The red and green colors represent fire and water. On each cloth, a prayer is written, which may differ by school. Prayer flags are often attached to small poles on the roof of houses, on temples, on mountain passes, and so on. They are used in both Bön and Buddhism, but are probably of Bön origin. དྲུང་རྟ DAR.RTA [PW] lit. ‘wind horse’ also spelled དྲུང་རྟ་ KLUNG.RTA [PW] lit. ‘river horse’ (alt. དྲུང་དར་ RLUNG.DAR), refers to a particular type of prayer flag which depicts five animals: a horse in the center, and a garuda, a dragon, a tiger and a snow lion in the four cardinal direction. In many cases, only the horse is depicted the names of the four other animals are written in the directions. Wind horses may also be printed on small pieces of paper and thrown to the wind (especially on mountain passes). Wind horses are associated with notions of luck, vital energy and good omens. Other types of prayer flag include དར་ཆེན DAR.CHEN ‘big pole with prayer flag’, དར་གྱི་ལྡ་ལྡི DAR-GLDA.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: /ˈpos/ (Pur, La), /ˈpu/ (Am), /ˈpɔː/ (Ü), /ˈpoː/ (Kh, Ho), /ˈqus/ (Am: Ng), /ˈɾi/ (Am: Dzorge), /ˈɾeː/ (Za). This is also attested in a compound form, སྤོས་དཀར SPOS.DKAR. Other words are found, such as སྤོས་དྨི་ DRIZHM.(Ba), lit. ‘nice smell’, སྤོས་འསྲ་ DRIS.BSANG (Am) lit. ‘excellent smell’, སྤོས་སྲོང་ SPOS SRI BSANG. The term སྨོན་ bsang, which generally means FUMIGATION (see next) is also used in some dialects to mean ‘incense’.

which was used for fumigation and purification by Zoroastrians in Persia (and is still used in modern Iran and Tajikistan). Fumigation rituals are practiced throughout the Tibetic area, even in the Muslim Purik area and even beyond. Fumigation is usually performed with fragrant plants (juniper, rododendron, *khanpa* artemisia, etc.). The combination བསོན་བསངས *bsangs* is also attested in Kham (Lhagang), whereas བསངས་ཤུག་ *bsangs.shug* (La, Pur) is used in Western languages.

241. **STUPA** སྤོས་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 Tibetic 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 Tibetic areas (La, Za): it designates a "stone cairn-like altar for local lha spirits, usu. erected on high places or rooftops" (Norman 2019) It is sometimes ornamented with arrows, cattle horns or prayers flags.

243. **CAIRN** བཙན་རྩེ་ *la.rtes* [PW] < CT. Alt. spellings: བཙན་ཙེ་ *la.btsas*, བཙན་རྩེ *la.rtes*. This refers to the ubiquitous stone cairns found all over the Tibetic area and which are frequent in other mountainous areas of the world. *Lapte* may also be more complex and have a function similar to the Lhatho. In Purik area, they are often called *chörten*. དོ་བོ་ *tho.yor*, དོ་ལོ་ *tho.lo*, and དོ་གོར་ *tho.go* are related to the word དོ་པོ *tho.po* 'pile of stones marking a border or a path'.

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

245. **CYMBALS** སྦུག་ཆལ་ *sbug.chal* or སྦུག་ *sbug* [FFW] 'large cymbals' < CT. An Urdu loanword is used in Balti: བླང་ *cang*.

246. **BELL** དྲིལ་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), ཕིལ་ནོང་ TSIL.DRING (La), བིལ་འབོི་ DRIL.BONG (Pur) and སྐྱི་ཏིི་ GNAM.GTOR (Dz, Lho). In Balti, along with an Urdu borrowing ནང་ཏིི་ GHAN.TI, the word རུ་ལིུ་/zanggul/ is used; this may be derived from ZINGS' copper and 'GUL' 'to move'.

247. **THANGKA མ་ང་* THANG.GA [PW] < CT. The variants མ་ང་* THANG. and མ་ང་* 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 Tibetian areas and beyond in the Tibetosphere.

248. **MASK མི་*’BAG [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. In Dzongkha the form is རི་’BAGP / ’ba:p/. The compounds རི་་’GDONG.BAG lit. 'face mask' and རི་་་ ’BAG.MGO’ mask head' are also attested in Kham, བྲ་་ KHAR.SG < CT. KHAR.SAS, རུ་ལི།/gulum/ (Pur, La).

249. **CEMETERY དུར་་ DUR.KHROD [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. In many areas, thus word designates a 'sky' funeral ground or charnel ground, where the corpse is dismembered and given to vultures. However, in some areas where sky burials are not practiced, དུར་་ DUR.KHROD refers to burial sites. Ladaks, Kham and several other regions (Eastern section) use the term དུར་་ DUR.SA. ཚ་ཐོ་ SPUR.KHANG (La), ཚ་ཐོ་ RO.KHANG (La). In many areas, the དུར་་ 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 བྲ་་་ ”MAZAR.THANG lit. 'cemetery plain' (MAZAR. Pers.+THANG Tibetan) is used in Balti and Purik.

250. **SKY BURIAL ལུ་ཉིན་ BYAGTOR (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT 'destroyed/scattered (by the) birds' is used for 'sky burial'. In Ladakh, རི་ཉིན་ BYAS.BIN (Durbuk) is attested. The orthography རི་ཉིན་ BYA.DU.R lit. 'bird funeral' is also used (Jangbu Dorje Tshering, pers. comm., quoting Dungkar Lobzang Thrinle). In the Ngari area, it is called གྲམ་བརྒྱབ་ GRAM.BRGYAB lit. 'to scatter'. The word རི་ཉིན་ GNAM.GTOR < CT lit. 'sky scattered' is found in Southern Kham.
In most areas, the body is cut into pieces and given to vultures, but in some places it is left to wolves and jackals. Sky burials are only found in certain regions, and cremation and burial are used instead in many Tibetic areas.

251. **TORMA/EFFIGY** མཚོར་མ་ GTORMA [PW] < CT verb མཚོར་ GTOR ‘to destroy’.
Tormas are effigies made of barley dough used in Buddhist and Bonpo rituals. They are destroyed or offered to animals after the ritual. The word is found all over the Tibetic area in Buddhist and Bonpo areas. མཚོར་ ཚགལ GTUGTOR are specific tormas for the lu or ‘water spirits’ (see Lu). In most areas, མཚོར་ ཚགལ DGUGTOR ceremonies involving casting out tormas are practiced.

252. **MANDALA** ཡིག་ལ་འཁོར DKYIL KHOR [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT ‘inner circle’ The sanskrit loanword རྒྱུན་ རྡོ་རྗེ MAN.DAL is also used in the offering ritual of the mandala.

253. **KHATA/CEREMONIAL SCARF** བཏགས་ KHABTAGS [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 བཏགས་ KHABTAGS has been borrowed into Chinese as 哈达 hada (under Mongolian influence), into Russian as шаль (shal), and into some Western languages, such as French or English khata. Other words are found in the Tibetic area, such as ཚུ་རྒྱུད DAR.KHA (Kh) or གྱུར་ KHADAR or simply རྒྱུད DAR (Dz) < CT ‘silk’. རྒྱུད་ མགྲོིལ MGUL.DAR and རྒྱུད་ མཇལ MJAL.DAR are the honorific forms.

254. **CEREMONIAL SHAWL**. In Bhutan, a shawl called བཀར་ནེ་ BKAR.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 གཙན GZAN (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, To, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho). In Ladakh, དྲེན་ TSADAR ‘shawl’/tsadar, tsazar/ < Pers. chador is worn at funerals.

255. **RITUAL** རྡོ་རྗེ 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: རྒྱུད་ RIMGRO, ཤུ་རྒྱུད་ SKU.RIM, རྒྱུད་ རྡོ་རྗེ ZHABS.BRTAN, རྒྱུད་ བཀས་པ་ BSKANG.GSOL ‘mending and petition ritual’.
256. **OFFERINGS** མཆོད་པ་ [PW], a religious offering.

257. **DONATION** རཱིུ་འ [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 རཱི 'donation' < CT ṛbrel 'to link, tie' is used in a lay context to refer to gifts and lists of gift (ṛbrel, thö), 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** ག་ [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 ལྱི་སྒམ་ srung sgam are also attested, e.g. in the Eastern section. In Purik and Baltistan the word ནགུ་ /tawis/ is used to refer to an amulet with verses of the Qur’ān inside it.

259. **TSHETHAR/RELEASING ANIMALS** དེ་ མི་ ས་ [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. This refers to the Buddhist practice of releasing animals to save their lives. The word is widespread in Tibetic areas and even beyond in the Tibetosphere.

260. **MANTRA/INCANTATION** སྔ་གས་ [PR] < CT. This also has the meaning of ‘charm’, ‘spell’. Sometimes the term གཟུངས་སྔ་གས་ 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 སྔ་གས་ sngags is cognate with སྐུ་ ngag ‘speech, word’. In some areas, mani is used as a generic word for mantra.

261. **STATUE** ལྷ་ [PR] < CT ‘body (H)’. This is used alone as ལྷ་ SKU (Dz) and as part of compound word ལྷ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ SKU'BRNYAN lit. ‘similar to the body’, ལྷ་ ལྷ་ SKU'BRNYAN lit. ‘reflection/image of the body’; I.HAS. SKU ལྷ་ lit. ‘divine body’.
262. PRAYER BEADS/MĀLĀ √ གྲེང་ PHRENG [PR] < CT. The root normally appears with suffixes as གྲེང་ PHRENG.BA, གྲེང་ PHRENG.MA or གེང་ 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 ཉུང་་ DRUNG G.YUNG.DRUNG [PW] < CT. The yungdrung or ‘swastika’ (in Sanskrit) is a symbol used in Hinduism, Buddhism, Bön and other traditions such as Jainism. In Tibet, it is the sign of eternity and the main symbol of Bön.

266. VICTORY BANNER རྒྱལ་མཚན་ RGYAL.MTSHAN [FFW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Hor, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT lit. ‘victory-sign’. It is also a frequent personal name for Buddhists and Bönpos. A banner called the འཐ་རས་ THA.RAS is used in Muslim rituals (Pur).

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

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

269. VIRTUE སྐྱེན་ DGE.BA [PW] < CT

270. PATIENCE བསྡོད་པ་ BZOD.PA [PW] < CT. The word is often used in Buddhist teachings, as ‘patience’ is one of the pāramitas (transcendent virtues). In some areas, one encounters other terms such as བསྲན་ BRAN ‘endurance, patience’, or the compounds བསྡོད་ BSOD.BRAN ‘patience’ (Am), སྦུང་ནུས་ SDOG.RUS ‘perseverance, resilience, tolerance of hardship’ and སྦོང་དཔོན་ NGANG.RGYID (Sh)
'patience' < CT རྒྱུད་ སྐྱེད་ NGANG.RGYUD 'nature (of mind)', temperament'.

However, some rural dialects seem to lack this abstract concept.

271. COMPACTION རྒྱུད་ SNYING.RJE [FFW] (Û, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT རྒྱུད་ SNYING 'heart' + སྐྱེད་ RJE 'lord'. This Buddhist notion is one of the pāramitas (transcendent virtues). However, some rural dialects do not use this concept. The word རྒྱུད་ 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 སྙིང་ RJE + རྗེ SNYING.RJE 'heart' + རྗེ RJE 'lord'. This Buddhist notion is one of the pāramitas 'transcendent virtues'. However, some rural dialects do not use this concept.

272. FAULT རྨོ་ SKYON [PR] < CT. རྨོ་ SKYON in Sherpa. Also found with a suffix རྨོ་ CHA. Other words are marginally found: སྡོད་ ZHAD (Am) < CT 'stain'; the variant སྡོད་ ZHAN is also attested.

273. SIN སྡི་པ་ SDIG.PA [PW] < CT. The word is cognate with སྡི་པ་ RWA.TSA 'scorpion' and སྡི་པ་ SRIN 'crab', probably because these are perceived as negative creatures. In Ladakh, སྨེས་ NYES.PA (Pur, La) < CT 'sin'.

274. GRADE རིམ་ RIM [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix as རིམ་ RIM.PA. This is a rather literary word that is used in a religious context. A few compounds are attested: རིམ་ RANG.RIM 'terrace', སྲལ་ RAL.RIM 'rank', སྨན་ RAS.RIM 'step of a staircase, ladder'; སྐོར་ THEM.PA (Pur) 'threshold' is also attested.

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

276. NÁGA/ LU ཕྱུ་ KLU [PW] < CT. Nágas are the serpent spirits of the Hindu and Buddhist traditions that live beneath the surface of the earth or in the water. They are known as lu in the Tibetan 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 མོ་ KLU MO. In Old Tibetan, it is written as མོ་ KLUU.

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277. WORLD ཤབ་སྦྱོང་ 'DZAM.BUGLING [PW] < CT, ཤབ་ 'DZAM.BU < Skt. jambudvipah, 'Rose Apple Continent' + གླིང་ GLING 'island' < CT, a continent described in Hindu and Buddhist cosmology. Thus ཤབ་སྦྱོང་ 'DZAM.BUGLING and its shorter variant ཤབ་ 'DZAM.GLING are Sanskrit–Tibetan compounds. Another frequent word is བཀྲིོལ་ 'JIG.RTEN (La, Ù, Ts, etc.) lit. 'basis (RTEN) of destruction (JIG)' which reflects the Buddhist notion of impermanence. Balti and Purik use སྤྱིར་ 'MLUL lit. 'people's place' and Ladaks employs བཀྲིོལ་ བོད་ 'SRID/git/ 'mundane world' < CT lit. 'potential world'.

278. SKY ལྷོན་ 'GNAM [PR] < CT. A compound word ལྷོན་མཁའ་ 'NAM.MKHA' < CT lit. 'sky-space' is widespread (La, Ù, Ts, Kh). In Sharkho and Khöpokhok (E), the sky is called ལྷོན་མཁའ་ 'GNAM.SNGO.PO lit. 'blue sky', ལྷོན་ 'GNAM.GO lit. 'sky above'. སྒྲུབ་ 'DGUNG' up above, sky' is also used in Amdo.

279. SUN �🔶 'NYI [PR] < CT. The root is sometimes used without a suffix in compound words such as ལྷོན་འབྲལ་ 'NYI.ZLA 'sun and moon' (lit. NYI 'sun' + ZLA 'moon'), otherwise, it is normally followed by the suffix རི་ 'NYIMA. In Khöpokhok and Baima, ལྷོན་ 'NLBA/nu/ is used, but this is not a reflex of the CT word. In some dialects in Southern Kham (Gyalthang), ལྷོན་ 'GNAM.LHA (lit. sky-deity) and སྦྱོད་ '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 ལྷོན་མདངས་ MDANGS is used in Dzongkha, derived from CT 'brightness'. ལྷོན་ 'DKAR (E) and DKAR.MDANGS ལྷོན་མདངས་ 'CT 'white radiance'. Balti people use both འོད་ 'OD and the Arabic loanword ལྷོན་ 'NUR. In Ladakh, འོད་ 'OD also means 'electricity'. Jirel has ལྷོན་ 'RNAM.DAG < ? CT 'pure'.
281. **MOON** བཟླ་ [PR, alt. ལྷ་ SLA < CT. The word for ‘moon’ is identical or similar to ‘month’, as in many languages. The root བཟླ་ ZLA is often followed by a suffix B.A: བཟླ་ལ་ ZLABA. However, some languages have compound words (CT, Kh, To, southern Himalayas), such as བཟླ་ལ་ བེདཔ་ ZLADKARMO or བཟླ་ལ་ བེན་པ་ ZLADKAR ‘white moon’, བཟླ་ལ་ བེན་པ་ ZLASHEL ‘moon crystal’ (Ko). བཟླ་ལ་ DUNGZLA ‘conch moon’ (Am). The word for ‘moon’ is identical or similar to ‘month’, as in many languages.

3. The root བཟླ་ ZLA is often followed by a suffix BA: བཟླ་བ་ ZLABA. However, some languages have compound words (CT, Kh, To, southern Himalayas), such as བཟླ་དཀར་མོ་ ZLA DKAR MO or བཟླ་དཀར་ ZLA DKAR ‘white moon’, བཟླ་ཤེལ་ ZLA SHEL ‘moon crystal’ (Ko), བཟླ་དཀར་ རྱོ་ རྱོ་ ZLA DKAR ‘conch moon’ (Am). The Melung dialect (Kh) uses བཟླ་དཀར་ རྱོ་ རྱོ་ /n lɛːgɛːmɔ/ which may also be derived from ZLA DKAR MO; in Balti and Purik, the word བཟླ་དཀར་ རྱོ་ རྱོ་ ZLA DKAR ‘light’ [of the] moon; in Ladaks and Zanhar, the moon is called བཟླ་ཀྱི་ ར་ རྱོ་ ZLA KYIR MO or བཟླ་ཀྱི་ ZLA KYIR ‘round moon’. In Sherpa and Yolmo, the first element of the compound བཟླ་ ར་ རྱོ་ རྱོ་ ZLA YUMA’ mother (H) moon’ is used. In Yolmo, བཟླ་ལ་ ZLA LA /aw dawa/ is derived from ZLA OD ‘light’ [of the] moon; in Ladaks and Zanhar, the moon is called བཟླ་ཁྱུ་ ར་ རྱོ་ ZLA KHU SLA MO lit. ‘uncle moon’. In Myigzur, བཟླ་ཁྱུ་ ZLA /æn da/ < CT ‘aunt moon’ is used. In Yolmo, བཟླ་ཁྱུ་ ZLA YUM lit. ‘mother (H) moon’ is used. བཟླ་ཅོ་ལོ་ ར་ རྱོ་ ZLA ‘elder brother moon’ (< OT བཟླ་ཅོ་ ZLA ‘elder brother’ + ར་ རྱོ་ (south) SLA.BA) ‘moon’) is used in Cho'anga. 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** སྐར་ [PW] < CT. It is pronounced in various ways: སྐར་ ‚ skarma/ (La, Ba, Pur), /‘karma/ (Am), /‘karma/ (Ú, Ts, Tö, NKh), སྐར་ ‚ skarm/ ‘karm/ (Dz). In the Daan dialect (Kh), ‘star’ is /’gu ma/. In many languages and dialects, སྐར་ ར་ རྱོ་ SPARMILA’ < CT ‘star+arrow’ is used for ‘shooting star’.

283. **WEATHER** གནམ་ /GNAM.GSHIS [FFW] (Ú, Ts) < CT GNAM ‘sky’ + GSHIS ‘temperament’. Other compounds are also found e.g., གནམ་ གཉོ་ GNAM.NGO (Am) lit. ‘face of the sky, temper of the sky’. The compound word གནམ་ བཟླ་ GNAMLAA (La, Za), གནམ་ བཟླ་ GNAMZLA /namza/ (Pur) < lit. ‘sky month’ is used and these words are also used for ‘season’. Some southern Kham and Estern dialects have གནམ་ /yi: / < ? CT གནམ་ YID ‘mind’; this etymology is possible since, in the

Tibetan tradition, the sky and the mind are frequently associated; however, the words ཡུག་ YUG and ཡུག་ཁ་ YUG.KHA from Amdo could be the origin: their etymology means ‘roll of cloth’, but they are also used for ‘horizon’ and appear in the word མི་ཁྲོར་ YUG.KHA ‘environment’. The word མི་ KHAD < CT ‘distance, time, surface’ is also used in Amdo for ‘weather’, e.g. རེད་ 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 ཞྲིན་ SPRIN [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Ho, Kh, E, Am) < CT ‘cloud’. In some languages, this is following by the suffix pa: ཞྲིན་པ་ SPRIN.PA. The most archaic pronunciation /sprin/ is found in Purik. Two other terms are found: རུལ་ MUN.PA (Ba) < CT ‘darkness’, རུལ་ནག་ MUN.NAG (Kh: Yunnan) < CT ‘darkness’, རྒྱན་ MAMUN < CT ‘fog’ (La); རྒྱན་སྨུག་ NAG.MUG (Dz) is a compound of རྒྱན་ sra ‘hard’ and སྨུག་ MUG ‘fog’. The word རྒྱན་པའི་ 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: ཞྲིན་པ་ SPRIN.DKAR, but in Yunnan (Kh) they are associated with black color, as in རུལ་ནག་ MUN.NAG (Byagzhol). There can also be associations with red: ཞྲིན་པ་ SPRIN.DMAR ‘red cloud’ (Pur). The compound རུལ་ནག་ MUG.NAG is also attested.

285. FOG སྨུག་པ་ SMUG.PA [FFR] (Ü, Ts) < CT or རུལ་ནག་ SMUG.ZHAG (Am). In some dialects, the word has come to designate low clouds or any type of cloud. The CT word རུལ་ NABUN, སྨུག་ MUN.PA ‘mist, fog’ (Pur), སྨུག་ MAMUN (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་བོས་ (Pur) ‘BRUG.BOS /dprə'boː/ ‘the dragon has made a sound’
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(Am): རྣམ་གྲགས་'SKAM.GLOG' (La) 'dry lightning', རྣམ་འགུལ་'GNAM.GUL' < CT lit. 'sky move' refers to 'thunder in a clear sky'. In Hor dialect, this phenomenon is referred to as རྣམ་གློག་'GNAM.GLOG' 'dry lightning'. A few dialects use the same word as lightning (see below).

287. LIGHTNING ཚོག་'THOG' [FFW] (U, Ts, etc.) < CT 'top, roof' and metaphorically 'lightning (from the top)'. It is followed by a verbaliser རྒྱག་'RGYAG' 'to hit'. རྣམ་གློག་'SKAM.GLOG' ཚོག་'THOG' is also used for 'thunder' in some dialects (e.g. Kham). The root རྣམ་'GNAM' (Dz, etc.) < CT 'lightning' is also attested. The expressions རྣམ་གློག་'SKAM.GLOG' (La, Za) 'dry lightning' and རྣམ་པོ་'GNAM.PO' lit. 'red lightning' are frequently used. Both roots are sometimes found in a single dialect and differ subtly: ཚོག་'THOG' implies that the lightning hits the ground whereas རྣམ་'GNAM' is used for lightning in the sky. There is also རྣམ་ཐོགས་'SKAM.LCAGS' 'meteoric iron, the weapon of Indra' (lit. lightning iron'). In some dialects in Kham, there is no difference between 'thunder' and 'lightning', and both are described by either རྣམ་'GNAM' or ཚོག་'THOG'.

288. WIND རླུང་'RLUNG' [FW] < CT 'wind, air'. The term is used alone as རླུང་'RLUNG' (U, Ts, etc.) or with a suffix: རླུང་པོ་'RLUNG.PO', རླུངས་པོ་'RLUNGS.PO' (La), /lufo/ (Kharu), རླུང་བུ་'RLUNG.BU' (Ts) < CT, རླུང་མ་'RLUNG MA' (Lho). In Yunnan the compound རླུང་དམར་'RLUNG.DMAR' < CT 'storm', lit. 'red air' is used. In Purik and Ladaks རླུང་འིར་'RLUNG.DRAG' 'strong wind' is attested. The word རྣམ་པ་'LHAGS.PA' or རྣམ་པ་'LHAGS.BA' [FFW] (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Th, etc.) < CT 'cold or freezing wind' is also frequent. In Cone (E) and Chantsa (Am) རྣམ་པ་'INER.BU' < CT 'cold wind, breeze' is used. ར་རུ་'RARU' is 'wind' or 'whirlwind' in Purik. In Tö, the word ར་རུ་'UR' is derived from a CT ideophone which depicts the sound of the wind. See also AIR.

289. RAIN འབྲུག་པ་'CHAR.PA' [FFW] < CT, alt འབྲུག་བ་'CHAR.BA'. The verb 'to rain' is formed with the noun འབྲུག་པ་'CHAR.PA' followed by various verbalisers such as:
BTANG ‘send’, BABS ‘go down, fall’, ONG ‘come’, BRGYAB ‘hit’. In some eastern languages (Kh, Am), there is no specific noun for ‘rain’. In these cases, GNAM (Kh, Am, Ko) < CT ‘sky’ and CHU (Kh) < CT ‘water’ are used for ‘rain’. The use of GNAM alone can refer to ‘rain’, but only where the context allows this; for example CHAR GNAM. In some dialects in the E section, the word GNAM means ‘rain’ whereas GNAM.SNGON lit. ‘blue sky’ means ‘sky’. In Eastern languages, compound verbs are frequently made of the noun GNAM ‘sky’ followed by the verb BABS ‘go down, fall’: GNAM.BABS (Kh, Am, Ko) lit. ‘the sky is falling’. The verb 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, BAB.ZHOD or CHAR.ZHOD ‘long lasting rain’, CHAR.SHA ‘shower, downpour’, SPRIN.BSIL ‘cool drizzle’.

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

291. RAINBOW LA [FFW] (La, Sp, To, Yol, Dz, Jir, Sh, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The compound LA.TSHON < CT ‘rainbow color’ (E) is attested in some languages, and another form GZHA, also attested in CT, is used in Lhoke, Thewo, Pasky, Khöpokhok and Yunnan Kham. Balti uses GZA. Purik and Zanhar have innovated original words for ‘rainbow’: NYLMA.S CHU.THUNG.MA. /nyimas ėu t’unma/ (Pur) ‘sun-drinking-water’ (this expression is also used in Hor dialects), and GZA.CHU.THUNG (Za) ‘planet-drinking-water’.

292. SNOW KHABA [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, To, Yol, Dz, Jir, Sh, Hor, Kh) < CT, GANGS (Ü, Ts, Kh, etc.) < CT ‘ice’ and the alt. form KHANGS
(Am). The verb 'to snow' is formed by adding a verb བབས་ BABS 'to go down', བཏང་ BTANG 'to send' or རྒྱབ་ RGYAB 'to make, to hit', རེ་ RDEG 'to beat' (Jir) after the noun: མཁ ར་ KHABA, ལྷོས་ GANGS or བུམ། KHANGS. In Babzo (E) and a few Amdo dialects, a uvular form /qʰa/ is attested.

293. **HAIL** མེ་ SER [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: རིན་ SER.BA and usually pronounced /sera/ or /sera/. Marginally, compound words such as སེར་ རྒྱ་ SER.RGABA lit. 'hail water', སེར ལྷོས་ SER.GANGSA < CT lit. 'hail earth'. The root ལྷོས་ THAN means 'bad omen, disaster' is used in various compounds: རྒྱམས་ THAN 'hail', རྒྱུའི་ THAN 'hail ball', རྒྱུའི་ THAN 'large hailstones' are also encountered.

294. **DROUGHT** རེ་ THAN.PA [PW] < CT. རྗེ་མོ་ GNAN.SKAM (Pur, La, SKh) lit. 'dry sky' is used. རྗེ་མོ་ SASKAMS < CT 'dry earth' is found in SKh. རྗེ་ཐོན་ CHUDKON (La) < CT 'water shortage'. The root རེ་ THAN means 'bad omen, disaster' is used in various compounds: རྗེ་ཐོན་ THAN 'drought', lit. 'dry disaster', རྗེ་ཐོན་ 'locust plague'.

295. **EARTHQUAKE** མོ་་ GUL.GUL (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Am) < CT མོ་་ GUL,YOM [FW] (Ú, 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** རོ་ BAMO [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Ú, Ts, Am) < CT 'frost', alt. རོ་ BAB (Am); རོ་ SED (Sh, Ú, Ts) [FFR] < CT 'frost kill' related to རྲེས་ BSAD 'kill'. The form རོ་ BAD found in CT is also attested in Kham, རེའི་ PHID.PO 'frozen' (in Ladakh) < CT རེའི་ PHID 'to freeze' (see Jäschke).

297. **ICE** ལེའི་ KHYAG.PA [FW] < CT. ལེའི་ 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 རྗེ་མོ་ CHAB.ROM (Kh, E) and its overanalyzed form རྗེ་མོ་ CHAB.ROM (Kh), as well as བཞི་ DAR (Yol, Hor, Am, La), are also rather widely used. In Hor Nagchu and Ladakh, བཞི་ DAR refers to the ice formed over a stream or a lake. Other words of unclear origin, such as རྗེ་མོ་ SHIR Nagchu (Hor), and རེ་མོ་ 'GROG' (SKh) are also encountered.
298. GLACIER/SNOWY MOUNTAIN

 Glacier

 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 གངས་རི་ 'GANGS.RI'

 or ice mountain'. In many areas, this word also designates 'glacier'. In some languages, more specific words are used for 'glacier', such as ཁྱག་རོམ་ 'KHYAG.ROM'

 and དབུགས་ 'DBUGS'.

299. CREVASSE

 Crevasse

 or crack'.

300. FIRE

 Fire

 alt. མྱེ 'MYE'

 attested in OT. A 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 མྱེ 'MYE'; 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

 Smoke

 or དྲུ་བ་ 'DU.BA'

 archaic form དུད་པ་ 'DUD.PA', also attested in the western and southern languages (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Jir), whereas the variant དུ་བ་ 'DU.BA', lacking the final consonant of the first syllable, is attested in the central and eastern languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am). A compound དུ་ནག་ 'DU.NAG' is also found. In southern Kham area, a Chinese loan 煙 'yan' is also attested.

302. AIR

 Air

 or དབུགས་ 'DBUGS'

 archaic form དབུགས་ 'DBUGS'

 /tutpa, dutpa/ is generally found in the western and southern languages (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Jir), whereas the variant དབུགས་ 'DBUGS', lacking the final consonant of the first syllable, is attested in the central and eastern languages (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am). A form with a suffixed MA is also encountered: རླུང་མ་ 'RLUNG.MA' (Ko, Lho), རླུངི་ 'RLUNGM' (Dz), རླུངས་ 'RLUNGS' (La) /lungspo/, /lufo/ (Kharu). In Yunnan, བྱི་ 'DBUGS' < CT 'breath' is pronounced /'øn/ (see also BREATH, WIND). དུ་ 'PHU' 'air in something inflated' (like a tire) is quite common (Ü, Ts, La).

303. BREATH

 Breath

 or དབུགས་ 'DBUGS'

 archaic form དབུགས་ 'DBUGS'

 /tutpa, dutpa/ for 'sigh', which is a very conservative reflex of DBUGS. Balti and Purik use the loanword /hish/ or /his/ for 'breath'.

304. STEAM

 Steam

 or དྲུག་ 'DBUGS'

 archaic form དྲུག་ 'DBUGS'

 /tutpa, dutpa/ for 'sigh', which is a very conservative reflex of DBUGS. Balti and Purik use the loanword /hish/ or /his/ for 'breath'.

 or དྲུག་ 'DBUGS'

 archaic form དྲུག་ 'DBUGS'

 /tutpa, dutpa/ for 'sigh', which is a very conservative reflex of DBUGS. Balti and Purik use the loanword /hish/ or /his/ for 'breath'.

 or དྲུག་ 'DBUGS'

 archaic form དྲུག་ 'DBUGS'

 /tutpa, dutpa/ for 'sigh', which is a very conservative reflex of DBUGS. Balti and Purik use the loanword /hish/ or /his/ for 'breath'.
dialects, like mBalhag (Kh), rNgawa (Am) and Purik have a voiceless initial: ལྷངས་པ་ LHANGS.PA. བླ་ཁ་ KHARLANGS (La) is also common.

305. **HOT SPRING** ལྷངས་པ་ CHU.KHOL [FFW] (U, Ts, Kh, La, etc.) < CT ‘hot water’, སྒྲོན་པ་ 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་ GANJS (Sp, Dz) < CT ‘snow, ice’ (Dz), རྱག་ BRAG < CT ‘rock’ (Ba, E), རྒྱུ་ RDZA (Am, E) < CT ‘slate’, སྲི་ 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་ རི་ GO (La, Za).

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

310. **VALLEY** སྲི་ LUNG [PR] < CT. The root སྲི་ LUNG alone is used in a few dialects. The suffixes PA and MA are frequently attested in some languages: སྲི་ LUNG.PA (U), སྲི་ LUNG.PO (Lho), སྲི་ LUNG.MA, སྲི་ LUNG.BA, e.g. སྲི་ LUNG.MI (Dz) [Jum]. Dzongkha also uses another root སྲི་ GSHHONG. The word སྲི་ RONG (Ba) < CT ‘deep valley, gorge’ is widespread. Other words are attested, such as སྲིཞི་ ZHING (E) < CT ‘field’ and སྲིཞི་ KHOG (SouthKh) < CT ‘interior (of the body)’; this last appears in many toponyms related to U-shape glaciar valleys, see Appendix.

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

312. **LOWER PART OF A VALLEY** སྲིཞི་ MDA [FFW] < CT. The compound སྲིཞི་ LUNG.MDO < CT ‘valley confluence’ is used in Amdo.
313. CLIFF གཡང་ G·YANG [FFW] (Ú, Ts) གཡང་ G·YANG.SA. The word གད་པ་ G·PA [FFW] (Kh, La, Pur, Dz) 'sandy cliff' < CT ‘slope’, བྲག་ BRAG [FFR] (Kh, Yol) < CT ‘rock’ is also used. The toponym RONG.M·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: བྲག་པ་ བྲག་ MTHA.MTHA.MTHA.MTHA. ‘If one is not afraid, there is no cliff!’

314. ROCK བྲག་ BRAG [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT and བྱག་ BYAG (Lho) BYAG (De). Some dialects do not distinguish a rock from a stone, thus རྡོ་ RDO ‘stone’ is also used for ‘rock’. That is also the case in some dialects of English. The compound བྲག་རྡོ་ BRAG.RDO < CT ‘small rock’ is also attested. བཀྲུངས། PHO.LONG /p’olong/ (La) < CT བཀྲུངས། PHO.BONG ‘large rock’, བཀྲུངས། PHO.BONG (Pur) is used for ‘large boulder’. In Lhasa, བཀྲུངས། PHO.BONG.KHA designates a very old monastery built on the side of a giant boulder.

315. STONE རྡོ་ RDO [PW] < CT. This is usually pronounced /do/ and is sometimes followed by a suffix: རྡོ་ལོག་ RDO.LOG lit. ‘round stone’ are used in Southern Kham.

316. CAVE མཁག་ PHUG [PR] < CT ‘cave, grotto’, cognate with the verb བིགས་ BIGS ‘to pierce’. It is used alone མཁག་ PHUG (Jir, Sh, Sp) or with suffixes as མཁག་ PHUG.GU (Kyi), མཁག་ PHUG.PA (Kyi, Yol, Kh). In many languages, one finds a compound word derived from བྲག་པུག་ BRAG.PHUG (Ú, Ts, La, Am) < CT ‘rock cave’ or its variants བཀྲུངས། BAG.PHUG (Ko), བཀྲུངས། BYAG.PHUG (Th, Dz), བཀྲུངས། BYAG.KUG /p’yaku/ (Lho). Other compounds are attested in eastern Tibet: བརྒྱ་ བཀྲུངས། BRAH.KUNGS, བཀྲུངས། BAG.KUNGS (E, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT ‘rock, hole’; བཀྲུངས། S.A.PHUG (Am) < CT lit. ‘earth cave’. Finally, the compound བཀྲུངས། PHUG.KUNGS < CT ‘cave hole’ is used in some Kham dialects. The term དོང་ DONG sometimes reduplicated དོང་ DONG.DONG or the compound བཀྲུངས། S.A.DONG ‘earth hole’ are found in Southern Kham. In Baltistan, the word བཀྲུངས། /kor/ (< Dard) is a loanword, but one also hears བཀྲུངས། /baho/ (Pur, Ba),
317. WATER སྐབ་ CHAB [PW] < CT. Languages with an honorific register, often employ སྐབ་ CHAB [PW] 'water (H)' < CT. However, in Ladakh, སྐྱིབས་ SKYIBS [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་ཀླུང་གཙང་པོ་ YAR.KLUN.GTSANG.PO, and now usually designates a large river. The compound གཙང་པོ་ GTSANG.CHU (Dz, Lho) < CT lit. ‘river water’ is also attested in some languages. In many regions (Kh, E, etc.) སྐྱིབས་ SKYIBS [H] (La) < CT ‘beverage (H)’ + ‘water’ is used in the honorific.

319. LAKE གཙང་ལྡིང་ཆུ་ MTSHO.LDING.CHU [PR] < CT. The diminutive forms གཙང་ལྡིང་པུ་ MTSHE.U and གཙང་ལྡིང་པུ་གྲུག་ PHRUG (Am) ‘small lake’ are found. དིང་ཁ། 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 འལ/ in Yolmo or ཕོ་འ་/ in Jirel.

320. SEA/OCEAN གྱི་མཚོ་ RGYA.MTSHO [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT གྱི་ RGYA ‘vast area’ + གཙང་ MTSHO ‘lake’. In some dialects of southern Kham, གཙང་ MTSHO is used, བལྡུམ་ /samantar/ < Urd (Pur).

321. IRRIGATION DITCH གྱུར་ BA.RA [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. The compound གཙང་ལྡེབས་ CHU.RKA lit. ‘water ditch’ is found. Another word is widely attested: རྡུ་གི་ YUR.BA [FFW]. /yurba/ (Pur), /yura/ (La, Za), རྡུ་ /ur.ba/ /uра/ (I.J: Durbuk), གཏུ་ /MA.YUR ‘main irrigation ditch’.

322. WAVE གྱུར་ རྤགས་ CHU.RA.LABS [FFW] (Tö, Yol, Ts, Ú, Dz, Kh, Am) < CT. Various compounds are also attested གཙང་ CHU.RA ‘water wave’, གཙང་ CHU.RA.LABS ‘water wave’, གཙང་ CHUL.BAG (La), གཙང་ CHU.RIM.PA (Sh) lit.
‘water step’, ངུ་མིག CHU:MIG < CT lit. ‘water eye’; CHU:NYER is widespread in the Eastern Section. The origin of the second syllable is not clear.

323. WELL ངུ་དོང CHU:DONG [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Dz) < CT, ངུ་དོང DONG.CHU (Am), ངུ་ཙླུང KHRON.PA [FFW] (U, Ts, Kh) < CT. ངུ་ཙླུང KHRON.BU ‘small well’, CHUMIG ‘spring’ < CT ‘water eye’. CHU:RDZING < CT ‘pool, reservoir’ also used for ‘well’, and CHU:ZING (Za) < CHU:RDZING is also sometimes encountered.

324. SPRING ངུ་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 ངུ་མགོ CHU:MGO (Am, Kh, E) is also attested in Eastern Tibet. The term ངུ་མགོ CHU:MGO (lit. ‘water head’) is attested for ‘source of a river’ and even for ‘spring’. CHU:LDING.KA < CT lit. ‘pond’ is also used. Note that in many regions, the word ངུ་འབོད GRUB.CHU ‘miraculous water’ < CT is attested for ‘sacred spring’.

325. WATERFALL, CASCADE [FFW] ངུ་ཕྱར CHU:PHYAR (Ba, La, Jir, Yol), ངུ་འཆར CHU:CHAR (La, Yol), ངུའི་འཆརར CHU:’CHAR.RA (Jir). The compound ངུ་རགས RAB.CHU alt. ངུ་རགས CHU:RAGS (lit. ‘water dike’) is widespread. ངུ་མེགས CHUSKYOR is also found.

326. DIKE ངུ་དེ་ཕོ BDE.PHOTO < CT. The compound ངུ་དེ་ཕོ CHU:RAGS (lit. ‘water dike’) is widespread. ངུ་སློངས SDINGS.CHU is also found.

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

328. PRAIRIE/PLAIN ངུ་ཐང THANG (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, U, Kh, Am) [FFW] ‘flat prairie, plain, steppe’. ངུ་ཐང THANG.KHA is also attested (Za). In Amdo the word ངུ་ཐང THANG also means ‘floor’. In Sherpa, the word ངུ་སློངས SDINGS.CHU is used and is derived from the root ངུ་སློངས SDINGS’ plateau’; ངུ་བསོལ BDE.PHO < CT ངུ་དེ BDE’ easy (going)’ is also found.
329. GRASSY FIELD, GRASSLAND, MEADOW་རྟོག་SPANG [PW] < CT. The initial consonant cluster of མང་ SPANG is pronounced in many ways: /s/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /sw/, etc. Other words are found, such as རྟོག་ RTSWATHANG lit. 'grass plain', ངོ་ (Ba, Pur) < CT 'clover, lucerne, trefoil'.

330. FIELD་རྩོ་ZHING [PR] < CT. The CT word originally 'region, arable land'. In Ü and Ts, the root is followed by the suffix KHA འོཉ་KHA. The compound རྟོན་ SA ZHING is pronounced in many ways: /sp/, /fs/, /ʃ/, /xw/, etc. Other words are found, such as རྣ་ཐང་ RTSWA.

331. FARMING AREA་རང་SA RONG.SA [FFR] (Am, Kh) < CT 'deep valley, gorge'. Attested forms include RONG.PASA.CHA, འོཉ་KHA. The compound རང་ས་ SA ZHING is also found (Am). SA 'field' < CT lit. 'earth, soil' occurs in the Eastern section. In Southern Kham, འོཉ་KHA CHUZHING CT 'water field' and in Dzongkha: འོཉ་KHA BYAZHING < འོཉ་KHA 'BRAS.ZHING' rice field' used for 'paddy field'.

332. PASTORAL AREA་བྲོག་SA BROG.SA [PR] < CT ब्रोग 'solitude, wilderness' + SA 'place' (Am, Kh); ब्रोग (Pur), ब्रोग (Am, Kh), ब्रोग (Am, Kh); ब्रोग (Am, Kh), ब्रोग (Am, Kh).

333. SAND་བྱེ་མ་BYE MA [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: /pyama/ (Pur), /byanga/ (Ba), /pema/ (La), /'pema/ (Tö, Sh), /'bim/ (Dz), /'shema/ (Am), /'sema/² (Kh), /'tsema/ (Kh, Hor), etc.

334. DUST་ཐལ་THAL [PR] < CT or རྒྱུན་THAL.BA, རྒྱུན་THAL.DKAR (SouthKh) lit. 'white dust' རྒྱུན་THAL.DUM (Ba), 'dust' རྒྱུན་THAL.RSUB (La, Za). Another widespread root is བུ་ RDUL (Am, La) < CT 'dust', 'atom', 'pollen', རྒྱུན་ /'sasup/ (Pur) < རྒྱུན་SATSHUB, See ASHES.

335. ASHES་ཐལ་THAL [PR] < CT or རྒྱུན་THAL.BA (Yol, Kh, Pur, Am). Compound words are also attested: རྒྱུན་ GO.THAL (Ú, Ts, Dz) and the variant རྒྱུན་ GOG.THAL (La, Za), རྒྱུན་ THAL.TSIR (Ba), རྒྱུན་THAL.RTSA (Sh), རྒྱུན་ THAL.DKAR (Kh), and རྒྱུན་ RDO.THAL (Kh).
336. MUD [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Kh, Am) < CT, or the alt. form: བདོད ’DAM’ (CT), བདོད་ ’DAM’ (Pur), གཞན་ ’DAG.PA’ (Yol), བདོད་བ བདོད་’JAM.BA’ (Am) related to བདོད་ ’JAM.MA’ ‘gruel, soup’, ༠་ཀ་ལག་ KALLAG (La, Za).

337. FOREST [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. This word is related to བདོད་ ’NAG’ ‘black’ or ‘dark’. Various compound words are also attested, such as བདོད་ ’NAGS’ (Kh, E, Lho) < CT ‘wood forest’, བདོད་ ’NAGS’ (Ü) < CT ‘mountain forest’ e.g. བདོད་ /na/ / (Sh). The word བདོད་ ’RI’ (Yol, etc.) < CT ‘mountain’ is also sometimes used alone for ‘forest’. Also found are བདོད་ ’NAGS’ (La) < liter. forest + forest’ (NAGS originally meant ‘grouping’ in CT), བདོད་ ’TSHOGS’ < CT ‘set, mass, crowd’ and བདོད་ ’TSHOGS’ GSEB (Nubra); བདོད་ ’RDZA’ NAGS is attested in Southern Kham, བདོད་ ’LCANG’ GSEBS lit. ‘among trees’ in Purik (LCANG means ‘willow’ in CT), ༠ PHAG TSHAL < CT ‘behind grove’ in Amdo. The Hindu–Urdu and Persian loanwords /jangal/ ‘wild forest’ and /bag/ ‘planted forest’ are also heard.

338. GOLD [PW] < CT. In many dialects from the Eastern section, such as Cone and Shkarhok, the word is བདོད་ བདོད་ ‘GSER.NAG’ lit. ‘black gold’.

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

340. COPPER [PW] < CT. This occurs in some dialects with a suffix: བདོད་ mA ZANGS (E). The word བདོད་ ’RAG’ is also used (see below).

341. BRASS [PW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am). The root བདོད་ ’RAG’ is also used alone (La, Am). Both words are also found in CT. In Balti, the word བདོད་ /bramas/ is used.

342. IRON [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: བདོད་ /caks/ (La, Pur), /ca/, /ca/, etc.

343. LEAD (METAL) [PW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Kh, Am). In some dialects (E), the second syllable becomes /ne:/ བདོད་ ZHANE. The word བདོད་ ’RIN.DI’ (La, Pur, Ba), < བདོད་ ’RIL.MIDE’ ‘round bullet’ used in northwestern languages
is related to traditional use of lead for bullets; མདའ་མགོ་ MDA’MGO < CT lit. 'arrow head' is also attested.

344. RUST འ་ རུས་ GTS’ or རུས་ BTS’ [FFW] (Pur, La, Ü, T, Yol, Dz, Kh, Am) < CT, as well as ལུས་ G-LS’ [FFW] (Ba, La, SKh) < CT. The word གཡའ་ ZANG’ (La) < CT 'copper' is also marginally attested.

345. ZI (AGATE) གཟི་ 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 གཟེལ་ SHEL [PR] < CT. The word གཟེལ་རྡོ་ SHEL.RDO is another word found for crystal. See also GLASS.

347. DIAMOND གཟེལ་ཕོ་ལམ་ PHA.LAM [FFW] (Ü, T, Kh) < CT. Compound words are also attested: རྡོ་ཕྱེལ་ RDO.TSHI (Th), རྡོ་རྗེ་ཕོ་ལམ་ RDO.RJE PHA.LAM (Am, Dz, Sh, Lho), རིན་མོ་ཆེ་ RIN.MO CHE (Pur). Diamonds are not known in some languages.

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

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

350. TIBET བོད་ BOD [PW] < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: /bot/ (Pur, Ba), /bot/ (La, Z, Sp), /’p’o/ (Ü, T), /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 སྣ་ལུགས་ LHA.YUL lit. 'the country of the lha (deities)'. It is worth noting the Amdo usages of བོད་པ་ SOD.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 *SPOD because of its pronunciation with preaspiration as /pʰce/ (Serpo), /pʰce/ (Čone).

**SPACE and TIME**

351. **DISTANCE** རྒྱུས་ཐག་ RHGANG.THAG [FFW] < CT The word རྒྱུས་ཐག་ RHGANG.BU is also attested (Yolmo). སྤོད་ NYERING < CT lit. ‘close-far’ is used in some languages for ‘distance’ (note that in some dialects, NYERING means ‘relatives’). The root སྤོད་ THAG < CT ‘woven texture, rope’ (because ropes are used to measure) is also frequently used alone (Kh, Pur). The abstract concept of ‘distance’ is less common that adjectives such as ‘far’ and ‘near’.

352. **DIRECTION** སྤྱོད་ PHYGOS [PW] < CT. Often occurs in the compound སྤྱོད་ KHAPHYOGS. The word སྤྱོད་ NGOS (Pur) < CT ‘side’ is also attested.

353. **EAST** རྒྱང་སྤྱོད་ RHGANG.PHYOGS [PW] < CT ‘east, to rise’. This is often followed by the word PHYGOS ‘direction’ or སྤྱོད་ KHAPHYOGS, རྒྱང་ KHARKHA (Ba), སྤྱོད་ SHARSHA (Pur). Jirel has a loanword: རྒྱང་ རྒྱུས་པ་ 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** སྤྱོད་ NUB [PW] < CT ‘west, to sink’. Often followed by the word PHYGOS ‘direction’ or སྤྱོད་ KHAPHYOGS, སྤྱོད་ NUBKHAR (Ba), སྤྱོད་ /gasnyi/ (Pur) lit. ‘sunset, old sun’. Jirel has a loanword: སྤྱོད་ /pashim/ < Nep. Several places in Kham employ /lɑ/ for ‘west’.

355. **SOUTH** སྤྱོད་ LHO [PW] < CT. Some languages have a loanword. This is the case in Balti and Purik སྤྱོད་ /jaanub/ < Pers. and Jirel སྤྱོད་ /dačin/ < Nep.
356. **NORTH** བྱང་ [PW] < CT. Loanwords are used in some languages on the periphery of the Tibetic area, such as in Balti (Pur) with མོ། /shimaal/ < Pers. and in Jirel with མ། /utar/ < Nep.

357. **MIDDLE, BETWEEN** བར་ [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT ‘in between’. Additionally, ཨ། /dkyil/ ‘center’ is also used in Kham and Eastern languages. The compound བར་ཨ། /bar.dkyil/ (Yol) is also attested. བྱང་ /byang/ < CT 'inside' is used in Dzongkha, and ཡུ་ཏར་ /yutar/ < Nep.

358. **CENTER** ཨ། /dkyil/ [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. Other words are found: བུས་ /bus/ [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Am) < CT; ཡུ་ཏར་ /yutar/ < CT ‘inside’ is also used. ལྟེ་གནས་ /ltesgnas/ < CT ‘main place’ lit. ‘navel place’ is used for ‘central place’.

359. **SIDE** སྣ་ [PW] < CT. The archaic pronunciation /'p'yoks/ (Pur) is attested. Other roots are attested: བྲས་ /bus/ (Sh) < CT; ཡུ་ཏར་ /yutar/ (Sh) lit. ‘outsiders’ (way)’. In some dialects (E, SKh) there is an opposition between the demonstrative forms དུ་ /tshu/ CT < 'hither' and ཆ /de/ < 'that' (medial) or between དུ་ /tshu/ CT < 'hither’ and ཆ /pha/ < ‘that’ (distal), which are used as directional. This new system may have been adopted because ལྟེ་ /ltes/ and སྣ /snyan/ GYAS GYON sound very similar in these dialects. Loanwords are also found, e.g. in Jirel with མ་ /m/ /debre/ < Nep.

360. **LEFT** མ་ /mas/ [PR] < CT ‘left’ derived from the verb མ་ /mas/ ‘deceive’, often with a suffix: མ་ /mas/ GYON.PA.Alternative words are used: མ་ /mas/ GYON.PHOGS (Pur). Some compound words are also used: མ་ /mas/ GYON.PHOGS (Pur). Alternative words are attested: མ་ /mas/ GYAS.GANG lit. ‘bad right’ (E: Th.); མ་ /mas/ PHYLLOGS.PA (Sh) lit. ‘outsiders’ (way)’. In some dialects (E, SKh), there is an opposition between the demonstrative forms དུ་ /tshu/ CT < ‘hither’ and ཆ /de/ < ‘that’ (medial) or between དུ་ /tshu/ CT < 'hither’ and ཆ /pha/ < ‘that’ (distal), which are used as directional.

361. **RIGHT** མ་ /mas/ [PR] < CT Compound and derived words are also attested: མ་ /mas/ GYAS.PA /yaspa/ (Sham), /yafa/ (Za); མ་ /mas/ GYAS.PHOGS. In Thewo, མ་ /mas/ GYAS.BZANG lit. ‘good right’ is used. In Balti and Kham (Chathreng, Gyälthang), a compound མ་ /mas/ DRANG.LAG <
lit. ‘honest hand’ is used. Other words such as ḍrang/ˈtang, trang/ lit. ‘straight’ (Kh, Serpo, Pur), bdan/ˈyan (Yunnan) < ‘true’ and drong.lugs.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'] mdo.sn [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT (related to gdong). ḍrong/ˈtong < CT ‘face’ or ḍrong.kha (Dz, Sh), drung.kha (Lho). A third root is frequently attested in Kham and Amdo: sngon and ḍ nga < CT ‘before’ (normally related to ‘time’, but here used for space) and derived forms such as ḍ nga.sgnun, ḍ nga.sgnun.tsho, ḍ nga.sngo.so. Finally a word ḍrṣib < 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 ḍ rtsa (Ü, Ts, Lho), ḍram (La) < CT ‘cheek’, mtham.ma (La), rdlo.ika (La), ḍtsib.na (Am).

364. BACK ['behind, at the back of'] ḍrga [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Yol, Lho) < CT. Another word ḍltag < CT ‘behind’ is attested: ḍltag.rtsa (Ts), ḍltag.gaa (Am). Marginally other forms are also encountered, such as ḍ gzhug (Am), ḍ mjug (Kh, Za) < CT ‘tail’, and ḍ phyi.sta (Th).

365. OUTSIDE ḍ phyi [PW] < CT. The word is pronounced in many ways: /pʰi/, /pʰi/, /ʃi/, /sʰi/, etc. Many compound words are attested: phylog ‘out side’, phyli.phyogs lit. ‘out direction’, phyli.tsogs.na (Am). ḍ phyli.kha lit. ‘out surface’. The word ḍ phylsta /pʰista/ (Pur) is attested. Some dialects of southern Kham have the form ḍ rgyab < CT ‘behind’.

366. INSIDE ḍ nga [PW] < CT. In Thewo, there is a compound word: ḍ gzhis.nanga /yanā/; ḍ nang.gol.tig (Pur).
367. CORNER བོར་ ZUR [FFW] < CT. A few dialects have reflexes from *གྲུ་ GZUR (Ba), བོ་ ZUR.KHA (Am), དོན་ N.AZUR (Yol). བོ་ GRU (La, Pur) < CT ‘elbow, corner’. In South Kham, the form /tako/ is of unclear origin.

368. SURROUNDINGS རྡོ་རྗེ་ MTHA.SKOR [FFW] (La, Sp, To, Yol, Ts, Ù, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT, རྒྱུར་ N.YE.SKOR [FFW] < CT. རྡོ་རྗེ་ KHAR.KHOR (Pur).

369. BORDER སྟབས་ཐམས་ SAMTSHAMS [FFW] (La, Sp, To, Ts, Ù, Kh, E: Th, Am, Dz) < CT lit. ‘earth limit’. The root སྟབས་ MTSHAMS ‘limit’ is also used alone. The Balti word /χmurdo/ could be derived from རྡོ་རྗེ་ DMOD.RDO ‘swear stone’ (because conflicting parties may swear on border stones or pillars that they will respect a peace treaty). Also found are རྒྱུར་རྒྱུད་ TSHER.RTAGS (Pur) < CT ‘thorn sign’, ‘border’ (between two countries) and རྒྱུར་རྒྱུད་ BAR.RTAGS border (between two fields).

370. ON བོར་ STENG [FFW] (Ù, Ts) < CT. Other frequently attested words for the postposition ‘on’ include བོར་ SGANG (Yol, Ù, Ts, Hor, Am) < CT ‘high place, ridge, hill’; བོར་ KHA (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Dz, Th) < CT ‘mouth, surface’; བོར་ THOG (Th, Ho, Am: Ng, Ù) < CT ‘roof’. More marginally, other forms are also used: བོར་ KLAD (Am) or བོར་ KLAD.KA (Th) < CT ‘above, brain’ and བོར་ GU (Dz) < CT བོར་ ‘GO’head’. བོར་ YAR’up there’ is attested in the eastern section. བོར་ 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 བོར་ YOG [PW] < CT. The variant བོར་ YOG is also widespread (Pur, La, To, Ho, Am: Chabcha). Some other words are marginally attested: བོར་ ZHABS (Kh) < CT ‘foot (H), bottom’, བོར་ ZHOL < CT ‘lower part’, བོར་ GAB (Sp) whose origin is not clear.

372. UPWARDS/UP བོར་ YAR [FFW] (Yol, Ù, Ts, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. The variant བོར་ YAR is also found in Kham. The term བོར་ GYEN [FFW] (Pur, La) or བོར་ GYEN/ken/, /gen/ < CT ‘uphill’ is also frequently attested. བོར་ ‘k’hatot’ is used in Purik. A few languages have other forms: བོར་ KHAR (E) < CT ‘on the
surface, on the top; བཟོང་ལ་ (Sp) < CT ‘superior’. Note that sometimes, the terms དབར་ (Yar) ‘up, upward’ and its opposite རང་ (Mar) ‘down, downward’ have the secondary meanings of ‘in’ and ‘out’ and ‘thither’ and ‘back’ as in དབར་ཕེབས་ ‘come in’, རང་རང་ ‘go there and come back’.

373. DOWNWARDS རང་ (FFW) (Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The term གོང་ (La) < CT ‘down, downward’ is also frequently attested. Other forms are used marginally: དགེས་ (Kh), སིར་ (Phir) (Hor) < CT ‘outside, back, behind, after + dative’. As we have seen above, the word ‘down’ is sometimes interpreted as ‘back’. དབར་ ‘come in’, རང་ རང་ ‘go there and come back’.

374. EDGE བཟོའ་ (PW) < CT. དུང་ (Zur) (Pur, La) may also be used for this meaning.

375. BOTTOM བཟོལ་ (FFW) (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E: Th, Am, Dz) < CT. བཟོལ་ ‘bottom of the hand’ means ‘palm of the hand’. In Kham and Amdo ཐེབས་ (Zhabs) < CT ‘foot (H)’ is used.

376. TIME བཟོ་ (PR) < CT. In some dialects, བཟོ་ (Dus) may be used alone (Am, Dz, Kyi, Ba) but the compound བཟོ་ བཟོ་ (Dus.Tshod) < CT lit. ‘time measure’ is found in nearly all the regions. The root བཟོ་ TSHOD used alone is attested in Drugchu (E). In some Kham varieties and south Himalayan dialects (Yol), བཟོ་ བཟོ་ (Chu.Tshod) < CT ‘water measure, hour, clock’ is used for ‘time’. In the Phuri dialect (Kh), /s’s tseʔ/, whose first syllable is of unclear origin, is used (cf. WATCH). སི་ གྲུ་ WAGS/waqs/ (La, Pur) < Pers. and Arab waqt.

377. HOUR བཟོ་ བཟོ་ (FFW) (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E: Th, Dz) < CT: ‘water measure, hour’. In Amdo and the Eastern Section, the word བཟོ་ བཟོ་ DUS.TSHOD < CT lit. ‘time measure’ is generally used. A few languages have borrowed words such as སྐོར་ (Ghan.Ta/ganpa/ (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Jir, Yol) < Hin., Urd. ‘hour (duration)’ and སྐོར་ སྐོར་ (Ghadji/gadi, gati/ (Ba, Pur, La, etc.) < Hin. Urd. ‘clock’.
378. TODAY མེ་རིང་ **DE.RING** or the variant མེ་རིང་ **D LRING** [PW] < CT. Some dialects have a reflex of a form མེ་རིང་ /ha ri/ (Sh) or མེ་རིང་ **D LRING:** /*pa ri*/ (in Yunnan Kh), /'ha ri/ (Kh: Sangdam).

379. YESTERDAY ཧོ་རྩང་ **K H A.R T S A N G** [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT 'yesterday (morning)'; རྩང་ **K H A.R T S A N G** is pronounced in various ways: རྩང་ /k'a:tsa/ (Dz), རྩང་ /k'asang/ (Ts), རྩང་ /k'as/a/ (Ü), etc. In Melung (Kh), /k'e tsə ma/ is used, while /k'a hma/ is found in Muli (Kh). རྡོ་ **MD A N G** [FFW] (La, Ba, Sp, Tö, Yol, Sh, Jir, E; Drugchu, Lho) < CT 'yesterday (evening)'. In Balti and Purik, རྡོ་ /gunde/ or རྡོ་ /gonde/ < ? **DG O N G**. Sprigg mentions the word རྡོ་ **k'ar c'ak/a/`, which is probably related to ཧོ་ **K H A.R T S A N G**.

380. DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY རྡོ་ **K H A.R T S A N G**.ZHAG [FFW] (Ü, Am, Lj: Durbuk) < CT. རྡོ་ **K H A.R T S A N G .ZHAG** (Ts, Kh) is also attested. རྡོ་ **K H A.R T S A N G .ZHAG**

381. TOMORROW བཞེས་པ་ **N A N G S.P A R** [FFW] (Hor, Kh, Am, Dz, Ko) < CT. The variants བཞེས་པ་ **N A N G S.MO** (Sp, Sham), བཞེས་པ་ **N A N G S.KAR** (Am) and བཞེས་པ་ **N A N G S.KH A** (Am) are also attested. Drugchu /ma ma/ might be derived from བཞེས་པ་ **N A N G S.N A N G S.K A R** [FFW] (Ü, Kh, Am: Ch, Dz) < CT; the shorter form བཞེས་ **S A N G** is also found (Ts). Other words are used more marginally: some forms are derived from བཞེས་པ་ **T H O.R E.N G S** < CT 'dawn': བཞེས་ /THA ra/ (Th), བཞེས་ /THO.KE/ (Sharkhok, La, Ba, Za). Tö dialects have a word derived from CT བཞེས་པ་ **S N G .A D R O** 'morning'. The Sherpa word བཞེས་ /Z A LA/ /sala/ might be derived from བཞེས་ **G Z A** 'planet'. The origins of བཞེས་ /H A S.K E/ /haske/ (Ba), and བཞེས་ /A S.K Y E/ /askye/ (Pur) and བཞེས་ /bela/ (Ba) are unclear.

382. DAY AFTER TOMORROW རྡོ་ **G N A N G S** [PW] < CT. The compound རྡོ་ **G N A N G S.N Y I N** and རྡོ་ **G N A N G S.N Y I N .K A** are also attested. CT and the modern Tibetan languages not only have specific lexical terms for 'day after tomorrow', but also employ རྡོ་ **G Z H E S** [PW] < CT (and the compound རྡོ་ **G Z H E S. N Y I N** for 'three days from today' and རྡོ་ **D G U. N Y I N** for 'four days
from today'. Some languages such as Balti and Purik use, instead of གཞེས GZHES, the variant དོ་ཁེས RDZES, related to CT དོར་ནིས 'after'.

383. **TONIGHT** དོ་དགོང [FFW] (Û, Ts) < CT lit. ‘this evening’. The variants དོ་དགོང DE.DGONG (Am) and ཚེ་དགོང DA.DGONG are also attested. In some Kham dialects, འུ་ནུབ NUB is used. In some languages, there is no specific word: མཚན་ལ་ MTSHAN.LA (Pur) or རྡེ་ཐེག་འི་འདི་རིང་ཕི་ཏོག་ 'today’s evening'.

384. **LAST NIGHT** བདེ་དགོང [FFR] (La, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, etc.) < CT ‘yesterday’, འུ་ནུབ (M) ‘evening night’: བདེ་དགོང MDANG, འུ་ནུབ་མདང་ནུབ་, བདེ་དགོང་ནུབ་ བདེ་དགོང་ནེམ་བི་, བདེ་དགོང་མཚན་, འུ་ནུབ་སོང་ བདེ་དགོང་དེ་མཚན་ལ་. Another root ཞོགས་ ZHOGS < CT 'morning' is essentially found in Central Tibet and many Kham dialects: ཞོགས་པ་ ZHOGS.PA or variants ཞོགས་པ་ ZHOGS.GE (Û), ཞོགས་པ་ ZHOGS.KHA (Kh), ཞོགས་པ་ ZHOGS.DA (Ko). The Balti word རྨོ་ནད་ MYOGS.PA is probably an archaic form of རྨོ་ནད་ ZHOGS.PA. It is interesting to note that in this language, the word ‘morning’ is related to the word རྨོ་ནད་ MYOGS ‘to be the first to arrive, precede in time’ (cf. Sprigg) and is cognate with རྨོ་ནད་ NANGS.PA (Am). Other words
are also found: ◊ དོ་རེ THO.RE (La) < CT ‘dawn’, ◊ གཟའ་ LA GZA.LA (Kh), and ◊ གཟའ་ RA GZA.RA (Am), which may be derived from ◊ གཟའ GZA ‘planet’.

386. NOON སྣོན་ལུ། NYIN.GUNG [PW] < CT lit. ‘middle of the day’ or its variants ❧ སྣོན་ལུ། NYIN.MO/NYIN.ZHU.NG (Kh, Sh) and སྣོན་ལུ། nyitk’ung/PW (Pur). Sometimes it is found in a short form like ❧ སྣོན་ LA GZA (Sp). The word ❧ སྣོན་ GZA ‘planet’. NOON རིན་གུང NYIN.GUNG [PF] < CT lit. ‘middle of the day’ or its variants ❧ རིན་ LA GZA (Am), which may be derived from the CT word ❧ རིན་ GZA ‘planet’.

387. EVENING/AFTERNOON དགོང་ DGONG [FFW] < CT lit. ‘afternoon’, ❧ དགོང་ DGO.Thog [FFW] < CT lit. ‘after’, ❧ དགོང་ DGO [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT ‘evening’. The CT word ❧ སྣོད SROD ‘evening (from dusk)’ is attested in South Kham, but is rather rare. For the compound word with ❧ སྣོད SROD ‘evening’, the following forms are attested: ◊ སྣོད་ལུ། SROD.LU (Am), ◊ སྣོད་ལུ། SROD.GUNG (Kh), ◊ སྣོད་ལུ། SROD.GZHUNG (Kh). Forms derived from ❧ སྣོད་ DGO include ❧ སྣོད་ལུ། DGO.LU (Am), ❧ སྣོད་ལུ། DGO.LU (Ü, Ts), ❧ སྣོད་ལུ། DGO.LU (Dz), ❧ སྣོད་ལུ། DGO.LU (Am), ❧ སྣོད་ལུ། DGO.LU (Am), ❧ སྣོད་ལུ། DGO.LU (Am). In many dialects, the distinction between ‘evening’ and ‘(late) afternoon’ is generally not made. In Yunnan (Kh), /ma k’a/ or ʞa k’a/ is used for ‘time between the evening and the night’. The word སྣོད sro/C’T lit ‘heat’ is used.

388. NIGHT སྣང་ MTSHAN [FFR] < CT. སྣང་ MTSHAN can be used alone (Am: Ng, La, Ba, Ts), but is often followed by a suffix or the adjective ❧ སྣང་ næ DGO.MO/MTSHAN.MO (Sp, Mus, Am), ❧ སྣང་ næ MTSHAN.NAG/MTSHAN.NAG (Ü, Kh, Hor). སྣང་ næ MTSHAN.RING lit. ‘long night’ is also found. Other words are also attested, e.g. སྣང་ BUG (Yol), སྣང་ næ BUG.MO/MTSHAN.MO (Dz, Am) < CT ‘night, evening’ derived from the verb ❧ སྣང་ NUB ‘to sink, to disappear’, ❧ སྣང་ læ DGO.MU (Sh). Marginally attested are compound words such ❧ སྣང་ læ GNAM.NAG (Ts) lit. ‘black sky’ and ❧ སྣང་ læ NUB.MO/MTSHAN.MO (Dz, Am) < CT ‘night, evening’ derived from the verb ❧ སྣང་ NUB ‘to sink, to disappear’, ❧ སྣང་ læ DGO.MU (Sh).
'the rooster called'). In some dialects in South Kham and Zangkar, the word གྱི་དྲོ (see EVENING) /phiro/ (Za) is attested.

389. MIDNIGHT ཀན་ཕྱེད་ NM.PHYED [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, etc.) < CT lit. 'half sky', ཀན་གུང་ NAM.GUNG (Am), ངཚན་ཕྱེད་ MTSHAN.PHYED [FFW] (La, Pur) < CT lit. 'half night', ངན་གུང་ NUB.PHYED (Yol, Jir) < CT lit. 'half night'. The term ངམ་ཚན་ཕྱེད་ MTSHAN.DKYIL (La).

390. NEW MOON, referring to both the lunar phase and the beginning of the lunar calendar. ཀན་གང་ NM.GANG (Ü, Ts) < CT 'full sky', ནུ་མཚན་པ་གཅིག་ TS. PA.GCIG [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'first day (of the lunar calendar)', སྲུག་པ་གཅིག་ BC. PA.GCIG [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'moon of the beginning of the month'.

391. FULL MOON སྲུག་བཀྲིོ་གང་ NYA.GANG [FFW] (Ts, Ü) < CT, སྲུག་པ་བཅོ་ BC. PA.BC. LNGA [FFW] (La, Sp, To, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) lit. 'fifteenth day' (of the lunar calendar). སྲུག་པ་བཅོ་ སྲུག་པ་བཅོ་ /cuzhbzhi gangmi lzo/ (Pur) lit. 'full moon of the fourteenth day (of the lunar calendar)'.

392. ZODIAC མི་ཟླ་འགོའི་ ཞོ་རྟེགས་ L.O. SKOR.BCU.GNYS [PW] < CT 'the twelve years (of) the cycle'. The word for 'animal sign' is ལོ་རྟོགས་ L.O.RTAGS (Ü, Ts, Jir) or ལོ་བ་ L.O.BA. The term ལོ་ཤེན་ L.O.SHAN in South Kham; the term ལོ་རྟོགས་ L.O.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 ལོ་པོལ་ BYI.LO [PW] < CT

394. OX YEAR ལོ་གླང་ GLANGLO [PW] < CT

395. TIGER YEAR ལོ་སྟག་ STAGLO [PW] < CT
396. RABBIT YEAR འོག་ལོ་ YOSLO [PW] < CT. Some dialects lack the form འོག YOS, and use རི་གོང་ RIGONG < རི་བོང་ RLBONG 'hare' instead.

397. DRAGON YEAR རྫུག་པོ་ 'BRUG.PO [PW] < CT

398. SNAKE YEAR སྨུ་ལོ་ SBRULO [PW] < CT

399. HORSE YEAR རྡོ་ལོ་ RTALO [PW] < CT

400. SHEEP YEAR བུད་ལོ་ LUGLO [PW] < CT. In some dialects this is called རལ་ལོ་ RA.LO 'goat year', under the influence of the Chinese name for this year of the cycle.

401. MONKEY YEAR སྤྲེལ་ལོ་ SPRELLO [PW] < CT

402. ROOSTER YEAR བྱུ་ལོ་ BYALO [PW] < CT

403. DOG YEAR མཁྱེན་ལོ་ KHYLLO [PW] < CT

404. PIG YEAR གཟེ་ལོ་ PHALO [PW] < CT

405. MONTH རླ་ ZLA [PR] < CT or its archaic variant རླ་ SLA. These are pronounced in various ways: /za/ (Ba, Pur), /da/ (La), /da/ (Za), /da/ (Ü, Ts, Hor), /do/ (Cho), /dza/ (Am), /dza/ (Kh), ḍa LA /a/ (Sh), ḍa SLA /a/ (E: Th), etc. It is often followed by a suffix: རླ་བ་ ZLAW /daw/ (Dz), ḍa རླི་ /dow/ (Cho).

406. MONTH NAMES (MODERN). The names of the month in Tibetan and most Tibetic areas are: རླ་བ་དང་པོ་ ZLABAPO 'first (lunar) month', རླ་བ་གནོད་པ་ ZLABAGNYIS.PA 'second (lunar) month', རླ་བ་གསུམ་པ་ ZLABAGSUM.PA 'third (lunar) month', རླ་བ་བཞི་པ་ ZLABABZHI.PA 'fourth (lunar) month', རླ་བ་ལྔ་པ་ ZLABALNGAPA 'fifth (lunar) month', རླ་བ་དྲུག་པ་ ZLABARDUG.PA 'sixth (lunar) month', རླ་བ་བདུན་པ་ ZLABABDUN.PA 'first seventh (lunar) month', རླ་བ་དགུ་པ་ ZLABADGUK.PA 'ninth (lunar) month', རླ་བ་ལྔ་གཅིག་པ་ ZLABAGCU.PA 'eleventh (lunar) month', རླ་བ་བཅུ་པ་ ZLABABCUG.PA 'twelfth (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: བཀླ་ཟླ་
MCHU ZLA.BA, DBO ZLA.BA, NAG.PA ZLA.BA, SAGA ZLA.BA, SNRON ZLA.BA, CHU ZLA.BA, GRO.BZHIN ZLA.BA, KHRUMS.STOD ZLA.BA, DBU.GU ZLA.BA, SM.N. ZLA.BA, DBO ZLA.BA, NAG.PA ZLA.BA and RGYAL ZLA.BA. Of these, only Saga Dawa remains widely known, because Vajrayāna Buddhists commemorate the paranirvāna of the Buddha during it. Another traditional way of naming the months was the Hor ‘Mongolian’ calendar (HOR.ZLA), which names month by ordinal numbers: HOR.ZLA DANG.PO, HOR.ZLA GNYIS.PA, HOR.ZLA GSUM.PA and so on. During the Tibetan Empire, the months were often named by seasons: DPYID.ZLA RA.BA ‘first spring month’, DPYID.ZLA BRING.PO ‘middle spring month’, DPYID.ZLA MTHA.CHUNG ‘last spring month’, DBYAR.ZLA RA.BA ‘first summer month’, DBYAR.ZLA BRING.PO ‘middle summer month’, DBYAR.ZLA MTHA.CHUNG ‘last summer month’ and so on. In Kargil and surrounding areas of the Muslim area of Ladakh, specific Tibetic names are traditionally found. These partly reflect the system used during the Tibetan empire and are based on the rhythm of agriculture. The three spring months are GNAL.DROS ‘climate (lit. sky) warms up’, SBYANG.SA lit. ‘preparation (of the field)’, MTHA.CHUNG ‘the last small month (of spring)’. The last of these is close to one used during the Tibetan empire. The three summer months are GNAL.SNGON SA.SNGON lit. ‘blue sky, green (lit. blue) earth’, MEN.TOG.RGYAS.PA lit. ‘blossoming flowers’, 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 /namtros/ or /namros/ as the Persian New Year would lead to two ‘new year months’.
three autumn months are མཚན་ཉིན་མཉམ་ MTSHAN.NYIN MYAM.MA lit. ‘equinox’, དཔུགས་མོ PUGS.MO ‘poksmo (knee)’, གཟུངས་ LAG.ZOD /laksot/ or /laksor/ lit. ‘hand resting’. The three winter months are སྣོན་ LOSAR ‘new year’, ལག་ཟོད་ LAG.ZOD /laksot/ or /laksor/ lit. ‘hand resting’. The three winter months are སྤློ་གསར་ LOSAR ‘new year’, ལོ་མའི MA.NI ‘Mamani’ (name of a dish served during a festival in this month, which is the coldest of the year), ང་ སྤློ་/ts’ungtse ts’es/ (< ? CHUNG.TSE MTSHAMS) ‘the small limit’. Most of these names are no longer known by younger generations.  

408. DATE རྱིན། TSHES [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: རྱིན། TSHES.PA or རྱིན། TSHES.BA (Am). The Urdu word འིག /tarex/ is frequently used in some dialects and is pronounced འིག /tare/. The word འིག /tsiruk/, /tarex/ < rtsi ‘to count’ is used in Purik.  

409. DAY སྤྲུལ། NYIN [FFW] (Sp, To, Ts, Ù, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT ‘sun’. The archaic form སྤྲུལ། NYIN [PW] < CT ‘day’ is also encountered. Another root is attested: བྲུག། ZHAG [FW] (Ba, Pur, La, Kh) < CT ‘a day and a night, a twenty-four hour cycle’. It occurs alone as བྲུག། ZHAG (Ba, Pur, La) or followed by a suffix, as བྲུག་པ། ZHAG.PA (La), བྲུག་པ། ZHAG.PO (Kh, La). The compound བྲུག་ NyilzhaG is attested in Kham.  

410. DAYS OF THE WEEK ཤེག་ GZA [PW] < CT lit. ‘planet, celestial body’. In the various Tibetic languages, the days of the week are traditionally indicated by the Tibetan names of the six planets (Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn) and the sun, on the model of the Indian names of the week, as is also the case in most European languages. The traditional Tibetan names are used not only in Tibet, but also in the Tibetic areas of the southern and western Himalayas (Ladakh, Spiti, Sikkim, Bhutan, etc.). However, in some peripherical areas such as Jirel (Nepal), Baltistan, and Purik, the Tibetan names have been lost and replaced by loanwords from Chinese, Hindi–Urdu, Nepali, Dardic (in Purik), and even English. The Purik names are tsandral, angärn, bôdu, brésput, 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་པོ་ ZLA'BÂ means 'Monday' in Tibetan but 'Tuesday' in Dzongkha, and so on (see the following day-name entries). In the Kham dialect of Myanmar, གཟའ་པོ་ ZLA DANG.PO 'first day', གཟའ་པོས་པ་ ZLA GNYI'S.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་ཟླ་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་ལྷག་པ་ GZA'LHAG.PA.

413. WEDNESDAY གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་ GZA'ZLA.BA [PW] < CT lit. 'Mercury celestial body'. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་ཕུར་བུ་ GZA'PHUR.BU.

414. THURSDAY གཟའ་པ་སངས་ GZA'PA.SANGS [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་མིག་དམར་ GZA'MIG.DMAR.

416. SATURDAY གཟའ་པ་སངས་ GZA'PA.SANGS [PW] < CT lit. 'Saturn celestial body'. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་ GZA'ZLA.BA.

417. SUNDAY གཟའ་པ་སངས་ GZA'PA.SANGS [PW] < CT lit. 'sun celestial body'. In Dzongkha: གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་ GZA'ZLA.BA.

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

419. YEAR གཟའ་ཟླ་ ZLA [PW] < CT. Most languages do not make a distinction between 'year' and 'age'.

420. HUMAN AGE གཟའ་ཟླ་ ZLA [PW] < CT. Some dialects use གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་ ZLA.BA.BA; the honorific form གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་ ZLA.BA.DSHE refers to 'age, (number of) years'. In Purik, age is instead counted in གསུམ་སྐོར་ GSUM.SKOR, which are cycles of twelve years. So གསུམ་སྐོར་ GSUM.SKOR 'three cycles of twelve = thirty-six years old', གསུམ་སྐོར་ GSUM.SKOR 'four cycles of twelve = forty-eight years old', etc.
421. RECENTLY ཉེ་ཆར་ NYE.CHAR [FFW]< CT ཉེ་གུག་ NYE.THUB (La), ཉེ་གུག་ NYE.SNGON (Am).

422. THIS YEAR ཉེ། D.A.LO < CT. In several dialects, ཉེ་ནོ། DO.TSHIG (Am) is used. ཉེ། 'DI, CIG (Sham, Pur), ཉེ་འགོ། DUS.CIG (Dz). Some words with this meaning have unclear origin: /tö/ shi/ (Thewo, E), /to tsi:/ (Khöpokhok, E), /tso ce/ (Rongdrak, Kh), /ta tugu/ (Thoteng, Byagzhol, Qizong, Kh), /ta ci:/ (Yungling, Kh), and /tm ji/ (Budy, Kh).

423. LAST YEAR ཉེ་ཞིན་ ZLAN.YIN (Ü, Ts), ཉེ་ཞིན་ NAHING (Dz), ཉེ་ཞིན་ SNGON,LO lit. 'year before' is also marginally attested.

424. NEXT YEAR ཉེ་ཞིན་ NANGING [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': ཉེ་ཞིན་ SANG,LO, ཉེ་ཞིན་ SANG,PHOD (Am., Kh., Dz, Sherpa), ཉེ་ཞིན་ DUS.SANG (Ü), ཉེ་ཞིན་ SANG,NING (Hor: Nagchu) and related forms such as /s'orti/ (E) and /sdo tce/ (Kh: Chathreng). Other words are also found: ཉེ་ཞིན་ NANGS.MO (La), ཉེ་ཞིན་ NANGS.DKAR ('Tö; 'morning' is often related to 'the next day or a future period'), ཉེ་ཞིན་ LA GZHUG.MA (Am), ཉེ་ཞིན་ LO.RJES.MA (CT), ཉེ་ཞིན་ LO.PHYL.MA (Thewo), ཉེ་ཞིན་ D.A.PHYI lit. 'next year' (Am, Kh). In some dialects of southern Kham, words of unclear origin are used: /p'ara/ (Lithang, Kh.), /p'ar hj/ (sDerong and Gyalthang, Kh), ཉེ་ཞིན་ BYAZER /byazer/ is attested in Purik.

425. IN THE PAST/ANCIENT TIMES ཉེ་ཞིན་ GNA'SNGA.LO [FFW] < CT or the variant ཉེ་ཞིན་ GNA'SNGA.MA, ཉེ་ཞིནཔ་ GNA'DUS.ནུག་ZHAG.ZHIG (Pur), ཉེ་ཞིནཔ་ SNGON,MA.DUS (La).

426. NOW ཉེ་ཞིན་ D.A [PW] < CT. the root ཉེ་ཞིན་ D.A is sometimes used alone (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Kh, E, etc.), but also occurs in compounds: ཉེ་ཞིན་ D.ALTA [FFW] (Ü, Tö, Sh, Am, etc) < CT ཉེ་ཞིན་ D.A 'now' + ཉེ་ཞིན་ LTA 'to look'. The word ཉེ་ཞིན་ D.A.LTA is pronounced variously as /tata/, /tanda/, /taha/, /tala/, /talma/ or ཉེ་ཞིན་ D.A.LTO /d'ato/ (Dz). In Drugchu, ཉེ་ཞིན་ LTA is also used alone. Other words which contain the root D.A such
as /ta se/ are used. ཞ་ེ་ **DARE** /dare/ (Pur), ར་ན་ **DAG.SA** /daksa/ (La). In the Kyiyl dialect (Kh: Pomborgang), ར་ན་ **THANG.THANG** is used.

427. **NOWADAYS** ཞ་ཇམ **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: ཞ་ཇམ རེ་་ _DENG.SANG_ (Ú, Yol) or ཞ་ཇམ རེ་་ _DE.RING.SANG.NYIN_ (CT), ཞ་ཇམ རེ་་ _DE.RING THORENGS_ (E: Th), ཞ་ཇམ རེ་་ _DA.RES NANGS.PA_ (Dz) or ཞ་ཇམ རེ་་ _DENG.SANG.NANG.KA_ (Am), while the latter can be exemplified as ཞ་ཇམ _MDANG DE.RING_ (La, Cho) or ཞ་ཇམ རེ་་ _DE.RING KHA.RTSANG_ (Kh). Other formations are also frequent: ཞ་ཇམ _DA.ZHAG_ ར་ན་ _DO.ZHAG_ (Km), ཞ་ཇམ _DO.TSHIGS_ (Am) and ཞ་ཇམ _NYE.CHAR_ (E) are also used. ཞ་ཇམ རེ་་ _DARE.DUSLA_ (Pur).

428. **BEFORE** ཞ་ /SNGA/ ཞ་ /SNGON [FFW] (La, Pur, Ú, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. This is used as a postposition and a connector. ཞ་ /SNGA/ /nga/ (La), ཞ་ /hunla/ (La) < CT ཞ་ /SNGON; ཞ་ /hema/ < ཞ་ /SNGA (Dz). In some dialects, the words ཞ་ /MDUN_ (Ba) 'in front of', ཞ་ /GO.MA_ (La) and ཞ་ /THOG.MA_ (Yol) are attested.

429. **AFTER** ཞ་ /RJES [FFR] (Ú, Ts, Kh, Dz, Pur) < CT 'trace' and ཞ་ /RTING /ting/ (La) < CT 'heel, end', ཞ་ /RJES_ (Am) < CT 'tail', ཞ་ /RGYAB.NA /rgyapna/ (Pur).

430. **SPRING** ཞ་ /DPLYID [FFR] < CT (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, etc.). The root is pronounced in various ways: /pit/ (Pur, Ba, La), /pit/ (Za), /pi/ (Tô, Sp), /či/ (Ú, Ts), /šit/ (Am), /šil/ (Am), etc. It occurs alone as ཞ་ /DPLYID, but is more often followed by a suffix: ཞ་ /DPLYID.KA_ (Ú, Ts, Tô, Ú, Am). The word ཞ་ /SOS.KA or ཞ་ /SOKHA [FFR] (Am, E: Th, Dz, Sh, Tô) < CT 'early spring' is also widely attested. Some dialects have both ཞ་ /SOS.KA 'early spring' and ཞ་ /DPLYID.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: /byar/ (Pur), /bya/ (Dz), /yar/ (La), /yad/ (Ü, Ts). It occurs alone as དབྱར་ DBYAR (Pur, Ba, La), but is often followed by the suffix KHA: དབྱར་ KHA (Ü, Ts, Yol), དབྱར་ KHA (Lho), དབྱར་ KHA (Sh), དབྱར་ KHA (Kh). Compound words are also attested, such as དབྱར་ KHA (Dbpam). 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 ཁ་ TSHA and བྱག་ KHYAG for the ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ seasons.

432. AUTUMN སྟོན་ STON [PR] < CT. It sometimes occurs alone as སྟོན་ STON (Pur, Ba, La, Sh), but in most dialects the root STON is followed by a suffix: སྟོན་ KHA. It is interesting to note that the root སྟོན་ STON ‘autumn’ is found in several words related to feasts, such as སྟོན་ མོ་ STON.MO ’feast’ and སྟོན་ KHA.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’: སྟོན་ KHA.SOS.KA (E Thewo mā), སྟོན་ KHA.SER.KHA (Dz).

433. WINTER དགུན་ DGUN [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /gun/ (Pur, Ba, La), /gun/ (Am), /gun/ (Za), /gun/ (Sh), /kım/ (Ü, Ts, Dz), etc. It occurs alone as དགུན་ DGUN (Pur, Ba, La, Dz), usually followed by a suffix: དགུན་ KHA (Ü, To), དགུན་ KHA.PO (Ts), དགུན་ KHA.PU (Sh), དགུན་ KHA.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་ཐང་/ser’ang/ or སེར་ KHA ’cold season (dry season?)’ may be related to སྟོན་ KHA.SOS.KA ’early spring’.

434. NEW YEAR ཚོས་ ཞྭ རྣ་ LO.GSAR. alt. ཚོས་ སྲུང་ LO.GSAR [PW] < CT lit. ‘new year’, ཚོས་ སྲུང་ LO.SRUNG (Lho). There are in fact different new year celebrations in different areas: The Kongpo New Year བཀོང་པོ་ ཞྭ རྣ་ 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 གཏྭགས་ ཞྭ རྣ་ LTOGS.SLA.LO.GSAR in Tsang province, དབྱ་མས་ རྣ་ LADWAGS.KYI.LO.GSAR in Ladakh and Sikkimese New Year
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’.NORMAL."BRAS.LJONGS-KYI_LOSRUNG, 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’.NORMAL."BRAS.LJONGS-KYI_LOSRUNG, 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’.

435. FESTIVAL "DUS.CHEN" (FFW) (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word "STON.CHEN" (La) < CT "STON.MO.CHEN.MO" 'great feast, banquet' is also attested (see also AUTUMN). "LTAN.MO" (La) < CT "LTAD.MO" 'show' is also attested.

PLANTS

436. TREE "SDONG" (FFR) (Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT 'trunk' usually followed by a suffix "SDONG.PO, SDONG.BO" (Am, E: Th, Yol). "SDONG.MA" (Hor). The root "SHING" (FFW) (Sh, Dz) < CT 'wood' is also widespread: "SHING" (Dz, Lho), "SHING.SDONG" (Ts, Ü), "SHING.MO" "SHING.PHUNG" (Kh). In some areas such as Ladakh and Minyak Rabgang, the word "LCANG.MA" lit. 'willow' (La, Pur, Kh: Minyak Rabgang), an emblematic and widespread tree, is used to designate all trees. The word "bu"/"/used in Spiti, Garzha, Khunu is of Hindi origin. "LAG.TSHUGS" is used for 'sapling' and recently planted trees (Norman 2019). In some areas, one finds sacred trees called "LHA.SHING" 'divine tree', "LHALCANG" (La) 'divine willow or tree'. The Bodhi tree or 'tree of enlightenment' is called "BYANG.CHUB.SHING".

437. ROOT "RTSAD" or "RTSA" (FFR) (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT. "RTSADA.BA" is widespread. "RTSAD.PA" (Am) and "RTSAR.KYI" (Yol) are also attested. The forms "RTSARA" (Sh, La) and "RATO" (Dz) point to an etymon
The word བཀྲག /patrak/ (La, Ba, Pur) < CT རྗེས་པ་ RGYAS.PA lit. 'growing, increasing' (Kh).

438. LEAF གྲོ /LOMA [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). རྗེས་པ་ LAB.TI (Yol) and བ་ཅེས་ SDB.MA (Ts, Dz) lit. 'petal' are also attested. The latter form might have a variant LDB.MA. Some distinct forms are attested, such as གཙོ་ /nalo/ in Sharkhok (E), /ʔa lɑʔ/ in Gyälthang (Kh), /pu lu/ in sNyingzhong (Kh) and /sh’u ma/ in Khöpokhok (E).

439. FLOWER གྲོ /ME.TOG [PW] < CT or its variant གྲོ /MEN.TOG (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Tö, Yol, Kh: Gyälthang, Sh, Lho, Cho, etc.). In some Kham and Hor dialects, the pronunciation གྲོ /ME.ROG (Kh, Hor) is found. The archaic form གྲོ /MEN.TOG is also attested in ancient documents, for example on the ninth-century stele of Khromchen in Lhartse district in Tö province (See KHAS.GANG BKRAS.HIS TSHE.RING, 2001: 79). In Baltistan, གྲོ /MEN.TOG LTAN.MO (Ba) the 'Flower Festival' is one of the best known festivals.

440. PLANT གྲོ /RTSHING [PW] < CT, གྲོ /RTSWA [PW] < CT.

441. GRASS, SMALL PLANT གྲོ /RTSWA [PW] < CT. The archaic pronunciation with a reflex of the tswar is attested in a few regions: /'tswa/ (Kh: Gyälthang), /'tsa/ (Pur), and /'tsa/ (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 གྲོ /SNGO < CT 'green'.

442. MEDICINAL PLANT གྲོ /RTSWA.SMAN [PW] < CT 'herbal medicine'. The variant གྲོ /SMAN.RTSAW primarily refers to 'medicinal plant' is also attested. Tibetan medicine is largely based upon medicinal plants.

443. LOTUS གྲོ /PAD.MA [PW]. The variant གྲོ /BAD.MA (Am) /warma/ or /wama/ is attested. The word PAD.MA is often preceded or followed by a class term 'flower': གྲོ /ME.TOG.PAD.MA, གྲོ /MEN.TOG.PAD.MA གྲོ /PAD.MAME.TOG.
444. SUNFLOWER སུན་མེ་ཏོག་ NYLAME TOG [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT lit. ‘sun flower’. In Southern Kham, སུན་མེ་ཏོག་ KWAITSE METOG (lit. ‘flower of edible seeds’) is also used (a Sino-Tibetan loanword from 꽃 guazi ‘edible seeds, sunflower seeds’. The word གུན་མེ་ཏོག་ STONGRGYAS /stongrgyas/ is found in Purik. Also found are སུན་མེ་ཏོག་ GANG.LA.NYLSHAR (La) and སུན་མེ་ཏོག་ NYLAMGOGUS (Sham).

445. RHODODENDRON (type of) རྒྱིས་ཤིང་ ZE TO ME TOG (Dz), རིང་ཤིང་ TAR.TOMEN.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 རལ་མེ་ཏོག་ BALU ME TOG ‘type of azalea’, སྟག་མའི་མེ་ཏོག་ STAG.MAI ME TOG ‘type of azalea’, etc.

446. HOLLYHOCK རྒྱ་ལོ་ཤིང་ HA LO ME TOG [FFW] (Ü, Ts, La, Dz). A very common flower in the monastery yard of Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh, etc.

447. WILLOW ལྕང་མ་ LCANG MA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. See TREE. ལྕང་ SDONG (E) lit. ‘willow tree’, རྒྱ་ལྕང་ RGYA.LCANG (Am) lit. ‘chinese willow’, མལ་ལྕང་ MAL.LCANG (Pur), lit. ‘lower place tree’, བྲོག་ལྕང་ BROG.LCANG (Pur) ‘pasture willow’.

448. JUNIPER ཤུག་པ་ SHUG PA [PW] < CT. རྒྱ་ཤུག་ 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 གཞོང་ཤིང་ THANG SHING [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word གཞོང་ SGRON.SHING < CT ‘torch tree’ is also used for ‘pine’ in some varieties in Kham.

450. FIR སྔོམ་ཤིང་ GSOM.SHING [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

451. POPLAR སྨྲ་པ་ SBYAR PA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. The word སྨྲ་ SBYAR is also found in Ladakh.

452. BIRCH ཤུག་ STAG PA [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.

453. OAK སྨྲ་པ་ PER SHING [FFW] (Ü, Kh, Am) < CT.
454. **BAMBOO** སྨྱུག་མ་ (*SMYUGMA*) (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) [FFW] < CT. སྨྱུག་ (Dz), སྨྱུག་ (Cho) lit. ’bow tree’ *HIG.CUM’ type of small bamboo (Dz).

455. **MULBERRY** འོ་སེ (*O.SE*) [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur) < CT.

456. **WALNUT** སྟར་ཁ (Dz), སྟར་ཀ (Cho) lit. ’bow tree’ *HIG.CUM’

457. **PEACH** ཁམ་བུ (*KHAMBU*) [FFW] (To, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, ཁམ་ (Dz), ཁམ་སེར་ (Am) < Chin, *THAO.TSE* < Chin. 桃子 *taozi* is also used.

458. **APRICOT** སྟར་ཏོག་ཁམ་བུ (*MNGARIS KHAMBU*) (Ü, Ts) < CT (lit. ’Ngari peach’), སྟར་ (Am). In Ladakh, བ་ཏི (*PHA.TING*) (La) and བམ་ན སྟར་ཏོག་ (Pur) refer to a variety of good apricots with an edible kernel.

459. **APPLE** སྦིལ་ (E. SKh), ིུ (Yol, Sh), གྲོ་ (Am) < Chin, 苹果 pingguo. In Hor dialect, བ་ཀུ་ (Cho). Other forms include རྒྱ་སིལ་ (Am), lit. ’Chinese fruit’ and སན་ཏ་ར་ (Pur).

460. **PEAR** རི (*LI*) (Ü, Ts) < CT < Chin, མི་ (E. SKh), ཁི (Pur, La).

461. **PLUM** རི (*LI*) (Ü, Ts), རི (*LI*) (E. SKh), ཁི (Pur, La).

462. **TANGERINE/ORANGE** འཇིག་ (TSHALU.MA) (Ü, Ts, Hor) < CT. This is found as, e.g., འཇིག （TSHALU）(Cho), Other forms include རྒྱ་ཆུ་ (RGYASIL, (Am), lit. ’Chinese fruit’ and བདོ་ /santara/ (Pur).

463. **MANGO** རི (*LI*) (Cho, La, Pur), རི (*LI*) (E. SKh), ཁི (Pur, La).

464. **FIG** སྦིལ་ (E. SKh), སྦིལ་ (Am) < HIndi–Urdu, རི (*LI*) (E. SKh), རི (*LI*) (Am, Cho) lit. ’old man’s ear’.
465. PERSIMMON 柿子 shizi. The Chinese loanword /shitsi/ is also used.

466. GRAPE 葡萄 putao. The word 葡萄 putao is a compound of 'swelling (shape)', related to a grape’s appearance, and 葡萄 putao, which could be related to 葡萄 putao ‘winter’ (preinitial ʻ often occurs instead of ʻD). The Chinese loanword /shitsi/ is also used.

467. POMEGRANATE 柿子 shizi < CT.

468. SEABUCKTHORN 柿子 shizi. The Chinese loanword 葡萄 putao is also attested in Southern Kham.

469. THORN 西藏区 ‘thorn’. A kind of thorny tree with edible berries.

470. FRUIT 水果 shuigu. The Chinese loanword 水果 shuigu is also attested in Southern Kham.


472. CROP 农物 bu. The Chinese loanword 农物 bu is also used.

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).
473. RICE རྗེས་ '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 ཁྲུམ་ 'cooked rice' in Dzongkha and Lhoke, and ཤིལ་ རྩུ་ 'polished rice' < ‘millet’, originally from རྩུ་ '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 སད་ 'SABON or སོན་ 'SON [PW] < CT. In some dialects of southern Kham, the word is derived from འཕེལ་ 'SALON.

475. EARP (PLANT) སྤིན་ 'SNYI [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, E, Am), སྤིན་མ 'SNYLMGO (La), སྤིན་མགོ་ 'SNYI.MGO (E), སྤིན་མགོ་ 'NAS.MGO lit. ‘barley head’ is used in South Kham and Ladakh.

476. WHEAT གྲོ་ 'GRO [PW] < CT and the variants གྲ ཚ 'GRA (Sh) and གྲ ར 'GYO (Am, Lho). Wheat in Dzongkha is designated by the word ཞྲ /ka/ which is probably derived from ཞྲ 'DKAR ‘white’. Some dialects of Amdo use གྲ 'SNGO, in which case /k'a/ is used for 'barley' (cf. BARLEY). སྡོ 'NAS < CT ‘barley’ is used in Gyalthang and Yolmo.

477. BARLEY [Hordeum vulgare] སྦེ་ '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. trisugatum] སྦོ 'NAS [PW] < CT. In some Tö dialects, the root གྲ ར 'BRU ‘grain, crop’ is used instead of སྡོ 'NAS. In some dialects (Yunnan and Nepal), another word གྲ ར་ 'DKAR ‘U is used. This term is probably derived from DKAR ‘white’ since the Tibetans traditionally make a difference between white and black barley varieties, the former being used for tsampa and the latter for chang (cf. MILA RAS.PAI RNAM.THAR).
479. BUCKWHEAT ལྷེ་ BRABO [PW].
480. MILLET བྲ་ KHRE < CT (Kh), but other words such as བྲ་/gyar/ (Sherpa) and བྲྱས་ GYAGAR/kyag/ (Yolmo) are found; བོ/’a/ (Pur, Sham). Within the Tibetic area, millet grows in the southern Himalayas, as well as in the southeastern and northwestern regions at lower altitude.

481. OAT ལུག་ཡོག YUG. PO (La) < CT.

482. CORN (MAIZE) མ་མོ་ས་ལོ་ཏོག MA RMOS LO TOG [FFW] (Ü) < CT lit. ‘the unploughed crop’, བྲ་མོ་གྲ་མེ་འཛོམ BRASMO DGA’DZOM ‘the rejoicing crop’ (Ts), ཆ་ནོི་KEN.TSONG (Lho), and ལྷོས་ ZASHOM (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 ཞེང་ TSHAL [FFW] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor) < CT < Chin. 菜 cai. Sometimes it is preceded by the adjective སྒོ་ SNGO lit. ‘blue/green’ སྒོ་ཚལ་ SNGO. TSHAL ‘green vegetable’ (E, Am). སྒོ་ (E). Another root found in Amdo, Ladakh and southern Kham is TSHOD lit. ‘cooked’, which is sometimes followed by a suffix MA: སྒོ་ཚོད་མ་ TSHOD. MA (Pur, La, Yol, SKh, Am). སྒོ་ལྡུམ་པ་ LDUM. PA (Am, La) is also attested, and སྒོ་ཡོ་མ་ YO. MA is used in Gyälthang (Kh).

484. MUSTARD སྔགས་དཀར YUNGS.DKAR [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Am) < CT ‘white mustard’ or the variant སྔགས་ཀར་ YUNGS.KAR (La). An important oil crop. སྔགས་དཀར YUNGS.NAG ‘black mustard’ is also attested.

485. RADISH འཛུག LAHUG [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, etc) < CT < Chin. 萝卜 luobo; འཛུག LAHUG (Am), ཡུ་དུ་/durpo/ is attested in Purik.

486. TURNIP རྒྱལ་ NYUNG.MA [PW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Am etc) < CT. རྒྱལ་ MULAG (Pur).
487. **CARROT** **LA PHUG DMARPO** (Dz), **HONG LA PHUG** (Ü, Ts), **SARAG TUR MAN** (La), **WALAPHRU** (Pur).

488. **SPINACH** **DALAG** (La, Pur, Ba, Sh) < Hindi–Urdu, **bocai**

489. **CABBAGE** **PETSHAL** (Ü, Ts) < Chin. 白菜 *baitai*, श्रेणी *GHOBII* (La) < Hindi–Urdu.

490. **ONION** **TSONG** [PW] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, To, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT from Chin. चुंग *cong*. Some dialects have an aspirated initial, which indicates a late borrowing. Other words are marginally attested, including चुंग *dakar* and words derived from **SGOG PA** (see **GARLIC**).

491. **GARLIC** **SGOG.PA** (Pur) [PW] < CT. Some dialects of Kham (e.g. Kyidyül) use शोग *SGOG*.

492. **GINGER** गंदा *SGA* [PW] < CT गंदा *BCA.SGA* (La, Ba, Kh, Am), ल्गा *SGASMUG* (U, Ts, Hor), लगा *RGYESHAR* (Sh), ल्गा *tonga/ (Pur). In Amdo गंदा *SGASER* means ‘turmeric’.

493. **POTATO** झोग *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 झोग *ZHOG* ‘to put (imperative stem)’ and झोग *KHOG* ‘to be extracted, to be gathered’ which refers to the mode of cultivation. An alternative etymology has been proposed: झोग ‘yoghurt’ and झोग ‘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 झोग *RGYA.GROMA* and झोग *RGYA.GRO* literally meaning ‘Chinese potentilla’ are used. Variants are also attested, including झोग *RGYAYUNGROMA* On the southern slopes of the Himalaya, in Nepal and Bhutan, the root झ *gye* is used, for example झ /he/, in Dzongkha झ *KEBA* /keva/, in Lhoke झ *kyu/. This root is found in other TB languages such as Limbu and means ‘yam’. A compound word झ *RIKYE* is also found in the Sherpa and Jirel areas, झ *RLKI* (Sherpa) and
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 שלל alu has been borrowed. Some words such as /dɔ gwa/, /jɔ lu/, /jɔ bu/, /ko ko/, /nɑ ja/ used in Kham are of unclear origin.

494. BEAN 

Sran.ma [PW] < CT. The word श्रण श्रेण 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 र्ग्यान Srgyan 'Chinese bean' and श्रण Sran 'black bean'. Some dialects of southern Kham uses /ʔa la/. 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 षाङ्ग SHA [PW] < CT. झाङ्ग Shang (Sh) and झाङ्ग Shang (Pur) are also attested. The various species of mushroom usually contain the root षाङ्ग SHA 'flesh'. दक्षाष्ण Dkarsha 'white mushroom' (usually Agaricus), तेंशerm Phersha 'oak mushroom', सर्सेत Sersha 'yellow mushroom', ग्रान्त र्कांग Rkangring 'Caesar's mushroom (Amanita caesarea)'. However in Southern Kham, the names of some species lack the root षाङ्ग Shang /kwashang/ is attested in (Pur). The proverb षाङ्ग न्मो र्ग्स मो र्ग्स Shamed nShamo Shared, rogs med na mo rogs red 'If there's no meat, mushrooms can replace it, if you've no companion, a nun will do'.

498. POTENTILLA/SILVERWEED [Potentilla anserina] ग्लो माः Gro.mā [FFW]

(La, Sp, Tö, Ts, U, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. ग्लो माः Gyo.mā (Am), ग्लो माः Grom (Dz). Other words are attested very marginally e.g. दुका बुलु Duka Bulu < 'baby worm' (Kh: mBalhag) and न्योट्जें न्योट्जें 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.

**FOOD**

500. **FOOD** བཤྟ་ ཁྱུག་ [FFW] (Am, Kh, Sh) < CT, བཤྟ་ ཁམ་ [FFW] (Lho) and བཤྟ་ ཁག་ [FFW] (Ba, Pur, Skh) < CT 'food', 'eat + nominal suffix' are the most common words. The variant བཤྟ་ ཁམ་ (Yol) < CT is also attested. Another widespread root is བཤྟ་ ཁམ་ (Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Dz) < CT. In Central Tibet, ཁྱུག་' འབྲག་' KHALLAG is a compound word made of KHA 'mouth' and LAG 'hand'. In Ladakh ཁྱུག་ KHALAG, ཁྱུག་ THUGPA (E) < CT 'noodle', གྱི་ བྲ་' CHARGYU (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: བཤྟ་ ཁམ་ [FFW] 'meal, food' (Am, Kh, Sh), བཤྟ་ ཁག་ [FFW] (Ba, Pur) 'meal, food', བཤྟ་ ཁམ་ (Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Dz) < CT 'meal', ཁྱུག་ LTO (Ts, Tö, Kh, Hor, Dz) < CT. In Central Tibet, ཁྱུག་' KHALLAG is a compound word made of KHA 'mouth' and LAG 'hand'. In Ladakh ཁྱུག་ KHALAG, ཁྱུག་ THUGPA (E) < CT 'noodle', གྱི་ བྲ་' CHARGYU (E) < CT 'chew' + nominalizer thus '(things) to eat'.

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

503. **FLOUR** རྡུ་ རུའི་ [PW] < CT. This is pronounced རུ་ རུའི་ in western regions. It also occurs with a suffix རྡུ་ རྡུའི་. It usually designates all types of flour and powder. Compound words are also attested: རུ་ རྡུའི་ BAG.PHYE (U), རུ་ རྡུའི་ BAG.PHE (La, Pur) 'wheat flour'. GROZHIB (U) < CT 'wheat powder' is also used.

504. **ROASTED BARLEY** རེ་ རོ་ [FFR] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, E, Kh, etc) < CT. In Ladakh, རོ་ རོ་ RINGOS is found. In rNgawa (Am), རོ་ རོ་ RINGOS, derived from the verb RINGO(D) 'to roast, to fry', is used. The word is not found in some dialects.
505. TSAMPA/ROASTED FLOUR རྩམ་པ་ RTSAM.PA [PW] < CT. In many regions, the word *tsampa* designates ‘roasted highland barley flour’. The word རྩམ་པ་ RTSAM.PA is found nearly in all the dialects, but in the western (La, Pur) and southern languages (Dz), the root རྩེ་ PHYE meaning ‘flour’ is used. It is pronounced རྩེ་ PHE in the Western regions: རྩེ་/ngan’p’e/ (La), རྩེ་/nas’p’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: རྩེ་/ŋan’p’e/ (La), རྩེ་ TSHOS.BON /ts’osbon/ (Pur) ‘roasted ground peas’, རྩབ་ RTSAB /tsap/ (La, Pur) ‘ground sprouts of wheat’, རྩབ་ KAR.PHYE (Dz) ‘flour made from roasted wheat’.

506. TSAMPA DOUGH རྩམ་པ་ དོག་ SPAGS [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Dz, Tö, Lj: Nyoma, etc.). < CT. Dough made of *tsampa* or roasted flour with butter tea is the staple food in many Tibetic areas. རི་ཁོ་ KHOL.LAG [FFW] (La, Za). In some regions such as Amdo, the word རྩམ་པ་ RTSAM.PA is also used to designate the dough.

507. TSAMPA POLENTA རྩམ་སྲུལ་ ZAN [FFW] (Sh, Tö, Lj, etc.) ‘cooked dough’ < CT. རང་ PABA (La, Za, Pur) ‘polenta’.

508. TSAMPA PORRIDGE རྩམ་སྲུལ་ JALDUR (Ú, Ts, Za), རྩམ་ SKYO.MA (Ú), རྩམ་ 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 རྩམ་སྲུལ་ (La, Za) includes dough pasta, potatoes, turnips or other vegetables, usually with meat: རྩམ་ CHU.TAG (La) lit. ‘water bread’ is a more sophisticated version of *skyu*, mainly differing in the shape of the pasta, which is formed in *bonghu namchok* ‘donkey’s ears’. རྩམ་ 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, རྩམ་ BAG.TSHAM.MAR.KHU ‘cooked dough mixed with butter, sugar and cheese’. The names and the recepies greatly vary from one region to another.

510. TSAMPA BUTTER རྩམ་པ་ PHYE.MAR [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ts, Ú, Kh) < CT. རྩམ་པ་ MAR.ZAN (Ú, Ts, La) ‘tsampa, butter and brown sugar’.
511. **BREAD/PANCAKE** • རུ་KHUR. • གི་GIR. √ བག་GOR [FFW] (Ba, Pur, Sh, Kh) < CT √ བག་GOR 'round'. The bread in many areas resembles a thick round pancake, and can be referred to as བག་GOR (Am), བུ་KUR (Sh), བུ་KHA (Ba), བུ་KHU (Yol), སྤེལ་KHU (Yunnan), སྤེལ་KHYU (Lho), བག་TA (Za), or བག་TA (La, Pur). Other roots are attested: བག་BAG.LEB (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. 'flat dough', and བག་KHAM.BIR (La). There are many sorts of bread, including བག་MAR.KHUR (Pur, La) 'round bread with butter and sugar', རུ་THAL.KHUR (La), and བག་GOR.SKYA (Am) 'bread baked in ashes'. Note that བག་KHUR.RAJ (La) means 'fried dough eaten at New Year', which corresponds to བཀ་པོ / k'apse/ in Tibet.

512. **MOMO, DUMPLING** མོག་MOG [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Sh, Dz). This is generally pronounced /momo/, except in Purik and Ladaks /mokmok/. Other words are attested: བོ་TSHOD.MA (Am) < CT བོ་BO (S Kh), བོ་BAO.DZI (E) < Chin. 包子 baozi. Together with noodle soup, momos are the most popular dishes in Tibetic regions.

513. **SOUP (with noodles, etc.)** √ རུ་THUG [PR] < CT related to རུ་MTHUG 'thick'. This is normally followed by a suffix རུ་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་BOD.THUG 'Tibetan noodle (soup)', རྒྱ་RGYA.THUG 'Chinese noodle (soup)', རིག་THEN.THUG 'pulled flat noodle (soup)', and རྒྱ་BAG.THUG 'soup made with small round pieces of dough'. In Ladakh, རྒྱ་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 བ་ལེ་BA.LE. In the Eastern section, /sh'i kw/ is used. A Chinese loanword is used in Amdo /shu'/ < 餃饨 huntun (wonton, dumpling soup). In some cases, soup does not contain pasta or noodles, such as རྒྱ་SRA.N.THUG 'bean soup', རྒྱ་ZWA.THUG 'nettle soup', etc.

514. **NOODLE /PASTA** རུ་THUG.PA SKAM.PO (Ü, Ts) lit. 'dry noodle', རུ་CH'U.MAN 'chow mein' < Ch. 炒面 chaomian.
515. BROTH, SOUP (U, Ts) ‘fluid, juice, gravy, soup’, DKRUM.KHU (Ü, Ts) ‘meat soup’, RUS.KHU (Za) lit. ‘bone soup’, SHAKHU (Am) and TLRU (Ko) designate meat soup. The word THANG (Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am, etc) < Chin. ‘tang’ is widely used for ‘broth’ or ‘thin soup’. It is also used in Tibetan medicine for ‘decoction’.

516. MEAT (pur) < CT. The main pronunciations are /sha/ (most languages), /x’a/ (central Kh, Hor) and /f’ a/ (Am). In some marginal dialects of Southern Kham, SHAL.GNYA’ < GNYA’ cut’ is used. The honorific forms are DKRUM (Ü, Ts) and SRUMS (La, Za).

517. MEAT RICE STEW (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: ZHOG.KHOG.MOG.MOG (Ü) ‘potato dumplings’, ZHOG.KHOG.GOB.TSHOS (Ü) ‘potato and meat stew’ (Ü), and RLKLUR (Sh), ‘potato pancake’, which is similar to the paranatha of Northern India and even more similar to the latkes of central and eastern Europe. Finally there is the well-known Bhutanese dish called KE.BA.DAR.TSHIL (Dz) ‘cheese potato curry’, which is served with rice.

519. DRESIL/TIBETAN SWEET RICE (Ü, Ts, La, etc.) is rice mixed with butter, sugar raisin and other dried fruits.

520. CURRY (Sp) AGS (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 (Dz) lit. ‘chili cheese’. A well-known Bhutanese dish consisting of a chili curry prepared with cheese and served with rice.
522. OIL སྣུ [FFW] (Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Dz, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT.
In most languages and dialects, this is pronounced /snum/, /num/ or /n’um/, but in Dzongkha it is realized as ʰ hum/. In some dialects, སྣུ་ མ་ MAR.KHU 'butter liquid' is used. In Thewo, /nu/ is used. Some dialects of Amdo, as well as Thewo, use ཡི /yi/ < CT 'mustard seed'. In Drugchu, /jun/ is found. This is widely considered to be a borrowing of the Chinese you མ་ 'oil', but this is not the case. In Ladakh, སྣུ་ ལུ་ MAR.NAG 'vegetable oil' (mustard) < CT lit. 'black butter'. The word /do/ is attested in Yunnan; སྣུ་ /p’oron/ and སྣུ་ /til/ are found in Purik < CT 'sesame', and may be related to Urdu tel 'oil'.

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

524. MILK མ་ བ་ [PW] < CT. The tonal languages other than Dzongkha realize this with a low tone /’oma/, but Dzongkha employs a high tone /’om/, and for this reason is written མ་ བོ. The variant མ་ རེ ས་ O.RJEN (Put) < CT 'raw milk' is used in some Western languages. Of the few rare exceptions that have been reported, the form བཞོ། བཞོ། ZHO /sho/ used in Choça-ngaça 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: བཞོ། བཞོ། བཟའ། ལ་ མ་ བཟའ། བགྲོ་ མ་ བཟའ། བུ ། ZHO LAS NI MAR KHO NA BYUNG GI BRU MARI BYUNG NGO means 'only butter is obtained from milk, not (cereal) oil,' (in KUN.BZANG.BLA.MAY.ZHAL.LUNG folio 113), or བཞོ། 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 བཞོ། བཞོ། ZHO.MDONG 'churn' lit. 'milk-churn', བཞོ། བཞོ། ZHON.ZEM 'milk bucket' (see BUCKET), and the honorific form བཞོ། བཞོ། CHAB.ZHO 'milk (H)' also confirm the older meaning of བཞོ། ZHO.

525. BUTTER མ་ MAR [PW] < CT. Originally related to the root མ་ DMAR, found in the Zhangzhung and Tamangic languages and meaning 'gold' (Honda 2009). Another root མ་ 'yo' is found in some eastern dialects, such as Thewo.
526. BUTTERMILK རཀྱན་ Darba [FFW] (Pur, La, Yol, Kh, Ü, Ts, Dz, Sh, Dz, Am, etc.) < CT. This is pronounced /darba/ in Purik, but in most languages as /tara/.

527. YOGURT རེ་ ཞོ་ Zho [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Sh, Dz, Am, Kh, E, etc) < OT ‘milk’ and CT ‘milk’ or ‘yoghurt’. Compound words are exceptionally found with the meaning ‘yoghurt’, such as དཀར་ཆུ་ Dekar chu’ white water (Sherpa) and ལག སྤེན་པོ། Log Pie ma lit. ‘turned milk’ (Ba), དོ་རི་ལོ་ Cho < CT ཞོ་རུལ་ Zho Rul lit. ‘rotten milk’, དོ་ རེ O RE (E) < CT དོ་ རི་ O RUL lit. ‘rotten milk’, ད་དཀར་ Dar Tshil (Dz), ལེ་པོ་ La Po ‘fresh cheese’ (La) and དར་ཅིལ་ Dar Tshil (Dz) lit. ‘white cheese cake’ (Gyaltang, Chagthreng). It is interesting that, in Purik, the word དེས་ O MA (Pur) is used for ‘yoghurt’ which is probably its original meaning.

528. CHEESE དཔོ་ Phyur [PR] < CT. This is normally followed by a suffix: ཁྱུར་བ་ Phyur Ba (Am, Kh, Ü, Ts, etc.). In many dialects, it is pronounced ཁྱུར་ར་ /čura/. Other words are attested: ཁྱུར་ཕེ་ Phyur Pe /čurpe/ (La, Ü) ‘hard dried cheese’. Other roots are attested: ཆུད་ནྟམ་ Thud Skam (Skham) and དར་ཅིལ་ Dar Tshil (Dz), མཁའ་ La Po ‘fresh cheese’ (La) and ཤིན་ LANA (Hor) ‘kind of cheese’.

529. CHEESE CONFECTION (type of) ང་ Thud [FFR] (Am, La, Hor, Kh, E, Ü, Ts), ཤིན་ Zhun (Am) ‘a type of sweetended cheese < CT ‘melted fat’.

530. CURD SALAD ང་ཉྟུ། Grangthur [La, Za], འེ་མིག་ Tsha Mig (Pur, Ba). This is a cold dish made of spicy pickles or chutney with curds or buttermilk.

531. SAUSAGE ཉྲུལ་ Rgyula [PW] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Dz, Am, Kh, etc) < CT ‘intestine’, འཁྲག་སྐམ་ Khragsha lit. ‘blood meat’ (Drugchu).

532. SALT སྤྱི་ 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 Tshia ‘hot’. In some Amdo dialects (Čängsha, Thrika, etc), འཁྲག་ Tshakhu is used. Balti has lost the word and borrowed from Burushaski /payu/.
533. SUGAR ཀ་ར་ KARA or ཁ་ར་ KHARA [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Tö, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT, ḏe KHARABYE.MA KARA (Ü, Ts, Am) are found. Other compounds are attested: གཉིས BYEZHIB (Tö, Kh), ཁནུར་པོ DKAR.ZHIB (Tö), ཁནུར་པོ KHAR.BYE.MA (Am), ཁནུར་RDOKARA’crystal sugar’ (Am). The word དུ་རམ་ BUR.AM (E), ལྡུས་ 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, སྦྲང་ SBRANG < CT སྦྲང་རྩི་ SBRANG.RTSI ‘honey’ is used for ‘sugar’. The loanword ཁོ་ཅི From Hindi-Urdu is also widely used. In some areas of Kham, the loanword ཁོང /t’ang/ is used < Chin. 糖 tang.

534. SICHUAN PEPPER [Zanthoxylum piperitum] གཉེར་མ་ GYER.MA [PW] (Ts, Ü, Hor, E, Kh, Am, Sh, Yol, etc) < CT. the variant གཉེར་མ་ is frequently attested (Kh). In Yolmo and Sherpa (SW), the word is followed by a velar nasal final such as གཉེར་མ་ /erma/ (Sh, Yol) lit. ‘red spice’, is used. In the area of Dartsendo (Kh), /gu 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, /bogu/, /pagu/ (perhaps related to ལི་པོ ཁྲོ་ DPOM.RGOD lit. ‘wild spice’), /ja go/, (perhaps related to RGYA/RGOD lit. ‘wild Han Chinese’), etc. are used. In some areas, we find གཉེར་མ་ /erma/ (Dz), གཉེར་པོ /nyerma/ (Pur, La, Za) < CT, གཉེར་པོ GYER.MA ‘Sichuan pepper’. The words གཉེར་ tSHA ’TE ‘hot’ (La, Pur) and གཉེར་ tSHA (Pur) ‘burning mouth’ are also widespread. The Bhutanese dish གཉེར་དར་ཚིལ་ tSHA.DAR.TSHIL ‘chili cheese curry’ served with rice uses this spice.
536. SPICES སོག་ན སྨན་SHA.SMAN (Ü, Ts) lit. ‘meat helper, meat spices’. སྨན་'condiments'.

537. EGG སྨན་ སྨན་ SGO.NGA or སྨན་ SGO [FFW] (Sp, Yol, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am, etc) < CT. སྨན་ SGO.LO (LJ). A few other stems are found: Balti and Purik have སྨན་ BYA.BZHON /bya'zhon/, which literally means ‘bird’s milk’ (see ‘MILK’). For ‘egg’, Sherpa has སྨན་ BYA'IMENTOK /e-mentok/ lit. ‘bird flower’. Thewo has སྨན་ /doya/ whose etymology is not certain, but could derived from སྨན་ RDO.DKAR ‘white stone’. Ladaks has borrowed སྨན་ /'ul/ from Kashmiri.

538. ALCOHOL (strong) སྨན་ A.RAG [FFW] < CT < Arabic عرق ‘arq’ an anise-flavored alcohol drink’ through Persian or Turkic (‘rakı’). It is sometimes followed by the Tibetan root སྨན་ KHU ‘liquid, juice’: སྨན་ KHU RAG.KHU. The word སྨན་ 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 སྨན་ CHANG.RAG is also attested. In Spiti, the word སྨན་ CHANG.RAG is also attested. In Spiti, Khunu and some other southern or western regions, one finds apple and apricot སྨན་ arak.

539. CHANG སྨན་ CHANG ‘Tibetan barley beer’ [PW] < CT. This is usually pronounced /č'ang/ or /č'/. In Tub, where chang is highly appreciated, there are many names for this beverage: སྨན་ /tosen/ (Tö), སྨན་ /i/ (Ts), སྨན་ སྨན་ /demna'/ (Ts), སྨན་ /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 སྨན་ BRAS.CHANG ‘rice chang’, སྨན་ 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 སྨན་ NAS.CHANG lit. ‘barley chang’ or སྨན་ CHANG.SER ‘yellow chang’. Balti people also usually avoid chang because of Islamic Sharia, but it was formerly drunk by them, and the word སྨན་ 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་ [PW] < CT from Chin. cha. This in most languages is pronounced /ča/. The honorific is ལོགས་ བོད་ .mid. There are various kinds of tea across the Tibetan areas (see below). One common strong infusion of black tea is called རི་ ཤིང་ (Ü, Ts, La) or རུ་  དཀར་པོ /ča karo/ 'white tea'.

**541. BUTTER TEA ཇ་བྲུས [PW], alt. ཇ་སྲུ བ་མ་ (La) < 'churned tea'. 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: བོད་  དཀར་པོ /ča k'ante/ (La) lit. 'bitter tea', རན་ སུ་ /payu ča/ (Ba) 'salt tea', ཞེས་ཁབ་ /THAM.KHU (Dz) < Urd, Pers. 'salty tea'. སྲུ བ་མ /SRU JA (Dz) 'churned tea' (used by Kashmiri).

**542. SWEET MILK TEA ཇ་མངར་མོ [PW] tea with added milk and sugar, similar to chai (Indian tea). Some Kham dialects call it བོད་ རྟ་ /ča karo/ 'white tea'.

**543. SALTY MILK TEA ཀྲུ་  བ བ /CHU KHOL /ča karo/ 'white tea'. A traditional drink in Amdo made of hot milk, tea, salt and water. Sometimes, གུན་ བ བ is just made of milk with water and salt, and does not contain tea.

**544. BOILED WATER སྲུལ་ /CHU SKOL (La, Am).

**545. CIGARETTE/TOBACCO དུ་བ /DU.BA < CT (lit.) 'smoke' (Kh, Am) is used in this sense.
546. **SNUFF** སྣ་ཐ་ [SNA THAG] < CT (La) ‘nose tobacco’, སྣ་པ་ [SNA THA] (Ts) ‘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** ག་མ་ [DGYI DO PARKI] (Dz) < CT ‘capsule’. This stimulant made of areca nut, betel leaf and lime is highly appreciated in Bhutan and some regions of the southern Himalayas.

548. **MEDICINE** སྨན་ [SMAN] < CT. This refers to any kind of medicine such as བོད་སྨན་ [BSMAN] ‘Tibetan medicine’, also called ང་སྨན་ [GSA RIG PA] ‘sowa rigpa’, རྒྱ་ནག་སྨན་ [RGYANAG GYI SMAN] ‘Chinese medicine’, ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་པའི་སྨན་ [NUB PHYOGS PA SMAN] ‘Western medicine’, etc. The following proverb tells us something about the traditional Tibetan diet: ས་ལ་ས་སྨན་ཤ་ལ་ [BSN SHAN] ‘soil is medicine for the soil, meat is medicine for the flesh’; that is, it is recommended to eat meat. However, the twenty-first century so far has begun to show some changes in this, and several movements in the Tibetic areas advocate eating less or no meat.

549. **HONEY** ཕྲང་རྩི་ [SPRANG RTSI] < CT lit. ‘nectar of bees/flying insects’. It is pronounced in various ways: ཕྲང་རྩི་ [SPRANG RTSI] (Pur), བྲང་རྩི་ [SBYANG RTSI] (Ba), རང་རྩི་ [RANG RTSI] (Sh, La). In some languages, the word is abbreviated to the first syllable རང་ [RANG] (Sp), བྲང་ [SBYANG] /’jang’ (Dz), རང་ [RANG] /’bong’ (Ko), ཡོ་ [SBANG] (Am). The word ཡོ་ལྟ་ [OSIP] is derived from an unclear root plus རུ་ [SPRANG]. In Kham and Amdo, the word རང་མཁྱག་ [RANG SKYAG] lit. ‘bee excrement’ is attested.

550. **CREAM** ི་ [SPR] < 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 ཁ ཤ ཨ བ /’O’ [OSIP] to form ‘kha’ /’O.KHA’ lit. ‘milk surface’ is used in several areas (Am, etc.) to refer to film on milk.
ANIMAL

551. ANIMAL སེམས་ཅན་ [FFW] (La, Yol, Ú, Ts, Hor, E, Sp, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT ‘having a mind, sentient being’ (in Buddhist texts, this term includes human beings). སྲོག་ཆགས་ [FFW] (may include human beings) < CT ‘having a srog or soul’. དུད་འགྲོ་ [FFW] (Yol, Ú, Ts, Tö, La, Za) < CT ‘bent walking’. བྱོལ་སོང་ [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Tö) < CT ‘one who flees’. ལྷག་པ་ [FFW] (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་ [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. This designates mainly deers and wild sheep and goats, and not smaller animals like rabbits.

553. CARNIVOROUS ANIMAL རྒན་གྱུར་ [FFR] < CT. རྒན་ is sometimes used alone. See LEOPARD.

554. CATTLE (BLACK), LIVESTOCK. Tibetic populations often make a distinction between yaks and dzos, which remain in the high pasture, and domestic cattle, which usually remain near the house or in a cowshed. The first of these are referred to as ལྷག་ཕྱུགས་ [FFW] < CT ‘black cattle’. Another broad term for this category is གཞི, ཉོར་ [FFW] (Kh, Hor, E, Am, Dz) < CT ‘wealth’. It is pronounced ཉོང་in Lhoke. Thus in most pastoralist areas of Tibet, yaks and dzos are referred to as ཉོར་. However, this term is used in Purik area to designate ‘sheep and goats’. It is interesting to note that the term ལྷག་ ‘cattle’ is itself derived from CT ལྷག་ ‘rich’. The use of terms such as ཉོར་and ལྷག་ ‘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 བཀྲལ་མ་ ‘load animal’ (usually yaks) and རྡོག་ [E] ‘cattle’, which originally means ‘goods, merchandise’. More marginally, we find སྤུ་ནག་ ‘black hair’ (Ú), རླྱོག་ [CHED, Ds] (Ts). In Purik, the term is རྲི་བཟངས། ‘sent to the mountain’.
555. **DOMESTIC CATTLE.** Bulls, steers, and cows are often referred to as 'domestic cattle' SGO.PHYUGS [FFW] < CT 'door cattle'. The terms སྒོ་ཕྱུགས། SGO.PHYUGS lit. 'cow cattle', སྒོ་ཕྱུགས། ZOG (Am), GNAG.PHYUGS are also heard. Note that in Purik, the word སྒོ་ཕྱུགས། 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 རུའི་ NOR < CT 'wealth' is used for 'sheep and goat'.

557. **BULL.** གླང། GLANG [PR] < CT. Often occurs with a suffix: གླང་གོག། GLANG.GOG (Û), གླང་ཏོ། GLANG.TO (Pur, La) is also attested. In the eastern Section, རུའི་ NOR is used for 'bull' whereas some Amdo areas employ གྲོ་ ZOG for this. In most areas, there is no distinction between 'bull' and 'ox' or 'steer'. In some languages, གླང། GLANG is used with བ་ BA 'cow', yielding the compound བ་གླང། BA.GLANG 'cattle'.

558. **OX.** གླང། GLANG [PR] < CT. See BULL.

559. **COW.** བ་ BA [PR] < CT. In many languages, this is used in combination with གླང། GLANG 'bull, steer, ox': བ་གླང། BA.GLANG. It also occurs with a suffix: བམོ BAMO, བམུང་ BAMUNG (Sh). In Choča ngača མཉེའེ /jowa/ designates 'cow', whereas བ་ 'ba' is used to refer to a crossbreed of mithun and cow.

560. **Calf.** བེའུ། BEU [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT or བེ་ཏོ། beto/ (Pur), བེ་ཙོ། betso/ (La). In some dialects, words for young animals are only formed by following the name of the animal by གུང་ CHUNG or གུང་ཆུང་ CHUNG.CHUNG 'small' or the noun མུ། PHRUG 'child'.

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

562. **Yak (male).** ལྷག་ GZAG [PR] < CT; or as ལྷག་ཕོ། G.YAG.PHO (Yol). In Hor, རྒྱལ་ KHAL lit. 'load, burden' is used. In Minyak Rabgang, བལྦ་ KHAL MA lit. 'cattle for carrying load' is used. In Gyalthang (Kh), the form /'shwo ta/ is used,
which might originate from ཀྱུགས་ རྟ ་ 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.BYAM.RGYAL 2005, Tournadre 2014b, and this book, Chapter 11).

563. YAK (female) ཤི་ [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways /bri/ (Pur), / dri/ (Ü, La), / dri/ (Hor), etc. 'bri is sometimes followed by the suffix MO. Sherpa makes use of another root དཀར་ GNAG < CT 'female yak', derived from NAG 'black'.

564. DZO (male hybrid of a yak and a cow) མཛོ་ [PW] < CT. This is pronounced /m dye/, /n dye/, /dye/ (most languages), / dy/ (Pur, Za, Sh), etc. Also found is མཛོབ་ /zopkyok/ (Sh).

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

566. TÖLPO (male hybrid, usually of a bull and dzomo) རྟོལ་ RTOL [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Am), Pronounced /tol/ (La), /tur/ (Pur) རྟོལཔོ RTOL.PO. The word རྟོལམཛོ་ RTOL MDZO is also attested (Ba).

567. TÖLMO (female hybrid usually of bull and dzomo) རྟོལམོ RTOL MO [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ts, Am) /tom/ (La), /tumo/ (Pur).

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

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

570. HORN རྭ་ RWA [PR] < CT རྭ/RW A alt. རུ་ RU. The root རྭ/RW A (Cho, SKh) is sometimes used alone. In most languages, རྭ/RW A is pronounced /ra/, but is interesting to note that the pronunciation in some languages still reflects the presence of the wazur: རྭ/rua/ (Cho) /rowa/ (Yol). A suffix is usually used, such as such as CO, GO, KYOG or BO, རྭ/RW A /raço/ or /recho/ < CT ‘horn head’, or རྭ/RW A CT ‘horn head’, རྭ་ཆོ་ /recho/ [Sh] < CT ‘crooked horn’, རྭ་ རྒྱ་ /RALCHO/ (La), རྭ་ཆོ་ /RW A CT ‘horn head’, རྭ་ཆོ་ /RW A KYOG, རྭ་ཆོ་ /2AR.KYOG (Sh) < CT ‘horn summit’.
571. **HOOF** རྨི་ RMI (PR). The variant རིམ་ RMY (Am) is also attested. Generally, the root is followed by a suffix: རྨི་པ་ RMI.PA. In Amdo, སུག་ SUG.BH (lit. ‘four-limb’) is also used. The term རྭ་འགོ RWA.GO ‘horn’ (Norman 2019) is also used for ‘hoof’ in Ladakh.

572. **YAK DUNG** ལྕི་ LCI (PR) < CT. This is generally followed by the suffix བ་ BA, and is pronounced in various ways: /ča/ (La), /če/ (Za), /ča/ (Sp, Tö), /čoa/ (Ú, Ts, Kh), /ča/ (Am), /če/ (Am). In Thewo-mä, the compound words འོན་ལུག་ AON.LUG lit. ‘black cattle excrement’ or འབྲས་ལུག་ BASKY.LUG lit. ‘cow excrement’ are used (even for yak dung!). In Purik and Zanhar གཉིས་ SHILL. is used. Some dialects make a difference between dried and wet yak dung. In Amdo, the dry dung is called ནོང་བ་ ONG.BA. In Nagchu, the wet dung is called རྨ་ལུག་ RMY.LUG lit. ‘cow excrement’ is used for ‘wet yak dung’. In some high-altitude Tibetic areas, yak dung is vital for heating and cooking since there are no trees or bushes.

573. **SHEEP/GOAT PELLETS** རིལ་ RIL (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. རུལ་ LUL < ‘goat manure’. In Ladakh and Zangskar, ལུག་སྐྱག་ LUG.SKYAG < 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) འཇིག་ LPAGS. འཇིག་ PAGS [PR], normally followed by a suffix pa: འཇིག་པ་ PAGS.PA (Ú, Ts, Yol, Kh, etc.). འཇིག་པ་ PAGS.PA (Ba). Other suffixes are attested, such as འཇིག་པོ་ PAGS.KO (Dz), འཇིག་བཙན་ PAGS.TE (E: Th), འཇིག་ PAV (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** རྩུལ་ KO.BA [PW]. The word རྩུལ་ 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་ 'BRENGBA lit. 'leather rope' is used. Ladaks has the form རྒྱུན་ 'RYUN 'leather strip'.

576. **Hair (Body/Animal)** སྤུ་ [PR] < CT. སྤུ་རྗེས་ 'SPU lit. 'rope' is used. Ladakhs has the form རྒྱུན་ 'RGYUN lit. 'leather strip'.

577. **Yak Hair** རྩིད་པ་ [PW] < CT. This tsipta '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** མུ་ཁུ་ [PW] < CT 'soft yak wool'.

579. **Wool (Sheep)** བལ་ [PR] < CT. In some dialects of Kham, སྤུ་སྤུ་ 'SPU lit. 'goat hair' or བལ་སྤུ་ 'BALSPU lit. 'sheep hair' is used.

580. **Wool (Goat)** རལ་ [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za); རལ་ 'RAL lit. 'goat hair' or བལ་ 'BAL lit. '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** རྡེས་ [FFR] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT, often followed by a suffix: རྡེས་མ་ [FFRAMA], and བུག་ བུག་ [ZHUHUG/ MUG] [FFR] (Pur, Kh, etc.), also followed by a suffix: བུག་ཧྦ [ZHUHUG,MA (Pur), བུག་ 'JUG,MA, བུག་ 'ZHINDO (Ba)
582. HORSE $rt$a [PW] < CT. In Amdo a herd of horses is called ལོ་ལོ LALO. In the mBalhag dialect (Kh), ང་ KHURMA ‘horse’ may be derived from CT KHUR ‘to carry’. In sNyingthong dialect (Kh), ལ་ is used < འས་ RGOD.MA ‘mare’.

583. PONY $rte'u$ [PW] < CT. Cf. CALF. ལུ་ /t'uru/ (Pur, La, Za) is also attested.

584. STALLION $rt$apho [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. སེབས GSEB is also used.

585. MARE $rgod$ama [FFW] < CT ‘wild’. $rt$amo is also used.

586. SHEEP $lug$ [PR] < CT. Other terms are exceptionally found གཞག /luak/ ‘sheep (generic)’ in Purik. Khöpokhok (E), /sa ‘je/ is used for ‘sheep’, of unclear origin.

587. RAM $thong$p$a is used in some areas (La, Za), སྒྲེལ KHAL.BA (La).

588. EWE $ma$mo [FFW] < CT. In Balti and Purik གཞག LUG designates specifically ‘ewe’. གཞག LUG.MA, གཞག LUG.MO and གཞག LUG are also attested for ‘ewe’.

589. LAMB $lug$/$gu$ [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. Cf. CALF. གཞག LUG,PHRUG lit. ‘sheep child’. In Balti གཞག LUBU derived from CT གཞག LUG is used.

590. GOAT r a [PR] < CT. རམ་ RAMA is also widespread. In Purik, རག /rak/ is used for ‘goat (generic)’.

591. MALE GOAT / BILLY GOAT ར་ཕོ་ RAPHO [FFW]; རུ་ /rabak/ is used in Purik for ‘billy goat’.

592. FEMALE GOAT ར་མ་ RAMA [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT.

593. KID ར་ཕྲུག RAPHRUG [PW] < CT. Cf. CALF. ར་འུ་ རུ་is also attested.

594. MULE ར་འུ་ DREL [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. The variant ར་་ DRE,GU (La) is attested. The word is not found in Baltistan, where it is replaced by a compound རུ་ གཞག RTA ‘donkey-horse’, རུ་ LAK A lit. ‘small
pony'. Some dialects use the same word as 'donkey': གུ་རུ་ KU.RU (Kh). A word ཤད KU.DGA’ of unclear origin is attested in Th-To. In Ladaks the word ལུ་ BONG lit. ‘pony’ is used.

595. DONKEY ལུ་ BONG [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: ལུ་ BONG.BU in CT. In some languages, the suffix is different ལུ་ BONG.GU(Û, Dz, etc.) or ལུ་ BONG.LU/wongl/ (Am). The word ལུ་ KU.RU occurs in Kham and Kongpo. This root is also attested in Purik: ལུ་ KU.RU and Zanhar ལུ་ KURUG for ‘baby donkey’. In Southern Kham, another root reconstructed as ལུ་ KRUL is also found.

596. PIG རྩ་ PHAG [PR] < CT. Some languages use a suffix: རྩ་ PHAG.PA. In Amdo, the word is a regular reflex of རྩ་ PHAG.LU pronounced རྩ་/ haylu/. Some languages in Kham, such as Minyak Rabgang and Lithang, use རྩ་ PHAG.RGAN (lit. CT ‘old pig’) to denote just ‘pig’. The Serpo dialect (E) uses རྩ་ PHAG.PA for ‘pig’. The Sogwo dialect (Am) uses རྩ་ PHAG.PA as well. In some dialects spoken in eastern Tibetic area, the word རྩ་ 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 Khotung, Central Tibet. They are traditionally neither raised nor eaten by pastoralists in Jiangthang and Western Tibet. Pigs are also not found in Ladakh and Baltistan.

597. BOAR རྩ་ PHAG [PR]. རྩ་ PHAG.PA and རྩ་ PHAG.PHA are also attested. In Chagthreng (Kh), /p’o wa/ is used.

598. SOW རྩ་ MO.PHAG [PR]. རྩ་ PHAG.MO, རྩ་ PHAG.MA, རྩ་ PHAG.2AMA. In Chagthreng (Kh), /mo wa/ is used. The female deity རྩ་ PHAG.MO Dorje Phagmo ‘Vajravārāhī’ lit. ‘vajra sow’ is a tantric deity of Vajrayāna Buddhism.

599. PIGLET རྩ་ PHAG.PHRUG [FFW] < CT. This form normally has a /p’/-sound, as /p’je/ in Gyālthang (Kh) and /p’a lu/ in Melung (Kh), but also occurs as /pu:/ in sDerong (Kh) and as /pa la/ in Tsharethong (Kh). Some words for piglet have a fairly unclear origin, such as /pa la/ in Serpo (E), /pa gu/ in Zhongu (E) and /pa mu/ in Čone (E). In Minyak Rabgang, རྩ་ PHAG.CHUNG.CHUNG and རྩ་ PHAG.BO.TSI are used.
600. WILD BOAR [FFW] < CT. རྩེལ་ PHRAG lit. 'mountain pig', རྟེལ་ PHARGOD [FFW] < CT. lit. 'wild pig'.

601. CAMEL རི་ཕག་ RFPAG lit. 'mountain pig', རི་ཕག་རྒོད་ RFPAG<RGW lit. 'wild pig'.

The trisyllabic form རི་ཕག་རྒོད་ THENG,RFPAG is used in some Yunnan dialects.

602. DOG ཀྱི་ KHYI [PR] < CT. In some dialects (e.g., Tö, Sherpa, Chagthren (Kh)), this form is unaspirated: ཀྱི་ KHYI. In some dialects of Amdo, it is followed by a suffix GU གུ། KHRYGU, which may be in order to avoid confusion with ཀྱི་ GU CHU' water'. This form is also used in Amdo pastoralists' communities as the humilific form. Dzongkha has ཀྱི་པོ། ROKHYI < 룼 KHARKHYI lit. 'companion/helper dog'. འཁྱི་ SRANG,KHYI (La, Za) and འཁྱི་ THANG,KHYI (Pur) are used for 'wild or stray dog'. Another root ཀྱི་སྤྱང་ KHYI<SPYANG lit. 'dog wolf' is often used for 'jackal'.

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

604. CAT ཀྱི་ བྱི་ LA. The most frequent root for 'cat' used throughout Tibetic areas is ཀྱི་ LA. Although not attested in CT, it is found under various forms such as ཀྱི་ བྱི་ LA བྱི་ LA བྱི་ LA/PILA /ʔa li/ /ʔa la/, /ʔa lju/, /lu/ or /ʔa li/ or ཀྱི་ LA བྱི་ LA LA lə in many regions, including Kham, Amdo, Kongpo and Lhoke. Another word, ཀྱི་ བྱི་ LUA [FFR] (Ba, Pur La, Tö, Skh, Dz) < CT < Skr. बुधल bhuḍa (Lauffer 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 ཀྱི་ བྱི་ LUA is used in Dzongkha. Other roots are also attested: some dialectal forms such as ཀྱི་ བྱི་ ZHLM (Ú) derive from another literary word བྱི་ ma ZHUMBU, which may be related to the verb བྱི་ ZHUM 'to be afraid, to fear' (thus, 'fearful'). Another root ཀྱི་ MI, probably an ideophone, is present in some Amdo dialects. It is often combined with ཀྱི་ MI: ཀྱི་ བྱི་ MI/LI, ཀྱི་ བྱི་ MI/LI, ཀྱི་ MI/LI, which are used in Amdo pastoralists' area. The Kham Tibetan
spoken in the Minyag Rabgang area uses a form like /mõ dzə/, which has an unclear origin. In Lithang ो ༤ འོ/TSHE /jots'e/ is attested. In the Southwestern section, we find ཁུ་རི/kuri/ or /guri/ in Nubri, Kyirong, Yolmo, etc. The Sherpa word ཤེ་མང་ SBER.MANG /'bermang/ and Jirel ཤེ་མང་ SBER.MANG could be derived from SBAR.MO lit. 'claws'. The word གི་ཤི PI.SHII is used in Zanhar and variants of this form are found in Nyoma (Ladakh).

605. HARE རི་བོང་ RLBONG [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT. It is a compound word: RL' mountain' + BONG' donkey'. The comparison between 'hare' and 'donkey' is due to the similarity of their long ears. The same type of compounding is attested in Persian and Hindustani: 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 ཕྱང་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 བྱ་དེ དེ་ ཉི་ བྱ་པོ་ BYA.DE [FFR] (Ū, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, E.) < CT. The root བྱ་ DE is not found alone. It is usually preceded by the word BYA' bird' བྱ་, BYADE or followed by a suffix: བྱ་པོ་ DE.PO. 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་གླ BYAGLAG, བྱ་ཁྱེར་ BYAKHRUNG, བྱམ་ BYAMOG, བྱ་རོ་ BYAROG, བྱ་རྒོད་ BYARGOD. In some languages such as southern Kham, Ladaks and Balti, the words བྱ་པོ་ BYAPHO 'male bird' and བྱ་མོ་ BYAMO 'female bird' refer to chickens. བྱ་ BYA < CT 'bird' is also used alone. In Dzongkha, a chicken is called བྱིམ་ BYIM, BYA 'house-bird'.

608. COCK, ROOSTER བྱ་པོ་ BYA.PHO [FFW] < CT. བྱ་པོ་ BYADE.PHO [FFW].

609. HEN བྱ་མོ་ BYAMO [PW] < CT. བྱ་མོ་ BYADE.MO [FFW] < CT. བྱ་ DE.MO.
610. **CHICK** 中文 | BYAPHRUG or 中文 | BYAPHRU [PW] < CT. 中文 | BYEU’(SKh), 中文 | BYEU’PHRUG. 中文 | BYA’AKA (SKh), 中文 | DE.PHRUG (E).

611. **WING** 中文 | GSHOG [PR] < CT. Often followed by a suffix PA: GSHOG.PA. In Sherpa instead of the suffix PA, there is a prefix A: A.GSHOG. In Kungro, there is another word ཐར་པ་ 'DAB.PA < CT 'petal'. A variant is also attested: in south Kham ཐར་པ་ 'DAB.PA < CT lit. 'leaf, petal' is used.

612. **FEATHER** 中文 | SGRO, alt. 中文 | SGYO [PW] < CT. This is sometimes preceded by the class term BYA 'bird': BYA.SGRO. 中文 | BYASPU (E, SKh, Pur). In Purik, small feathers are referred to as རུལ /spulu/, whereas large feathers are called སྒྲོ་ SGRO. Sherpa uses the word ཀཱ གཤོག འ་ གཤོག འ་ A.GSHOG for both 'wing' and 'feather'. The feathers of eagles and other large birds are used to make arrows.

613. **TIGER** 中文 | STAG [PR] < CT. A few other words are found marginally: ཀཱ ལཙ། ཀཱ ལཙ། A.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 སྟག་ STAG and use instead the word for 'snow leopard'. For example, གཅན་ GCAN is used in Yolmo and Purik.

614. **LEOPARD** 中文 | GZIG [FFR] (Ts, Ú, Kh, E, Am, Sh, Dz). < CT. The snow leopard is emblematic of Tibet, Ladakh and Baltistan. In some Western areas (Sp, La, Pur), the word གཅན་ GCAN is used instead; this is derived from CT GCAN, GZAN 'carnivorous animal, predator'. Other words are also attested: གསའ་ GSA 'snow leopard', གུང་ GUNG < CT 'leopard cat' (Cho).

615. **LYNX** འྙེ་ གུལ་ 'lynx' [PR]. The alternative spelling འྙེ་ སྦྲ་ DBYI is also attested.

616. **LION** ནོར་ སེང་ 'seng' [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 གཟིག་ སེང་ ནོར་ སེང་ GE CHU 'Lion River', and its Tibetan name is གཟིག་ སེང་ སེང་ སེང་ སེང་ GE KHU, BAR, lit. 'flowing down (from) the lion's mouth'. The term གཟིག་ སེང་ 'snow lion' refers to a mythological animal, a symbol of Tibet.
617. **DRAGON** བྲུག *BRUG* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho) < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: /bruk/ (Pur), /bluq/ (Ba), /^ɖuʔ/ (Ü), /^ɖɤ/ (Am), /’bjuk/ (Dz), etc. The dragon is one of the twelve signs of Tibetan astrology (influenced by the Chinese system). It is an important mythological animal and is widely represented. བྲུག་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 Tibetan languages. See also THUNDER.

618. **MONGOOSE** གཉེའུ་ལེ་ *NEULE* < CT < Skr.

619. **CLAW** སྲམ་པ་ *SBARMA* [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts) < CT. སྲམ་པར་/derma/, /’zerm/ (Za), ཤིག་ཟླུམ་/PRAD.MO (Pur).

620. **MONKEY** ལྷ་འུ་ *SPRE’U* < CT < CT. Its diminutive ལྷ་འུ་’tshur དཔའ་ ’tshur is also widely attested. It is pronounced in many ways. In some dialects of Kham and Yolmo the words ཤཞ་རྒས་ ‘old monkey’, ཤཞ་སློབ་ ‘old one’, and རྒྱ་མི་ ‘old’ are found. In the southern and western languages, the Indic word ཨ་ ‘manu and ཨ་ ‘bandar are also used. In Purik ཨ་ /shari/ is used.

621. **ELEPHANT** གཞིང་པོ་ /GLANG.POCHE/ and its variant གཞིང་ཆེན་ /GLANG.CHEN/ and its variant གཞིང་མོ་ /GLANG.MOCHE/ [PW] < CT lit. ‘big bull’. In Sherpa the word གཞིང་ /langpu/ is derived from གཞིང་ /GLANG.POCHE /GLANG.MOCHE ‘bull+male’.

622. **WILD YAK** བྲོང་ /BRONG/ [Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, etc]. This is pronounced in various ways: /brong/ (Pur) /dông/ (Ü), /’dông/ (Am), /’bong/ (Hor), etc. < CT. Wild yaks now remain only in the northern and western part of the high plateau, at an altitude of 5,000 m; in some areas, such as the southern Himalayas, this word is thus unknown. In some dialects (Thewo, Ladakhi) a compound word derived from ཁྱག་རྒོད་ /GYAG.RGOD lit. ‘wild yak’ is also used, while Balti uses another compound ང་ གྱག་ /THANG.GYAG ‘plateau yak’.

623. **TAKIN** བྲོང་གྱིམ་ཙེ་ /DRONG.GYIM.TSE/ or ར་ གྱ་ /RAGYA, the national animal of Bhutan.

624. **BLACK BEAR** *Selenarctos thibetanus* ཁོམ་ /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 /som/. This is a regular reflex of initial alveolar /t/ in this dialect. The term dzem.som NAG.DREN lit. 'black dren' (< Dread.Mo, see Brown Bear) is found. In Purik, the words rtsw.dren 'tsa.qen/ lit. 'grass (eating) bear' and shar.dren 'shaelen/ 'meat (eating) bear' are used. See Brown Bear.

625. Brown Bear [Ursus pruinosus] rtsw.dren Dread.Mo or shar.dren: Dread.Mong [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. This is pronounced in various ways: /dæmong/ (Ü), /dæmono/ (La), /dæmo/ (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. rtsw.dren: Dread.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: rtsw.rting.ril < CT lit. 'round heels', rtsw.rting.zlum < CT lit: 'round heels', spo.rdo.sbar.rgyag lit. 'grandad throwing stones', sbar.rgyab '(one who) scratches with claws'. The meaning of the word rtsw.rting. found in Yülshül is not clear, but could be derived from raga(s)' to be old' and thus mean 'old female one'.

626. Panda dom.khra.khra < CT dom 'bear' + khra.khra 'variegated'. billa.dom < CT billa 'cat' + dom 'bear' probably a calque from the Chinese 熊猫 xiongmao. Pandas are found in Sichuan in the eastern Tibetic area and in the traditional Qiangic-speaking area.

627. Jackal or Dhole [Cuon alpinus] phar.ba [FFW] < CT. Some languages use a form reanalyzed as phara. In Purik khyl.spyang 'dog wolf' is often used for 'jackal'.

628. Wolf spyang.khu [PW] alt. spyang.ku and spyang.ki < CT. In Chagthreng the root spyang is used alone for 'wolf'. Some southern languages use another word: phariv (Dz), phara derived from CT phar 'jackal'.
629. **FOX** སྖ་[PR] or its variant སྙི་< CT. The root may be used alone (Kh, Am) but in many languages, a suffix is added: སྖ་ WAMO (Ü, Ts, Am), སྙི་ AM (Dz), སྙི་ ATSE (Sp, Tø), སྙི་ WATSE (La, Za), སྙི་ WAGZIG (Sh). In some languages the word སྙི་ SBRE designates a kind of fox. In some dialects སྙི་ RMOD lit. ‘wild one’ is used marginally.

630. **DEER** ཕྲ [PR] < CT. ’deer’, ’hart’, ‘stag’. This is usually followed by a suffix ཕྲ་ SHVABA. བྲ་ KHASHWA ‘barking deer’ is also attested (Sh, Yol).

631. **IBEX** བྲ་ [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tø) < 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] རྟན་བ་ GNa’BA [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tø, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. Blue sheep, also called ’bharal’, are very frequent in Tibet and in the Himalayan regions.

633. **GAZELLE** [Procapra picticaudata] རྒོ་ RGO'BA (Pur, La, Sp, Tø, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). Gazelles are common in the Jangthang area.

634. **ANTELOPE** [Anthelops hodgsoni] གཙོད་ GTSOD/ tsö/ (Ü, Ts), /tsos/ (La), also called ‘chiru’ in Indian English. The Tibetan antelope is an endangered species, having been hunted for its valuable warm wool, which is used to make Shahtoosh shawls.

635. **ARGALI SHEEP** [Ovis ammon hodgsoni] གཉན་ GNYAN ‘argali’; a type of wild sheep with huge horns.

636. **RIVER/MUSK DEER** གླ་ GLA [PR] < CT. Usually followed by a suffix: གླ་ GLABA (Ü, Ts), གླ་ GLACUM (Dz). གླ་ RO.POTSE (Pur) is also attested.

637. **MUSK** གླ་ GLARTSI [PW] < CT (Pur, La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am).

638. **ONAGER** [Equus hemionus kiang] གླྲ་ 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: གླྲ་ BONG, RMOD ‘wild donkey’ and གླྲ་ THANG, BONG ‘prairie donkey’, གླྲ་
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 སྲམ་ [PR] < CT སྲམ་ 'water otter' is frequently attested. In Balti, རྒྱུན་ CHU,KHYI < CT lit ‘water dog’ is used alongside སྲམ་ SRAM. In gYagrwa (Kh), /wu:/ is used. The compound སྲམ་ SRAM 'rock otter' (Za) is attested but refers to another species. Otter skin is traditionally used for high-quality Tibetan robes.

640. MOUSE བྱི [FR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT. This is followed by the suffix  བྱི་བ་ BYI.BA (Ba). The form *gresql BYU could correspond to the Proto-Tibeto-Burnman form, and some dialects reflect a final /u/-sound.  བྱི་ཉི། TSUNG.BI (Yol),  བྱི་ཉ བྱི་ PL.TSE (Pur),  བྱི་ཉ བྱི་ S.A.B.L.I.G (La) lit. ‘earth mouse’, བྱི་ བྱི་ TSI.TSI (Dz). Another root, བྱི་ TSI, is widespread, and probably represents onomatopoeia.  བྱི་ TSI.TSI (U) or བྱི་ TSI.Č.IBI (Ü, Ts), etc.

641. PIKA [Ochotona spp.] གྲུབ་ཐ་ SABRA or གྲུབ་ཐ་ RBZABRA [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ü, Hor Am) < CT usually pronounced /abra/ (Ü, Hor) but also /zebra/ (Za) and /dzabra/ (La).

642. MARMOT རྨི་ རྲི་ 'PHYLBA [PW] (Pur, La, Za, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT. The word 'PHYL is pronounced in many ways, e.g.: རྨི་ རྲི་  'PHYLBA /pia/ (Pur, La, Za), /pia/ (Tö, Sp), /p/ (Sh), /ts'a/ (Kh, Hor), /sh'uwa/ (Kh, Hor), /seya/ (Kh), /sh'a/ (Am), /še/ (Dz) རྨི་ རྲི་ 'PHYLPHI /či/ (Ü, Ts), etc. In some dialects, a metaphorical expression is used to designate the rodent: གྲུབ་ཐ་ SGM.CHEN 'great meditator' (because it hibernates!). Conversely yogis are sometimes ironically referred to as 'marmots'. The compound རྨི་ རྲི་ 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 བྲ བྲ 'BYA [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT and the diminutive བྲ བྲ 'BYEÜ [PW] < CT lit. ‘small bird’. It is interesting to note that Purik makes a difference between བྲ 'BYA/bya/ 'flightless birds' and བྲ བྲ 'BYEÜ/byu/ 'flying birds'. 
644. NEST བྱ་ཚང་ BYA.TSHANG [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Am, Dz) < CT 'bird nest' or the variant བྱ་འུ་ཚང་ BYE.TSHANG < CT 'fledgling nest'. The word བྱ་ TSHANG is also used alone and means 'nest, den, lair'. In Purik /bya xotu/ lit. 'bird temporary house' is used.

645. DUCK ཆུ་བྱ་ CHU.BYA [FFW] (Pur, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The word ཆུ་ CHUBYA is used as a generic word for 'water bird', which is its literal meaning in CT. Ladaks uses ན་ཚན་CHUSREG lit. 'water patridge'. Sometimes the word རང་པ་ NGANG.PA is used (see GOOSE). The Urdu loanword /batak/ is also attested. For the type of duck called རང་པ་ NGUR.PA, some languages use ང་ ཀྲི་ YAZI, a Chinese loanword 鴨子 (E).

646. GOOSE རང་པ་ NGANG.PA [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT.

647. DOVE/PIGEON ཁྲུག་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 ང་ཁྲུག་ PHU.RGN. In many dialects, due to a metathesis, the word is pronounced ང་ཁྲུག་ PHUR.GON /p'urgon/. A word of unclear origin, ཉའི་ MU.KHU (Lj: Nyoma), is also attested.

648. CRANE བྱ་ཁྲུང་ BYA.KHRUNG [PR] < CT. Usually reduplicated as བྱ་ཁྲུང་ KHRUNG.KHRUNG or preceded by the class term 'bird' བྱ་ BYA as བྱ་ཁྲུང་ BYA.KHRUNG.

649. EAGLE ཉག་ GLAG [FFR] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT, usually combined with the class term བྱ་ BYA 'bird': བྱ་གླ་ 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་རྒོད་ BYA.RGOD < CT 'vulture', རང་དཀར་ THANG.KAR (Pur) < CT 'Tibetan white vulture', and བྱ་ཁྲ་ BYA.KHRA < CT 'hawk' for 'eagle'.

650. HAWK ཁྲ་ KHRA alt. ཁྱ་ KHYA [PW] < CT. This is often preceded by the class term 'bird': བྱ་ KHRA. In the skobsteng dialect (Kh), the initial consonant is a uvular /q/, which may suggest that the original sound of this word was uvular.
651. VULTURE [PW] < CT (lit.) 'wild bird'. In some dialects (Kh, L; Durbuk, Nyoma), the word རྒོད RGD is used alone. Other terms are also attested in some regions: རྩང་དཀར THANG.DKAR < CT 'Tibetan white vulture', བྱ་རྒོད BYA.RGOD (Sp) lit. 'eagle-dog'. The term for 'vulture' is sometimes confused with 'eagle' and 'hawk'. Vultures are common in Tibet but less frequent in other regions of the Tibetic area, such as Ladakh. See EAGLE and HAWK.

652. OWL [PW] < CT རུག་པ་ UG.PA.

653. BAT [FFW] < CT 'half-bird half-mouse'. For 'bat' or 'flying fox', other words are attested, such as མཚན་བྱི MA.BYI 'night mouse' (La, Za), ག་ཝང་ PHA.WANG (Ü) and ཞྱི་ཤི། DGA.HALUNG (Am).

654. MAGPIE [FFW] < CT སྐྱ་ཀ་ SKYA.KA 'variegated crow', སྐྱ་ཏྭ་ཁྲིོ། KHWA.TA.KHRA.BU.KHRID (La, Za). Many variants are attested, e.g. བུ་ཤུད་ KHU.SHUD (Ü) and བུ་ཤུག་ KHU.SHUD (Sp).

655. HOOPOE [FFR] < CT བུ་པུ་ PU.PU. This is usually designated by the onomatopoeia /pu(t)pu(t)/, /ututut/, often followed by a disyllable: བུ་པུ་ KHU.SHUD (Ü). བུ་པུ་ KHU.SHUD (La). བུ་པུ་ PUD.PUD/putput (Pur). བུ་པུ་ KHU.SHUD (Za), etc. It is interesting to note that the verb describing the hoopoe's cry in French is pushouter. In Sherpa བྱ་པུ་ LHAS.NGAN.PUSHID < CT LT.ANS.NGAN 'bad omen' +pushi. In Amdo, the word གུ་སྲིད་ SHING.RTAM.O (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] [FFW] < CT. The root is not found alone and often occurs as ཀྲོ་ཟོ་ ROG. Several variants are found, including གྲོ་ཟོ་ GWO.RAG, རུག་པུ། PHO.PU, རུག་པུ། PHO.PU, རུག་པུ། PHO.PU, རུག་པུ། PHO.PU, རུག་པུ། PHO.PU, which may be derived from པོ་ཟོ་ PHO.PU. A raven is a
black crow larger than the common crow (see below). In many regions, the raven is considered a good omen, while the common crow sometimes has negative connotations. The raven is used to represent deities. Its name appears in the form of protectors and deities such as མགོན་པོ་བྱ་རོག་གདོང་ MGON.PO BYA.ROG.DGONG ‘raven face protector’, a form of Mahakala. In dialects of some regions where ravens are uncommon, no distinction is made between ravens and common crows.

657. CROW [Corvus macrorhynchos tibetensis] ཁྭ་ཏ། KHWA.TA [FFW] (Ū, Ts, Kh, La, etc.) < CT, or preceded by the class term བྱ་ཁྭ་ཏ། BYA.KHWA.TA. In Sherpa this bird is called ཞབ་ལག་ /kalak/ < KHWA.TA. Some other forms are found, such as ལོ་ལ། JOL.LA /gola/ (Dz, Lho), གོ་འོ་РОG PHO.ROG (Pur).

658. RED-BILLED CHOUGH (Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax himalayanus) ཁྲ་ཅ་ LCUNG.KA or རྟོ་ཚ། SKYUNG.KA [FFW] (La, Sp, Ū, 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 ཀྲོ་ལག་ JOL.MO < CT. This bird is often mentioned in Classical Tibetan poetry.

660. PHEASANT རྟོ་བྱ་ RMA.BYA < CT. lit. ‘mountain bird’.

661. PARTRIDGE སྲོ་ག་ SREG.PA [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ū, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT.

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

663. CUCKOO རྒྱ་བུ་ KHU.BUG [FFW] (Ts, Ū, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT. རྒྱ་ KHU.BUG. Sprigg mentions ཁྲ་ཅ། LCUNG.KA for Balti (see above RED-BILLED CHOUGH). The Hindi loanword /koyal/ is used in the Himalayas.

664. PEACOCK རྣ་མོ་ RMA.BYA [PR] < CT probably from Skr. mayāra. It is pronounced /mabja/ (La), /mapa/ (Ū, Ts, Yol), etc. The following variants are also attested: རྣ་ RMA.YA, རྣ་འཇུག་ BYE.U.RMA.YA, རྣ་འཇུག་ BYE.U.RMA, རྣ་འཇུག Menja/ /menja/ (Pur).

665. TORTOISE རུས་སྦལ་ RUS.SBAL [PW] < CT lit. ‘bone-frog’. In Purik /kačwa/ is a loanword < Urdu.
666. **Snake སྲུལ་ SBRUL** [PR] < CT. This is pronounced in many ways: སྲུལ་ /ərul/ (Pur), /brul/ (Ba), སྲུལ་ /ru/ (La), /ruv/ (Am) /ኩ/ (Kh), /qul/ (Sp), སྲུལ་ /bū/ (Dz), /būʔ/ (Ho), /bi/ (Ko), སྲུལ་ /xwaw/ (Am: Dz), /wu/ (Am), etc. In the sKadgrag dialect (Kh), སྲུལ་ SBRUL lit. ‘worm’ is used. A few dialects have a form with a prenasalisation only for ‘snake year’, such as /ŋə-ul/ in Rongbrag (Kh), which may imply a relation to the reconstructed PTB form *smrul.

667. **Frog སབལ་ SBAIPA** [PW]. This is pronounced in many ways: /balpa/ (Ba, Pur), /balba/ (Tö), /balwa/ (Sp, Sh), /bäːpa/ (Ü, Kh, Ho), /yäwa/ (E: Th), /bawa/ (Am), /bäːpa/ (Dz) < CT. In some languages in the eastern area, R occurs as a glide before the vowel: སུལ་ SBAIPA /rwawa/ or /wrawa/ (Am).

668. **Fish སྦྲུ་ 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 སྲུ་ BU** [PR] < CT. སྲུ་ BU (Dz). Sometimes this forms compounds, such as སྲུ་ SBRUL BU from སྲུ་ SBRUL BU, lit. ‘insect, vermin’, སྲུ་ BU (Dz). Many languages and dialects group ‘crawling insects’ and ‘worms’ together (see WORM).

670. **Worm སྲུ་ SBRUL**. See སྲུ་ BU above.

671. **Flying Insect སྲུ་ SBRANG** [PR] < CT. The root is often followed by a suffix: སྲུ་ SBRANG,MA, སྲུ་ SBRANG,MA, སྲུ་ SBRANG,BU. The root is pronounced in many ways: སྲུ་ /brang/ (Pur), སྲུ /rang/ (La), སྲུ /rang/ (Ts), སྲུ /rang/ (Ü) /bong/ (Ko), སྲུ /jam/ (Dz), སྲུ /wang/ (Am: Dz), /rwang/ or /rang/ (Am), etc. In some dialects of Amdo and Balti, the word སྲུ་ SBRANG,MA (< CT ‘honey bee’) is used. The root སྲུ་ SBRANG is opposed to སྲུ་ BU ‘crawling insect’; cf. WORM.

672. **Honey Bee སྲུ་ SBRANG,MA (La, Za, Sp, Kh, Am) < CT.** Some dialects have a reflex of སྲུ་ SBRANG,MA. Many languages use the root སྲུ་ SBRANG ‘flying insect’ to form compound words meaning ‘honey bee’: སྲུ་ SBRANG,BU (Kh), སྲུ་ SBRANG,MA, SBRANG NORT,BU (Ü) < CT lit. ‘flying insect jewel’, སྲུ་ SBYANG,SER lit.
'yellow fly' (Ba), བྲང་རྩི་ཧའུ་/sbrangtsi hau/ 'honey fly' (Pur), བུང་སེར་/BUNG.SER (La) 'hornet', བོང་ཚ་/TONG.ZE (Pur, La, Za) 'stinging insect'.

673. FLEA རྒྱུ་/LJI [PW] < CT, the compound མོ་/KHYI.SHIRG or རྒྱུ་/KYL.SHIRG 'dog louse' (Dz, Ba, Pur, Za, Yol, etc.) is frequently found.

674. LOUSE རྒྱུ་/SHIG < CT (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz).

675. BED BUG རྒྱུ་/DRE.SHIRG (Ü, Dz). བརྒྱུ་/čari/ (La, Za) is used.

676. FLY བྲང་ནག་/SBRANG.NAG [FFW] < CT བྲང་/SBRANG 'flying insect'. བྲང་བུ་/SBRANG.BU, བྲང་ནག་/SBRANG.NAG lit. 'black flying insect', བྲང་/SBRANG.THA (Am). ཟྙ/hau/, of unclear origin, is used in Purik.

677. MOSQUITO བྲང་/DUG.SBRANG < CT 'poison flying insect'. The word བྲང་/SBRANG is also attested, In Gyälthang (Kh) the word /ta shi/, of unclear origin, is used. ང/zanggi/ (Pur, La) 'a mosquito-like biting insect'. ང/DRE.TSHAGS (Hor), ང/DRE.BONG (Ladakh: Rongkat), ང/DRE.RKANG BRGYAD (LJ: Nyoma).

678. SPIDER རྒྱུ་/SDOM < CT related to the verb རྒྱུ་/SDOM 'to attach, to bind' (see BIND). Many other words are attested throughout the region: རྒྱུ་/SDOM.MASKOR (Am: xun), རྒྱུ་/SDOM.THAGS (Hor), རྒྱུ་/BAR.SHEM (Dz), རྒྱུ་/SRIN.GONG.GONG lit. 'round demon' (Sh), རྒྱུ་/SRIN.JAMO (Sham, Pur), རྒྱུ་/DRE.BONG (Ladakh: Rongkat), རྒྱུ་/DRE.RKANG BRGYAD (LJ: Nyoma). In Kham one also encounters རྒྱུ་/RGYAKA.KARA (Tsharethong and Sakar) and རྒྱུ་/RGYA.KARA (Am, E).

679. LIZARD བྲང་པ་/RTSANGS.PA KHA.RAI (Ü, Ts) བྲང་པ་/RTSANGS.PA (Pur, Yol, etc.) < CT. རྒྱུ་/SRIN 'demon' or རྒྱུ་/DRE 'ghost, demon', which shows how spiders are considered. Some dialects make a difference between various types of spiders depending on the size.
Lizards are found on the Tibetan plateau and in the Himalayas.

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.

The plural form गृग्मां (Yol) is also used. The archaic form गृमावु is still found in Ladakh and elsewhere. In Southern Kham, a reflex of गृमावु is also attested. In Purik and Sham, a loanword is attested: झाकठां /xarxatu/ < Skr? cancer.

These various names are probably derived from an onomatopoeia /čak/ or /tsak/. Metaphors are also used: नापू /nāpo/ lit. 'grandmother goldsmith' (Za).

Dragonflies do fly, the item बु /bu/ – usually reserved for worms and flightless insects – is used. This seems to be an exception.

Butterflies फ्हे मा /phe,ma/ are found in Drugchu, where निछे मा /nyi,ma/ is in Melong (Kh). In Lhasa, ढे को /dē ko/
CEM.CE LHAMO is used whereas in Minyak Rabgang (Kh), बतबु 'bat'BU is used. In Drugehu, /pi bi t'a ro/ is used.

686. MOTH मु कु MUG, PA < CT. Compound words are also found such as लक्जाजु मेल लिंग LCEB.DER,MA (Lhasa). In many languages (Hor, Tö, Am), the compound लक्जाजु मेल लिंग RGAD.PO.MELCEB lit. 'old man jumping in the fire' is used. The variants लक्जाजु मेल लिंग RGAD.MO.MELCEB and अनियमित मेल लिंग ZAYS.MELCEB (Am) 'old woman jumping in the fire', and simply लक्जाजु MELCEB (Pur, La, Za) 'jumping in the fire' are also attested.

CLOTHING AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

687. THREAD स्कुड SKUD [PR] < CT. Normally followed by a suffix PA: स्कुड पा SKUD.PA (Pur, La, Yol, E, Ü, Ts, etc.), स्कुड दो SKUD.DO (Am: Ng), and also स्कुड रु SKUD.RU (Ho). The Sherpa word स्कुड दो/ मुशु/ also probably derives from स्कुड रु. In southern Kham, रसशु RAS.SKUD lit. 'cloth thread' is often used.

688. CLOTH see COTTON (CLOTH).

689. COTTON (CLOTH) रस RAS [PR] < CT. In Baltistan, the Urdu word कपās‘kapās’ is often used instead. The word स्रिन,बाल 'worm wool' is used in many dialects to designate the cotton plant.

690. SILK दर्गोस DAR.GOS < CT. The word गोस.चेन GOS.CHEN 'brocade' (La, Ü) < CT is widespread. गोस GOS (Am) is sometimes also used for 'silk'. बुरोस BU.RAS 'bug cloth'. Loanwords are also attested, such as ग्रुटिस GRO.TSI /'utsi/ (Ü) < Chn., रेशिम /reshim/ (La, Pur) < Urd.

691. CHUBA/ CLOTH ROBE गोस GOS [FFW] < CT. This refers to the traditional Tibetan dress for men and women, called chuba in Common Tibetan (see CLOTHES). The term गो and बगो BGO are used in Bhutan and Sikkim. गोस.बोद 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 दक्षिण DKYILA < CT दक्रिस रस DKRIS.RAS lit. 'wrapped cloth' is used in Bhutan and नूफा SUL.MA lit. 'pleated (dress)' in Ladakh for women’s dress. Other terms
are also attested བྱུ་པ་ PHYU/çaupa/ (Ū, Ts), བྱུ་པ་ BYU/çaupa/ (Sh), which are probably loanwords from Persian: jobbe; Turkish: Çubbe; and ultimately borrowed from Arabic /jubba/, which is also the source of the French word jupe 'skirt' (Rey 1992). The word བྱུ། LWA (Am, E) should be mentioned (see CLOTHES); it is often preceded by རྣས་ RAS.LWA/RING.MO GON.CHAS’long coat’ is used in Purik.

692. MONASTIC CLOTHING ཆོས་གོས་ CHOS.GOS < CT lit. ‘dharma clothes’ or ཀྲབ་ཅན་GRWA/GRWA CHOS.GOS < CT lit. ‘monk’s garment’ refers to the traditional katayu, which is monks’ and nuns’ clothing in the Buddhist and Bön tradition. Monastic clothing includes: མཚན་གསར་ STOD.GAG‘vest’ (or ལྣ་སྦྱས་ SNAM.SBYAR for bikshus), ལྟོག་ GZAN ‘upper shawl’, སྣམ་མཚན་SHAM.THABS ‘lower garment’, སྟོད་ RING.MO GON.CHAS’long coat’ is used in Purik.

693. CLOTHES བྱུ། LWA or སྣམ་ GOS < CT ‘woolen material’, which is used alone in Amdo for ‘clothes’, but is often combined with བྱུ། LWA GOS.LWA. Another very frequent root is བྱུ། LWA GOS.LWA. The forms བྱུ། LWA GOS.LAG [FFR] (Ba, La, Sp Ts, To) and བྱུ། LWA GON.LAG are also encountered. Other words are attested marginally. Interestingly, the word for ‘clothes’ used in Common Tibetan and Lhasa dialect, སྟོད་ RING.MO GON.CHAS’long coat’ is of unclear origin. This is also the case with the Sherpa word for ‘clothes’, ལྣ་མཚན། /manjha/. ལྣ་མཚན། BKAB.CHAS (Yol) is derived from BKAB ‘to cover’. In Yunnan, a Naxi loanword /bu la/ is widely used for nontraditional clothes. In Gyälthang, /ha `ta/ is also used.

694. POCKET (TRADITIONAL) བླུན་པ། SNAM.BRAG /snamøk/ (La), བླུན་པ། SNAM.BRAG /ambäa/ (Ū), རུམ་ RUM; a pocket formed by the upper front part of traditional robes.
695. SHIRT སྟོད་ཐུང་ STOD.THUNG [FFW] (La, Ts, Ù, Kh, Sh, etc.) < CT ‘upper short (clothes)’. སྟོད་ TSHILLEN (La) is also attested. སྟོད་ཙེ་ STOD.TSE for ‘shirt’ and སྟོད་ཙེ་ TSHILLEN ‘undershirt’ are used. STOD.THUNG is used for both traditional shirts and modern shirts. In some Tibetan areas, /tsʰjʊ/, 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’ ལྡེ་ལེན་ DRI.LEN (La) is also attested. སྟོད་ཙེ་ STOD.TSE for ‘shirt’ and སྟོད་ཙེ་ TSHILLEN ‘undershirt’ are used. STOD.THUNG is used for both traditional shirts and modern shirts. In some Tibetan areas, /tsʰ/ə̃ji/, a borrowing of the Chinese 衬衣 chenyi, is frequent. The Hindi–Urdu loanword /kamiz/ is also used in India and Nepal.

697. SKIRT སྨད་གཡོགས་ SMAD.YOGS [FFR] < CT. In eastern areas, ཤེ་ A Chinese loan裙子 qunzi is also used. Skirts are not traditional in the Tibetan areas.

698. APRON བང་གདན་ PANG.GDAN [FFR] (Ts, Ù, Kh, Am) < CT. In Ù, Tsang and some other areas, only married women wear aprons, whereas in other areas (such as Kham and Amdo) all women wear them. རྗེ་མ་ CHAG.MA (Ts, Lh) < CT.

699. HAT རྭ ZHWAM [FFR] (Ts, Ù, Kh, Hor, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. This is found alone, as རྭ ZHWAM (Am), but is normally followed by a suffix: རྭ ོན་ ZHWAM.O (ù, Ts, Yol), རྭ ེར་ ZHWAYE (Kh), རྭ ེུང་ ZHWAM.US (Hor), རྭ ེར་ ZHWAM.O (Kh), རྭ ེར་ ZHWAM.O /‘zh’am/ (Dz), རྭ ེར་ ZHWAM.O /‘zh’am/ (Sh). Other words are also used, such as རྭ ོན་ BOG.TO < CT ‘type of yellow hat’ in Kongpo, རྭ ོན་ RMOG.PA < CT RMOG ‘helmet’, རྭ ོན་ /nating/ (Ba), རྭ ོན་ /tibi/ (La) and རྭ ོན་ /topi/ (Pur) < Urdu; Also རྭ ོན་ THOD ‘turban’ (Pur, La) < CT.

700. BELT སྐེ་རགས་ SKE.RAGS [FFR] (Pur, La, Ts, Ù, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT.

701. SOCK རྭ ོན་ AU.MO, AU.MO.SU < Mong. The Tibetan compound རྭ ོན་ RKANG.SHUB ‘leg case’ (La), རྭ ོན་ RKANG.TSE (Pur, Ba). In the Chinese area, the loanword སྐབུས་ wazi is frequently used. རྭ ོན་ RKANG.RMOD.BOG < CT ‘foot + penetrate, get into’ is also attested.
702. **BOOT** ल्हाम [PR] < CT. The root *lham* is nearly pandialectal. It is sometimes followed by a suffix: ल्हाम्गोग [lham.gog] *kO.lham* ‘leather boot’ is also heard in Amdo. These often refer to the traditional Tibetan felt boot. This root also means ‘shoe’ in many dialects (see SHOE). This word can exceptionally be pronounced /ham/. Other words such as ल्हाभ [lham] /papu/ (La, Pur), ल्हाद [lhad] /kratpa/ ’a traditional type of boot’ (La, Pur) and ल्हांछ [zona] < 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 झूता /juta/ are encountered. In some languages, the word ल्हाम [lham] refers to any shoe. ल्हाभ [papu] is heard in Ladaks and Purik. The Chinese 靴 *xie* (/xai/ in Sichuanese) is also attested.

704. **FUR-LINED JACKET** स्लोग [slog] or स्लांग [slog] *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 स्लोग [slog] *slog.pa*, which means ‘reverse side (of a sheepskin)’. This word is regularly pronounced त्सोका /tsokpa/ or त्सका in some Northern Kham Hor dialects, and /tsakpa/ in Purik and /lakpa/ in Ladaks. The compounds ल्पांग्स स्लोग [lpags.slog] lit. ‘reversed skin’ and ल्पांग्स त्सोग [lpags.tshog] are also used. Several unetymological spellings are also used, such as ल्पांग्स स्लांग [lpags.slag], ल्पांग्स त्सांग [lpags.tsang]. In Ladakh, *lokpa* are usually worn by women whereas झांश त्सांग *shang.lak* refers to the traditional fur coat worn by males. Some warmer regions do not have this word.

705. **LAMBSKIN COAT** त्सांग [tsar] *tsa.ru* [FFW] (Hor, Ts, Ü, Skh) < CT. त्सांग [tsar] *tsa.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** नोर [nor] *nor* [PR] < CT. The term नोर्पोचे [nor.po.che] < CT ‘precious’ is also attested for this meaning. For झांश [bang] *bang* (La, Pur), see ‘STOREHOUSE’.
707. ORNAMENT རྒྱན་[PR] < CT. Sometimes followed by the word CHA 'pair': རྒྱན་Cha. ལྷག་ཆ་[CT. BTAG CHA HALL] is used in Purik, ལྷག་ཚ་[CT. BTAG SKE 2ALL] lit. ‘beads attached to the neck’.

708. CORAL བྱུ་[RU] [PR] < CT. A frequently used material for hair ornaments and jewelry.

709. TURQUOISE གཡུ་[PR] < CT. The turquoise is an emblematic and symbolic stone of the Tibetan culture.

710. PEARL མུ་[TIG] [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz) < CT < Skr ्मु ‘तक’, muktikā. Some dialects lack a word for ‘pearl’.

711. AMBER སྤོས་ཤེལ་[PW] (Pur, La, Ü, Kh, E, Am) < CT.

712. EARRING རྣ་ལོང་[FW] < CT. Other words, like ཨ་ལོང་ʔA LONG and ཨ་ལི་ʔA LI, are also found. Other forms include: རྣ་ཆ་RNA CHA (Pur), སྒར་ལོང་SGAR LONG (Sp, Tö), ལོང་ཐུག LONG THUG (Minyak Rabgang) and རྣ་ཁུག་RNA KHUG (SKh) lit. ‘seduced by ear’.

713. NECKLACE ལག་དཀྱིས་[FW] < CT. ལག་རྒྱན་SKE.RGYAN, ལག་མཆིང་LOG.MCHING (Pur), ལག་Cha (Pur, La, Za).

714. RING (ON FINGER) མཛུབ་དཀྱིས་[FW], མཛུབ་དཀྱིས་MDZUB.DKYS (Am), མཛུབ་ཁེབས་TSHIGS.KHEBS [FW]. མཛུབ་པུ་MDZUB.SHUB (SKh, E), རུང་གུ་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 རུང་GUB.

716. FELT ཨ་ཕྱིང་[FW] < CT. ཨ་ཕྱིང་PAHYING.BA (Am). ཨ་ཕྱིང་MA PHYING.MA (Ba, Pur). Not found in all languages.

717. CARPET རྒྱན་[PR] < CT ‘seat’, ‘bolster’ (probably derived from GDA ‘to sit’) and རྔ་སྟུགས་GDA.BTSUG. ‘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 རྒྱན་དྲེ་GDA.DREN ‘to invite somebody’ lit. ‘to pull the carpet’. Many types of carpets are attested.
They include ས་གདན་ 'floor rugs', གི་མོ gmo 'floor rugs' (La), སབས་འགོམ་ KHAL.GDAN, སབས་འགོམ་ KHAG.GDAN 'bed rugs', སྤྱོགས་གདན་ TSHOGS.GDAN 'carpet for a row of monastics', རྩྭ་གདན་ KHRAL.GDAN 'throne-fitting seat' (for lamas, kings). The word GDAN is also used for cushions and mattresses: འབོལ་གདན་ BOL.GDAN 'stuffed cushions', ཉལ་གདན་ NYAL.GDAN 'sleeping mattress', རྩྭ་གདན་ RTSWA.GDAN 'straw mat', etc. The word ཆ་ར /čara/ or /čali/, used in Baltistan for 'carpet' along with the word /qalin/ (Urdu, Pers), is also found in Jangthang and means 'blanket', ཁོང་འབོལ་ DUG.GDAN, ཆ་ར་འབོལ་ SDOD.SA (SKh) lit. 'instrument or place to sit', གོས་གདན་ GOS.GDAN 'brocade carpet' (Am).

718. BLANKET བལ་གཟན་ MAL.GZAN (Hor) 'thick woollen blanket' < CT, ཁ་ར cha ra [FW], འབྲུག་པ་ BTSUGS.PHRUG (U, Ts) 'thin woollen blanket', འབྲུག་པ་ BTSUGS.THUL (Za, La), སྡོད་ THUL.LU. སྡོད་ NYAL.THUL (Am), འབྲུག་པ་ KAM.PAR.LI (U, Ts).

719. THING/MERCHANDISE མ་ལ་ CA [PW] (La, U, Ts, Am, Dz, Kh, Ho, Sh, etc.) < CT. The variant མ་ ཁ་ Am, Kh) is also attested. Another word, ཆ་དངོས་ PO < CT lit. 'object' (Am), and the compound ཆ་དངོས་ DNGOS.Dngoing are used. In southern Kham, /se pa/ and /she pa/ are widely used; these may be related to སྤྱོད་པ་ SPYAD.PA lit. 'thing for use'.

720. TABLE གཉིས་ དོན་ COG.RTSE [PW] (Pur), also spelled གཉིས་ དོན་ LCOG.RTSE < Chin. འབྲུག་པ་ LAC dendzi. This designates both Tibetan traditional low tables and modern western tables. However, for the latter, a pronunciation reflecting the modern Chinese word is used: འབྲུག་པ་ GROG.RTSE.

721. CHAIR, STOOL འབྲོུ་ཐུལ་ RKUB.BKYAG (U, Ts) < CT lit. 'supporting buttocks'. The word སྤྱོད་པ་ 'thrones' is used in Kham, Hor and Amdo, and a variant སྤྱོད་པ་ BKAG.BTEGS is used in Sherpa. Several languages also use a compound with the word ཁ་ KHRI 'throne': ཁ་ KHRI (Pur); ཁ་ KHRI.U.SHING < CT 'small throne wood' (La, Sp, Tö), ཁ་ KHRI.RKANG.KHR < CT lit. 'leg throne', ཁ་ KHRI.BGYAG.SDOD (E) lit. 'support seat'. The Chinese borrowings 板凳 bandeng and 椅子 dengzi are also frequently
used in the eastern Tibetan areas of China; ནུས་ karsi (La, Pur) < कुसी karsi (Hindi–Urdu).

722. **BED** ཷོར་ KHRI [PR] < CT ‘throne’. In some eastern dialects, especially in Amdo and Gyalthang (Kh), the word ཷོར་ KHRI is pronounced differently when it means ‘bed’ and when it means ‘throne’. In many dialects, a compound word ཞལ་ KHRI NYAL < CT lit. ‘sleeping throne’ (U, Ts, Kh, Am, Sp, etc.). The compounds ཞལ་ KHRI NYAL-SA (U, Ts, Kh), ཞལ་ KHRI NYAL-TSA (Pur) and ཞལ་ KHRI 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 > ཷོར་ KHRENG or ཷོར་ KHRONG is used. དུན་ HULDZIN is a type of bed warmed by a fire found in Amdo area.

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

724. **LOCK** རྡོ་ lcag [FFW] (U, Ts, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT lit. ‘door iron’, རལ་ ZWA (Am) < CT ‘padlock’, རྡོ་ lcag.khug, རྡོ་ lcag.khug (Skh). In some dialects, the term for KEY (see below) may be used to designate locks: རི་ MIG is used in the western languages (Pur, La, Za).

725. **KEY** རྡོ་ lde dmig [PW] (Sp, Ts, U, Kh, Hor, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. The variant རྡོ་ lde dmig is attested in the Eastern region (Am, Kh, E). Various specific pronunciations are attested: རི་ lde mag (Ts), རི་ lde ing (Tö), རི་ lmi (Sp, Ba, Sh), རི་ lde dmig.bu (Dz). Some Kham dialects have the form རི་ lde, or more probably from རལ་ ZWA ‘to lock’. Another word is attested in the western areas: རི་ Kulig (La, Sp), རི་ phdu phke Kulig (La, Za, Pur) lit. ‘open key’. In some Southern Kham, there is no word for ‘key’ and they use the lexicalized phrase རྡོ་ lcag.sgo phye-sa ‘door-opening instrument’.

726. **GLASS** རི་ 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 མེ་ལོང་LA 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 གུག་མེ་ལོང་PUG.ME LONG ‘knee mirror’ is used in many western and southern areas to mean ‘kneecap’. There are other words for ‘mirror’, such as གོ་ཤེལ་NGO SHEL < CT ‘face glass’, བདོང་ཤེལ་MDONG.SHEL < CT ‘face glass’, འབྲོི་ཤེལ་SHEL.SGO (Ú, Ts, Am, etc.) < CT ‘mirror’ and གོ་རྩ་NGO.LTA < CT ‘face look’.

728. **BROOM** ལྟོག་ཕྱག་མ་PHYAG.MA [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Yol, Ú, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. ལྟོག་ཕྱག་PHYAG(Dz), ཁདྲུང་མ་GDUNG.MA(Ba), རྟོལ་ZHULI(Pur), བལྟོའི་OL.MO (La, Za), རྒྱུ་སུ་SDUD.MA(Am).

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

730. **GARBAGE** རྗེས་སྙིགས་GAD.SNYIGS [FFR] < CT is mainly literary and a number of words of unclear origin are attested. བཀྲ་མ་KHIM.SA /k'emsa/, /k'imsa/ < ‘floor’ is used in Ladakh. ཨི་ཟུལ་KHIM.PHYAGS(Am).

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

732. **THREE-STONE FIREPLACE or TRIVET** སྒྱེད་ཕུ་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་རྡོ་SGYED.RDO is also heard. In some eastern areas, རྒྱུང་RKANG.GSUM < CT ‘three-legged’ is used. The word སྒྱེད་SGYED.PU is also found in some Buddhist rituals such as གཅོད GCOD. The expression སྒྱེད་ཕུ་སྤུན་གསུམ་SGYED.PU SPUN.GSUM. ’gyetpu, three brother stones’ is also found. In some dialects, such as Hor, the word སྒྱེད་SGYED.PU has acquired the meaning of ‘stove’.
733. BELLOWS སྦུད་པ་ (SBUD.PA) [PR] < CT SBUD 'to light, set on fire' (SBUD < PHU 'blow'). Another frequent word to refer to 'bellows' is ཕོལ་མོ (KHOL.MO) (Tö, Kh, Am), derived from the root KHOL 'to boil'. Other words are also attested, such as མོ་/x'än/ (Kh), མོ་/x'än/ /xänkom/ (Ho), ཕོ་/PHUNU/ 'bell pipe' (Pur).

734. KNIFE གྲི (GRI) [PR] < CT or the variant གྱི (GYI) (Am). Often followed by ཀྲང་ (CHUNG) 'small': གྲི་ཀྲང་. In some eastern dialects, the Chinese word 刀子 daozi is also used. In Yolmo, a Nepali loanword /karta/ is used.

735. LADLE ཞྱགས་ (SKYOGS) [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. ཞྱགས་མགོ (SKYOGS.MGO) (Am). In the Eastern section, this word is generally not known and is replaced by other words, such as ཀེ་/KHEM.CHEN/ lit. 'large spoon'. ཆར་/ZAR.BU/ 'wooden ladle' (Pur, La, Za), བྲ་/KRA. TSU/ (Pur, La, Za), རྡུ་/THUM.BU/ (Pur, La, Za). In the southern Himalayas and Ladakh, འཁུག་ chamba < Pers. is found.

736. SPOON མོ་/KHEM.BU/ or its variant པྲྭ་/KYEM.BU/ [FFW] (Pu, Kh, Am, Yol, etc.) < CT. མོ་/LCONS.KHEM/ (Am) lit. 'iron spoon'. In Central and southern areas, the word སྣ་/THUR.MA or སྣ་/THUM.MANG (La, Za) < CT 'stick' is used, but this means 'chopsticks' in Amdo. In some languages, the word སྣ་/SKYOGS 'ladle' refers to a 'spoon'. In Southern Kham, a few dialects have a form ི/KAH.LDE/ of unclear origin. ི/PHO.GON/ /p'o/ on/ (Pur).

737. CHOPSTICKS སྣ་/THUR.MA (Am), ཤུ་/KA. THUR. In Southern Kham, /ʔa shô/ or /shô/ is used. Note that སྣ་/THUR.MA means 'spoon' in Central Tibet and Ladakh. In Central Tibet, a loanword from Chinese is used: རི་/KHO.TSE/ སྣོན། སྣོན། khotse.

738. BOWL སྣོན་ (CAN.NE) or སྣོན། (CANE) 'wooden bowl' [FFW] (Ts, Am, Sh) < CT, རི་/PHOR 'bowl' [FFR] < CT. It is often followed by a suffix PA or diminutive BU: རི་/PHOR.PA (Ú), རི་/PHOR.PHOR (Dz, Lho), རི་/PHOR.BU (Ko, Kh, Hor), རི་/PHO.TO (Ba, Pur, La). Traditionally bowls were mostly made of wood. However, now in many dialects, one finds compound words: རྩོག་ PHING.PHOR for 'wooden bowl' and རྩོག་/LCAGS.PHOR/ for 'metallic bowl'. In some areas such
as Ladakh and Baltistan or Tö Ngari, the term ོས་ KO.RE 'bowl' or 'cup' (Ba, La, Sp, Tö) < KOR/GOR 'round'.

739. CUP (CHINAWARE) ཐོག་བོལ་ DKA.YOL [PW] < CT 'white +?'. The word is pronounced in various ways: ཐོག་ལྷའི /karyol/ (Pur, La) ཐོག་འེ /kaye/ (Ko), ཐོག་ལུ /karui/ (Kh, Ho), ཐོག་ལོ /karol/ (Ba), ཐོག་ལུ /kayus/ (Dz). ཐོག་ལུ /kayung/ (Sh). A loanword from Chinese, འབྱུང་ད་ WEN < Chin. 大碗, is also found (Sh).

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

741. BOTTLE རྫམ་ DAM [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Am). This appears as རྫམ་ BE or རྫམ་ DAM.BI (Ts, A), རྫམ་ སྦྱླས་ DAM.SBYIS (Dz). In Central Tibet and Kham, the compound words བཤེལ་དམ་ SHEL.DAM < CT 'lit. crystal bottle' and བཤེལ་བུམ་ SHEL.BUM are found. Chinese loanwords are widely used in E and Kh, such as གིང་瓶 bo and གིང་瓶 bottle. English /botol/ is also found (Pur, La).

742. EARTHEN JAR རྫ་པོ་ RDZA [PR] < CT 'clay'. Often followed by a suffix: རྫ་པོ སྙེབས་ RDZ.AMA, རྫ་པོ སྙེན་ RDZ.A.KHOG, རྫ་པོ མེ་ RL, TSE (La).

743. THERMOS FLASK རྫ་མཛོད་ JAD.AM [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Dz, Jir, Sh, Kh, Am) < JA 'tea' and DAM 'bottle'; རྫ་མཛོད་ TSH.A.DAM [FFW] 'hot bottle', རྫ་མཛོད་ TSH.A.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) བྲེལ་པོ་ SLE.LO [PW] < CT or its variants བྲེལ་པོ SLE.LO (Ba, La Sp, Pur), བྲེལ་པོ SLE.LO (Kh), བྲེལ་པོ SLE.LO (Am), བྲེལ་པོ SLE.LO (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 varities and /siwo/ in Amdo.

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

747. SCISSORS བྟོམ་ TSE [FFW] < CT. The pronunciation བྟོམ་ DZIS /tsi:/ is also attested. The variant བྟོམ་ JAM. The pronunciation བྟོམ་ JAM.‘dzis /r'dzis:/ is also attested. The variant བྟོམ་ JAM. is also widespread. བྟོམ་ KH.GRI (Am) < CT བྟོམ་ KH.GRI 'scissors'. Another loan form, བྟོམ་ jianao, is often used. In central Ladakh, བྟོམ་ CHAN.PA is used, whereas བྟོམ་ DUGHAD is used in Sham and Purik.

748. HAND GRINDING STONE འཆེག་ MCHIG, རང་འབོག་ RANG, 'THAG, འབུམ་ LAG.SKOR. Used to grind tsampa.

749. BUCKET (WOODEN) རོ་ ZOM [PR] < CT. This is often followed by a suffix: རོ་ ZOM.BA /zaa/ (Am, Pur). The variants རོ་ ZOM and རོ་ ZEM are also frequent. Many compounds include 'water' or milk', depending on function, རོ་ CHU.DAM (SKh), རོ་ CHUZOM རོ་ CHUZEM (Pur), རོ་ ZHON.ZEM 'milk bucket' (Pur).

750. CHURN བྲུམ་ 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: བྲུམ་ MDONG.MO (Ba, Pur, La, Tö, Sh, Yol, Ü, Ts. Am.). There are several compound words such as བྲུམ་ SRUB MDONG (Lho) < CT 'mix churn', བྲུམ་ RGYA MDONG (Ho) < CT 'large churn' བྲུམ་ ZHO MDONG (Pur) < CT 'milk churn' (see MILK) and བྲུམ་ JAM.DONG (Lho, Ba). In some Amdo and Kham dialects, the root རོ་ ZO < CT 'bucket, pail' (see above) is used for 'churn', either alone or as a compound word: རོ་ DRUGS.BZ < CT 'shake bucket', རོ་ JA ZO (Kh) 'tea churn' < CT lit. 'tea bucket'. Other words are attested རོ་ JASRUBM (Dz) 'tea shaker' < CT lit.
‘tea shake + suffix’, བཞིག་ JBZHIG (Kh, Ho), ཕུ་སྒྲུལ་ KROLUM (Sh), and ལྷུ་སྒྲུལ་ 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 རྒྱུ་ TSHAD [PR] < CT. Loanwords may also be used, such as /taba/ (Pur).

753. LINE ཞིག་ THIG [PR] < CT.

754. WEIGHING SCALES རྒྱ་མ་ RGYAMA (Ts, Ü) < CT; སྲེང་ SRANG (Pur, Za, Dz) < CT. The word རྒྱ་ 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 རྒྱ་ NIA.GI (Ü, Ts, La) < CT. See TO WEIGH.

755. AXE སྟ་ RE STA [PW] < CT. This word also means ‘chopper’.

756. HAMMER རྒྱ་ཟེ། THO BA [PW] < CT.

757. SAW ཞོག་ SOG [PR] < CT. The words ཞོག་ཟེ། SOG.LE (Ü, Ts) and ཞོག་ཟེ། 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), /hA de/ (Kh: Zhollam) and /fA/ (Kh: Daan < Bai). Loanwords from Hindi–Urdu, such as /ara/, /are/ (La, Pur, Sp), are attested.

758. PLOUGH རྒྱ་ཟེ། THONG [FFR] (La, Tö, Yol, Ts, Sp, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT or རྒྱ་ཟེ། THONG.PA < CT ‘plough iron’. ཞོག་ GSHOL [FFR] (La, Ba, Pur) < CT ‘wooden part of the plough’. Various compound words containing these two roots are attested, such as རྒྱ་ཟེ། THONG.GSHOL ‘plough’ (Ü), རྒྱ་ཟེ། KHOL THONG.LCAGS (Am) lit. ‘plough iron’, རྒྱ་ཟེ། KHOL.GSHOL ‘plough iron’ (La). The compound རྒྱ་ཟེ། རྒྱ་ཟེ། GSHOL.MDA refers to the part of the plough into which metal blade is placed. Another root appears in some compound words རྒྱ་ RMO ‘to plough’. This verb is often followed by a noun or a nominalizer, forming a compound such as རྒྱ་ཟེ།་ཟིང་ རྒྱ་ཟེ།་ཟ་}.
RMOLCAGS (Am, Sh) < CT lit. ‘plow iron’, RMOBYED (Kh) < CT lit. ‘plow iron’, KH MIG. The Dzongkha word for ‘plough’ is of unclear origin: GH MIG. Let us finally mention one important tool related to traditional plowing, the ‘yoke’, which joins two yaks or dzos carrying the plough: GNYA SHING < CT ‘neck wood’ or RMON DOR < CT ‘plough pair’.

759. SLING UR RDO [FFR] < CT. G YUG RDO /yukdo/ (La, Za), RDO RDU G (Sh), UR RDU G (Am), UR CHA (Am). Slings are traditionally used by pastoralists to guide cattle.

760. HOE, MATTOCK JOR [FFR] < CT. SA SKA (E) of unclear origin is also attested. TOG TSE (La, Za, Yol).

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

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

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

764. SICKLE ZOR BA [PW] < CT. This is pronounced /zorba/ in Balti and Purik but ZOR BA /sora/ in most languages.

765. LOOM THAG KHRI (Ü, La) < CT lit. ‘weaving throne’. THAGS THAG (Am). Other words are attested THAGS SHING (Ba, Dz) < CT lit. ‘weaving wood’, t’aksha/ (La, Za), PHRUL THAGS < CT lit. ‘ingenious, magic weaving’ (Dz).
766. CONCH དུང་ DUNG [PW] < CT. The conch plays an important role in Buddhism and Bön, being used as a musical instrument in some rituals. It is also frequently mentioned in classical literature. In religious contexts, the term often appears in a compound word དུང་དཀར་ DUNG.DKAR lit. 'white conch'. Many young people only know the compound དུང་དཀར་ DUNG.DKAR 'white conch' as a religious term. In Balti, the word དུང་ DUNG 'conch' is not known and the word གཅོས་/'akos/ is used instead. བོད་རྩི་ 'BOD.RAJ is used in E and SKh < CT 'BOD' to call'.

767. SHELL མགྲོན་པུ་ MGRON.PU 'shell, cowry' [FFR] < CT also spelled མགྲོན་ MGRON. In Ladaks, this is pronounced རུམ་པུ་ /rumbu/. The word གཅོས་/'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', ལེ་ SHO, which is widespread in the Tibetan areas.

768. MACHINE འཕྲུལ་ 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 jiqi 机器 and the English machine, engine are also used.

769. GIFT བོད་པ་ RNGAN.PA (Ü, Ts, La, Pur) 'reward' < CT is also widespread. In Kham, the word བོད་ 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: གདུགས་ཅན་ CHUGDGUS, གདུགས་ཆུ་ CHAR.GDGUS for 'rain umbrella' < CT 'rain umbrella', and གདུགས་ནུས་ NYIGDGUS for 'parasol' < CT 'sun umbrella'. གདུགས་དཀར་ GDUGS.DKAR 'white umbrella' is a religious symbolic object well-known in Tibetan culture. The Hindi–Urdu loans /chata/ and /chatiri/ are used in Ladakh. ཆི་ནུས། NYI.SGRIB (La, Pur) is used for 'parasol' in Ladakh.

771. WHEEL མངོན་ KHOR.LO [PR] < CT. རྡི་ SGYIR.RI (Sham, see Norman 2019) corresponds to an archaic form. The word བོད་ LO, of unclear origin, is used in Southern Kham.
772. **Stick** བྱག་པ་ DBYUG.PA or རྒྱུ་ག་ RGYUG.PA < CT. Various words are found e.g. རྩེ་ན་ DBYEN.GA (E), རིན་པ་ BER.KA (Pur, La, Za, Yol) < CT. ཞོ་ཅོ་ 0.WO.CE (Am).

773. **Saddle** མ་ SGA [PR] < CT. In many dialects, this forms a compound with *RTA* ‘horse’: རྟ་སྒ་ RTA.SGA or རྟ་འི་སྒ་ RTA.SGA ‘l’il’ lit. ‘horse saddle’, pronounced /tegal/ in Sherpa. The compound སྒ་ལྕགས་ 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 འོབ་ཆེན་ OB.CHEN (La, Th, Am, Ba) and འོབ་ཆེན་ OB.CHEN /epé/ (Ba, Pur) are widespread. The compound རྟ་རྐང་ལྕགས་ RTA.RKANG LCAGS ‘horse foot iron’ is attested in SKh.

775. **Glasses (Spectacles)** རིག་སེལ་ MIG.SHEL [FFW] (Ў, Ts, etc.) < CT lit. ‘eye+crystal’. The variant རིག་སེལ་ MIG.SHEL is found in the Eastern regions. The reverse forms are also attested: རིག་སེལ་ SHEL.MIG (Yol) ‘crystal eye’ or its variant རིག་སེལ་ SHEL.MIG.RWA (La, Sp, Pur) or རིག་སེལ་ MIG.RWA (Am) < CT ‘eye horn’ or རིག་སེལ་ MIG.KHRAB < CT ‘eye armour’ (Ba, Pur). Some languages, such as Purik, distinguish between eyeglasses worn for protection, རིག་སེལ་ MIG.KHRAB (such as sunglasses), and eye glasses worn to assist sight, རིག་སེལ་ MIG.RWA.

776. **Stamp** ཐེལ་ཙེ THEL, TSE. < CT ‘stamp, seal’. ཐེལ་ THEL is alone used alone (E). རིག་སེལ་ SHEL.MIG (Am) and རིག་སེལ་ SAML.PHRUG ‘seal’ are also widespread. The loanword རིག་ MIG /mo(h)/ or (La, Za, Pur) < Pers. is also found.

777. **Postal Stamp** སྒྱོན་པོ་ DBRAG, DZIN < CT ‘postal receipt’ < Urdu /dak/ ‘post’ + Tib. ‘Dzin’ ‘receipt’ is used in Central Tibet. དབྱེ་ནུག་ GREM, RTAGS ‘distribution sign’ is used in Bhutan. In Ladakh, *ticket* is used for stamps. The Chinese loanword is 郵票 youpiao.

778. **Money** འབྲུག་པ་ DNGUL [FFW] (Ў, Ts, Tö, Ko, Kh) and its variant འབྲུག་ DMUL (Sp, Ba, La) < CT DNGUL ‘silver’. Other words include བཙོ་ན་ SGOR.MO (Am, Th) < CT ‘round’, འི་ན་ TI.RU ‘tiru’ (Dz), perhaps derived from འི་ན་ TIG.PHRUG ‘small pieces’, (also the name of a Kongpo soup made of small pieces of meat); ཁྱེན་ TENG.KA (Sh) and ཡང་ TANG.KA (Yol) < མ་TA.M KA ‘silver coins’ are
also used. The word མཁྲི་ KHRI is used in some Amdo pastoralist areas. There are also loanwords བེས་ /pesha/ from Urdu پیسا /païsa/, རེད། PE (La, Pur) from English ‘penny’ and 銀 qian from Chinese. The old Chinese loanword དོང་ཙེ་ DONG.TSE < ‘copper’ is also heard in some Amdo dialects.

779. MONEY (COINS/BANKNOTES) སྒོར་མོ་ SGOR.MO [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Am) < CT SGOR.MO related to གོར་མོ་ GOR.MO or གོར་སྒོར་ GOR.SGOR ‘round’, and its archaic variant དཔེ་ར་ DPE.RA (La, Pur) < དཔེ་བ་ DPE.BA < example’. ང་ཧ་ཧྲ་ /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.

780. LETTER དཔེ་ཆ་ DPE.CHA [FFW] (La, Sp, 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 སྐད། CHOS ‘dharma’. For books in the western codex format, three main words are used across the area: གྲེམ་ KLTab (La, Dz, Lho) < Pers. < Arab; དབེ་ DEB < CT ང་ཚེ། SDERS ‘joined’ (Ú, Ts); and དབེ་པེ་ slob.deb < lit. 'learn book' for textbooks and schoolbooks. The term གྲོ་སྒོར་ SHOG.PU < CT ‘paper’ is

781. PAINTING/DRAWING རི་མོ་ RI.MO [PW] (La, Sp, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, Sh, Dz, etc.) < CT. In some eastern areas, a loanword from Chinese 画画 huahua is also widely used. ང་ཧ་ཧྲ་ /haraf/ is used in Purik.
used in Baltistan and Purik for 'book'. འབྲཱེ་ YLGE (Kh) lit. 'letter' is also attested. The words དཔེ་ཆ་ DPE.CHA and འབྲཱེ་ YLGE refer to both Tibetan religious books and the western type of books, but adjectives may be used to distinguish the two: སྣ་རིང་ SNA.RING 'long nose' for the Tibetan format and འབྲི་ཚེམས་ BRI.TSHEM 'sewed head' for the western type.

784. NOTEBOOK བྲི་སད་ BRIS.DEB < CT. In the eastern areas, the Chinese borrowed 本子 benzi is often used. རི་/ka:fi, kapi/ (Pur) lit. 'copy'.

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

786. PENS སྨྱུ་གུ་ SMYU.GU [PW] (La, Za, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT 'small bamboo' is used. The variant སྨྱུང་ SMYUNG (Yol) is attested. Some Kham and Amo dialects use a compound word with the verb བི་ BRI 'to write': སྨྱུག་རི་ SMYUG.RI (Tö) or སྨྱུག་བུ་ SMYUG.BU 'BRI.SNYUG (Tö) lit. 'writing bamboo', སྨྱུག་བུ་ 'BRI.THUR 'stick (to) write' or སྨྱུག་ 'BRI.SPYAD (Am) 'instrument (for) writing', སྨྱུག་ 'BRI.SA (Kh) < 'write+instrumental nominaliser'. Some loanwords such as བི PEN (Sh, La) < English and 笔 bi or 鎗笔 qianbi from Chinese are used. རྱ་ལམ་/qalam/ (Pur) < Arabic ‘cane, pen’ is also attested.

787. INKS སྣག་ཚ་ SNAG.TSHA [PW] < CT and related to NAG 'black'. Sometimes སྣག་ SNAG is used alone. རྩི RTSI < CT 'varnish' (Pur). In the eastern area, a Chinese loan 墨水 moshui or meisui (Sichuanese pronunciation) is often used.

788. KNOWLEDGE ཡོན་ཏན་ YON.TAN [PW] < CT. The concept may be lacking from some dialects, and phrases might be used instead, such as སྣ་པེ་སློ་པ་ lit. 'ancestor example learning' (Am). The noun ལེགས་ SHES < verb SHES 'to know' is used in Purik.

789. DICTIONARY ཨིག་མཛོད་ TSIG.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 sabdakosa or English words are used, depending on the area.
790. LANGUAGE དགེ་སྐད་ [PW] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, Hor, Am) < CT 'sound', also cognate with mouth. Various pronunciations are attested: /kat/ (La, Pur), /kät/ (Am), /käl/ (Am), /xat/ (Za), /kā/ (Ú, Ts, Lho), etc. A few other words are also used: མ་ KHAM (Dz) < CT 'mouth', གཏམ་ GTAM (Yol) < 'speech, story', དཔེ་ར་ DPE RA, གཏམ་སྙད་ GTAM SNYAD (Sh), བོད་ ZLAU /bāt/ (Za) < CT བོད་ ZLO 'repeat, recite' are used. In Jirel, the word 'language' is a loanword from བོད་ /bat/ < Hindi and Nepali བོད་ /bāt/.

791. TIBETAN SPOKEN LANGUAGE བོད་སྐད་ BOD SKAD [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh, E, Hor, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT. The word BOD SKAD designates all the Tibetic languages spoken within Tibet in the traditional provinces of Ú-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་ཁ་ BOD KYI KA KHA [PW] see ALPHABET. The traditional word འཇིག་ཟིང་ PALI KALLI lit. 'vowels and consonants' is widely attested. It is also sometimes referred to as བོད་ཀྱི་ཐང་ SAMBHO TA script, after its creator. The Tibetan alphabet is technically an alaphsyllabary (see Chapter 5) of Indiam origin. The term བོད་ཡིག་ BOD YIG means both the Tibetan script and the written Tibetan language. See ALPHABET.

793. ALPHABET འཇིག་ KAKHA [PW] < CT. KA and KHA are the two first letters of the Tibetan alphabet or alaphsyllabary, just as the first two letters of the Greek script 'alpha' and 'beta' have yielded the word 'alphabet'. The term འཇིག་ 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་ཁ་ BOD KYI KHA KHA 'Tibetan alphabet', བོད་ཀྱིཟིང་ SAMBHO TA YIGE 'Sambhota script' or simply བོད་ YIG 'script' are also sometimes used. The term འཇིག་ཁུམ་ YIG GZUG, lit. 'letter shape', which refers to 'calligraphy', is also sometimes used to refer to the alphabed. The word བོད་ བོད་ GSAL BYED 'consonant' is used with the meaning of 'alphabet' in some areas. བོད་
794. **TIBETAN WRITTEN LANGUAGE** བོད་ཡིག *BOD.YIG* [PR]. The term *BOD.YIG* refers to written Tibetan. It may designate both Classical Tibetan (also referred to as རྒྱུ་ན་སྲོལ་བོད་ཡིག *RGYUN.SROL.BOD.YIG*), or Modern Written Tibetan (also called དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག *DENG.DUS.KYI.BOD.YIG*). In the 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*: /nyɔ̃/, /myɔ̃/, 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 མགོ་ན་མིང་*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’ MING* or དར་མིང་*DAR.MING* < CT suffix is used to name a particular family, e.g. ཆུ་དཀར་པ་*daukt-pa/*‘the Daut family’, རྗུ་དཀར་པ་*sengge-pa/*‘the Sengge family’, བརྩེད་དཀར་པ་*watse-pa/*‘the Watse family. The sentence རྗེ་བཙོ་སྐུ་རི་*KHON-PALACIZER.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** ང་ར་*RTAGS* [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, E, Hor, Am, Dz, Lho, etc.) < CT.

798. **NEWSPAPER** གསེར་ཤོག་*GSAR.SHOG* < CT lit. ‘new paper’ and དིམ་པོ་*TSHAGS.PAR* ‘filter print’ are widely used. There are also loanwords from Chinese བོ་ཞི་*baozhi*, Nepali རོ་ཁ་*gork’a patra* (in Sherpa), and Arabic
and Urdu ٨٩٢ axbar 'information', as ٨٩٣ /agbar/ (Ba, Pur, La). The first newspaper published in Tibetan, ٨٩٤ LADET-WIAG.KI ЗAG.BAR, appeared in Ladakh in 1904.

799. NEWS ٨٩٥ /GSAR, GYUR/ < CT lit. 'new become'. ٨٩٦ /GNAS.TSHUL/ (La) < CT situation, ٨٩٧ /BRDA/ (E, Am) < CT 'sign, designation, indication'. ٨٩٨ /agbar/ < Pers. is also used (Ba, Pur, La).

800. STORY ٨٩٩ /SGRUNG/ or ٨٠٠ /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: ٨٠١ /zgrums/ (Pur), ٨٠٢ /țum/ (Lhasa), ٨٠٣ /sungs/ (La), ٨٠٤ /sung/ (Dz), ٨٠٥ /zom/ (Kh), ٨٠٦ /rung(s)/ (Ba, La), etc. However, two other roots are also found: ٨٠٧ /GTAM/ 'speech' and ٨٠٨ /DPE/ 'example' (Sh). Various compounds are also attested, including ٨٠٩ /GTAM.DPE/ (Hor), ٨١٠ /DPE.GTAM/ (Yol), ٨١١ /GTAM.LBU/ (Th), ٨١٢ /KHALPE/ (NKh, E), ٨١٣ /GTAM.RGYUD/ (Dz), ٨١٤ /GNA.BSHAD/ (Am), ٨١٥ /GNA.GTAM/ (SKh).

801. PROVERB/SAYING ٨١٦ /GTAMLPE/ [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) or the variant ٨١٧ /DPYE.GTAM/ (Dz) < CT 'speech+model'. Other compounds are attested, including ٨١٨ /GTAM.BLO/ (Ba), ٨١٩ /GTAM.LE/ (Pur), ٨٢٠ /KHALPE/ (Dz, La) < 'mouth, language+example'. The term ٨٢١ /GTAM.RGYUD/ < CT 'legend' ('speech+) is used in some dialects for 'proverb'. See also STORY.

802. RIDDLE ٨٢٢ /LDE.U/ (Ü, Ts) < CT; ٨٢٣ /GAR.TSHIG/ (Ü, Ts) < CT, ٨٢٤ /KHED/ (Am), ٨٢٥ /TSHOD/ (Pur), ٨٢٦ /TSHOD.LE/ (La). Riddles traditionally played a significant role in the education of children, particularly in pastoralist communities.

803. SONG ٨٢٧ /GLU/ [PR] < CT. The verb 'to sing' is formed from this by adding a verbalizer: ٨٢٨ /LEN/ 'to take', ٨٢٩ /BTANG/ 'to send, let go', ٨٣٠ /THEN/ 'to pull, draw'. ٨٣١ /GLU.LEN/ (Kh, Am, Tö), ٨٣٢ /lu ling/ (Sh), ٨٣٣ /GLU.BTANG/ (Tö, Ts, Sp, La, Ba), ٨٣٤ /GLU.THEN/ (Dz). Another word ٨٣٥ /GZHAS/ [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Kyir, Am) < CT is also attested in various areas. Originally ٨٣٦ /GLU/ and
GZHAS referred to different concepts: a GLU has a slow rhythm while a GZHAS has a rapid rhythm. Pastoralists have best preserved the GLU type. In some areas, both terms are still used, but in many dialects only one of the two terms is used and the distinction is lost. In some areas, a compound of both terms is attested: GLU.GZHAS (Ü, Dz). GLU.DBYANGS (Am: Ngawa) < CT 'song melody' also occurs. Other words are encountered more marginally, such as LA.GZHAS/layi (Am) 'love song', SKAD.BKUG (Hor) < CT 'to charm with sound' and ZHABS.KHRA (Dz), this last also referring to a dance strongly associated with singing (< CT? 'embroidered boot'). Some dialects use other forms of unclear origin, such as /ʔa lɑ/ (Phuri, Kh), perhaps derived from the chant uttered at the beginning of the Gesar, /alala talala/. The Chinese words 歌 ge (go in Sichuan Mandarin) and 唱歌 changge (canggo in Sichuan Mandarin) are also used.

DANCE BRO [PR] < CT 'dance'. In some languages of the Eastern section, this is pronounced /bɔ/ (E: Th). Many dialects also use compound words, such as ZHABS.BRO (Sh, Lh, Tö) or ZHABS.RO (La, Tö, Yol, Ü, Sh) < CT lit. 'foot dance'. The word 'foot' refers to a feature of Tibetan dances, which involve stamping steps in rhythm to the beat. In Hor, the word GZHAS 'song' followed by the verb KHRAB is used. That points again the strong relation between 'song' and 'dance' (see SONG). In some Tibetic areas, one also finds the noun RTSES (La, Pur) or RTSED.JO (Za) < CT RTSED.MO 'game', which is followed by the verb RTS < CT 'to play' (La, Pur, Ba, Sp, Am) or a light verb such as BTANG. The word GAR is also found in CT is used in Spiti and Mustang. In Yunnan (Kh), TSHALAG of unclear origin is also used.

DRUM RNGA [PW] < CT. Various kinds of drums and tabla are found, particularly in the Western languages. The words diang/ (Ba), qingjang/ (La), daman/ (La, Pur, Ba) and daps, dař/ (< Pers.) are found. DAMARU (Skr) is used for the small drums in Buddhist and Bon rituals.
806. SINTOOR RGYUD.MANG [FFW] (Û, Ts) < CT, ᴜNama YANG.LJI (La).
This is a kind of hammer dulcimer.

807. FLUTE GLING.BU [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ú, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. In some dialects of the Eastern section, the terms RGYA.GLING < CT 'Chinese flute' and SMYUG.GLING are used instead of GLING.BU. RKA.NG.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 RGYA.GLING [PW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ú, Ts, Kh, E, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT lit. 'Chinese flute'. This is used in Buddhist ritual music. Double reed musical instruments similar to this are also found in Persia and modern Iran, India and China. The word SUR.NA (< Pers.) refers to Persian oboe used for nonreligious music in Baltistan and Ladakh.

809. DRANYEN/TIBETAN LUTE SGRA.SNYAN [FFW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ú, Hor, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'pleasant sound'. This is often pronounced /dabnyen/. The term 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 RDUNG.LEN. This is a popular instrument in Amdo.

811. BOW (FOR HUNTING) GZHU [PR]. Note that in Purik, Ḿbu are made of ibex horn and bows made of wood are called Ḿkung DRANG.KHUNG /drangkung/ or /drangk'uk/.

812. ARROW MDA' [PR] < CT. In some eastern dialects, this is confused with 'bow', or understood to refer to 'a bow and arrow'. The compound KOP'ZHU MDA'GZHU is also attested.

813. ARROW (WEDDING) MDA'.DAR. Wedding arrow carried by the bride.

814. TARGET 'REN [FFW] (Ts, Ú, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho) < CT. Ḿang TSAGA (Pur, La) < CT Ḿang TSHA.GA. These terms are used in archery.
815. **ARCHERY** རང་ཐོས་ MDA'RTSES [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh, Am) or རང་ཐོས་ 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. རང་ཐོས་ MDA'.PHANGS (La) is also attested.

816. **HORSE RACE** རྟ་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་ཐོས་ MEDA’ [FFW] (Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, E) or the archaic variant མེ་ཐོས་ MEDA’ (Am) < CT MEDA’ lit. ‘fire arrow’. In some dialects, one finds other words containing MDA’ ‘arrow’, such as མེ་ཐོས་ MDA’.BA (Kh: Rongdrak) and ལྣོ་འདྲུས་ LAG.MDA’ lit. ‘hand arrow’ (Dz). Other words include འིབ་ DUBAG (Ba, La), འིབ་ DUWAG (Pur, Sp, Za) < Urd. < Pers. /tofang/ (also pronounced as /tofak/), འིབ་ MEWAG /mewak/ (Sh). འིབ་ MEBAG (Yol), འིབ་ BOU or འིབས་ 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** མདེ་ U MDE [PW] (La, Tö, Ts, Ü, Lho) < CT lit. ‘small arrow’ or མདེ་ MDA’ (Kh, Hor, E, Am) ‘arrow’. Another root བོ་ BO’U, which may be derived from བོས་ BOS’ ‘rifle’, is also attested. བོ་ /wudi/ (Am), བོ་ /wutse/ (Am), བོ་ /rindi/ is sometimes used in the western languages (Ba, La, Za, Pur). The Hindi-Urdu loanword གོ་ལི་ goli, guli/ is widely used in the Tibetic speaking areas of Nepal and India.

820. **SPEAR** མདུང་ MDUNG [PR] < CT. The word /sneza/ (‘Pers.) is used in Purik. This word is not known in the eastern section.

821. **TRAP** རྨི་ RNYI [FR] (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/’. It sometimes appears in a compound word. རྨི་ RGYARNYI (La) < CT lit. ‘net trap’. Several other words are also attested. Balti has /jantri’, a loanword from Urdu. Ladaks also uses the root འོོ་ STEM or འོོ་ LTEM < CT
‘squeeze’, ལྡེམ་པ་ LDEM.PA (see CTDT): GALTEM ལྡེམ་པ་ GALTEM, ལྡེམ་པ་ LTEM means ‘mouse trap’ in Purik. Sherpa has ཐོར་བ་ TOR.BA.

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

824. DICE རྱོ་ SHO [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Hor, Kh, Dz). The word རྱོ་ COLO /colo/ is attested in some areas (La, Yol). The game of sho is very popular, particularly in the Central and Western areas. The game is not practiced and the word is unknown.

825. WATCH/CLOCK སྦྱོིན་ CHUTSHOD [FFW] (Ü, TS, To, Sh, La) < CT lit. ‘water measure’ recalling the depsydra 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 སྦྱོིན་ DUS.TSHOD (Am, Ba, Dz) < CT lit. ‘time measure’ is also frequent. སྦྱོིན་འཁོར་ལོ་ CHUTSHOD KHOR.LO and སྦྱོིན་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 སྦྱོིན་ /ghari/ and སྦྱོིན་ /lag.ghari/ (Pur), lit. ‘hand clock’, are found.

826. FILM ཤོང་གྲོན་ GLOG.RNYAN [PW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT ‘Electricity/lightning image or reflection’. Some languages have words derived from ཤོང་ LTAD.MO CT ‘show’, such as Sherpa རྡུ་མུ་ SRIL.MU (Sh) and Spiti རྡུ་ རྡུ་ LTAN.MO. Loanwords are used in some areas, such as the Chinese 电影 dianying and the English picture as རྡུ་ /p'ilim/, cinema as /silema/, movie as /muwi/, and རྡུ་ རྡུ་ རྡུ་ BESE.KOB from bioscope (a projector developed in 1895).

827. CAMERA རྡུ་ རྡུ་ རྡུ་ PAR.CHAS [FFW] < CT ‘print/picture-device’ (Ü, Ts, To, Kh, Dz, Lh). In Amdo other compounds, such as རྡུ་ རྡུ་ རྡུ་ DPAR.LEN.SPYAD
'picture taker' and བར་རྒྱབ་ས་ PAR RGYAB.SA 'picture taker' (Kh) are also used. In the eastern area, མཛོང /shanggi/ < Chin. 相机 is widely used, and in India, Pakistan or Nepal, the English camera can be heard, pronounced གཤེར /kemra/.

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

829. WOODBLOCK བར་ SHING PW < CT 'print wood'. Sometimes བར་ SHING,PAR lit. 'wood print' is also used. Despite the development in recent years of computer printing techniques, traditional xylography is still used in Tibet, Bhutan and the southern Himalayas. Traditional printing houses are called བར་ཁང་ PAR KHANG < CT 'print house'.

830. RADIO རླུང་ PHRIN FFW (La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT 'air message'. རྣོག་པྲགས་ RGYAN.BSBRGS 'resound from far away'. In Kongpo, the word is derived from སྐམ་གཞི་ SGAM,GZHAD < CT SGAM 'box' + GZHAD 'song', whereas in some Kham dialects, the word གནས་པྲ་ 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 ཡིག་ KHAPAR FFW (Ü, Ts, Kh). This word, often considered to be Tibetan (lit. ཡིག 'mouth', and PAR 'picture') is most probably borrowed from Urdu ﺱﺎھب xabar 'news' (ultimately from Arabic). Other words of Tibetan origin are found: ཀློག་བྲྲ་ GLOG.BRDA (Ho) < CT 'lightning/electricity signal', ཁློག་པྲགས་ GLOG.SKAD (Kh) 'electricity voice', ག་འཕར་ BRGYUD.PHRIN (Dz) 'line message', but in many cases, the word has been borrowed. The calque of telephone, ལག་ཐོག་ཁ་པར་ LAG.THOG '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 རྒྱབ་ RGYAB 'to hit', but in Yunnan རྡུ་ RDUNG 'beat' is generally used, which is a calque from Chinese 打电话 da dianhua 'call', lit. 'beat the phone'. Nowadays, the term དཔ་ལྟག /lughtog/ LAG.THOG
Khapar 'handheld telephone' refers to 'mobile phone, cell phone', but in Amdo the term གོ་གཞན་ has been borrowed from Chinese 手机 shouji.

832. **TELEVISION** བརྙན་ཕྲིན་ BRNYAN.PHRIN [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'image/reflection-message'. In the Tibetan diaspora, གྲུབ་མི་བོད་GZUGS.MTHONG RLUNG.PHRIN lit. 'see-shape/form air message' is also used. Another frequent term, ཆུང་མཐོང་ RGYANG.MTHONG (La) literally means 'far vision'. In many dialects spoken in China and even in Myanmar, a Chinese loanword 电视 dianshi is used. In the southern Himalayas, the English word TV is borrowed.

833. **STATUS/POSITION** གོ་ས་ GO.SA [FFW] (La, Ú, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT. The word may be pronounced གོ གཞན་ GOG.GNAS (Tö, Sp) or གོ སྣམ་ GOR.SA (Kh). Another word is also frequently attested: གོ་ནས་ GO.GNAS (Kh, Am, Dz), གོ་མ་ THEM.PHA (Pur).

834. **SITUATION** གནས་ཚུལ་ GNAS.TSHUL [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT GNAS ‘to be located, to stay’ + TSHUL ‘way’. Alternative words are also attested གནས་སྟངས་ GNAS.STANGS (Dz, Sh), གནས་ལུགས་ GNAS.LUGS (La), or གོ་སྣམ་ CHA.STANGS (Sp) or གོ་ནས་ /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** བྲང་ DBANG [PR] < CT. In most languages, this is pronounced /wang/ or /ang/. Marginally it is also realized as /bong/ (Kh), /bang/ (Cho), /kang/ (Am). In many languages, the term is followed by the suffix གོ་ CHA: ཆོ་ DBANG.CHIA. A second root is attested in the western languages གོ་ NGAD /ngat/ (Pur, La, Za).

836. **LIVELIHOOD, WAY OF LIFE** མི་ཚོ་ MI.TSHE [FFW] (Ú, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. སྟེ། MLTSHE may be used in some areas (e.g. Pur), སྟེ། TSHE.PHID is also attested in Ladaks.

837. **SALARY** གོ་ GLA [PR] < CT. Many dialects use the form with a suffix: གོ སྣམ་ GLA.CHÁ. An alternative word is also attested in some areas: གོ སྣམ་ PHOGS [FFW] (La, Ú, Ts, Tö), གོ སྣམ་ PHOGS (Am), གོ སྣམ་ GLA.PHOGS. The two words may exist
in a single dialect with slightly different meanings. A Chinese loan *gongzi* is also used in many Kham dialects. In Nepal, India and Pakistan, the Urdu /tanxâh/ < Pers. or the Nepali /talab/ are used.

838. **TAX** རྒྱལ་ KHRAL, རྒྱལ་ KHYAL [PR] < CT. In Kham, 稅 *shui*ṣ 'BABS is also used. ㎞/bon/ or ㎞/sut/, of unclear origin, are used in Purik.

839. **PRICE** གོང་ GONG [PW] < CT ’price’. Another word རིན་ RIN [FFW] (Ba, La, Sp, Tö, Dz) < CT ’value’ or རིན་པ་ RIN.PA is found in many areas. The compound word རིན་གོང་ RIN.GONG is also attested.

840. **REASON** རྒྱུམ་MTSHAN [PW] (La, Za, Sp, Tö, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT. In some languages, the word རིན་པ་ DON.DAG (Pur) or རིན་པ་ RIN.PA is used in Purik.

841. **PAIN, SUFFERING** སྡུག་ཟུང་ 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. སྡུག་alone is attested; other words refer more to physical pain: རུ་མོ་ ZUR.MO (La, Za) < CT, རུ་གཟེར་ ZUG.GZER < CT ’acute pain’, རུ་གཟེར་ ZER.MO (Pur); རུ་གཟེར་ ZUG.GZER < CT ’meaning’ are used.

842. **MISTAKE** ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ NOR.PHRUL (La, Sp, Ü, Ts). The loanword /galat/ comes from Urdu /ghalat/. See MAKE A MISTAKE.

843. **DIFFERENCE** ཧྱིད་ KHYAD [PR] < CT. The word ལྷན་ KHYAD.PAR is widespread. Other words are attested ལྷན་ MAR.DRA.SA (Kh) < CT ’being not similar’. ལྷན་ S.O.SO < CT ’separate, distinct’. The loanword ལྷན་ PHARAG < Urd. Pers. and Arab. فرق Farq is frequently used in India, Nepal and Pakistan.

844. **LAW** གིསྭན་ KHRRIMS [PR] < CT. The loanword /qanun/ (< Arabic and ultimately Latin and Greek *canon*) is also common in India.

845. **EXAMPLE** རྫོར་ DPE [PW] < CT. It is pronounced རྫོར་ DIPES /pes/ (Ba, Pur). Note that the word which originally means ’example, model’ has also often acquired the meaning of ’story, tale, proverb’ in some regions. The word is also used
as an intensifier ‘very’ in Ü, Kham, and Am. The Classical word དཔེར་བྗོ་ད་ ‘example’ is used in some dialects.

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

847. THANKS རྗེ་ཆེ་ ‘great compassion’ (sometimes abbreviated as རྗེ་ཆེ་ THUGS.RJE.CHE). Other frequent words include བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་ BKA.DRIN.CHE (Am, La, etc.) lit. ‘great reward’, and གཞལ་ KHADRO (Am) ‘auspicious, lucky’ lit. ‘warm mouth’. This last form is sometimes followed by ཁྲི་ལུན་ KHADRO TSHE.RING ‘auspicious (wishes) and long life’ places the emphasis on the gratitude. The words བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་ BKA.DRIN.CHE, and གཞལ་ KHADRO lit. ‘great reward’, and གཞལ་ KHADRO ‘auspicious and lucky’ lit. ‘warm mouth’ are commonly used in Ladakh for ‘thanks’. རྗེ་ཆེ་ YAG.BYUNG (Ü) lit. ‘(It) was good’, དཔའ་སྐྱིལ་ SRA.THAL (Am) lit. ‘(It) was good’, བཀའ་ཛེ་བ། BZA.NGD.RA or བཀའ་ཐལ་ BZA.THAL lit. ‘(It) was excellent’ (E: Sharkhok, Khöpokhok, Thewo and Ĉone), དཔའ་སྐྱིལ་ BKA.THAL (Minyag, Kh), གཞལ་ O.BRG.YA lit. ‘exhausted’ (Kh). In Balti and Purig the form གྱི་ཐར་བ་ YER.SHA.SDE ‘your benevolence’ is used, it could be derived from གྱི་ཐར་བ་ BSHA.SDE (Ba, Pur) ‘benevolence, grace’ < CT གཞལ་ BSHA ‘share, allowance’. More local words include རྒོ་སྟོད་ རྒོ་སྟོད་ GYAR.(S)NANG (SKh) of unclear origin and its emphatic form རྒོ་སྟོད་ རྒོ་སྟོད་ GYAR.(S)NANG.DPA.SHOD (Dechen, Kh), རྒོ་སྟོད་ YAR.RDAB (Melung, Kh), རྒོ་སྟོད་ ’O.GRAG (sDerong and Chagthreng, Kh), རྒོ་སྟོད་ KHA.REN (Gyälhang, Kh), རྒོ་སྟོད་ NANG.RDZI (Rongdrak, Kh), etc., རྒོ་སྟོད་ BAG.SHS (Pur).

848. TRACE རྗེ་ ‘example’ is used in some dialects. The Classical word རྗེ་ ZHES are attested in the western languages (Ba, Pur, La, Sp). Often occurs in compound
words such as རོང་རི་ 'footprint' and བྱུང་བོ་ 'handprint'. The term སྤུལ་ 'trace, ruin' is also found, as is the compound རི་ཤུལ་ 'footprint, shadow'.

849. SHADOW རི་བཱས། [PR] < CT. Generally followed by a second syllable གྲིབ་ 'shadow, darkness' is also found, as is the compound རི་ཤུལ། (Dz).

850. COLOR མདོག་ [PR] < CT. This is sometimes used with the root མཁའ་ 'mouth, surface': མཁའ་མདོག་ or མདོག་མཁའ་. The root མཚོས་ and its variant མཚོན་ < CT 'dye, paint' is also attested in many dialects (Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am): མཚོས་གཞི་ or མཚོས་མདོག་. Marginally, གནོད་ 'sort' is also found.

851. DREAM རིམ་ལམ་ [PW] (Hor, Kh, Sh, Kyir, Yol, Jir, L: Durbuk) or the archaic variant རྨྱི་ལམ་ (Am, Kh) < CT lit. 'dream path'. The word གཉིད་ 'sleep path' is also attested in most other areas (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Ü, Dz, etc.).

852. IDEA བསམ་བློ། [PW] (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The words བསམ་ཚུལ་ or བསམ་པ་ are also attested, དྲན་ཚུལ་ / བསམ་ཚུལ་ (E), བསམ་པ་ (Ts, Za) are also attested, བྲག་ཚུལ་ 'visualization'.

853. TYPE རིགས་ [PR] < CT. The words སྣ་ or སྣ་ཁ་ (Dz) and རྣམ་པ་ (Sh) are also used.

854. UTILITY གཞན་ཐོགས་ [PR] < CT PHAN lit. 'to be useful' and THOGS 'to hold'. In Amdo the word is pronounced གཞན་ཐོགས་ / hantox/.
902

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

855. MIND སེམས་ SEMS [PR] < CT. This word is pronounced སེམས་ /shems/ in Gyälthang dialect (Kh), which represents a palatalized form of SEMS. The word བློ་ BLO < CT ‘intellect’ is also used in some dialects.

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

857. APPEARANCE བཟོ་ལྟ་ BZO.LTA [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ü, Ts, etc.). A /b/ is often heard after the first syllable, which corresponds to an innovative genitive found in many compound words (see Chapter 8): བཟོ་ལྟ་ BZO.BLTA /sopsta/ (Ü, Ts, etc.) or /zosta/ (Ba), /zosta/ (La, Pur). An alternative form བཟོ་ལྟ་ TSHUGS.KA is attested in Amdo. བཟོ་ལྟ་ TSHUL. (Skh), བཟོ་ TSHUL. (Am).

858. MEANS གཞི་ཐབས་ THABS [PR] < CT ‘means, method’ or the variant ལམ་ LAM. The word has acquired the meanings of ‘opportunity’ in some dialects. The root གཞི་ཐབས་ THABS is usually followed by མིག་ཞེས་ SHES ‘know’. ཆུ་ཐབས་ THABS.SHES. The compound བོ་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 བློ་ BLO ‘way, road’ is used. Finally བསྟོན་ JUS lit. ‘strategy’ is found in some Kham dialects.

859. MEANING བསྟོན་ DON [PR] < CT. In some dialects it is followed by the syllable DAG: བླ་བསྟོན་ DON.DAG. Sometimes this word has acquired other meanings such as ‘reason’, ‘aim’ or ‘(have) something to do’. The Hindi–Urdu loanword /matlap/ is widely used in India and Pakistan.

860. PRIVILEGE, RIGHTS བྲོིབ་བྲེང་ 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 བྲང་ DRANG 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)** རུགས་ SHUGS [FFW] (Ba, La, Za, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Hor, Sh, Dz) < CT. Another word མེ་ SHED [FFW] (Pur, La, Kh, E, Am) is attested in many dialects (Pur). The root ཡོོ་ STOBS [FFW] (Ba, Ts, Am) < CT is also widespread. The compound ཡོོ་ SHUGS is also frequent. The word ཉན་ 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: ཡུགས་གསུམ་ DBUG.GAS (Hor), ཛིགས་ DBYIGS (Am) and རྒྱུ་ REM.PA (Sp).

862. **Order (Spoken)** བཀའ་ BKA’ [FFW]

863. **Peace** མཛིན་ ZHLDE (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 མཛིན་ ZHLDE. གཞི་བཞི་ 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་འཁྲུག་ DMAG.KHRUG (Dz), དམག་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ རོ་ལ. The word བཀའ་ BKA’ is often used in India.

865. **Victory** རྒྱལ་ KHAB [PR] < CT རྒྱལ་ KHAB is also attested. རྒྱལ་ RGYAL /gyal/ (Pur, La).

866. **Country, State** རྒྱལ་ KHAB [PR] < CT. The word རྒྱལ་ KHAB < 'vast world' is attested in Balti. In ordinary speech in Ladakh, the word ལུལ་ YUL (La) often means 'country'.

867. **Experience** རྒྱམས་ MIYONG [FFW] (Sp, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT. The short form རྒྱམས་ MIYOM (Yol) is also attested. བཀའ་ MTHONG.GOMS (La) < lit. 'to see+habit' and རྒྱུ་ RGYUS (La) < CT 'knowledge, familiarity'. The origin of སྨན་ MIYOM is not clear.

868. **Habit** ཁོག་ GOMS.GSHIS (Ü), རྒྱུ་ RNYOGS (La), རྡོ་ པད་ LOBS (La).
869. TRADITION ལུགས་ SROLS [PR], སྲོལ་ SROLS [FFR]. Many compound words are attested: ལུགས་ SROLS, ལུགས་ SROLS, སྲོལ་ SROLS, སྲོལ་ SROLS.

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

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

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

873. TASTE/FLAVOR རོ་ BRO [PR] < CT often often followed by a suffix: རོ་ BLO BA. The forms རོ་ BLO BA and རོ་ལྷ BLO BA are used in Dzongkha. The word རོ་ BLO derived from BLO is also attested. Western languages, as well as some languages in the southern Himalayas (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, etc.), have preserved reflexes of the old CT form རོ་ BLOD. In some dialects, རོ་ DRI MA 'flavor' is also used for 'taste'.

BUILDING, INFRASTRUCTURE, TRANSPORTATION

874. FORTRESS, CASTLE ལྷའམ་ MCHAR [FFW] (Pur Ba, La, Sp, Ü, Am) < CT. In some areas, the word ལྷའམ་ MCHAR refers to a stone tower (cf. D’Arragon 2005). The oldest surviving palace in Tibet with a stone tower is a MCHAR called འུམ་བླ་ MCHAR (alternatively called འུམ་བསྐྱུབ་ MCHAR), located in Lhokha prefecture. Another word དོན་ 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 དོན་ KHgL 'the administrative language' (lit. the dzong language). Districts in Bhutan are called དོན་ KHgL.

875. VILLAGE གྲོང་ GRONG [FFR] < CT. This is sometimes followed by a suffix: གྲོང་ PAYA, གྲོང་ གྲོང་ GSEB. Two other words are also frequently attested: འུལ་ YUL [FFR] (La, Pur, Za, Sp, Yol, Dz, Jir, etc) < CT 'place'. In
Dzongkha, the orthography reflects the high tone: གཡུས་ GYUS < འྱུ་ YUL. In Amdo and Kham, འྱུ་ YUL and འྱུལ་ YUL.BA designates more specifically the 'home village' or simply 'home'. འྱུལ་ YUL.PA 'person from one’s village'. Another root འྱུལ་ SDE < CT 'section, tribe, domain' is used in many Amdo dialects to refer to 'village'. It is often followed by a suffix BA: འྱུལ་ SDE.BA.

876. BRIDGE རྩམ་ ZAM [PR] < CT. Usually with the suffix PA: རྩམ་ གཟམ་ PA (La). Alternative archaic forms are attested, such as རྩམ་ ད་མ་ ZAM RDZAM. The word གཡིན་ཙེ་ SKYIN.TSE designates 'simple bridge made of two logs' (Pur, Sham).

877. HOMETOWN/MOTHERLAND གཡུལ་ YUL [PW] < CT. lit. 'father land'. In some regions, འྱུལ་ YUL.BA is also used.

878. HOUSE ཁང་ KHANG [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: ཁང་ KHANG.PA (La, Yol, Ú, Ts, etc.), ཁང་ KHANG.BA (Am), ཁང་ KHANG.MA (Pur), but is also used in many compound words related to houses, such as བསྨན་ KHANG.SMAN, KHANG 'medicine house', བསྨན་ KHANG.JA 'tea house', etc. In some dialects (Am, Kh, E, La), ཁང་ KHANG is prenasalized as ཁང་ KHANG in compound words. Another word, རྡོ་ KHYM [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'í/, /x'í/, /hi/ are probably related to KHYIM. The term འན་ NANG < CT 'inside' (e.g. Ts, Pur) is also used to designate a house. In Purik and Ladaks, རྫི་ BRANG.SA 'rented house, dwelling place' is also attested. In Thewo /ɾa/, possibly derived from གཞིས་ GZHIS < 'estate, plot of land' is used. In Drugehu (E), /ɾa/, related to རྫི་ SBRA 'tent' is used, and is often followed by འན་ NANG: རྫི་ནང་ SBRA.NANG.

879. ROOF ཀྱིར་ THOG [FFR] < CT 'top, roof'. This is often followed by the suffix KHA: ཀྱིར་ KHYI.KHA. Alternative forms are found, such as the compounds ཀྱིར་ KHANG.THOG lit. 'house top' (La), ཁང་ KHANG.STENG lit. 'house upper part'. The word ཀྱིར་ BH.KA.B.CH lit. 'cover' is used in Yolmo. In most Tibetic areas, roofs are flat and may serve as terraces for drying straw, cereals, fruits, etc. In
southern Kham and Kongpo, as well as in the southern Himalayas, a flat roof deck is protected from rain and snow by a wooden framework with a pitched roof, usually covered by wooden shingles or stone slabs.

880. **INN, HOTEL** རྒྱུན་ཁང་ MGRON.KHANG < CT ‘guest house’ [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Sp, Am). Alternative words are attested: རྒྱུན་ཁྱིམ་ MGRON.KHYIM (Dz) lit. ‘guest house’, pronounced རྒྱུན་ཁྱིམ་ MGRON.KHYIM. The term རྒྱུན་ཁང་ GRUL.KHANG lit. ‘traveler house’ is also used. In the Jangthang region and other remote places, རྒྱུན་ བརྒྱརི་ JAKHANG ‘tea house’ also serve as small inns. Loanwords from Chinese such as 招待所 zhaotai소 ‘hostel, tavern’ and English ‘hotel’ are also heard.

881. **RESTAURANT** རེལ་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** རྒྱུན་ JA.KHANG. In remote rural areas, jakhang traditionally provide not only tea, but also food and accommodation.

883. **KITCHEN** རྟབ་ཚང་ THAB.TSHANG [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT ‘stove, fireplace nest’. The term རྟ་ཙན་ BYAN.SA < ‘kitchen, cook place’ (La), refers to a sitting room with a stove. རྒྱུན་ JA.KHANG, རྒྱུན་ ZAN.KHANG ‘food house’ (Pur). Balti uses a loanword ድ ጦ/hasiripa/.

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

885. **WATERMILL** རང་འཐག་ RANG.THAG [PW] < CT lit. ‘autogrinder’. This refers to small buildings with a watermill that grind barley for tsampa. Other terms are attested: རང་ཆུ་ CHU.THAG lit. ‘water-grinder’, རང་ཆུ་ SKOR lit. ‘water-spin’, རང་ MCHIG < CT ‘mill’.
886. COWSHED བ་ར་ BA.RA (Pur) < CT 'cow yard, fence'. BA.KHANG is also used.

887. PIGSTY བ་ཁང་ BA.KHANG is also used.

888. STABLE རྟ་ར་ RTA.RA (Pur) < CT 'horse yard, fence', RTA.KHANG is also attested.

889. SHEEPFOLD བུག་ར་ LUG.RA (Pur) < CT 'sheep yard, fence'. LUG.KHANG, བུག་ཁང་/dangra/ (for goat and sheep) (La, Pur).

890. WALL གྱང་ GYANG [PR] < CT. In some Western languages (Ba, Pu), the alternative form གྱར་ RGYANG is used. This term refers to traditional rammed earth walls. Another frequent word is རྩིག་པ་ RTSIG.PA [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ts, Kh, Dz) < CT. The word མཁར MKHAR < CT 'castle' is frequent in the Eastern section.

891. WOOD སིང་ SHING [PR] < CT.

892. PILLAR √ཀ་ KA [PR] < CT. Usually with a suffix BA: ཀ་བ་ KABA (Ú, Ts, Kh, etc.), ཀ་ལ་ KAL/ kau/ (Dz) < CT.

893. DOOR ླྀྒོ་ SGO [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: /go/ (Ba, La, Pur), /go/, /go/ (Am), /go/ (Ú, Ts, Kh, Sh, Dz), /go/ (Za), etc. The variants ླྀྒོ་མོ་ SGO.MO, ླྀྒོ་མོ་ SGO.MO (Lho), ླྀྒོ་ BO are also attested.

894. WINDOW བྷ་ཁུང་ DKAR.KHUNG [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Am, etc.) < CT 'white/light hole'. It is alternatively spelled བྷ་པུ་ SKARKHUNG 'star hole' and pronounced བྷ་པུ་/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 བྷ་ུ་ SGE.U.KHUNG [FFW] < CT 'small door opening, hole' (Ú, Ts, Am), བྷ་ུ་ SGE.U.CHUNG. In
Balti and Purik, the word बर्बन/ barban/ is used. In Amdo སྐྲས/ SKRAS or སྐས/ SKAS [PR] < CT 'lattice' is used.

895. STAIR/LADDER - *སྐྲས/ SKRAS or སྐས/ SKAS [PR] < CT. The root is pronounced in various ways: སྐས/ kas/ (Ba), '/kä:/ (Ü), སྐྲས/ `ʈä/ (Ts, Yol), སྲ/ as/ (La). It is used alone in many areas (Kh, Am), but may be followed by a suffix or another root: སྐས/ SKAS (Am), སྐས་ཀ/ SKAS.KA (Ba, Pur), སྐྲས/ SKRAS (Yol), སྐྲས་ཀ/ SKRAS.KA (Ba), སྡེ་བོ/ SKAS.DZEG (Ú, Ts), སྡེ་ལྡོད/ 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 < MA.GDUNG (Pur). For smaller beams used in a ceiling, the terms རྩ་ LCAM and གྲལ་བུ/ GRAL.BU (Pur, La, Za) are used. Both terms གདུང/ GDUNG and རྩ་ LCAM are used in a symbolic way to refer to 'lineage': གདུང་རྒྱུ/ GDUNG.RGYUD.

897. TENT གཏུ་ GUR [PR] < CT 'cotton tent' (usually white). This is used in summer for picnics and for ceremonies. གཏུ་ S布拉 [PR] 'black yak hair tents' are traditionally used during the rest of the year by pastoralists. In Ladaks, བེ་བོ/ RE.BO 'black yak hair tent' < CT སྟེར/ RE.BA 'coarse material woven from yak hair'. In some dialects, the difference is sometimes indicated by the color NAG 'black' or DKAR 'white': གཏུ་ S布拉.NAG, གཏུ་ NAG.GUR 'black tent' versus གཏུ་ S布拉.DKAR.DKAR 'white tent'. There is also a compound word གཏུ་ S布拉.GUR. In southern Kham, གཏུ་ GYAB lit. 'veranda, shelter' is used. གཏུ་ GYOG < CT 'to cover' is also attested.

898. GARDEN ཀླ་ན་ LDUM.RA [FFR] < CT. This word also serves as an alternative name of the Nubra valley. Other words for 'garden' include གཏོན/ TSHAS (La, Pur, Za), འབབ/ RABA 'fence, enclosure'; གཏོན/ SGO.RA 'yard, courtyard'; གཏོན/ SGO.LDUM lit. 'yard garden', also བག་ bagb (Pur, La) < Pers. 'ornamental garden'.

899. TOILET སྐྲ་སྐྱག/ GSA.KHANG [FFR] < CT 'secret use'. Other words are attested: སྐྲ་སྐྱག/ SPYOD.KHANG < lit. 'use house', སྐྲ་ CHAG.RA or སྲ་ CHAG.SA (Pur, La, Za) < lit. 'manure place', སྐྲ་ནོར/ SKYAG.KHANG 'excrement
house’ (Kh). བདེ་སྤྱོད་ BDE.SPYOD (La, Za) lit. ‘(cabinet of) ease’, དབྱངས་ CHAB.GSANG [H] (Ü, La), དབྱངས་ CHAKHANG < lit. ‘water house’. Some pastoralist and rural regions do not have toilets.

900. THRONE མཁྲི Khri [PR] < CT. མཁྲེས KHRIS (La). This form is the same as ‘BED’, but the pronunciation can differ in some dialects in Amdo and Gyālthang (Kh), with the meaning ‘throne’ being pronounced closely to the literary form. ཤར་ GRAL (Pur).

901. SHOP མཚོང་ཁང་ TSHONG.KHANG [PW] < CT. ‘sale house’. In Balti, མཚོང་ MDZOD lit. ‘sale store’ is used. རི་/hati/ (La, Pur) < Panjabi. The Urdu loanword duka:n is also used.

902. SCHOOL སྣོལ་གྲྭ SLOB.GRWA [PW] < CT སྣོལ SLOB ‘teach’ + གྲྭ GRWA ‘college’. This is pronounced སྣོལ་གྲྭ BSLAB.GRWA in Central Tibet; in some areas, the word SLOB.GRWA is absent and replaced by the expression རྒྱལ་སྟོངས་ YLGE SLOB.SA or རྒྱལ་སྟོངས་ YLGE.SBYONG.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 རི་/school/ is also found in Sherpa, Purik, Ladaks and in some dialects in the southern Himalayas. The Arabic loanwords مدرس MADRASA (< مدرسة madrasa) and مکتب MAG.TAB are also used in Baltistan and Purik.

903. BANK དངུལ་ཁང་ DNGUL.KHANG < CT ‘money-house’ is used nearly everywhere, except in Baltistan. However the Chinese 銀行 jinhang and English bank have also been borrowed.

904. POST OFFICE. Various terms are used. Post offices were probably first established in Tibet by the Mongols, and their traditional Tibetan name is ཤིག་པ་ YIG.ZAM < CT ‘letter bridge’. Loanwords are used too, such as the Chinese 郵局 youju and the English post office, both of which are recent. An old loanword from Urdu and Pers. دکsampling  /qakxana/ has been tibetanised as སྲག་ཁང་ SBRAG.KHANG, and is used in Ladakh and Central Tibet. The modern Dzongkha word གྲེམ་ཁང་ GREM.KHANG is made up of GREM ‘broadcast’ and KHANG
'house'. Sherpa uses the word འུལག་ 'UBLAG 'compulsory post service', borrowed from Mongolian.

905. **OFFICE** བོད་ལྗོངས་< CT lit. 'source of work', བོད་ཁང་< YIG,TSHANG lit. 'work house'. Another form is བོད་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་< CT lit. '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, ོག་པོ་ 'SHOG,BUKHANG' is used (lit. 'book house'). See BOOK.

907. **PRISON, JAIL** བཙོན་ཁང་< CT 'prisoner house'. There is an alternative form བཙོན་ར་< BSOK,KHANG in Balti and Purik, the compound དགག་ཁང་< SGAG.KHANG lit. 'arrest house' is used. In Sherpa, the word /k'angpa maru/ < དགག་ཁང་པ་< KHANG,PA DMAR,PO 'red house' is used. In Eastern Tibet, སྒོ་ཉེ་< LOKE < Chin. 劳改 laogai is also found.

908. **FACTORY** བོ་ནྭ བོ་ནྭ མ་< FFW (Ü, Ts, E) < CT lit. 'fabrication corner or department', བོ་ནྭ བོ་ནྭ མ་< BSOK,KHANG (E), བོ་ནྭ བོ་ནྭ མ་< BSOK,GRAW,KHANG (La), 工厂 gongchang or 厂 chang alone are also often used in Kham. 厂房 BKO,KHANG /oko'ang/ (Pur).

909. **HYDROELECTRIC PLANT** གློག་ཁང་< FFW (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh) < CT 'electricity house'. གློག་ཁང་< CHUI 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་< KHROM,RA (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'market place/enclosure' or ཁྲོམ་< KHROM,KHRA (Dz). Alternative words are found such as ཁྲོམ་< TSHONG,RA (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT 'sale place/enclosure', ཁྲོི་< SRANG 'market, small street'. In Khöpokhok, སྦི་< NYO,SA 'buying place' is used. In Yolmo, /kyasa/ is used. There are borrowings, such as སྦི་< bazaar (from Urdu, originally Persian) and སྦི་< hatt /hati from Nepali /hat/, in some southern
Himalayan dialects. In the eastern area, the Chinese loan 菜场 caishichang is also used.

911. **GOVERNMENT** སྲིད་དགོངས་ SRI.GZHUNG [FFW] < CT or འབྲས་ ནུའི་ GZHUNG (La) གཙོ་ནཱ། GTSO,GZHUNG (La) < CT is used. Dialects in India, Nepal and Pakistan use the Hindi-Urdu word ཞྱིལ་ /sarkar/.

912. **BOAT, SHIP** འབྲུ། GRU [PW] (La, Ü, Ts, Am, Sh, Lho) < CT. The form འབྲུ། GRU.GZINGS is also attested. Balti has borrowed the word སྣ་ /nayo/ from the Dardic languages. In Ladakh, a Persian loanword བི་མི་ KIS.TRI /kisi/ (Pur, La) is also used. In Yunnan (Kh), ཁ་ 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 མེ་འཁོར་ /me.khor/ (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, Dz) is very common. Other words are attested. The root བྱ་ /bya/ is used in Central Tibet, is a loanword from English 'railway'. The Chinese 火车 huache  is also used in some Eastern regions.

914. **AIRPLANE** ལྕགས་བྱ་ LCAGS.BYA < CT lit. 'iron bird' is widely spread, especially in Kham and Amdo Drogpa dialects. The variants ལྕགས་པ་ /lcags.pa/ (Rebgong Drogpa) '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 jhata.

915. **BICYCLE** རྐང་འཁོར་ RKANG.KHOR [FFW] < CT རྐང་ /rkang/ 'leg-wheel' is used in Literary Tibetan and in Dzongkha. In Common Tibetan and Lhasa, the compound word རྐང་། GARI RKANG.GARI < CT RKANG 'leg' and GARI 'car' borrowed from Hindi-Urdu. The other words used in Tö, Kh and Am are ལྕགས་ RTA LCAGS.RTA 'iron horse' and མྱེ་གྲེའི་ 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 གཞག་འབག་ *’LAG.*’LAG* (Ü, Ts) [FFW] of onomatopoeic origin. The loanword གཞག་འབག་ ‘motorbike’ or bike is also used (Dz, La). གཞག་འབག་ *PHAD.*PHAD.*DA* /’p’at’ata/ is used in Purik and གཞག་འབག་ ’PHRUL.*RTA* ‘magic horse’ in Amdo.

917. CAR རླངས་འཁོར་ *RLANGS.*KHKOR* [FFW] < CT ‘steam wheel’ and its variant རླངས་འཁོར་ *SNUM.*KHKOR* < CT ‘oil-wheel’ are attested in modern Literary Tibetan and some languages (Lho, Dz). The word རླུ /sa’tu/ (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: བོད་ཁོ་ ’CHLKhRE* < 汽车 qiche, བོད་ཁོ་ ’车子 chezi, བོད་ ’MO.TA* /mo’a/ < ‘motor’ (Ü, Ts, Sh); or བོད་ ’kar/ (Ba, La.) < ‘car’, བོད་ ’GARI* (La, Ba, Pur) and བོད་ ’GA.DRI* (Kh) < Urdu ہیر /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་ ’GLOG.*OD* < CT ‘light’ is used. Within the eastern Tibetosphere, the Chinese loanword 电 dian is frequently used, while in India, Nepal and Pakistan的意义 the Hindi-Urdu word /bijli/ is used.

919. HOSPITAL སྨན་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 སྨན་ཁྲིས་ ’SMAN.*RTSIS.*KHANG* < CT ‘medicine and astrology house’ is often used.
DEMONSTRATIVES, PRONOUNS and PROFORMS

920. THIS (proximal demonstrative) དི། [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Ù, Kh, Am) < CT.

This word was originally pronounced /'di/, and some dialects retain the denti-

alveolar prenasalized plosive /'d/; other dialects have preserved only /n/, /d/ or

/td/, e.g. དི། [FFR] /du/ or /d/ (Ts), /na/ (E: Th, Rongbrag, Kh). Another
demonstrative found in OT, དི། [FFR], may lie at the origin of several modern forms,
such as དི། [FFR] /diu/ ◊ /nə (E: Th, Rongbrag, Kh). Another
demonstrative found in OT, དི། [FFR], may lie at the origin of several modern forms,
such as དི། [FFR] /odi/ (Cho), /woː ko/ (Kh: mPhagri), /ʔa dəka/ (nJol, Kh), /ʔa no/ (mBalhag, Kh), /ʔa ko/ (Budy, Kh), etc. High tone forms དི། [FFR] /odi/ (Cho), /woː ko/ (Kh: mPhagri), /ʔa dəka/ (nJol, Kh), /ʔa no/ (mBalhag, Kh), /ʔa ko/ (Budy, Kh), etc. High tone forms ཁོ་ མ་ /ma/ is found in Purik. A few dialects of Kham may have reflexes from the OT
demonstrative ཁོ་ མ་ /ma/ for ‘this'; see HE/SHE/IT.

921. THAT (medial demonstrative or referent already mentioned) དེ། [FFR]

(Sh), དེ། [FFR] /di/ (Sp) and དེ། [FFR] /yi/ (Yangdri, Kh)

Reconstructed compound demonstratives like ཁོ་ མ་ /ma/ could explain modern forms such as ཁོ་ མ་ /ma/ and ཁོ་ མ་ /ma/ are used in Kham and Dzongkha respectively. In Melung (Kh), the form is

922. THAT (over there, distal demonstrative) ཀྱ། [PR] < CT 'that over there'.

This often occurs in compound words such as ཀྱ། [PR] PHARI (Ù, Kh, L]: Durbuk), ཀྱ། [PR] PHARI (Kh), ཀྱ། [PR] PHARI (Ho), ཀྱ། [PR] PHARI (Th), ཀྱ། [PR] PHARI (Am), ཀྱ། [PR] PHARI (Sh). In Amdo and some western
dialects, थे PHA is pronounced गृ हा: घ घ AGI (Am, Ts), तु ग न ग ग HRAGANNA (Am). Some compound words are found: घ घ PHI (Sp), घ घ PHE (Cho), घ घ UGI (Tö), घ घ ALPHI (Dz). The forms घ घ (La) and घ घ AUU /au/ (Pur) are also frequent. Some dialects (e.g. Kham or Spiti) make no distinction between medial and distal demonstratives.

923. HERE घ घ DINA घ घ DIR FFW] (Kh, Am) < CT 'Di' this + NA locative case. One also encounters the variants घ घ LNA (Kh), घ घ ALNA (Kh), which may be reduced to घ घ NA (Dz, Th). Another frequent word is घ घ DLRU [FFW] (Kh) < CT 'Di' this + RU purposive case. It is pronounced in various ways: घ घ NURU (Ts), घ घ LRU (Sp, La). The variant घ घ DIR (Sham) is also attested and is pronounced /di/ (U, Sh, Am), घ घ R (Ho). Finally, the form घ घ LKA (La) derived from CT घ घ DIKA (Ba, Pur, Sham) is also attested.

924. THERE (medial) घ घ DENA [FFW] < CT, घ घ DER, घ घ DE, घ घ DE, PHYOGS. Other forms are attested, such as घ घ ZAKA (Pur).

925. OVER THERE (distal) घ घ PHA [PR] < CT. This is usually followed by a locative suffix: घ घ PHAR, घ घ PHANA, घ घ PHARA and its variant घ घ HARA (Am), घ घ ALNA घ घ MUZAKA (Pur).

926. THITHER (distal) घ घ PHAR < CT. In western dialects (Ladakhi, Balti), the prefix घ घ MA is used: घ घ MA RU.

927. HITHER घ घ TSHUR < CT, घ घ TSHUR.RA.

928. I (first person singular) घ घ NGA [PW] < CT. The form घ घ BA [h] (Ts) and घ घ RANG < CT 'self' is used, which might be related to CT घ घ U. In Daan (Kh), घ घ 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) घ घ KHYOD 'you' [FFW] (Am, Kh, Ho, Ü, Dz etc.) < CT. The variant घ घ HO is also attested (Kh). In some Central and Western languages घ घ KHYOD 'you' is offensive. The root घ घ RANG < CT 'self' is used in some dialects (Ü, Ts, La). Honorific forms are derived from घ घ KHYED 'you' [H], घ घ NYED [H] or the variant घ घ NY; घ घ NGED [H] lit. 'we'. These are usually
followed by the syllable ལོ་ RANG 'self': བཀྲི་རང་ KHYED.RANG [H], (Ú, Pur), ཕ་ RANG NYED.RANG [H] (Ts), or མ་ RANG YER.RANG [H] (Pur, Ba). Dzongkha has བ་ /na/ [H].

930. HE/SHE/IT (third person singular) ཕོ KHO [FFW] (Pur, Kh, Ho, Ü, Ts, Sh, La, Ba, Dz) < CT. The variant བཀྲི་ད དགི KHO.DGI /k’orga/ (Am) is often attested in some eastern dialects, the word ལན KAN/ [H] lit. ‘that’ or པ་ DE ‘that’ are used. Many dialects also have honorific forms based on བཀྲི་ KHONG (La, Ts, Ü, Dz), བཀྲི་པ་ KHONG.PA (Sh) which are derived from the archaic plural of བཀྲི་ 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་ RANG (Ü, Ts), མོ་ DGI/morg/ (Am).

932. WE (first person plural) བཀྲི་ NGED < CT 'elegant form for I, me'. བཀྲི་ 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 བཀྲི་ NGA. However most languages use compound forms: a) བཀྲི་ NGA + collective marker [PW] < CT, b) བཀྲི་ NGED T (elegant) + collective marker, c) བཀྲི་ BDAG T (humilific) + collective marker. Here are the most frequent forms found in the various languages: བཀྲི་ NGATSHO (Ú, Kh), བཀྲི་ NGAR.TSHO (Ú, Kh), བཀྲི་ NGACHO (Am), or བཀྲི་ NGACHO (Am), བཀྲི་ NGACA (Pur), བཀྲི་ NGAC (Lho, Ts, Cho) and various derived forms such as བཀྲི་ NGAZHA (La), བཀྲི་ NGAYA (Ba), བཀྲི་ NGACAS (Dz), བཀྲི་ NGATSHANG (Am), བཀྲི་ NGAZO (Am), བཀྲི་ NGARIGS (Am), བཀྲི་ NGAYUL (Kh: Batang), བཀྲི་ NGED.RNAMS (Kh: Derge), བཀྲི་ NGED.THAMS (Kh: Derge), བཀྲི་ NGED.KHED (Kh), བཀྲི་ NGED.LOGS.SKOL (Th), བཀྲི་ NGED.BDAG.CAG (Ts), བཀྲི་ NGED.BDAG.PU (Sh).

933. WE (first person plural inclusive). Many dialects have distinctive forms for exclusive and inclusive pronouns. For the exclusive forms, see above. The inclusive forms (which include the addressee) are often derived from the archaic pronoun
934. **YOU (second person plural).** For a limited number of languages, the form *དོན་* **KHYED** (Dz, Jir, IJ, etc.) conveys a second-person plural meaning: 'you' (plural). Note that, in CT, *དོན་* **KHYED** refers to the second-person singular in the honorific register: 'you' (singular) [H]. The CT singular honorific form *ཅི་* **KHYED** is thus derived from the plural archaic form *ཅི་* **KHYED**, still attested in a few languages (see 8.1.2). However, most modern languages usually have compound forms and use collective markers: a) *ཅི་* [R] **KHYED**(RANG) 'you' (sing) [H] + collective marker; b) *ཅི་* [R] **KHYOD**(RANG) 'you' (sing) + collective marker; c) *ཅི་* **NYED** or *ཝ་* **NYED** + collective marker. Here are the most frequent forms found in the various languages: *ཐུ་* [R] **KHYOD.RANG.TSHO** (Ü, Ts), *ཐུ་* [R] **KHYOD.CHÖ** (Am), *ཐུ་* [R] **KHYOD.BZO** (Am), *ཐུ་* [R] **KHYOD.CAG** (Am, La) or *ཐུ་* [R] **KHYO.ZHA** (La), *ཐུ་* [R] **KHYED.KHE** (Hor). For honorific forms, we find *ཐུ་* [R] **KHYED,RANG.TSHO** [H] (Ü), *ཐུ་* [R] **NYE.ZHA** [H] (La) or *ཐུ་* [R] **NYID.CAG** [H], *ཐུ་* [R] **NABU** [H] (Dz), *ཐུ་* [R] **NYEN.DANG** (Sham), *ཐུ་* [R] **YEN.DANG** (Pur).

935. **THEY (third person plural).** For a limited number of languages, the form *རང་* **KHONG** (La, Dz, etc.) conveys a third-person plural meaning: 'they'. Note that in CT *རང་* **KHONG** indicates a third-person singular meaning in the honorific: 'he/she (H)' and. The CT honorific form, *རང་* **KHONG** is thus derived from a plural archaic form *རང་* **KHONG** still attested in a few languages (see 8.1.2). In most modern languages, the form for 'they' is derived from *རང་* **KHO** < CT 'he' (+རང་: **RANG**) + collective marker. The honorific form *རང་* **KHONG** + collective marker is also used. In eastern Tibet, the demonstrative *རང་* **KAN**/**GANT** **GAN** + collective marker is also attested. The most frequent forms found in the various languages are: *རང་* **KHONG** (Pur, La, Dz, Yol, etc.), *རང་* **KHO.RANG.TSHO** (Ü), *རང་* **KHONG.TSHO** [H] (Ü, Ts), *རང་* **KHO.CHALBO** (Am).
936. **WHAT** གང་ *GANG* [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Sh, Am) < CT. གང་ *GANG* and its reduced form ག མ་ *GA* are often followed by a suffix: *RE*, *DE*, *ZO*, etc., are widespread: ག མ་ *GANG* (Ts, Sh, Kh), ག མ་ *GAN* (Lho), ག མ་ *GARE* (Ü), ག མ་ *GADE* (Kh), ག མ་ *GAZO* (Kh), etc. The other widespread root is ག མ་ *GANG* and its archaic form ག མ་ *CHI* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö), ག མ་ *GA* (Am). The word ག མ་ *GANG* in Dzongkha is derived from the combination of the two roots ག མ་ *GANG* and ག མ་ *CHI*.

937. **WHO** སུ་ *SU* [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh) < CT. It is pronounced /su/, /sə/ /s’ɯ/. Only a few languages use the CT root ག མ་ *GANG*, which in CT also means ‘what’ and ‘who’: ག མ་ *GANG* /kɔ/ (E: Th) and ག མ་ *GA* (Dz), ག མ་ *KA* (Lho), ག མ་ *KAY* (Cho). In the Yungling and sPomtserag dialects (Kh), the word /sə/, of unclear origin, is used.

938. **WHEN** ནམ་ *NAM* [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Sh, Am, Kh, Dz) < CT. Other words are attested: ཇ་མི་ *NAM.TSHOD* (Am). In some Amdo dialects, the compound ཇ་མི་ *NAM.TSHOD* lit. ‘when-measure’ is used. In some areas, the compound ཇ་མི་ *GADUS* (Ts, Ü) lit. ‘what time’ is found. When asking the time, ཇ་མི་ *GADUS* /kɔ/ (E: Th) and ཇ་མི་ *GA* (Dz), ཇ་མི་ *KA* (Lho), ཇ་མི་ *KAY* (Cho). In the Yungling and sPomtserag dialects (Kh), ཇ་མི་ *CHUTSHOD GAT.TSHOD* are also used. In Minyag Rabgang (Kh), ཇ་མི་ *CHUTSHOD GA* is used. (See HOW MANY/MUCH.)

939. **WHERE** (locative) ག མ་ *GA* or ག མ་ *GANG* + suffix [PR]. This word is generally formed by the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ followed by a case marker -R/LA (dative), DU/RU (purposive), -N/A (locative) or a suffix: ག མ་ *GAR* (Ba, Pur), ག མ་ *GARA* (Hor), ག མ་ *GALL* (Kh), ག མ་ *GARU* (La, Za), ག མ་ *GANAS* /kane/ (La), ག མ་ *GANI* (Sh), ག མ་ *GANG.NA* (Ts, Am), ག མ་ *GAPAR* (Ü), ག མ་ *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: ག མ་ *GANG.NGA* < *GANG* + dative.

941. **FROM WHERE** (from which place) ག མ་ *GA* or ག མ་ *GANG* [PR] + elative/ablative case. This word is generally formed by a pandialectal interrogative pronoun *GA(N)*G NG lit. ‘what’ followed by a case marker *NAS* (elative), *LAS* (ablative),
KYIS (ergative): ཨ་ནས་ G.A.N.A.S (La), ཨ་ན་ G.A.N.A (Sham), ཨ་དེ་ G.A.N.G.GI (Am), ཨ་ནས་ G.A.N.G.N.A.S (Am) in Sherpa, the form ཨ་ནི་ G.A.N.I.N.M.A is used.


NUMERALS

945. NUMBER འོ་ཉིད་ G.A.N.G.G.R.A.N.G.S [FFR], འོ་ཉིད་ G.A.N.G.S.K.A [FFR], འོ་ཉིད་ G.Y.A.N.G.S.K.A (Am). An old astrological tradition is attested in most Tibetic areas and specific names for the numbers up to ten million are well known in Classical Tibetan and most modern languages. The Tibetan numbers are the same throughout the area (with of course different pronunciation), and are normally
used both in traditional fields (lunar calendar, Buddhist philosophy, etc.) as well as in contemporary fields of knowledge. However, throughout the Tibetic-speaking area, foreign numbers (Chinese, Hindi-Urdu or English, depending on the area) are often used for phone numbers, counting money, etc.

946. **ZERO** མ་ཀོར་ KLAD.KOR [FFR] (Ú, Dz, La) < CT ‘round above’; རང་བཞི། KOR.THIG (Am) < CT ‘round dot’, རི་གེ་ THIG.LE (Am) < CT ‘round dot’, སྣ དེ TSAG (La).

947. **ONE** ཞེས་ GCIG [PR]. In Nagchu, as well as in some Amdo, Hor, Northern Kham and Eastern dialects, the form སྣ བཞི GTSIG is widely used. In Rongbrag (Kh), /da zhi/ is used, which is probably related to རི་གེ ZHIG.

948. **TWO** སེར་ GNYS [PR]. In southern Kham, /ªna/ or /ªni/ is frequently used. Additionally, /ªma/ 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 /ªma/ is used when counting a quantity.

949. **THREE** ཚུ་ GSUM [PR].

950. **FOUR** བྱིས་ BZHI [PR]. In Purik, the conservative pronunciation is still heard /bzi/, and in many cases it is realized as [zbzi].

951. **FIVE** ལད་ LNGA [PR]. /ªnya/ is used ub Zhongu (E). In some dialects of Minyak Rabgang (Kh), /ªNa/ is used, which may be influenced by the Darmdo Minyak form /ªNa/. In some dialects in Markham (Kh), /ªŋa/ is used, perhaps influenced by Larong sMar /ªŋa/. Balti and Purik have a denasalized form ས་ /ªa/.

952. **SIX** སྨ་ DRUG [PR]. As expected, this is usually pronounced as a retroflex /tuk/, 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 /ªtº/ or /ªtº/.

953. **SEVEN** བདུན་ BDUN [PR].

954. **EIGHT** སྔར་ BRGYAD [PR].
955. NINE རོ་ DGU [PR].
956. TEN རྫོ་ BCU [PR]. Frequently followed by གཞས་ THAM,PA 'exact'.
957. ELEVEN རྡུ་གཅིག་ BCU.GCIG [PW]. Alt. form: རྡུ་གཙིག་ BCU.GTSIG (Amdo,
Hor Nagchu and Eastern Section).
958. TWELVE རྡུ་གཉིས་ BCU.GNYS [PW]. In a part of southern Kham, རྡུ་གཉིས་ BCU.GNIS is used. See TWO.
959. THIRTEEN རྡུ་གསུམ་ BCU.GSUM [PW].
960. FOURTEEN རྡུ་གཞི་ BCU.GZHI [PW].
961. FIFTEEN རྡུ་གཉིས་ BCU.GNIS [PW]. ཪོ་/ Corrections/ (Ba).
962. SIXTEEN རྡུ་གསུམ་ BCU.GSUM [PW]. In some languages, this is pronounced རྡུ་གསུམ་ BCU.GSUM.
963. SEVENTEEN རྡུ་སྟོན་ BCU.BDUN [PW].
964. EIGHTEEN རྡུ་བརྒྱད་ BCU.BRGYAD [PW].
965. NINETEEN རྡུ་ལྔ་ BCU.BGU [PW].
966. TWENTY སྦྱོད་ NYISHU [PW]. འཁལ་གཅིག་ KHAL.GCIG is used in vigesimal systems.
967. THIRTY སྲོམ་ SUM.CU [PW].
968. FORTY སྲོམ་ BZHL.BCU [PW]. ངོག་ཏུ་ KHAL.GNYS is used in vigesimal systems. For 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 (but not for 20 and 30), some dialects of
Drugchu use  capacidad PO for 'tens': འཁལ་གའི་ PO.BZHI・འཁལ་ག་ PO.LNGA.
969. FIFTY སྲོམ་ LNG.ABCU [PW].
970. SIXTY སྲོམ་ DRUG.CU [PW]. ངོག་ཏུ་ KHAL.GSUM in vigesimal systems.
971. SEVENTY སྲོམ་ BDUN.CU [PW].
972. EIGHTY སྲོམ་ BRGYAD.CU [PW]. ངོག་ཏུ་ KHAL.BZHI in vigesimal systems.
973. NINETEEN ཐུ་ནས་ DGU.BCU [PW].
974. HUNDRED ཐུན་ BRGYA [PR]. ངོག་ཏུ་ KHAL.LNGA in vigesimal systems.
975. THOUSAND ཀློ་ STONG [PR].
976. TEN THOUSANDཁྲི KHRI [PR].
977. HUNDRED THOUSANDའབུམ BUM [PR].
978. MILLIONསྟེ། S.L.YA [FFR].
979. TEN MILLIONབྱེའུམ BYE.BA [FFR].
980. HUNDRED MILLIONབྱེབྱས་བྱའུམ་ BYE.BA [FFR].
981. BILLIONཐེར་འབུམ THER.BUM [FFR].
982. HALFཕྱེད PHYED [PR]. ཕྱེད PHED (Pur, La) usually followed by KA: ལྡེག་ཅིག་ལ་ KHED.KA. In Minyak Rabgang (Kh), it is followed by /ke/: ལྡེག་ཅིག་ལ་ KHED.KE. In some Amdo varieties, the words བཀའ་ TSHAL.BA < CT ‘piece’ and བཀའ་ TSHAL. are used.
983. FIRSTདང་པོ DANG.PO [PW]. Often preceded by དང་པོ། ངས་ DANG.PO, ངས་ DANG.PO, ངས་ DANG.PO, ངས་ DANG.PO, ངས་ DANG.PO. In the mThachu dialect (Kh), the form corresponding to GNYIS is used as a number itself, and /mə/ used when counting a quantity.
984. ONE (WITH CLASSIFIER)གང་ GANG [PR] (Ba, Pur, La) ཀསོལ་ཇ་གང་མཆོད་ GSOL.JA GANG MCHOD ‘please drink a (cup of) tea’.
985. TWO (WITH CLASSIFIER)དོ 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 /ma/ used when counting a quantity.
986. TIME, OCCASIONཐེངས THENGS [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Nubra, Am) < CT, pronounced /tʰeng/ or /tʰeng/; སྲིད་ TSHAR [FFW] (Pur, La, Am) < CT, pronounced /tsʰer/ or /tsʰer/ (Pur, La). A classifier is used when counting: སྲིད་པོག་ TSHAR.POG GNYIS ‘twice’, སྲིད་པོག་ TSHAR.POG GSYUM ‘thrice’. བོལ་ LAN (Ü, La) < CT. In Minyak Rabgang, བོལ་ UR is used. བོལ་གཅིག་ SKOR.BAG.CIC (La) lit. ‘one turn’ is also attested.
987. PAIRཆ ཁ། CHI [PW], གོ་ ZUNG [FFW] (Pur, La) or གོ་ ZUNG < CT ‘couple’.

ADJECTIVES, QUANTIFIERS AND INTENSIFIERS
988. BIG བྟོེ་ CHE, བྟོེ་ CHEN [PR] < CT. བྟོེ་ CHEN.PO, བྟོེ་ CHEN.MO, བྟོེ་ CHEN.PO (Sham), བྟོེ་ CHEN.PO /ˈoʊ/ (Bal, Pur). The word ཀྲུང་ /ˈpobo/ (Ko) and མོ་ SBOM / bom/ (Dz.) are derived from CT ‘big (rope)’; see BIG
The origin of the Sherpa /gyirpu/ and Jirel /goppo/ is not clear, but they might be derived from र्गोདཔो ‘strong, untamed’. The word ग्यास ‘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 /ˈday na/ (Gyälthang), /ˈde na/ (Byagzhol) or /ˈʔa jĩ/ (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** √ ཞྭ རྒྱུན་CHUNG [PR]. This is either reduplicated or followed by a suffix: ཞྭ རྒྱུན་CHUNG.CHUNG, སྒྲུ་CHUNG.BA, ཞྭ རྒྱུན་CHUNG.NGUN (La) < CT ‘very little’, ཞྭ རྒྱུན་CHUNG.KUN (Sp), ཞྭ རྒྱུན་CHUNG.TSHUN.TSE (Ba, Pur) related to CT རོམཔོ ‘CHUN.TSE; སྦྷོམ་ PHRAMO (see THIN) also used in Balti. In Sherpa, སློ རོག་པེ PRIG.PRE /ikpe/ and in Jirel སློ རོག་པེ PREG.PRE /ekpe/ are used. They are probably related to སློ PHRA ‘thin’. In south Kham, there are many dialectal words with an unclear origin: /ˈka ka/ (nJol, Kh), /ˈmye/ (Kh: Gyälthang), and /shːa lu/ (Kh: sNyingthong).

**990. BIG** (DIAMETER) √ སྲོ་མོ SBROM or སྲོ་མོ SBOM < CT [PR]. This is usually followed by a suffix: སྲོ་མོ SBROM.PO /brompo/ (Pur), /drompo/ (Sp), སྲོ་མོ SBOM.PO (most dialects) < CT, སྲོ་མོ SBOM.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 སྲོ་མོ SBOM /bom/ (Dz.) has acquired the general meaning of ‘big’.

**991. SMALL (DIAMETER)** √ སྲོ། PHRA [PR] < CT, followed by an adjectival suffix: སྲོ། PHRA.PO, སྲོ། PHRA.BO, alt. སྲོ། PHRA.PO, སྲོ། PHRA.DE(Gi)(Kh), སྲོ། PHRA.MO (Ba, Pur), alt. སྲོ། PHRE.ME(Sh), སྲོ། PHRA.DE(Ts, Tö), སྲོ། PHRA.SI.DI (Dz). It is also applied to thin people in Ladaks and to high voice (Ü, La).

**992. HIGH** √ སྲོ། MTHO or སྲོ། MTHON [PR]. This root is usually followed by a suffix PO; སྲོ། MTHON.PO (La, Ts, Ü, Jir), སྲོ། MTHON.PO (pur); the short form སྲོ། MTHO is attested with other adjectival suffixes. སྲོ། MTHON.BA, or reduplicated སྲོ། MTHON.MTHO.
993. **LOW** √ དམའ་ *DMA* [PR]. This root is often followed by a suffix: དམའ་མོ་ *DMA.MU* (Ko, Kh, Th, Ba, Am), alt. དམའ་ཡི་ *DMA.PO* (Kh, Ho, Pur), དམའ་པོ་ *DMA.DE* (Ts), དམའ་འདེ་ *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), རིངམོ་ *RING.MO/rim* (Dz), རིང་ *RING.BA* (Am), རིང་ *RING.GE* (Ts, Sh), རིང་ *RING.LO* (Ho).

995. **SHORT** √ ཐུང་ *THUNG* [PR]. In some dialects, the root is reduplicated: ཐུང་ཐུང་ *THUNG THUNG* (Û, Kh, Am), while in others it is followed by a suffix: ཐུང་ *THUNG.BA* (Kh, Am). Other dialects have forms derived from ◇ ཐུང་མོ་ *THUNG.MO* (La), ◇ ཐུང་གུན་ *THUNG.GUN* (Sp), ◇ ཐུང་ངུན་ *THUNG.NGUN* (La), ◇ ཐུང་ངུ་ *THUNG.NGU* (Dz, La), alt. ◇ ཐུང་མ་ *THUNG.MA*, cf. ◇ ཐུང་མེ་ *THUNG.ME* (Sh), ◇ ཐུང་མི་ *THUNG.MI* (Jir). The dental nasal ཐུན་ *THUN* is attested in Tö.

996. **FAR** སྣང་ *YANGS* [FR] < CT lit. 'long rope'. སྣང་པོ་ *YANGS.PO* (Dz, Pur), སྣང་པོ་ *YANGS.PO* (Jir), usually followed by a suffix: སྣང་ *YANGS.BA* (Û), སྣང་ *YANGS.MO* (Sh), སྣང་ *YANGS.BA* (TS). Another variant found in Tsang is སྣང་ *YANGS.PO* 'large area', alt. སྣང་ *YANGS.PO* 'large area'. In Yunnan, the word སྣང་ *YANGS.PO* is widely used.

997. **NEAR** √ ཉེ་ *NYE* [PW]. Often followed by a suffix such as *PO, MO, .DE; *NYE.MO* (Ba, Pur, La), ཉེ་པོ་ *NYE.PO*. In many languages, the compound ཉེ་ *THAG NYE* lit. 'short rope, close distance' is used, often followed by a suffix: ཉེ་ *THAG NYE.PO*, ཉེ་ *THAG NYE.MO*, ཉེ་ *THAG NYE.DE* (Ts). ཉེ་ *THAG THUNG* is also attested. Other ways to express proximity are found such as: ཉེ་ *RTSIB* < CT 'rib' (cf. French 'à côté').

998. **BROAD** √ མི་ *YANGS* [FFR] (Û, Ts, Am). This root is often followed by a suffix, usually *PO, MO; YANGS.PO, YANGS.MO*. In some languages, compound words such as མི་ *YANGS.PO* 'large area', alt. མི་ *YANGS.PO* **GYA CHER.MU** (Sh) or མི་ *YANGS.PO* are used. མི་ *ZHANG.CHEN* (La) <
999. NARROW √ ལེག་ [FFR] (Û, Ts, Am). This root is often followed by a suffix: ལེག་པོ, ལེག་མོ, ལེག་ཆུང་ (Kh: Chaktreng), བལ་ཅན་ PHAL.MED (Pur), བྲ་ PHAL.MO (Ba, Pur, L) lit. ‘thin’.

1000. THICK (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT) √ རྟག་ [PR] < CT. This is followed by an adjectival suffix: རྟག་པོ, རྟག་མོ, ◊, etc: རྟག་པོ (Û, Pur), རྟག་ MTHUG.PO (Jir, Sh), རྟག་ MTHUG.MO (Am). The variant རྟག་ also attested in CT is found in several Amdo dialects and Baltistan: རྟག་. In Dzongkha, the compound རྟག་པགས་པ་/tu:pakpa/ (lit. ‘thick skin’) is used for ‘thick’.

1001. THIN/FINE (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT) √ སྲབ་ [PR]. The onset SR may be pronounced in various ways /sr/, /str/, /ʃ/, /ʃ/, /ʃ/, etc. This is usually followed by an adjectival suffix: སྲབ་ SRAB.PO (Û, Kh), སྲབ་ SRAB.BO (Ba, Am), སྲབ་ SRAB.MO (La) /tra-ngo/ (Ba), /'tramo/ (Pur), སྲབ་ SRAB.MU (Jir), སྲབ་ SRAB.GU (Kh), སྲབ་ SRAB.KHIG.KHI (Dz), སྲབ་ 'SRAB.PHROD.PHROD (Dz), སྲབ་ SRAB.SHOG.SH (Dz). In some dialects, the root is reduplicated: སྲབ་ སྲབ་ SRAB SRAB (Û, Kh) /tpppp/.

1002. DEEP √ ཟབ་ [FFR] (û, Ts, Am, Dz). This root is followed by a suffix: ཟབ་པོ, ཟབ་བ་ (La, Ba). Other roots are attested: ཟབ་ སྦིང་ GTING/ GDING ‘bottom’, as in སྦིང་ལྷག་ GTINGZAB.PO (Û) or སྦིང་ལྷག་ GTINGZAB.MO (Am), lit. ‘deep bottom’, both meaning ‘deep’. སྦིང་ KONG.DRO (La), /xombu/ (Pur) < CT བྲ ‘deep hole’. Some dialects lack a clear concept for ‘deep’.

1003. SHALLOW. See DEEP + negation. Many languages of the world do not have a specific adjective for ‘shallow’. The word སྲབ་ may be used (see THIN/FINE (FABRIC or FLAT OBJECT), as can words meaning LOW.

1004. THICK/DENSE/STRONG (LIQUID) √ ཡར་ [FFR] (Ba, La, Û, Ts) < CT ཡར་པོ, ཡར་པ་ (La, Ba). Other roots are attested: ཡར་ SKA [FFR] < CT: ཡར་ SKAMO (Kh), ཡར་ SKA.DE (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Yol) and ཡར་
**KHA:BO.** \(\text{ KHAMO}\) (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)** \(\sqrt{\text{ SILA}}\) (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 \(\text{ SLA.ĐE}\) (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Jir, Ts), \(\text{ SLAMO}\) (Kh), \(\text{ SLAPO}\) (Ü), \(\text{ SLABO}\) (Am), \(\text{ LHASLSI}\) (Dz), \(\text{ SING.SING}\) (Pur, La).

**1006. FULL** \(\text{ GANG}\) (PR) (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). In some dialects of Southern Kham, \(\text{ RGYAS}\) is used for 'full'.

**1007. EMPTY** \(\sqrt{\text{ STONG}}\) (PR). This is followed by the suffixes \(\text{ PA}\) or \(\text{ MA}\): \(\text{ STONG.PA}\), \(\text{ STONG.MA}\) (Ba, Pur), \(\text{ STONGM}\) (Dz). (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am.)

**1008. SQUARE** \(\text{ GRU.BZHI}\) (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). 'four corners', \(\text{ BZHI.GRU}\) 'four box'.

**1009. CIRCULAR/ROUND** \(\sqrt{\text{ SGOR, GOR}}\) or \(\text{ KYIR}\) (PR) \(<\) CT. Often reduplicated \(\text{ SGOR.SGOR, GOR.GOR}\). Suffixes are also attested: \(\text{ SGOR.MU}\) (Yol). The variant \(\text{ KYIR.KYIR}\) is attested in Western areas (La, Ba, Pur). In some dialects of Southern Kham, \(\text{ LOLO}\) is used \(<\) CT \(\text{ LOG.LOG}'\)st. round that is wrapped up' (cf. Goldstein 2001).

**1010. SPHERICAL/ROUND** \(\text{ RIL}\) (PR) \(<\) CT. Often reduplicated \(\text{ RIL.RIL}\). Suffixes are also attested: \(\text{ RIL.MU}\) (Yol).

**1011. FLAT** \(\sqrt{\text{ LEB}}\) (FFR) (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) \(<\) CT. The root is usually reduplicated: \(\text{ LEB.LEB}\) (Pur, La, Ts, Ü). In Melong (Kh) \(\text{ RING.RING, THIG.THIG}\) (Pur), \(\text{ TING.TING}\) (La).

**1012. SHARP, POINTED** \(\sqrt{\text{ RNO}}\) (FFR) (La, Za, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am). Often with a suffix, \(\text{ RNON.PO}\). The root \(\text{ RTSE}\) 'point' is also widespread. \(\text{ RTSE.CAN}\) \(\text{ RTSE.MO}\), \(\text{ RTSE.CAN}\) \(\text{ TSEP.TSEP}\) (La), \(\text{ TSAP.TSAP}\) (Pur), \(\text{ CHOD.MO}\) (Pur) \(<\) 'which can cut'.
1013. CROOKED, BENT √ ཆོ་ག སྣོད། KYOG [PR]. Often reduplicated: ཆོ་གཞི། KYOG (Pur, La, Ts, Ü, etc.), སུ་སྣོད། GUG.GUG (Kh). The suffix སྣོད། is also attested: སུ་GUG.(Kh).

1014. STRAIGHT √ རྣྟ་ DRANG [PR]. Often followed by a suffix PO, MO: རྣྟ་ PO and རྣྟ་ MO (Am), རྣྟ་ DRANG.PU (Sh), རྣྟ་ KHADRANG (La). In many dialects, this is also used in metaphorical sense of 'honest'. སྣོད། སྣོད། KYOG(Pur, La, Ts, Ü, etc.), སྣོད། GUG (Kh). The suffix སྣོད། is also attested: སྣོད། GUG.(Kh).

1015. BLACK √ བཀྲ་ NAG [PR]. Generally followed by a suffix PO, MO: བཀྲ་ PO and བཀྲ་ MO (Am), བཀྲ་ DRANG.PU (Sh), བཀྲ་ DRANG.PU (Sh), བཀྲ་ DRANG (La). In many dialects, this is also used in metaphorical sense of 'honest'. སྣོད། སྣོད། KYOG(Pur, La, Ts, Ü, etc.), སྣོད། GUG (Kh). The suffix སྣོད། is also attested: སྣོད། GUG.(Kh).

1016. WHITE √ བཀྲ་ DKAR [PR]. In most dialects, DKAR is followed by the suffix PO, PHO, BO: བཀྲ་ DKAR.PHOR (Ü, Pur) བཀྲ་ DKAR.PHO (Ba). The following pronunciations are also attested: བཀྲ་ DKAR.RU (To, Sh), བཀྲ་ DKAR.RO (Am), བཀྲ་ DKAR.PHOKap/ (Dz). In some Kham dialects, the root is reduplicated: བཀྲ་ བཀྲ་ DKAR.(Kh).

1017. RED √ བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR [PR]. Often followed by a suffix PO, PHO, BO, MO, SENG: བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR.PO (Pur), བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR.PHO (Ba), བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR.BO (Am), བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR.PU (Sh), བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR.MO (Ü), བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR.RTSA (Kh: Melong). The root བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR.SENG (SKh) < CT 'light red'. May be reduplicated, as in བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR,DMAR, especially in eastern Tibet. The root བཀྲ སྤྲོད། DMAR may be related to བཀྲ MAR 'butter', and to the root བཀྲ MAR 'gold', found in some TB languages such as Zhangzhung (cf. BUTTER).

1018. YELLOW √ བཀྲ སེར། SER [PR]. It is usually followed by a suffix PO, PHO or BO, བཀྲ སེར། SER.PO (Pur), བཀྲ སེར། SER.PHOR (Ba), བཀྲ སེར། SER.BO. Alternative pronunciations are བཀྲ སེར། SER.PU (Am) /s'eru/ (Am), བཀྲ སེར། SER.RU /s'eru/ (Sh), བཀྲ སེར། SER.PO /s'eru/ (Dz). The reduplicated form is attested in Kham: བཀྲ སེར། SER.SER. Etymologically, this root is related to བཀྲ སེར། GSER 'gold'.

1019. BLUE √ བཀྲ སྣོད། SNGO or བཀྲ སྣོད། SNGON [PR] 'blue' and 'green' < CT 'green, blue color, herb, plant'. It can be followed by a suffix: བཀྲ སྣོད། SNGON.PO (Pur), བཀྲ སྣོད། SNGON.
SNGON.MO, སྒོ་སེང་ SNGO.SNGO. 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 སྒོ་སེང་ MTHING.GA is used in some dialects to designate a dark blue color; it is derived from སྒོ་ MTHING, a type of blue stone (azurite or lapis lazuli).

1020. GREEN སྐྱིད་ Ljang.KHU [PW] < (cf. BLUE) ‘dark green’. This is derived from the CT word སྐྱིད་ 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 སྐྱ་ SKYA [PR] < CT. This is either followed by a suffix, as in སྐྱ་བོ་ SKYA.BO, or reduplicated as སྐྱ་སྐྱ་ SKYA.SKYA. Other forms are ཐལ་མདོག་ THAL. MDOG (La), ཁམ་པ་ KHAM. BA (La).

1022. MULTICOLOR or BLACK AND WHITE སྐྱ་ KHRA [PR] < CT. This stem is usually followed by a suffix, as in སྐྱ་བོ་ KHRA.BO (La Ba, Sp, Dz) and སྐྱ་ KHRA.KHRA (Kh), སྐྱ་ KHRA.KHRA (Pur), འཁྲུང་སྐྱག་ KHRA.KHRA.BA.KHRA (огда), འཁྲུང་ KHRA.BA (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 སྐྱིད་ LCI and སྐྱིད་ Ljid [PR]. These two roots are found in CT. They are followed by the suffixes གོ་ PO, ཕོ་ MO, ར་ ‘DE or by ར་ ‘DI, ལས་ ‘CAN, ལོག་ DRAGS: སྐྱིད་ Ljid.PO (Ü, Tö, Kh), སྐྱིད་ Ljid.PA (Kh), སྐྱིད་ Ljid.DE (Ts), སྐྱིད་ Ljid.TE (Pur), སྐྱིད་ LCI.DE (Sp), སྐྱིད་ LCI.TE / cinte/ (La), སྐྱིད་ LCID.CAN (La), སྐྱིད་ Ljd.MO (Kh, Th, Am), སྐྱིད་ LCO, སྐྱིད་ Ljd.CAN (Ba), སྐྱིད་ Ljd.LO (Ho), སྐྱིད་ Ljd.DRAGS (Lho).

1024. LIGHT (NOT HEAVY) སྐྱིད་ YANG [PR]. This is followed by suffixes: སྐྱིད་ YANG.MO (Kh, Pur, La, Am), སྐྱིད་ YANG.PO (Ü), སྐྱིད་ YANG.YANG (Kh).

7. The spelling LCIN.TE is used in some dictionaries see e.g. Abdul Hamid (1998). The stem སྐྱིད་ LCI is noted སྐྱིད་ 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 √ ལྟོག་ GSAL [PR] < CT. In many languages, the word has a mainly abstract meaning. The root GSAL is usually followed by a suffix: ལྟོག་ GSAL.PO (Û, Ts, Kh, La, Ba, Pur), ལྟོག་ GSAL.BO (Am, Sp), ལྟོག་ GSAL.MO (Ko, Kh), ལྟོག་ GSAL.MU (Sh), ལྟོག་ GSAL.IO (Ho), ལྟོག་ GSAL.TOG.TO (Dz), ལྟོག་ GSAL.DRAGS (Lho), རྟོག་ DPAR.DKAR < 'white white'.

1026. CLEAR/TRANSPARENT √ རྟོག་ DWANGS [PR]. This is usually followed by a suffix: རྟོག་ DWANGS.MA, རྟོག་ DWANGS.PO, རྟོག་ DWANGS.MO, ལྟོག་ ལྟོག་ SING.SING/SINGING/ (Pur).

1027. MUDDY ལྟོག་ NYOG.PO [FFR] (Sp, Kh, Am) < CT ལྟོག་ NYOG.MA, ལྟོག་ ལྟོག་ NYOG.NYOG, ལྟོག་ SAKHU (Sp), ལྟོག་ SKA.TE (Pur).

1028. CLEAN √ ལྟོག་ GTSANG [FFR] (Tö, Dz, Kh, Am, Sh). This is usually followed by a suffix: ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MA (Û, Tö, E: Th, Am, La), ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MA (Sp), ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MA (Ts), ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MA (Sh), ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MO (Ko), ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MO (Ho), ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MO (Am), ལྟོག་ GTSANG.MO (Dz). The Balti form ལྟོག་ TSLG.TA/TSAL.MA/TSAL.MO/ (CT ལྟོག་ GTANG.MA) is used for ‘pure’. Another root ལྟོག་ DAG < CT lit. ‘pure correct’ is also used for ‘clean’: ལྟོག་ DAG.DAG (Am), ལྟོག་ DAG (Ba). In Ladakh, ལྟོག་ LAGS.MO (Pur) and ལྟོག་ LAGS.MO (La) < CT ལྟོག་ LAGS.MO ‘good’ are used for ‘clean’.

1029. DIRTY √ ལྟོག་ BTSOG [PR]. This is usually followed by a suffix: ལྟོག་ BTSOG.PO (Ts, Ū, Kh, Am), ལྟོག་ BTSOG.PO (La), ལྟོག་ BTSOG.PO (Za), ལྟོག་ BTSOG.PO (Ko), ལྟོག་ BTSOG.PO (Dz). However some languages have a different term, such as ལྟོག་ KHAMS.MLOG.SLSI / 'k'amulo sisi/ (Dz). Note that ལྟོག་ KHAMS.MLOG is also used in Ladakhs for ‘disgusting’, ལྟོག་ /xamlok/ (Pur).

1030. FAST (RAPID) √ ལྟོག་ MGYOGS [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ū, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho). However some languages have a different term, such as ལྟོག་ MGYOGS.PO (Û, Ts), ལྟོག་ MGYOGS.PO (La, Lho, Sh), ལྟོག་ MGYOGS.PO (Za, Am). In Balti, the word ལྟོག་ SHOGS.MO (Ba) is used and may be related to MGYOGS. In Amdo

8. In Balti, the preradical G was replaced by L through analogy. The syllable onset /ts/ is frequent in Balti and is a reflex of SL. Note also that the velar nasal has disappeared due to a dissimilation rule (see 9.10.6).
another root is used: གེངས་ REMS < CT 'diligent': གེངས་ REMS, MA (Am), གེངས་ REMS, REMS. In Sherpa, the word ཕིལ་ GRIM, PU is derived from GRIM 'tensed'. Zhollam (Melung, Kh) uses ན་ 'ma', often reduplicated: ན་ LAMA LAMA. སྙིང་ཤེས སྙིང་ཤེས < CT 'urgent' is used in South Kham. སྙིང་ཤེས MALLAG is used in Lhoke.

1031. SLOW/SLOWLY ཕེ་ GALE and its variant ཕེ་ GOLE [PR] < CT, generally used as an adverb. The word ཕེ་ GOLE may be derived from the CT verb 'GOR' to take time'. In most cases, the root is reduplicated: ཕེ་ ཕེ་ GALE GALE (Û, Ts, Tö, Kh). ཙེ་ ཙེ་ GOLE GOLE (Kh), ཙེ་ ཙེ་ GOLE GOLE (Sh), ཙེ་ ཙེ་ KULE KULE (La, Pur, Ba), ཙེ་ ཙེ་ GOLE BAD (Dz), ཙེ་ ཙེ་ GALLUS GALLUS (Lho). In some areas, ཕེ་ GALE (often in association with the verb 'to go') serves also as the interjection 'goodbye' < '(to go) slowly'. In Amdo, the word ཕེ་ DALMO < CT 'relaxed' is used for 'slow'.

1032. EARLY མྱག ལྟ་ SNGA [PR], generally used as an adverb. Usually followed by a suffix: མྱག ལྟ་ SNGAMO (Tö, Kh, Ho, Am, Sp), མྱག ལྟ་ SNGAMU (Sh), མྱག ལྟ་ SNGAPO (Û), མྱག ལྟ་ SNGADE (Ts) or མྱག ལྟ་ SONGO, KHILAG (Ts), མྱག ལྟ་ SNGASE (Kh, Th, Am), མྱག ལྟ་ SNGATSE (Kh), མྱག ལྟ་ SNGATOG (La), མྱག ལྟ་ HASA (Dz) < མྱག ལྟ་ SNGASE. In Spiti, the word མྱག ལྟ་ THORE derives from CT མྱག ལྟ་ DRO, DRO, DROS < CT DRO 'morning, noon'; words derived from the root མྱག ལྟ་ MYOGS (see FAST) are also attested: མྱག ལྟ་ MYOGS, PA (La), མྱག ལྟ་ MYOGS, SE (Pur). Balti has lost this root and uses Urdu loanwords such as /jaldi/ or /jald/ or /waxsik’a/ (Pur).

1033. LATE བཞི་ PHYT [PR], generally used as an adverb. It is usually followed by a suffix PO, MO: བཞི་ PHYLO, བཞི་ PHYLO, བཞི་ PHYLO, བཞི་ PHYLO. The root PHYT pronounced in many ways, such as: བཞི་ /sʰi/ (Kh), /sʰa/ (Am), /tsʰi/ (E: Th), /sʰi/ (Kh), /sʰi/ (Dz), /pʰi/ (Sh, Tö, Sp, Lho). Other roots are also found: བཞི་ RTING < CT 'heel, after': བཞི་ /tina/ (La), བཞི་ /tang/ (Am), བཞི་ /tang/ (GZHUG, NIAS (Am), བཞི་ /GYANG, PO (Ts) < CT. In some languages, the verb བཞི་ 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 √ རྒྱགས་SKAM [PR]. It is usually followed by a suffix PO, MO, PA, /sù/, etc. རྒྱགས་SKAM.PO, རྒྱགས་SKAM.MO.

1035. WET √ རློན་RLON [PR]. Usually followed by the suffix PA or MA: རློན་RLON.PA (La), རློན་RLON.MA (Dz). An alternative root རླེན་DRAG.PA (Pur) and /gə wa/ (Skh) are both derived from CT ཁོར་G Sher 'moisture'.

1036. FAT √ རྒྱགས་G YAGS [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ù, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: རྒྱགས་G YAGS.PA (La, Ù, Ts, Kh) or རྒྱགས་G YAGS.MO (Kh), རྒྱགས་G YAGS.DRAGS (Lho). Another word མཁྲེན་TSHON.PO < CT 'fat, greasy' (for food or animals) is used in Amdo. In Balti and Purik the word ལོ་མོ་SR O.MO (La, Pur) < CT 'big (for cylindric objects)' are used. ནོ་མོ་TBIL.CAN'greasy' < CT is also attested.

1037. THIN √ རྒྱུན་SHA SKAM.PO [FFR] (Ù, Pur, La, Kh, Am, etc.) < CT lit. 'dry meat/flesh'. The variants རྒྱུན་SHA SKAM, རྒྱུན་SHAN SKAM are also used. Other words such as རྒྱུན་PHA.RG.YA and རྒྱུན་PH RAMO (La, Pur) < CT PHRA 'small diameter' are also attested.

1038. HARD/SOLID √ རྗེས་SRA [FFR] (Pur, La, Za, Sp, Yol, Sh, Dz, Am) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix: རྗེས་SRA.MO (Kh, Am), རྗེས་SRA.O (Ba), རྗེས་SRA.DE / sànde/ (Ts, Sp), རྗེས་SRA.DI, རྗེས་SRA.TE / sànde/ (La, Pur), རྗེས་SRA.DI (Sh, Yol), རྗེས་SRA.K RAG, K RAG / sàta/ (Dz). In some dialects, an alternative root རྗེས་MKHREGS [FFR] is used: རྗེས་MKHREGS.PO (Yol, Ù, Kh), རྗེས་MKHREGS.LO (Ho), རྗེས་GY ONG.DO (Am).

1039. SOFT/FLEXIBLE √ སྤྱེ་SNY [FFR] (La, Za, Ts, Ù, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. This is usually followed by the suffixes PO, MO or reduplicated: སྤྱེ་SNY.PO, སྤྱེ་SNY.MO (Am), སྤྱེ་SNY.SNY (Kh). The root སྤྱེས་SOB [FFR] < CT: སྤྱེས་SOB.SOB 'soft, fragile' is also frequently attested. སྤྱེས་'B O L LE' < CT 'soft, relaxed', སྤྱེས་B O L.MO (La), སྤྱེས་LTUR.LTUR (Pur).

1040. STRONG (of PERSON) རྒྱུན་DRAG.PO [FFR] (La, Ts, Ù, etc.) < CT. རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་SHUGS.CHEN.PO (Am, Ù, etc.), རྒྱུན་ཁྱུག་STOBS.CHEN.PO (Am, Ù, etc.).
1041. **WEAK (of PERSON)** རོག་པ་ ZHAN.PA < CT. རོག་པ་ ZHAN.PO. Some languages use a phrase such as དབང་མེད་པ་ DBANG MED.PA lit. ‘without power’, ལྷག་མེད་པ་ SHUGS MED.PA lit. ‘without force’, རེད་མེད་པ་ SHED MED.PA lit. ‘without strength’.

1042. **ROUGH, COARSE** རྩིུབ་ RTSUB [PR] < CT. Usually followed by the suffix PO, རྩིུབ་པཞི་ RITSUB.PO (Pur) or རྩིིུ RITSUB.KHE (La).

1043. **SMOOTH, SOFT** བྱམ་ཞི་ JAM [PR] བྱམ་པཞི་ JAM.PO (Ü, La), བྱམ་ JAM.PA, བྱམ་ lcUG lcU (Dz).

1044. **TIGHT** བླུང་ DRANG [PR] < CT. Usually followed by the suffix PO or MO: བླུང་པཞི་ DAM.PO, བླུང་པཞི་ DAM.MO. Some languages use other roots: དབང་ DRANG (Pur) < ‘upright’, སྲ་ MO (Am) < CT ‘hard’. Some dialects of Southern Kham use the same word as ‘hard, solid’ (see HARD). In some dialects, it has a metaphorical sense related to discipline ‘tough’.

1045. **LOOSE, LAX** རྷོད་ LHOD [PR] < CT. Either used alone (La, Ba), followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, or CAN: རྷོད་པཞི་ LHOD.PO (La), རྷོད་ LHOD.MO, རྷོད་ LHOD.CAN. Can also be reduplicated: རྷོད་ LHOD.LHOD (Pur).

1046. **RELAXED** རྷོད་ LHOD [FFR] (Ü, Kh, Am); རྷོད་ LHOD.LHOD རྨ་ DAL.MO [FFW] (La, Ts, Kh, Am, Sh, Pur), བྱེད་་འབད་ GO.LE.BAD (Dz), བྱེད་་འབད་ GALE.GALE (Th). See LOOSE or SLOW.

1047. **RIGHT, EXACT** བཤེག་ཤེག་ TAG.TAG [FFR]. See also RIGHT/SUITABLE (BE) in the verb section.

1048. **WRONG**; see ‘BE WRONG’ in the verb section.

1049. **NEW** སོ་མ་ SO.MA ‘new’ [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT; སོ་ GSA R [FFR] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Am, Sh, Dz, Lho) < CT usually followed by a suffix such as PA, BA, MA; སོ་འགའ་ GSA.R.PA, སོ་འགའ་ GSA.R.BA (Am), སོ་ GSA.R.BA (Yol, Sh), སོ་ GSA.R.PA /′sarp/ (Dz), སོ་ GSA.R.PU (Lho).

1050. **OLD (of OBJECT)** རུ་ིག་ RNYING [PR] < CT usually followed by a suffix such as PA, BA, or MA: རུ་ིག་ RNYING.PA (Ü, Kh), རུ་ིག་ RNYING.BA (Am) or རུ་ིག་ RNYING.MA (Am, Pur), རུ་ིག་ RNYING.PA /′nyim/ (Dz), རུ་ིག་ RNYING.KU (Lho).
1051. OLD (of PERSON) √ རྒ་ RGA, √ རྒན་ RGAN, √ རྒས་ RGAS [PR] < CT. The three stems are derived from the verb རྒ་ RGA 'to become old' and are often used as a substantive for རྒད་པོ་ RGAD.PO 'old man' or རྒད་མོ་ RGAD MO 'old woman' (Kh, Ba, La, Pur), but may also function as adjectives (see OLD MAN and OLD WOMAN). They are usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, KHOG: རྒད་པོ་ RGAD.PO (Kh, Tö, Ho, Ba, La), རྒས་པ་ RGAS PA (Ba), རྒསཔ་ RGADP /'ge:p/ (Dz), རྒན་འཁོག་ RGAN.KHOG (Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho), རྒན་པ་ RGAN PA (Ts) meaning either 'old' or 'older', or reduplicated as རྒད་རྒད་ RGAD RGAD (Kh), རྒ་རྒ་ RGA RGA (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 (Ú, Ts, Tö, Am) or followed by a suffix: གཞོན་ཏ་ GZHEN TA (Sh), གཞོནམ་ GZHONM /'zhöm/ (Dz). Other words derived from GSAR 'new', such as གསར་ རེ GSAR RE are attested (Th). In many regions (Ba, Kh, Am and E), compound words such as ལོ་ཆུང་ LO CHUNG lit. 'young 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] (Ú, Kh, Sp, Kh, Ko) < CT usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, PA: ཡག་པོ YAG.PO (Ú, Kh, Sp, Yol), ཡག་མོ YAG.MO (Kh, Ko), ཡག་པ་ YAG.PA /yogwa/ (Am); ལེགས་ LEGS [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Dz) < CT 'excellent' usually followed by a suffix such as MO: ལེགས་མུ་ LEGS.MU (Sh), ལྱགས་མོ LAGS.MO (Ba, Pur) or another component: ལེགས་མོ་ཤོམ་ LEGS.SHOM (Dz), ལེགཚ་LEGTM (Lho). Other roots are also found, such as དགའ་ DGA.DE (Ts); མཐེ SRA (Am); < CT 'solid' (the spelling པཀ་ DLK 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), གནས NYAN < CT 'suitable', ལ་ BA 'suitable', རེ་ RED < CT 'right'. In the Zhollam dialect (Kh), /ʰpjA/, of unclear origin, is used.
1054. BAD √ ལན 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 POMA: ལན NGAN.PA (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, La, Ba), ལན NGAN.M / ’ngem/ (Dz), ལན NGAN.PO (Lho).

Another root ཆག SĐUG [FFR] < CT ‘pain, misery’ (hence ‘miserable, sad, bad’), is frequent. It is usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, LO: ཆག PA (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, La, Ba), ཆག ཆོ / ’ngem/ (Dz), ཆག PO (Lho).

Another root བཙོག BTSOG ‘dirty, wicked’ is used to create a compound བཙོག སེམས SEMS.BTSOG (Am) or བཙོག རིག ZHE. BTSOGS (Am). Other roots related to sadness or misfortune are also encountered:

1055. EXCELLENT/GOOD-NATURED √ བཟང BZANG [PR] < CT, usually followed by a suffix བཟང མོ BZANG.PO or བཟང མོ BZANG.MO. This stem often refers to people. Other words are attested: རྒྱལ YAG, ངེགས LEGS. The Amdo word for ‘good’, ‘excellent’ is རིང་བཞིན RING.MIN < CT ‘not anything, hence worthless and bad’. The Amdo word རྒྱལ ma or རིང་བཞིན ma / /a x’a ma/ is of unclear origin.

1056. EXPENSIVE གོང་ཆེན་པོ GONG CHEN.PO [FFW] (Ü, Ts) < CT lit. ‘big value’, གོང་ཆེན GONG CHEN (Lho), གོང་མཐོ་པོ GONG MTHO.PO. In Kham and Amdo, འཁོན Dكون.PO (Kh, Am) < CT ‘rare’ is often used. In Western dialects (Ba, Sp, Kyir), the word ནགས བས བོ GUS.PO/kuspo/ (La) < CT ‘dear’ is attested. In Purik and Ladaks, རིན་ཅན RIN.CAN < CT ‘precious’.
1057. **Cheat** √ ད་ [KHE] [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Ho, La and Dz.) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix such as PO, MO, ད་ ད་ [KHE.MO] (La), ད་ ད་ [KHYE.MO] (Sp, Yol). In Amdo the word used is ད་ [SLAMO] /tsamo/, derived from ད་ [SLA] 'thin, easy' (see EASY and THIN). Other words are attested: ད་ ད་ [GONG.DMA.'DMA] lit. 'low price'; ད་ ད་ [GONG.BDE.MO] (Kh) lit. 'good price'; ད་ ད་ [NYUNG.TSE] 'little' (Ba); ད་ ད་ [RIN.MED] < CT 'no value' (Pur), but in Purik and Baltistan, the Urdu word सस्ता /sasta/ is also often used.

1058. **Beautiful** √ སྐྱེ་ [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: སྐྱེ་ [MDZES.PO] སྐྱེ་ [MDZES.PA]. The noun སྐྱེ་ [MDZES.MA] means 'beautiful woman'. In many dialects (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh), the adjective སྤྱད་ [RDZIG.PO] < CT 'impressive, imposing, prestigious' is used for male beauty. For attractive females, one finds the following compounds: སྤྱད་ [SNYING.RJE.PO] lit. 'noble heart' (Ü, Ts), སིན་ [SNYING.RJE.MO] 'pretty' (La). Other words are found across the area, which may refer to animated beings or to objects: སྤྱད་ [JA.RISMO] /'jarim/ lit. 'rainbow image' (Dz), སྤྱད་ [BYA.CH.CH] (Dz) lit. 'suitable, beautiful (object)' or སྤྱད་ [bya disclosing ] / 'bya 'ichi/ (Cho). In many Amdo dialects, the word སྤྱད་ [YAG, YAG.MA] < CT 'good' is used to mean 'pretty, beautiful'. In southern Kham, the compound སྤྱད་ [MYIG.YAG] lit. 'good eye' is also encountered for 'beautiful'. In the Western areas, the word སྤྱད་ [BDE.MO] (La, Pur, Ba, Sp) < CT 'well, nice' is used whereas སྤྱད་ [DGAL.SHA] occurs in Balti. In Kham, the word སྤྱད་ [BOL.PO] < CT 'relaxed, enjoyable' is also attested. In Lhoke, སྤྱད་ [CANG.DRAGS] is used.

1059. **Ugly** སྤྱེ་ [MDOG.NGAN] (Ü) < CT 'bad appearance' or སྤྱེ་ [MDOG.NYES] < CT 'bad appearance'. སྤྱེ་ [BTSOG.PO] (Pur, La, Za), སྤྱེ་ [SKYUG.BTSOG] (Am). See also BAD and DIRTY. These words may refer both to bad appearance and immoral behaviour.
1060. **HOT** (TEMPERATURE) \(\sqrt{\text{TSHA}}\) [PR] usually followed by a suffix such as **PO**, **MO**, **DE**, **TOG.TO**, **PA**, **DU**, **LO**: \(\text{TSHA.DE} \text{ pronounced } /\text{ts'ande/or } /\text{ts'andi}/ (Ts, Am, Sh, La, Sp), \text{TSHA.TE} (Pur), \text{TSHA.PO} (Ú, Am), \text{TSHA.TOG} (Ho, Kh), \text{TSHA.DU} (Dz), \text{TSHA.MO} (Ho, Kh), \text{TSHA.TE} (Pur), \text{TSHA.PO} (Ü, Am), \text{TSHA.DU} (Dz), \text{TSHA.MO} (Ho, Kh). In some dialects of southern Kham, /sa/ or /s'a/ is used, possibly derived from **TSHA**. The form **TSHAD** [PR], a nominal derivative of **TSHA**, is also encountered: **TSHAD.PO** (Ba), **TSHAD.MO** (Kh). In some dialects, the root \(\text{KHOL} < \text{CT} \text{ 'to boil'}\) is used: **TSHA.MA** (Am: Chabcha) 'hot'. The compound word \(\text{TSHAKHOL}\) is found in Kham.

1061. **COLD** (TEMPERATURE) \(\sqrt{\text{GRANG}}\) [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am) or \(\sqrt{\text{GYANG}}\) < CT. The cluster **GR** of **GRANG** is pronounced in various ways /gr/, /kr/, /ky/, /čr/, etc. and the root is usually followed by a suffix such as **MO**, **GE**, **DRAGS**: \(\text{GRANG.MO/grangmo/ (Pur), /tšangmo/ (Ú, La, Za)}, \text{GRANG.MO/grangmo/ (Ba) (see Section 9.10.6 on nasal dissimilation)}\). \(\text{GRANG.GE} (Ts, Sh), \text{DZANG.MO/ /r̚s:
In some dialects, a word meaning 'hot' is used for 'warm'.

Generally followed by a suffix such as PO or MO. Д’K’A’M’O’ /kamo/ (Am) /kamo/ (Kh), Д’K’A’P’O’ (Dz). Many dialects use a compound like Д’K’A’L’A’S (La) or Д’K’A’L’A’S (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: སྲིས་ LAS Д’K’A’ (lit. 'hard work'). Other roots such asཁག་ KHAG and its variant སྲིས་ Д’K’A’ < CT 'difficult', are probably derived from the root भक्कः /Pass, भक्कः /Fut 'to obstruct'. This is usually followed by a suffix such as PO. དགོས་ KHAG.PO (Ts), རུང་ GABO (Sp), སྲིས་ Д’K’A’G’S.PO /kakspo/ (La), སྲིས་ Д’K’A’G’S.P’O’/xamo/ (Za). Many dialects have compounds of a noun भक्कः 'hard work' followed by an adjective, such asཁག་པོ་ KHAG.PO; སྲིས་པོ་ SLA.PO /kakspo/ (La), སྲིས་མོ་ SLA.MO /xamo/ (Pur), སྲིས་ སྲི་ M’U’/DI (Sh). The Dzongkha word is also a compound: སྲིན་ L.KHAG < CT སྲིན་ L.KHAG. Some dialects (Kh, Ba) also use the root ལི་ /rTS’ ‘thin (liquid), easy’. This stem is pronounced in several ways /tsa/, /tsa/, /l’a/, /la/, etc. and is usually followed by a suffix such as DE,MO: སྲིན་ DE (Sp, Jir, Ts), སྲིན་ SLA.PO (U), སྲིན་ SLAMO /laong/ (Tö), སྲིན་ STS.AMO /tsamo/ (Am) < སྲིན་ SLAMO, སྲིན་ SLAMO /tsamo/ (Pur), སྲིན་ STS.ALO (Hor). Many dialects use a compound of the noun སྲིན་ LAS work' with the adjective སྲིན་ LAS.LAPO (U), སྲིན་ LAS.LAMO (Tö, Kh, Am), སྲིན་ LAS.LAMU (Sh). In some dialects, other
roots are attested, such as བདེ་ JAM < CT 'soft, tender'; བདེ་CHE che (Lho), or བདེ་ BDE < CT 'nice, good': བདེ་ BDO MO /do-ngo/ (Ba).

1066. DANGEROUS ཉེན་ཁ་ཅན་ NYEN.KA.CAN [FFW] (La, Tö, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Dz) < CT. ཉེན་ཁ་ཚ་པོ་ NYEN.KA.TSHA.PA lit. 'hot danger', SKR.A.G.DRA (Kh) < CT 'something frightening', JIGS.PA (La), JIGS.MO (Pur) < CT 'frightening'. སྐྲག་སྐྲ་ SKRAG.DRA (Kh) < CT 'something frightening', ཀནོན་པ་ JIGS.PA (La), ང་མོ་ JIGS.MO (Pur) < CT 'frightening'. སྐྲག་སྐྲ་ CASING.PU (Sh) < CT མུ་ CASUN.PO 'troublesome'.

1067. IMPORTANT, SIGNIFICANT གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ GAL CHEN.PO [FFR] (Tö, Ts, Ú, Kh) < CT 'great significance' and its variants: གལ་ཆེན་མོ་ GAL CHEN.MO (Kyir), གལ་ཆེན་CHE che (Dz), གལ་ཆེན་ཏོག་ཏོ་ GAL CHE TOG.DRA (Dz), གལ་ཆེ་དྲག་ས་ 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), ཁག་ཆེ་ཏོག་ཏོ་ KHAG.CHE TOG.DRA (Dz), ཁག་མུ་ KHAG.CHEN.MU (Sh).

1068. TASTY √ གཞིམ་ ZHIM [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix: གཞིམ་པོ་ ZHIM.PO (Pur, La, Yol, Ú, Ts), གཞིམ་པུ་ ZHIM.PU (Sh, Lho), གཞིམ་ལོ་ ZHIM.LO (Hor), གཞིམ་པོ་ ZHIM.PO (Ba), གཞིམ་པོ་ ZHIM.PO (Dz).

1069. SOUR √ སྐྱུར་ SKYUR [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix, such as MO, སྐྱུར་པོ་ SKYUR.PO (Pur, La, ZA, Ú, Ts, Tol, Am), སྐྱུར་ལོ་ SKYUR.LO (Hor), སྐྱུར་རོ་ SKYUR.RO (Am), སྐྱུར་སྐྱུར། SKURU.RU (Sh), སྐྱུར་སྐྱུར། SKURU.RU (Am).

1070. SWEET √ མངར་ MNGAR [PR]. This generally followed by a suffix such as MO: མངར་མོ་ MNGAR.MO (Pur, La, Za, Ú, Sp, Yol, Hor, Kh), མངར་མོ་ MNGAR.MU (Sh), མངར་མོ་ MNGAR.MO (Ts), མངར་ MNGAR.PO (Ts), མངར་ SBRANG (Kh) < CT 'honey (bee)'. In some Amdo dialects this root is replaced by གཞིས་ ZHIM < CT 'tasty'. This is a little surprising, since Tibetans are usually not fond of sweet foods.

1071. BITTER √ མི་ KHA and its variant མི་ KHA [PR]. This is generally followed by a suffix such as BA, PO, MO, TIG, Δ: མི་ KHA.PO, མི་ KHA.BA, མི་ KHA.MO, མི་ KHA.DE, མི་ KHA.TE/xante/or /kante/ (Pur, Sham), མི་ KHA.TIG,
The stem KHA is pronounced with an uvular plosive /q/ or a velar fricative /x/ in some languages of Amdo and Kham and in some Purik dialects. The existence of these uvular initials allows us to hypothesize that the root KHA had an uvular in Proto-Tibetic, and thus differed from KHA ‘mouth’, although both words were written identically.

1072. SPICY/HOT KHA TSHA [PW] < CT ‘hot mouth’. This is generally followed by a suffix: KHA TSHA (Tö, Kh, Am), KHA TSHA PO (Tö, Kh, Am), KHA TSHA DE (Ts, Sp, Sh), KHA TE /ts’ante/ (Pur, La), KHA TSHIG (Pur).

1073. ASTRINGENT √ BSKA [PR]. BSKA BA, BSKA MO, BSKA BO. BSKA SPAG /kan’pakpa/ (Pur). Some dialects do not distinguish astringent and bitter, as in KHA TE (La).

1074. RICH PHYUG [PR] < CT. The initial cluster PHY may be pronounced in various ways /p’y/, /č’, /p’č/, /f’sh’, /ts’, /sh’, /’/. The stem is usually followed by the suffix PO; PHYUG PO /p’yukpo/ (Ba, Pur), /č’ukpo/ (La, Za), /’č’ukpo/ (Ü, Ts, Tö), ơ PHYUG PO /č’ukpu/ (Sh, Jir), ơ PHYUG PO /’č’yukpu/ (Lho), ơ PHYUG PO /’č’up/ (Dx), ơ /’š’xo/ (Am). Another root related to ‘wealth’ is NOR, DNGUL YOD is attested in Myanmar Kham dialect.

1075. POOR SKYO [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, La, Sh, Ko, Am) < CT ‘sad’ usually followed by a suffix: SKYO PO (Ü, Ts, Kh), SKYO BO (La), ơ SKYOU (Sh), SKYO MO (Ko), ơ SKYO LO (Hor: Am). DBUL [FFR] < CT ‘poor’, usually followed by a suffix ơ DBUL PO (La, Ts, Kh, E: Th), or forming a compound: DBUL PHONGS < CT PHONGS ‘poor’ (Tö). Other roots are attested, such as SPRANG < CT ‘beggar’ or SKRUMA < CT ‘beggar’ (see BEGGAR); ơ SPRANG PO (Yol), ơ SPYANG KA /’changka/ (Dx). One also finds expressions related to misery or suffering, such as ơ DMYAL BA CAN (Ba, La) < CT lit. ‘hell being’, ơ SDIG PA (Pur), ơ SDUG PO < lit. ‘suffering person’ (Kh, Hor, La). In some languages, we find constructions with a negation; ơ RGYU MED (Am): lit. ‘without wealth’, ơ...
1076. **FRESH**  
\(\text{GSAR, PA and } \text{SOS, MA} (\text{La, Pur, etc.})\). See NEW. In some languages, the words \(\text{SOS, PA} (\text{U})\), \(\text{SOS, MA} (\text{Ts})\) are attested.

1077. **DEAD**: see DIE in the verb section.

1078. **CLEVER/BRIGHT**  
\(\text{SPYANG} [\text{FFR}] (\text{Ba, La, Sp, Yol, Ts, Kh, Pur}) < \text{CT}. \) Often followed by a suffix \(\text{SPYANG, PO} \) or \(\text{SPYANG, MO} \) (this latter of females), \(\text{GRUNG} [\text{FFR}], \text{GRUNG, PO} (\text{U, Sp}) \), \(\text{GRUNG, GE} (\text{Ts}) \), \(\text{GYUNG, DRAGS} (\text{Lho})\). Some compounds are also attested:  
\(\text{RIG, PA} < \text{CT}'endowed with intelligence'  
\(\text{RIG, PO} < \text{CT}'clear intelligence' (Kh), \(\text{RIG, YAG} (\text{Am}) < \text{CT}'good intelligence',  
\(\text{MNO, RIG, CHE, DRAGS} (\text{Lho}), \text{GYUNG, CHE, DRAGS} (\text{Pur, Ba}) \) 'someone who has ideas'.

1079. **STUPID**  
\(\text{LKUGS, PA} [\text{FFW}] (\text{T, Ts}) < \text{CT}'dumb, mute, stupid' (Sp, Ū, Ts, Kh, Dz), \(\text{GLEN} [\text{FFR}] < \text{CT}'silly, stupid, fool', often followed by a suffix or reduplicated \(\text{GLEN, PA} (\text{Pu, Sp, Kh, Am}), \text{GLEN, GOG}, \text{BLUN, PO} [\text{FFR}] < \text{CT}'stupid, idiot' (Sp, Kh, Am), \text{HAN, LDANG} (\text{Pur, La}) \) and \(\text{HAN, LDANG} (\text{Pur, La}) \) \text{MUN, PO} < \text{CT}'related to Mun' 'darkness' \) are often used in the western languages. Finally the root \(\text{RMONGS} < \text{CT}'ignorant' is used in some languages.

1080. **HONEST**  
\(\text{DRANG} [\text{PR}] < \text{CT} \) 'well, happy'. Generally followed by a suffix \(\text{PO} \) or \(\text{MO} \):  
\(\text{DRANG, PO} < \text{CT}'to like', as in Dz. \text{SKYID, PO} (\text{Pur, La, Sp, Ū, Ts, Lho}), \text{SKYID, MO} (\text{Kh}); \text{SKYID, LO} (\text{Hoc}) \) or reduplicated \(\text{SKYID, SKYID} (\text{Kh})\). Other roots are also used:  
\(\text{DGA} < \text{CT}'to like', as in Dz. \text{DGA, TOG, TO}, \text{DGA, DI} (\text{La}), \text{DGA, MO} (\text{La}), \text{SEMS, DGA, BO} (\text{Lho}) \)
1082. **WELL/SAFE** \(\sqrt{\text{bde}}\) [PR] < CT 'well, comfortable' generally followed by a suffix: \(\sqrt{\text{bde}}, \text{bde.mu.}, \text{bde.po.}\) (U), \(\sqrt{\text{bde}}, \text{bde.de.}\) (Ts). Note that in some western languages, \(\sqrt{\text{bde}}, \text{bde.mu.}\) has acquired the meaning 'beautiful'. (See BEAUTIFUL.) \(\sqrt{\text{rgyal}}\) (Pur), \(\sqrt{\text{brtan.p}}\) (La).

1083. **SAD** \(\sqrt{\text{sdug}}\) [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp) < CT. Generally followed by a suffix \(\sqrt{\text{po}}, \text{mo.}\) \(\sqrt{\text{sdug}}, \text{po}\) (Pur, La, Sp), \(\sqrt{\text{sdug}}, \text{can}\) (Ba), or in compounds such as \(\sqrt{\text{sems}}, \text{sdug}\) (Am) < lit. 'sad heart'; another root \(\sqrt{\text{skyo}}\) [FFR] < CT 'bad, poor, sad' is frequently found: \(\sqrt{\text{skyo.}}, \text{skyo.p.}\) (Tö). The suffix \(\sqrt{\text{skyo}}\) (Tö), or in compounds such as \(\sqrt{\text{sems}}, \text{skyo}\) (Ü, Dz, Lho) < lit. 'sad heart', \(\sqrt{\text{sems}}\) [FFR] < CT 'only, alone'. The stem \(\sqrt{\text{skyo}}\) (Tö, Sh) generally followed by a suffix: \(\sqrt{\text{skyo.p.}}\) (Ü, Dz, Lho) < lit. 'painful heart', \(\sqrt{\text{brtan.p}}\) (Yol) lit. 'bitter stomach', \(\sqrt{\text{missher.kha}}\) (La, Yol) < CT cognate with \(\sqrt{\text{missher}}\)'spleen'.

1084. **ALONE** \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}\) [PR] < CT 'one', \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}\) [FFR] < CT 'alone, solitary', \(\sqrt{\text{rkyang}}\) [FFR] < CT 'only, alone'. The stem \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}\) is normally followed by the suffix \(\sqrt{\text{po}}\) (or one of its variants): \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}, \text{ghig.po.}\) (Ü, Sh), \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}, \text{ghig.ku.}\) (Lho), \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}, \text{ghig.ku.}\) (Am) or reduplicated \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}, \text{ghig.gigh.}\) (Ba); \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}, \text{ghig.gigh.}\) (Pur); the stem \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}\) followed by various suffixes is mostly found in Eastern and Northern Tibet: \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}, \text{kaer.re.ma.}\) (Kh, Ho), \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}, \text{kaer.ru.ma.}\) (Ho), \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}, \text{kaer.mo.}\) (Am), \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}, \text{kaer.ro.}\) (Am), \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}, \text{kaer.re.}\) (Am), \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}, \text{kaer.}\)'spleen'. The stem \(\sqrt{\text{rkyang}}\) often is often followed by a suffix: \(\sqrt{\text{rkyang}}, \text{rkyang.ma.}\) (Sh), \(\sqrt{\text{rkyang}}, \text{rkyang.p.}\) (La), \(\sqrt{\text{kaer}}, \text{kaer}, \text{rkyang,}\) (Am). Various compounds are also attested: \(\sqrt{\text{ghig}}, \text{ghig.rkyang.}\) (Tö), \(\sqrt{\text{rkyang}}, \text{rkyang.gigh.}\) (Dz).

1085. **SIMILAR** \(\sqrt{\text{dra}}\) [PR] < CT. This may be used alone with a predicative function (Am, Dz), but is usually followed by a suffix: \(\sqrt{\text{dra.p}}, \text{dra.p.}\) (U, Kh), \(\sqrt{\text{dra}}, \text{dra.m.}\) (Ko, Kh, Tö) pronounced \(\sqrt{\text{dra}}, \text{dro}/(Ko), \sqrt{\text{dra}}, \text{dro}/(Tö), \sqrt{\text{dra}}, \text{dro}/(Tö).
DA.R.BO (Lho), DA.R.A.LE (Kh), DA.R.A.LO (Ho), DA.R.A.DE (Ho) or is reduplicated: DA.R.A.DRA (Ts, Kh, Am, La, Pur). In some rare cases, it may occur in a compound R.I.G.S.'DRA (Am), lit. 'similar type' (see the CTDT). A few other roots are attested. They include GCIG (see below SAME), used alone (Am) or in a compound GCIG.'DRA. NANG, NANG.BZHIN (Ts, Am) < CT, LTAR (Tö) or its variant LTAR.LTA (Pur) < CT; NANG.LTAR (Sp); BZ.O.LTAR (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: གཅིགཔ་ GCIG.PA (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, etc.), GT.NIG.PA (NKh, Hor), GT.NIG.GCIG (La). Dzongkha has གཅིགཔ་ GCIGP, གཅིགཔ་ གཅིགཔ་ GCIG GCIGP (Dz). In this latter form, the root གཅིག་ COG is probably cognate with ※ COGS 'similar'. The word སྦོགས་ས་སྦོགས་ TSOGS/SA TSOGS /tsoksatsoks/ (Pur) is attested. In many languages (Am, etc.), a word meaning གཅིག་ 'similar' is used (see SIMILAR above).

1087. STRANGE √ མཚར་ MTSHAR [PR] < CT 'wonderful, strange', normally followed by a suffix: མཚར་ལེ་ MTSHAR.LE (Kh), མཚར་ལོ་ MTSHAR.LO (Ho). However, in many cases (Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, etc.), a compound of the noun KHYAD and the adjective MTSHAR.PO, lit. 'strange particularity', is used: དུ་མཚར་ KHYAD.MTSHAR (Ts, Sp, Am) or དུ་མཚར་ KHYAD.MTSHAR.PO (Ü, Tö), དུ་ ཕྱེད་ KHYAD.MTSHAR.DE (Ts), དུ་ནང་། KHYAD.MTSHAR.RU (Sh).

Another frequent word is ཡིམ་ཐོན་ YA.MTSHAN [FFR] (La) < CT 'suprising, wonderful' (Ts, Kh, Am, La), ཡིམ་ཐོན་ NYA.MTSHAN (Sp). In Dzongkha, another word is derived from the CT verb རིིའི་ HALAS to be astonished, surprised': དུ་ རིིའི་ HALAS.SISI. Finally in Ladakh, another word དུ་ རིི་ HRANG, HRANG < CT 'single', thus 'singular, unusual', is used. Other words are རིིས་ /lokso/ (Pur), MI.DRA (La). Purik also borrows རིི་ '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: གཞནཔ་ GZHAN.PA (Am, Ts, Kyir, Yol, Tö)
pronounced /yänpa/ in Tö and /yampa/ in Sh; འགན་པ བོ /yänpa/ in Tö and /yampa/ in Sh; འགན་དག བོ /yän.ya/ in Tö and /yampa/ in Sh; འགན་མི /yän.mi/ (Dz, La, Ba) and འགན་མོ /yän.mo/ (Lho) are also attested. The compounds འགན་མི་ /yän.mi/ (Dz, La, Ba) and འགན་མོ /yän.mo/ (Lho) are also attested. In some Kham and Amdo dialects, the terms ལེ་ཐོན་ /DT min/ < CT lit. ‘not the one’ and ལེ་པོ་ /DT bo/ lit. ‘not being’ are attested. In Amdo, /zi/ and /akuv/ are also used, and are of unclear origin. In Balti རྒྱ་ /tshad/ lit. ‘that one’ is attested. འགན་ཅིག /yän.ya/ (Pur).

1089. ALL འིང་ /tshang ma/ [PW] (Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Am, La) < CT. This is related to འིང་ /tshang/ ‘entire, all’ and the verb འིང་ /tshang/ ‘to be complete’, probably derived from འིང་ /tshang/ ‘nest, lair, den’ and meaning by metonymy all the individuals living in the same home. Another widespread root is འཕོ /gang/ [FFW] < CT ‘full’ or its variant འཕོ /gang/ (Ü, Ts), འཕོ /gang/ (Ü, Ts), འཕོ /gang/ (Ts, Sp), འཕོ /gang/ (Ts, Sp); འཕོ /gang/ (Ba, La, Pur). The root འཕོ /gang/ (Dz) < CT lit. ‘that one’ is attested. འགན་ཅིག /yän.ya/ (Pur).

There are other words of unclear origin are also attested. These include འིང་ /tshad/ (Kh), འིང་ /tshad/ (Am), འིང་ /tshad/ (Sp), འིང་ /tshad/ (Sh), འིང་ /tshad/ (Lho), འིང་ /tshad/ (Pur). The Hindi-Urdu loanword pura is also widely used in the Himalayas.

1090. MANY/MUCH འིང་ /mang/ [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT. This is usually followed by a suffix འིང་ /mang/ (U, La), འིང་ /mang/ (Pur), འིང་ /mang/ (Sh), འིང་ /mang/ (Ts), འིང་ /mang/ (Am). There are other forms attested in various dialects, such as འིང་ /tshad/ (Bred.po)
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: རུ་ཅང་ HA.CANG (Û, La) < CT, རུ་ཅང་ ZHE.DRAGS (Û) < CT, རུ་ཅང་ ZHE.GI (Am), རུ་ཅང་ ZHE.THAG.GI (Am), རུ་ཅང་ GSHIS.KI (Am). These words contain the root རུ་ ZHE which means ‘mind’ in Old Tibetan. The idea of ‘incomparable’ is also underlying some expressions: རུ་ཅང་ DPE.MED (Am) lit. ‘unequaled’, ‘without (other) example’, རུ་ཅང་ YAMED ‘not a pair (incomparable)’. A number of words are related to ‘fear’, and thus equivalent of the English terribly, horribly:

སྐྲག་མོ SKRAG.MO (Kh), སྐྲག་མ་ SKRAG.MA (Hor), སྐྲག་སྤྱད་ SKRAG.SPYAD (Kh), བྲེད་པོ་ BRED.PO (Ts), བྲེད་པོ་ BRED.PO (La) lit. ‘frightening’, etc. The word རི་ཤི MA.SHI (Û) 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་ GNAM.MED SAMED (Dz). Other words include དེ་ཤི LE.SHA (Dz), དེ་ཤི LEB (Lho), དེ་ཤི STOBS.GI, དེ་ཤི CHEN.PO (Kh) < CT ‘big’. Additionally, some words of unclear origin are also used: དེ་ཤི ZLA (Sh), དེ་ཤི MINANG (Sp), བེ་ཤི MANA (Pur), བེ་ཤི MA’ (La), དེ་ཤི HON.GI (Am), དེ་ཤི PATHUR.GI (Am) lit. ‘the most’, དེ་ཤི JUG.GU (Ts), དེ་ཤི ZAM.DANG (Ts), དེ་ཤི SREG.MA (Kh), etc.

VERBS

1095. BE [egophoric or neutral copulative verb] རིིག་ YIN [V1] [PR] < CT or the variant རིིག་ YIN (Dz, Lho). In nearly all the languages, the negative of རིིག་ YIN employs the portmanteau morpheme རིིག་ MIN [PR] often pronounced: རིིག་ MAN, རིིག་ MEN. The only exception is Dzayül, which has preserved an archaic form: རིིག་ M.A-YIN is used. There are also many compound forms. See Chapter 8.3.3.3.

1096. BE [factual copulative verb] རིིག་ RED [FFW] (Û, Kh, Hor, Am), རིིག་ SBAD [FFW] (Ts, Lho) or རིིག་ BYED, རིིག་ DAG [FFW] (Tö), རིིག་ YIN.DZA (Sh), རིིག་ YIN.DAG (Lj), རིིག་ NOG (La), རིིག་ YIN (Pur, Ba), རིིག་ YIN.DZ (Dz), རིིག་ YIN.PA (Yol), རིིག་ GIS/gi/ < ? CT རིིག་ GYUR (E: Th), རིིག་ SNANG (Kh: Zhol), རིིག་ ZIN (Kh: Gyalthang).9 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]  

`(Lho)` pronunciations are attested: `BYE` Dz)

The verb `ཐམན་ནོག་` YOD (NKh), `འབད་` YOD (Lho) or `བྱས་` BYAS (Dz), `བྱས་` BYAS (Sp, Tö, Kh), `ད་` བྱེ (Nug).

Existential verbs for animate things (human and animals) are

There are also many compound forms (see Chapter 9). In Southern Kham, the only exception is Dzay employs the portmanteau morpheme `MED` [PR] or `MED` [Am]. The only exception is Dzayül, the which has preserved the archaic form `MA-YOD`. There are also many compound forms (see Chapter 9). In Southern Kham, the existential verbs for animate things (human and animals) are `འབད་` BYAS and `བྱས་` BYAS.

1098. **EXIST** [epithetic or neutral existential verb] `I have, there is/are` `འབད་` YOD or the variant `ཡོད་` YOD [v1] [PW]. In nearly all the languages, the negative of `འབད་` YOD employs the portmanteau morpheme `MED` [PR] or `MED` [Am, E]. The only exception is Dzayül, the which has preserved the archaic form `MA-YOD`. There are also many compound forms (see Chapter 9). In Southern Kham, the existential verbs for animate things (human and animals) are `འབད་` BYAS and `བྱས་` BYAS.

1099. **EXIST** [sensory existential verb] `there is/are` `འབད་` YOD or its variant `ཡོད་` YOD [FW] (U, Ts, Dz, Sh, La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Lho). Other roots such as `གདའ་` GDA'/da/ [FW] (Kh, Ho); `གྲག` GRAG or `གྲག` GRAG [FW] (La, LJ, Ba: Turtuk, Nubra, Sp, Tö, Kh) [non visual sensory]; `གི` GYI (Kh: Derge, Lithang) `/gy/`; `ཨི` NUG (Kh, Phänpo, Nubra, Ba: Turtuk). `འབད་` YOD.GI (Am) /yoka/, `འབད་` YOD (Cho) are also attested.

1100. **EXIST** [factual & inferential verb] `there is/are`, `འབད་` YOD.RED (U), `འབད་` YOD.RED (Hor, Tö) /འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Tö Drokpa), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (NKh), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (E:Th), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Am), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Lho) or `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED, `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (La). `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (La), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (La) /yoga/; `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Dz) /yoga/; `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Dz), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Dz) /yoga/; `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Dz), choice of `YOD.DE.RED (Dz), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Dz) /yoga/; `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Dz), `འབད་` YOD.DE.RED (Dz) /yoga/.

1101. **HAVE**: see EXIST.

1102. **MAKE** /bya/ [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT /bya/ [BZO]. In Ladaks and Purik, the verb /bya/ [BZO] (La) /bya/ (Pur) < CT, see DO.

1103. **DO** /bya/ [V2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Tö, Yol, Ts, Ù, Kh, Am, Dz) < CT /bya/ [BZO] (present, past, future and imperative stems, respectively) /bya/ (A/O)(D/S). This is found in most languages and dialects. Various pronunciations are attested: /bya/ (Ba), /bya/ (Pur), /bya/ (Lho), /bya/ (Dz) (note that this form is derived from /bya/ BYAS, but the
official orthography is 'BAD), 0 ལ། /ye/, 0 རི་ /pe/ (Tö, Yol), /é/ (Ú), /she/, /se/ (Kh), /jí/ (Am), etc. Other roots include ལས< CT 'act, work' and the archaic form ལིད< CT ལི། ལི། ལི། ལི། (b)GYID(Ø/S) (Sh, Jir, Thewo (E)). In Ladaks, the verb མཁྲིན< CT ལི། ལི། ལི། ལི། ལི། ལི། (b)(H)O(S) 'to make, repara, cure' is used (concerning the spelling of BCO, see Zeisler 2004: 616). The honorific forms are ིནང GNANG (Ú, Ts) < CT, རྡོ་ 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 བཀྲམ KA LAS. These nouns are followed by verbs such as ལེ་ བྱེ་ སྐྱེད BYED 'to do', ལས LAS 'to do, to work', ལེ་ བཀྲམ KA BYAS, ལས བཀྲམ LAS KA LAS (Kh, Am), ལས བཅོས LAS BCOS (La), ལས རྒྱེད LAS GYID (E: Th), ལས རྒྱེད LAS GYID (Sh), ལེ་ བཀྲམ KA YED (Am), ལས བཀྲམ LAS KA LAS (Am), ལེ་ བཀྲམ LAS BCOS (La), ལེ་ བཀྲམ LAS GYID (Jir), ལེ་ བཀྲམ LAS GYID (E: Th), ལས བཀྲམ LAS GYID (Kh, Am), ལས བཀྲམ LAS GYID (Jir), ལས བཀྲམ LAS GYID (Am), ལས བཀྲམ LAS GYID BYAS (Lho), ལེ་ བཀྲམ LAS GYID RGYAB(Lho).

1105. LOVE/LIKE བྲག་ DGA [PR] (Ba, La, Sp, Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am, Sh, Lho) < CT ‘rejoice, like’. Other verbs are attested in some dialects ལེ་ བཀྲམ TDAD (Ba, Pur, La) < CT ‘to be pleasant’. ངེ་ བཀྲམ GCHES (La, Pur) < CT ‘love’. In several dialects of southern Kham, ངེ་ བཀྲམ GDUNG, perhaps related to ངེ་ བཀྲམ GDUNG ‘desire, long for’, is used. In Gyälhthang, ངེ་ བཀྲམ DGOS is used for this meaning. In some dialects, one finds compounds, such as ལེ་ བཀྲམ་ སེམས ངེ་ བཀྲམ LAS GRWA (Jir) < CT ‘to fit (lit. go to) the mind’, ངེ་ བཀྲམ་ སེམས ངེ་ བཀྲམ LAS GRWA (Jir) < CT ‘to fit (lit. go to) the eye’, e.g. ལེ་ བཀྲམ LAS GRWA SEMS.THER (Yol) < CT ‘to be touched, moved’.

1106. HAVE SEX ངེ་ བཀྲམ RGYO [V2+Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ts) < CT ངེ་ བཀྲམ RGYO(b)RGYO(S) related to CT ངེ་ བཀྲམ RGYAG/ ངེ་ བཀྲམ RGYA 'to hit, to strike', a
form used in Balti: བརྒྱབ་ BRGYAB (Ba) < CT ‘hit’ which has retained the conservative form. Some dialects use an LVC: རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ú, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB ‘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: དབྱིན་ རྒྱོད་པ་ DBIN RGYO BYED (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and less frequent in the spoken languages. Elsewhere metaphoric expressions are used: དབྱིན་ RGYO BYED (Am), རྒྱོ་རྒྱག་ RGYO RGYAB (Ü, Ts) (vulgar). The literary expressions ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པ་ CHAGS SPYOD BYED, འཁྲིག་སྤྱོད་པ་ KHTRIG SPYOD BYED ‘to have sexual intercourse, to make love’ are more formal and l
(')Bor’ throw, abandon, forsake’. In these languages, the verb हस्तः BZHAG (Ba, Pur) is also used but means ‘keep’.

1113. CARRY गुका ’KHUR [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, La, Tö, Yol, Ts, Hor, Kh, Am, Jir, Sh, etc.) < CT गुका ’(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 गुका ’KHYER [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (U, Am, etc.), सर्णा ’BAG’ carry’ [v2,+Ctr] (Kh, Dz, Lho).

1114. BRING/CARRY AWAY/TAKE AWAY गुका ’KHYER or गुका ’KHER [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Û, Ts, Tö, Jir, Am) < CT गुका ’KHYER ‘carry (towards a place), bring or take away’. By default, गुका ’KHYER usually means ‘take away’. It is often associated with secondary verbs of motion: गुका फ्यिन ’KHYER PHYIN ‘take away’ lit. ‘take go’, गुका योंग ’KHYER YONG ‘take come’, sometimes abbreviated गुका ’KHYONG (La). Sometimes directional prefixes are used: फ्यिन गुका ’PHAR-KHYER, त्सू गुका ’TSHUR-KHYER. Note that गुका ’KHER and गुका ’KHYONG are often used as secondary verbs in the Western languages (Ba, Pur). In some languages (Yol, etc.), the verb ठोग्स ’THOGS < CT ‘to seize’ means ‘to carry in the hands or arms’. The root सर्णा ’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: सर्णा ओंग ’BAG, ONG’ to bring’ vs. सर्णा स्ती ग्यू ’BAG,STI,GYU (Lho).

1115. SEND (LETTER, etc.) ब्तुंग ’BTANG, ब्तुंग ’BTONG [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Û, Ts, Jir, Kh, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT. Another frequent word is स्तुंग ’SKUR [FFW] (Û, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT सुंग, सुंग सुंग सुंग (BSKUR ‘to entrust to carry’ related to सुंग ’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 हस्तः BKAĻ [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur) /kal/ < CT हस्तः पुजुर्ण्हस्तः क्लास्य (b)K(۶)(۶)/۶L cognate with the pandialectal noun हस्तः 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 བརྫེང་ BRDZANG (Yol) < CT 'to dispatch' is used in some Southern languages.

1116. LIFT/RAISE [+Ctr] འབེག་ BTEG [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] < CT འབེག་ ལེན་ BTEG (Jir), འབེག་ BTEG/tak/ (La, Tö, Am), འབེག་ BTEG/tyak/ (Ba, Pur). འབེག་ BKYAG [FFW] (Nubra, Yol, Sh, Ü, Kh, Am) < CT འདོན་ ལེན་ BKYAG. In Ladaks, this is pronounced ལེན/len/. In some dialects, the form ལེན LON is used.

1117. TAKE/FETCH འདོན་ BZUNG [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འདོན་ ལེན་ BZUNG (B/NG). In Ladaks, this is pronounced ལེན/len/. Various pronunciations are attested: ལེན་/len/ (La) ལེན་/zun/ (Pur), ལེན་/sim/ (Ü), etc. The verb འཇུས JUS (Ü, Am) is also used with a similar meaning.

1118. CATCH འཇིད་ DZIN [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT འཇིད་ ལེན་ DZIN. Various pronunciations are attested: ལེན་/len/ (La) ལེན་/zun/ (Pur), ལེན་/sim/ (Ü), etc. The verb འཇིད་ JUS (Ü, Am) is also used with a similar meaning.

1119. BUY ཉོ་ NYO [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ཉོ་ ཉོ་ ཉོ། NYO. In Balti, the word ཉོ། < CT 'take' is used instead (see TAKE). The honorific form གྱིས་ GZIGS 'to buy' is used in Central Tibet.

1120. SELL བཙོངས་ BTSONGS [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བཙོངས་ བཙོངས་ TSONGS (B/NG). In some western and southern languages (Ba, Yol, etc.), the word སྒྱུར་ BGYUR < CT 'to change' is used (see CHANGE).

1121. RECITE/REPEAT ལོར་ SKYOR [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Sp, Am) < CT ལོར་ ལོར་ ལོར་ SKYOR. Sometimes this is used as a compound: ལོར་ ལྷ་དོན KHA/DON (+LV) < CT ལོར་ ལྷ་ ལོར་ ལོར་ DON (B/NG). In Amdo, it has come to mean 'read aloud'; ལོར་ MOL (H) (Pur, La), ལོར་ SROGS (Khir, La) < CT (see READ). In some languages (Ü, Yol, etc.), the expression ལོར་ ལོར་ MARCH GRANGS < CT lit. 'to count manis' means 'to recite (mantras)'.

1117. LIFT/RAISE [FW] < CT 'to lift'.
1122. READ ཈ུ LTA [V2, +Ctr] [FFR] < CT ཈ུ’ རུ ཡུ སྐད་ རྒྱ་ (B)LTA(S)/LTOS’ to look at’ (Û, Kh, Am). འོ་ཐ་ DON (Am) < CT (see COME OUT). སྒྲོགས་ BSGRAG or སྒྲོགས་ (B)SGRA/O)G(S)’ to proclaim, broadcast’. In Ladaks, this is pronounced རེ/ro < CT སྒྲོགས། སྡོགས། སྡོག་ སྒྲོགས། (B)SGRA (/< G) (S)’ to read (aloud). Some dialects make a distinction between ‘to read silently’ and ‘to read aloud’ (Û, Ts, etc.). འོ་ཐ་ DON [FFR] (Am, Kh) < CT རེ རེ རེ རེ རེ རེ རེ རེ (G)DON (B)T(H)ON < CT (see COME OUT). In Balti, the verb གོ གོ གོ གོ (La, Pur, Ba) < CT to produce a sound (H). A few dialects have honorific forms: གོ གོ (U, Ts) < CT to see, look at’.

1123. COMPARE ཐུ རུ SDUR [V2, +Ctr] [PR] < CT ཐུ རུ རུ (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) བཅུག་ བཅུག་ (SGO/KHA) RGYAG [V2, +Ctr] [FFR] (Tö, Yol, Û, Kh, Hor, La, Ba, Am) < CT (see ‘hit’), བཅུག་ BCUG [FFR] (Pur, La, Ba) < CT see ‘to insert/put in’, ཝེས་ SDEM/ནུས་ RSDAMS [FFR] (Ts, Kh) < CT see ‘to bind’; ཝེས་ BCAD [FFR] (Ba, Th, Jir, Dz, Sh, Lho) < CT see ‘to cut’, ཝེས་ BKAG ‘to block’. Other forms are marginally found, including ཝེས་ GTUG (Kh) < CT see ‘to touch, join’. These verbs are normally preceded by the noun བཅུག་ SGO ‘door’ or by པ་ KHA’ lid’ (< CT ‘mouth’).

1126. CLOSE (EYE/MOUTH) བཅུག་ བཅུག་ (B)TSUM [V2, +Ctr] [PR] < CT བཅུག་ བཅུག་ བཅུག་ བཅུག་ བཅུག་ བཅུག་ བཅུག་ (B)T(S)H/UM(S). This is usually preceded by the noun བཅུག་ MIG ‘eye’ or པ་ KHA’ mouth’: e.g. བཅུག་ KHA TSUM ‘to shut the mouth, also metaphorically ‘to shut up’.

1127. OPEN. The Tibetic languages usually make a distinction between various types of ‘opening’ (objects or body parts) and have different lexical items for OPEN (DOOR/BOX) and OPEN (EYE/MOUTH).
1128. **OPEN (DOOR/LID)** (སྒོ/ཁ་) *(SGO/KHA)* **PHYE** [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བཀའ་ ལེ་ ལེ་ ལེ་ (*D*) **BYE(D), PHYE(S)**. This is pronounced unaspirated in some dialects (La, Durbuk). The verb is normally preceded by the noun སྒོ་* SGO’door’ or its variant སྒོ་མོ་* SGO.MO or by བཀ་* KHA’lid’ (< CT ‘mouth’): e.g. སྒོ་ཕྱེ་* SGO.PYE.

1129. **OPEN (EYE/MOUTH/LEG)** གདང་* GDANG [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ཅན་ * SDO ‘mouth’ (g)Da (/o)g(S). The verb གདང་* GDANG is also used. གདང་** GDANG /’p’et/’ to open eyes (for the first time)’ < CT ‘to be separated’.

1130. **WEAVE** གཞི གཞི གཞི གཞི * THAG [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT གཞི གཞི གཞི གཞི * THAG (b/)t(h)ag(S), *THOG ’weave with a loom’. Sometimes preceded by the noun *THAGS’weaving’, as: གཞི གཞི * THAGS’THAG. In the Tibetic languages, this verb usually also means ‘grind’.

1131. **GRIND**. See **WEAVE**.

1132. **BRAID/KNIT** མི་* SLA [PR] < ཉོ་ * SDEB/ (b)sla/ (s)’weave by hand, braid, knit’.

1133. **CHANGE** བསྒྱུར་* BSGYUR [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ (b) * BSGYUR. 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 བསྒྱུར་ *(SKAD BSGYUR) lit. ‘change language’ means ‘translate’ in most languages (see **TRANSLATE**). In Purik, བསྒྱུར་ * SDEB /’dep/ (Pur) < CT ‘joint, combine, barter’ བསྒྱུར་ བསྒྱུར་ *(b)SDEB(S) is used.

1134. **VARY, CHANGE** བསྒྱུར་* BGYUR [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** བསྒྱུར་* ZUG [V1] [FFR] (Sp, Jir, Ú, Ts, Tö, Kh, Lho). A few other roots are attested: བསྒྱུར་ * KHOL ‘to boil’ (Am, Ba, Th, Pur) derived from the metaphorical meaning of ‘to boil’, related to the sensation of fever. The root བསྒྱུར་ * ZUG is attested in some areas (Ú, La, Sp) and refers to acute pain < CT ‘to stung,
pricked. The forms བོད་རིག་ZUR or བོད་རིག་ZUR.MO (La), བོད་རིག་GZER.MO (Pur) are also attested. They are also related to acute pain and are related to བོད་GZER < CT 'nail'. The two roots may combine (Sp, La): བོད་མོ་ZUG.GZER. The root བོད་TSHA < CT 'hot' is also attested to mean 'acute pain'. It also occurs in the light verb construction བོད་ཀྱིག་ZUG.GZER.TSHA. The root བོད་GZER may combine (Sp, La): བོད་སྐྲག་ZUG.GZER.SKRAG.

1136. RECOVER (FROM ILLNESS) ཐེག DRAG [v1] [FFW] (Tö, Yol, Ü, Ts, Jir, Kh, Dz, Lho, Am) < CT (inv.). The verb བོད་sOS (Kh) < CT 'to heal, recover' or བོད་GSOS (Dz) < 'to cure' is also widely attested. བོད་DWANGS (Dz) < CT 'to be clear(ed)', བོད་RGYAL (La, Pur) < CT 'to be victorious'. The word བོད་DOD is used in Purik and Ladaks.

1137. BE COLD/FREEZE བོད་KHYAG [FFR] (Pur, La, Yol, Ts, Ü, Hor, Kh, Am, etc.) lit. 'freeze' or the variant བོད་KHE (Jir); བོད་GRANG, བོད་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 བོད་KHYAG for endopathic feeling and བོད་GRANG for external cold (Ü, La), whereas other dialects do the opposite (Am, LJ: Durbuk). The word བོད་KHENG is used in Hor dialects to mean 'to freeze' for water, etc.

1138. ERR/MAKE A MISTAKE བོད་NOR [v1] [PR] < CT. བོད་PHRUL (La), བོད་PHYUG (Am) < CT. བོད་DZOL (Am) < CT.

1139. BE WRONG བོད་NOR [v1] [PR]. In some dialects, བོད་MA-RED lit. 'be not right', བོད་MA-RED GDEN.PA MA-RED is also used. The word /yalat/ (Pur, La) is also attested < Pers. See ERR.

1140. FEAR/BE AFRAID བོད་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 བོད་JIBA (Jir, Sh), བོད་JIGS.MO (Ko) < CT བོད་JIGS.PA, followed by a verb བོད་LANG. The root བོད་SKRAG, alt. བོད་SKYAG is also widespread [FFR] (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT. Other roots are more marginal: བོད་ZHED (Ü) < CT, བོད་BRED
(Ts) < CT, ངངས་ DNGANGS (Am, Th) < CT ‘to be panicked’. མིག་ DROG (Dz, Pur, La, Za) ‘to be startled’ < CT ‘to be startled, frightened, scared, shy (for horses).

1141. WIPE གྱིས་ PHYID [V2,+Ctr] [PR] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT མིག་ PHYI (G) PHYI (S). The verb ཚིག་ SGRIG < CT ‘arrange’ is marginally used for ‘wipe’ in Southern Kham.

1142. HIDE/CONCEAL (something) ཤིན་ SBA [V2,+Ctr] < CT ཤིན་ SBA SBA (O). Note the Amdo-specific pronunciation /zi/ in some cultivators’ areas. Other roots are attested: བཀབ་ BKAB < CT ‘to cover, to conceal’ (bivalent) see COVER. In Kham and Amdo, the verb མུན་ SKUNG < CT ‘bury, do secretly’ (probably cognate with མུན་ KHUNG ‘hole’) is also found with the meaning ‘to hide’. In Amdo (Sogwo) ལེ་ GLEB, of unknown origin, is used.

1143. HIDE (oneself) འབྲ་ YIB [V1,+Ctr] [PR] < CT. འབྲ་ YIB(YIB) ‘hide oneself’ and its monovalent form འབྲ་ GAB meaning ‘to hide oneself’ (Ü) are found. In some areas འབྲ་ JAB (Sp, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘to lie in ambush’ is used. ལེ་ GLEB (Am).

1144. INSERT/PUT INTO/POUR རུང་ BCU [V2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Kh, Am, Ts, Tö) < CT རུང་ BCU རུང་ BCU (G) ZHUG (B) C (H) UG. The root རུང་ BCU [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’. ལེ་ GLEB (Am) < CT ‘to gather’.

1145. PLANT (TREES, etc.) / STICK IN ཤིན་ BTSU [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT ཤིན་ BTSU ཤིན་ BTSU (B) TS (H) UG (G) ZUGS (G) ZUGS. Balti uses the word ཤི་ SPO < CT ‘to change, to move’.

1146. PLANT/SOW (A FIELD) རུང་ BTS [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT རུང་ BTS རུང་ BTS (B) TS (H) A (O) B (G) DE (H) A B (S).

1147. BLEND/MIX རུང་ SRE [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT རུང་ SRE རུང་ SRE (B) SRE (S).

Note that the initial cluster SR is pronounced in various ways as /ʃ/, /ʃ/, /ʃ/, /ʃ/.

1148. MIX/TO BE MIXED (UP) ཤི་ DRE [V1] < CT.
954. FRY/ROAST/GRILL (Expected)  [v2,+Ctr]  [PR]  < CT རྔོ། རྔོ། རྔོ།  
(b)RNGO(s). In the southern Kham area, a voiceless nasal appears instead, as if it were རྔོ། SNGO. Another root is བསྒྲི། SREG [PR]  < CT བསྒྲི། བསྒྲི། བསྒྲི།  
(b)SREG(s). རྔོ། and བསྒྲི། 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 སླེ། SREAL  
(b)SLAM/SLOM [FFR] (Ba, Pur, La, Yol, Sh, Jir) < OT ‘roast a little’ is found.

1150. WEIGH རྐྱེན། SKAR or its variant རྒྱོ་སྒར། 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: བཅར། BCAR (Kh) or བཅལ། BCAL < CT ‘repay, measure, weigh’, བྱག། BKYAG (Û) < CT ‘to lift’ རྨོ། བྱག། བྱགས། བྱག། བྱག། བྱག། (')GYOG, (b)Ka(o)G usually in the compound གྱལ་བྱགས། GYALMA BKYAG (Am), འདེས། DEGS (La) ‘to lift’ < CT. The word རྣོ། TSHAD (Am) < CT. In Central Tibet, it appears with an LVC: རྣོ། རྣོ། RSTOD.RA BTANG. Other words are attested: རྣོ། རྣོ། BSNGAGS < CT, རྣོ། རྣོ། BKYAG < CT ‘to lift’ (see above).

1151. PRAISE རྣོ། BSTOD [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT. In Central Tibet, it appears with an LVC: རྣོ། རྣོ། BSTOD.RA BTANG. Other words are attested: རྣོ། རྣོ། BSNGAGS < CT, རྣོ། རྣོ། BKYAG < CT ‘to lift’ (see above).

1152. EAT རྣོ། ZA [v2,+Ctr] [PR]  < CT རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། (b)ZA/(/O)(S). In a couple of eastern dialects, such as southern Kham or E, the root རྣོ། རྣོ། CHA < CT lit. ‘to chew’ is used. In some dialects, both roots are used, with རྣོ། ZA referring to ‘soft food’ (bread, etc.) and ‘CHA’ refers to ‘hard food’ (meat, etc.). The honorific forms རྣོ། རྣོ། BZHES (Û, Ts, Kh, Dz), རྣོ། MCHOD (Û, Ts) < CT ‘to offer’, རྣོ། DON < CT ‘to offer’ (La).

1153. BE EATEN/CONSUMED (with sensation) རྣོ། ZA [v1] [FFR]  < CT རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། (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’, ’tsungṅa Pics TSHHG.PA ZA or ‘doubt’, ’tsungṅa Pics THE.TSHOMS/DOGS.PAZA. See DOUBT.

1154. DRINK རྣོ། THUNG [v2,+Ctr] [PW]  < CT རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། རྣོ། (b)T(H)UNG(S). Many languages use its present stem རྣོ། ‘THUNG. Some few
dialecst have an innovative form for the imperative: ཀྲུང་ '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), བོད་ 'MCHOD (Ü, Ts) < CT 'to offer', ཉོབ་ 'DON (La) < CT or བསྨན་ 'BSNAMS (HH) (La) < CT 'to take (H').'.

1155. GO [V1+Ctr] གྲོ་ 'GRO [FFW] (Ba, LJ, Yol, Jir, Ts, Ü, Kh, Hor, Dz, Am) < CT གྲོ་/གློ་ 'GRO SONG PHYIN. Most dialects have a form directly derived from CT གྲོ་ 'GRO. In some dialects (Balti, Rongdrak and Yunnan), the form གོ་ 'GO is attested, whereas གྲོ་ 'GYO is used in Amdo and Dzongkha and གྱོ་ 'GYU in Lhoke. Many dialects have suppletive forms for the past and imperative. The present stem is nearly pandialectal: གྲོ་ 'GRO/gyo 'GYO, with some exceptions in the western languages which have ཇ་ 'CHA (Pur, La) < CT 'get ready for the trip'. In most dialects, the past stem is གོང་ 'SONG. In the Minyag dialect (Kh), གྲོ་ 'GRO means 'to go' or 'to walk' in all their tenses, while གོང་ 'SONG means 'to leave' or 'to go away'. Other frequent roots are also used, such as ཆ་ 'THAL 'to go (past)' (Kh, Am), རྤུལ་ 'PHYIN 'to go (past)' (Ü). The root འབྲུལ 'BRGAL 'to go' < CT 'to cross' is used in Sherpa as /gal/ (for the past) and in Yolmo as /kal/. The root གོ་ 'BU 'CT 'to go out' occurs in Garsha. གོ་ '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 གྲུལ་ 'RGYUGS (Ü) lit. 'run!'. The honorific form གེབས་ 'PHEBS 'to go' < CT is used as the honorific in many languages (Ü, Ts, NKh, Am, Dz). In Amdo this is pronounced གེབས་ 'HEBS/hep/ < CT གེབས་ 'PHEBS. In Balti, the honorific form for 'to go' is གེབས་ 'GSHAGS/shaxs/ < CT གེབས་ 'GSHEGS. In Ladaks and Purik, the honorific form གེབས་ 'SKYOD < CT is very frequent.

1156. COME གྲུལ་ 'YONG or its archaic form གྲུལ་ 'YONG [V1] [PW] < CT. The imperative corresponds to a suppletive form གེབས་ 'SHOG < CT གེབས་ 'GSHEGS. In Balti, the honorific form for 'to come' (in all tenses) is གེབས་ 'G)SHAGS < CT གེབས་ 'GSHEGS. In Ladaks, the main honorific form is གེབས་ 'SKYOD < CT. The honorific form གེབས་ 'PHEBS 'to go' < CT is used as the honorific in many languages (La, Ü, Ts, Kh).
1157. **ARRIVE** སླེས་ [v1] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, La, Jir, Lho etc.) < CT.

This may be pronounced in various ways, such as /ˈlep/, 0 ལེས་ LHES /ˈlep/, 0 སླེས་ RTSEBS /ˈtep/. In Dzongkha, the word 0 ལོད་ LHOD and its variant 0 ལོད་ HOD /hi/ are used. The root གུན་ THON [FFR] < CT THON 'come out' is found, for example, in Amdo, Thewo, Balti and northern Kham (Yu). The root ལེབས་ BYON < CT 'to arrive (H)' is also attested, e.g., in Gyālthang, Lhoke and some Tö dialects. ལོག་ BYOR < CT 'to receive' is found in Central Tibet. Another word ལོག་ 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 /¯peʔ/, and used for the nonhonorific register. In Balti, the honorific form for 'to arrive' སྲོགས་ (g)SHAGS < CT གསེར་ GSHEGS is used.

1158. **COME BACK** ལོག [v1+Ctr] [PW]. This is often preceded by the prefix TSHUR. In some languages, ཆུར་འོང་ TSHUR-ONG 'come hither' is also used.

1159. **MAKE COME BACK** ལོག [v2+Ctr] [PW]. This also means 'to return an object'. Reflexes of 0 ལོག་ ZOOG /rdzok/ are also attested.

1160. **GO TO MEET** བསུ [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 Tibetan areas such as Ladakh, they would traditionally welcome the guest with an offering of བསུ་ཕྱེ་ BSUS.PHYE /suspend/ 'butter on a plate with tsampa'. Note the Amdo proverb: བསུ་ཐག་མ་ དུང་ སྐྱེལ་ ཐག་མ་ རིང་ BSU THAG MA THUNG SKYAL THAG MA RING 'Welcoming, go far; seeing off, don’t go far'.

1161. **ACCOMPANY/SEE OFF** སྐྱལ [v2+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Jir, Lho, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor) སྐྱལ བསྐྱལ བསྐྱལ སྐྱོལ (b)SKYAL THANG MA THANG MA RING. This is used to accompany a guest home or see them off. Traditionally, a host could travel quite far with the guest or friend before saying farewell. This is often used with the directional ག ལེར་ PHAR 'thither'.

1162. **CHASE/PURSUE** གདེ [FFW] (La), བོད་ BDA (Pur). In southern Kham, གདེ SNYA/ny'a/ and གདེ SNYEgs < CT SNYEG 'to follow, pursue' are used.
1163. **JUMP** མཆོང་ MCHONG [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT མཆོང་ MCHONG(S). The pronunciation མཆོང་ MCHOM is found in some areas (Ü). A few other verbs are attested: དདུག 'PFLAG < CT 'to move upwards'.

1164. **FLY** སྣུབ་ PHUR [V1,+Ctr] [PW] < CT སྣུབ་ PHUR. In some southern Kham dialects, ཀྲི 'LDING < CT 'flow, float' is found. In Ladaks (Leh) འུ་ UR is used and is probably related to the Hindi-Urdu /u ‘to fly’.

1165. **DESCEND/GO DOWN** བབ་ BAB [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT བབ་ BAB. In many languages, this verb is used for precipitation (rain, snow, hail). The controllable verb བབ་ BAB ‘to descend, go down’ and the noncontrollable verb བབ་ BAB have the same lexical root, differing only by the existence of the imperative stem བོ་ BOB. Thus, from the semantic point of view of Tibetic languages, ‘to fall’ is ‘to descend in a noncontrollable way’.

1166. **MAKE FALL/DESCEND** རེབ PHAB [V2 +Ctr] [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT. In many languages, this verb is used for precipitation (rain, snow, hail). The controllable verb རེབ PHAB ‘to fall, roll down’, and the noncontrollable verb རེབ PHAB have the same lexical root, differing only by the existence of the imperative stem བོ་ BOB. This verb is used to make somebody dismount, but is also used describe rainmaking through religious practices.

1167. **WEAR (CLOTHES/SHOES)** རོ་ GON [V2,+] [PW] < CT. The verbs རེ་ ZAG [FFR] (Ü) < CT, རིལ GRIL or རིལ RIL ‘stumble, roll down’, རེ་ BUD (Pur, La); རེ་ GYEL (Pur, La, Tö, Ü) < CT ‘to fall’. In some dialects of Kham, the two forms are used with a different meaning: རོ་ GON is used for clothes and shoes, whereas རོ་ GON for accessories such as earrings, bracelets, etc. For ornaments and eyeglasses, the verb རེ་ BTAG ‘to attach’ is used in some areas (Ü, Ts, La, etc.)

1168. **FALL/STUMBLE** ལུང་ LHUNG [V2,+] [FFR] (Ba, Pur, Jir Am, Kh) < CT. The verbs are attested: རཿ ZAG [FFR] (Ü) < CT, རིལ GRIL or རིལ RIL ‘stumble, fall’ < CT ‘to fall, roll down’, རེ་ BUD (Pur, La); རེ་ GYEL (Pur, La, Tö, Ü) < CT ‘to fall’.

1169. **WAIT** ལྡུག SGUG [V2,+] [PR] < CT. The verbs རཿ SRING < CT ‘to make long’ or རཿ SRUNG < CT ‘keep’ are used in
some western languages (La, Pur, Za). \(\text{DANG BYA(BYED)}\) /dang ba/ (Pur). The word /dat/ (Ba) is also attested.

1171. BLOW [v2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Sp, Kh, Jir) < CT '吹' व्रुत्स व्रुत्स /\\(\text{BHU(S/D)}\\)/ or व्रु \(\text{PHU}\) (Pur, Lho, etc.). In some languages, one finds a compound verb: लुद्दुग \(\text{PHU BRYAB}\) (Yol, Ts), लुद्दु 'PHU BYA (Ba), लुद्दु 'PHU BTANG (La).

1172. KILL [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT बाध '\(B/A/O/D\)' \(\text{BU}\) (S/D) or फु 'PHU (Yol, Ü, Ts), फु 'PHU BYA (Ba), फु 'PHU BTANG (La).

1173. DIE शी [PW] < CT छ 'CHI/

1174. HIT/BEAT र्दु 'RDUNG [v2,+Ctr] [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT हु 'RHAB \(\text{RGYAG}\) (S/D) < CT हु 'RGYAG [FFR] (U) < CT हु 'RGYAG (S/D) < CT हु 'RGYAG (O/B) 'to hit'; गु 'GZHU (U, Ts) < CT 'to hit, strike, throw'; हु 'BRDAB < CT हु 'RHAB \(\text{PHU BRYAB}\) (Yol, Ts), हु 'PHU BTANG (La).
1175. GET/OBTAIN གོ་ འོ། [v2] [PR] < CT. A few other roots are found e.g. རག་ 'to touch' (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT 'to touch'. འོ་་ འོ་(Am) < CT 'to touch'.

1176. RECEIVE [v2] འོ་ འོར. See GET.

1177. LIGHT (FIRE) ་ འབྱར་ [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འབྱར་ འབྱར་ འབྱར་. In some dialects of southern Kham, འབྱར་ 'BAR lit. [v1] 'to burn' is also used for this meaning. འབྱར་ BGRON(Am) is also attested.

1178. MAKE A FIRE ་ འབུད་ [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ho, Kh, Am) < CT lit. 'to blow the fire' (see BLOW). The variant འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ (E) is also attested. In other languages, the form འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ (Ü) is used. Other compound forms are attested: འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ (Hor) < CT འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ འབུད་ (Hor).

1179. BURN ་ འབར་ [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT འབར་ འབར་ འབར་ འབར་ (B)SREG(S). Some regions use a compound or a light verb construction: འབར་ འབར་ MER BTANG lit.: 'to send into fire' (Dz), འབར་ MYEBTANG (E), འབར་ འབར་ ME, SREG BTANG (Ü). འབར་ ME BTANG, ME, SREG BTANG (B)BDUG(S). In some Kham dialects, འབར་ SREG is also used with a noncontrollable meaning.

1180. BURN ་ འབར་ [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 འབར་ GZHEN(La) is also attested.

1181. BURN/BE BURNED ་ འབར་ [v1] [PR]. In many languages, this word has acquired metaphorical meanings related to ‘anger’ or ‘jealousy’ (see ANGER).

1182. LOSE (an object, etc.) ་ འོ་ [v2] [FRF] (Ba, Pur La, Tö, Jir, Sh) < CT; འོ་ འོ་ འོ་ འོ་ (B)RLA([O]/G)S) 'to lose, to destroy'. In some dialects of southern Kham, the word འོ་ LHAG 'to leave behind', perhaps related to BRLAGS, is used. འོ་ འོ་ (E) 'to abandon, to forsake'; འོ་ SKYA [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), Ṭ BYANG (Dz, Kh) and Ṭ BYVANG (Lho) < CT ‘to be purified, to disappear’ are used. The verb བུད SHUD < CT ‘slip, slide’ is also attested in northern Kham.

1183. FORGET ḍ RIED [V2] [PR] < CT ḍ RIED. In some languages (Ba, Pur, Sp), this is pronounced Ṭ ZHED. The well-known proverb CHU THON-NAS ZAM PA RIED NAD GRAD-NAS JEM DRJED ‘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 ḍ DRAN [V2+/CTR] [FFR] (Ū, Ts, Kh, Am, Dz, Sh, Lho, etc.). Alternative words are also found. In some dialects of southern Kham, the word ḍ DRAN is used with a directional marker: YAR ḍ DRAN or even PHAR ḍ DRAN. In some languages, ḍ ḍ DRAN PA + LV is used: YID ḍ DRAN (Jir), etc. Balti, Ladakhi and Amdo employ a compound of ḍ ḍ DRAN ‘mind’ + purposive case, lit. ‘in the mind’ followed by a verb ‘come, do, remain, etc.’: YID DRAN YONG (La) or YID DRAN (Ba, Am), YID DRAN LA YONG (Am), YID DRAN BYA (Ba, Pur), YID DRAN LUS (Pur). In Spiti, the compound Ṭ Ṭ SA YONG may be derived from Ṭ YONG ‘lucid, clear (mind)+come’. The compound Ṭ Ṭ SA YONG is also used (Gyālthang).

1185. GATHER/PICK UP (FIREWOOD, etc.) Ṭ THU [V2+/CTR] [PR] < CT Ṭ Ṭ Ṭ Ṭ. Other forms are attested: Ṭ RUG pronounced Ṭ RUG (La) < CT ‘to pick up, pluck’, Ṭ SDUD (La, Sp, Tō, Ū, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT ‘to collect’, Ṭ GSHAG < CT ‘to split’ is used to collect wood in Dechen (Kham).

1186. UNDERSTAND Ṭ HA GO [V2] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tō, Ū, Ts, Kh, Ho, Dz, Lho) < CT. Most languages use this compound of Ṭ HA (perhaps onomatopoeic) with the verb Ṭ 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 Ṭ Ṭ Ṭ Ṭ ‘GYA GO. In some regions, the verb Ṭ GO (Am, Jir, etc.) < CT ‘to hear’ occurs alone. In some dialects of Kham, Amdo and Eastern, the verb Ṭ 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 ཐོད་ CHUD (Ba, Pur, Za) < CT ‘to get into, understand, know’ or མཁྱེན་ THOS (La) ‘to understand (or hear) a religious teaching’. The honorific form མཁྱེན་ 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 ཤེན་ SHEN, probably by analogy with the honorific word མཁྱེན་ MKHYEN ‘know (H)’. The honorific form མཁྱེན་ MKHYEN for ‘to know’ < CT is widespread (Ü, Ts, Dz, La).

In Ladakh and Purik, the Hindi-Urdu loanword བ་ཏ་ PA TA + AUX is also frequently used.

1188. BE HUNGRY ལྟོགས་ LTOGS [v1] [PR] < CT ལྟོགས་ LTOGS. In many languages, the verb appears as a nominal incorporation, preceded by a noun such as གྲོད་ཁོག་ GROD.KHOG, ལྟོ་ LTO, གསུས་པ་ GSUS.PA which mean ‘stomach’ or ‘belly’. A few languages use other derivations: ལྟོགས་ LTOGS.RE (Sp) < ལྟོགས་ LTOGS.BKRES and ལྟོ་ LTOBS.PA + ོལ་ LANG. Dzongkha uses ལྟོཝ་བཀྲེས་ LTOW.BKYES < CT ལྟོགས་ BKRES ‘to be hungry (H)’ ; ལྷོ་བ་ལང་ LHO.BA LANG (Lho). The honorific form ལྟོགས་ BKRES is used in some languages (Ü, Ts), and རིམས་ RIMS [H] (La) < CT ‘archaic form’ ལྟཝ་བཀྲེས་ SBRIBS ‘to be hungry’ (Norman 2019).

1189. BE THIRSTY ེོམ་ SKOM [v1] [PR] < CT ེོམ་ SKOM(S). Usually this verb is preceded by KHA ‘mouth’: མཁྱེན་ KHASKOM. The root SKOM is related to SKAM, and thus KHA SKOM could be literally rended as ‘to have a dry mouth’. In Spiti ེོམ་ BKRES is used a compound which includes the honorific verb BKRES. The honorific form ེོམ་ BKRES is widespread (La, Ts, Ü).

1190. OCCUR/HAPPEN གྱུང་ BYUNG [v1] [PR]. The variant གྱུང་ BYING < CT BYUNG is used in Ladakh. Other verbs are attested for this meaning: ཐོན་ THON (Ü,
Ts, SKh, Lho), ṭhê ́ \textit{RED} (Nkh, Hor), ye ́ \textit{YED} < CT 'to do', cha ́ \textit{CHA} (Pur, La) lit. ‘to go’.

1191. GET ANGRY: see ANGER.

1192. TRANSLATE \textit{SKAD SGYUR} [V2, + Ctr] [PW] (La). ず\textit{n\textbar K} \textit{SKADZLOG BYA} < CT lit. ‘to convert language’ used in Balti. In some areas in Kham, a Chinese-Tibetan calque ̀ \textit{THONG,SI RGYAG} (Ch. 通事 tongshi ‘interpreter’ + RGYAG ‘do’) is used.ず\textit{n\textbar K} \textit{SKADSHESBA(S)(Pur)}. ず\textit{n\textbar K} \textit{YIG.SGYUR}.

1193. BLOCK/STOP \textit{BKAG} [V2, + Ctr] [PR] pronounced /kak/, /kak/, /kaʔ/, etc. (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Jir, Lho) < CT ̀ \textit{GAG} [V1] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) CT ̀ \textit{CH"E} (< CT /s/). In a few languages, the verb ‘saw’ occurs as a light verb construction: ̀ \textit{GAG} (< CT ‘to make a hole’ is generally used.

1194. GET BLOCKED, BE STOPPED \textit{GAG} [V1] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am, Jir, Lho) < CT pronounced /gaks/, /gak/, /gaʔ/, etc. ̀ \textit{KHYIL} (Pur, La) < CT ‘dam up water’.

1195. SEW \textit{BTSEM} [V2, + Ctr] [PR] often pronounced /tsen/ < (La, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT ̀ \textit{EM} (< CT ‘to make a hole’). In some eastern areas, this word just means ‘to leave domestic animals outside’.

1196. ROT \textit{RUL} [V1] [PR] < CT. In some Kham dialects, \textit{MA-YAG} lit. ‘not good’ is also used.

1197. PUT OUT TO PASTURE \textit{TSHO} [V2, + Ctr] [PR] (La, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho) < CT ̀ \textit{TSHO} (< CT ‘to make a hole’). In some eastern areas, this word just means ‘to leave domestic animals outside’.

1198. GIVE \textit{BYIN} [V2, + Ctr] [FFR] (in Ba, Tö, Kh, Am, Dz, Lho, Sh) < CT ̀ \textit{BYIN}. ̀ \textit{BYIN} (Lho). ̀ \textit{BYIN} (Cho). ̀ \textit{BYIN} (Sh). In Balti, it is pronounced ̀ \textit{MIN}. Another root ̀ \textit{SPRAD} [FFR] < CT ̀ \textit{SPRA} (< 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་ GTOD (Sp, SKh) < CT ‘to direct, hand over’ is also attested. The humilific root གཏོད་ GTOD < CT and the honorific གནང་ GNANG < CT and the honorific མཆོད་ MCHOD < CT are also widespread. The humilific root དགུལ་ PHUL < CT and the honorific ཀནང་ GNANG < CT and the honorific མཆོད་ MCHOD < CT are also widespread.

1199. FULL (BE) རྒྱགས་ RGYAGS [v1] [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT རྒྱགས་ རྒྱགས་ RGYAG [v1] < CT. In the western languages, this verb is used to mean ‘to become fat’ and འགྲང་ GRANG < CT are also used in Ladaks. Note that the noun རིས་ RIS is cognate with the verb རིིས་ BRIS (see Hill 2005).

1200. MEET དགུའ། THUG [v2] [FFR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Jir, Lho) < CT. Other roots are more marginal: ཀའོད། PHRAD [v2] ‘to meet’ [FFR] (Sh, Dz, Lho) < CT. The form is written as ཀའོད། PHRAD /p’o/ in Lhoke. In Hor, the form ཀའོད། PHRAD is attested, perhaps related to ཀའོད། PHUNG ‘to aggregate, to come together’. The honorific form འཇུག། MJAL is widespread.

1201. LOOK/WATCH ལྟ། LTA [v2, +Ctr] [PR] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho) < CT ལྟ། ལྟ། ལྟ། LTA [v2, +Ctr] < CT. It is difficult to say if the initial cluster བྲ is inherited or is an innovation. The Balti form བྲ། RBT (Pur) / b’ri/ is attested. The distinction between ‘draw’ and ‘write’ is made by the noun that precedes the verb: བྲ། བྲ། VLBRI to write (letters’), བྲ། བྲ། RLMO’BRI to draw (drawings)’, བྲ། བྲ། NAG,SHABC’ make a picture’ (Urdu) is also used in Ladaks. Note that the noun བྲ། བྲ། RIS,RI is cognate with the verb བྲ། བྲ། (B)RIS (see Hill 2005).
**1203. SEE** མཐོང་ [v2] [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü) < CT. རིག་ [FW] (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 གཞིགས་ and མཇལ་ are widespread. མཇལ་ is used for the ordinary register in Melong.

**1204. HEAR** རིག་ [v2] [FW] (Sp, Tö, Ü, Am, Kh, Dz) < CT. Two other roots ཁོ་ [FW] (La, Ba, Pur, SKh) < CT ‘to feel’ and གོ་ [FW] (Dromo, Yol, Lho, Dz) < CT ‘to hear’ are also encountered. The honoriﬁc form ཞིག་ GSAN (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Dz, etc.) is widespread.

**1205. LISTEN** རིག་ [v2, +Ctr] [PW] < CT ཞིག་ GSAN (O). The honoriﬁc form ཞིག་ GSAN (Ü, Ts, Dz, La) is widespread.

**1206. DREAM** རྨི་ལམ་ [v2] or the archaic variant རྨྱི་ལམ་ རྨ་ [FW] (Am, Kh) < CT, lit. ‘to dream the dream path’. བཀྲིམ་ལམ་ MTHONG GTONG “see a dream’ (Ba, Pur, La). In most dialects, the construction བཀྲིམ་ལམ་ MTHONG < CT ‘sleep path’ + LV is used: བཀྲིམ་ལམ་ MTHONG BTANG (Ts, Ü, Dz, etc.).

**1207. SHOW** སྲིམ་ [v2, +Ctr] [PW] (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ü) < CT ཚགས་ སྲིམ་ (B). This is derived from the root སྲིམ་ LTA (see LOOK/WATCH) preceded by the causative preﬁx བ་ ‘to make look (at)’ and followed by the sufﬁx ར. Some languages still have a reﬂex of སྲིམ་ LTAN (Ba, La, Am) and so the reconstructed form should be *སྲིམ་* SLTAN. Some languages use the syntactic construction སྲིམ་ LTA JUG ‘make see’.

**1208. CALL/INVITE** རོ་ [v2, +Ctr] [FW] (La, Am, Kh) < CT རོ་ (BO). Some compounds (with an LVC) are also found. For example, བཀྲིམ་ གྲུ་ SKAD BTANG lit. ‘send voice’, གྲུ་ བཀྲིམ་ SKAD BRGYAB (E: Th, Yol) lit. ‘make voice’, བཀྲིམ་ གྲུ་ SKAD ZER lit. ‘tell voice’ (Ba), བཀྲིམ་ གྲུ་ SKAD GTONG (Za), བཀྲིམ་ གྲུ་ SKAD BOD lit. ‘voice call’, བཀྲིམ་ YONGZER (Pur) ‘say to come’.
1209. **BREAK** བཅག་ BCAG [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT བཅག་ བཟང་ བཅག་ བཟང་ (G/B)(H)/O/AG. Another verb, འབྲུག་ DKRUM [v2,+Ctr] (Dz) < CT འབྲུག་ འབྲུག་ (G/B)(H)/O/AG. *DKRUM*(S) 'smash, fracture, break', is used in Dzongkha.

1210. **BREAK/BE BROKEN** བཅག་ CHAG [v1] [PW] < CT.

1211. **CUT** (ROPE/TREE) བཅད་ BCAD [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT བཅད་ བཅད་ (G/B)(H)/O/AG. 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** (ROPE/TREE) བཅད་ CHAD [v1] [PR].

1213. **DECIDE** དཐག་བཅད་ THAG BCAD [v2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT lit. 'cut the rope'. Most languages use this metaphor to express 'to decide'.

1214. **BE DECIDED** དཐག་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, 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, ཀྲ ་'nya/', of unclear origin, is often used for this meaning.

1216. **CUT (WOOL, HAIR)** མེ་ BREG [PR]. A reflex of this, མེ་ BRAG, is widespread.

1217. **CUT (GRASS)** རྒྱ་ RNGA [PR] < CT རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ (G/B)(H)/O/AG. This usually refers to cooking meat, rice, potato and vegetables by boiling. The root རྒྱ་ SKOL 'to boil' is also used in some languages to mean 'to cook'. See BOIL.

1218. **SHAVE/SHEAR** མེ་ BZHAR [FFW] (Am, Kh, Ü, Ts) < CT མེ་ མེ་ མེ་ (G/B)(H)/O/AG. This usually refers to cooking meat, rice, potato and vegetables by boiling. The root མེ་ SKOL 'to boil' is also used in some languages to mean 'to cook'. See BOIL.

1219. **COOK** མེ་ BTSOS [v2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT མེ་ མེ་ མེ་ མེ་ (G/B)(H)/O/AG. This usually refers to cooking meat, rice, potato and vegetables by boiling. The root མེ་ SKOL 'to boil' is also used in some languages to mean 'to cook'. See BOIL.

1220. **COOK/BE COOKED** མེ་ TSHOS [v1] [PW] < CT.
1221. **BOIL** [v2, Ctr] [PR] < CT.

1222. **BOIL/BE BOILED** [v1] [PR] < CT.

1223. **KNEAD** [FFW] < CT. The derived form घु रु (La, Pur) is found in Ladakh, गु र्द्जि [FFW] (Yol, Ù, Am, etc) < CT 'to knead, to make dough' is also widespread.

1224. **BE NAMED** ऋद 'BOD' [FFR] (see CALL), टेर 'ZER' (Pur, La, Sp, Tö, Ù, Ts, Kh, Ho, Jir, Lho), यिंग 'MÖING'. The word मयिंग is considered a noun, but it can also behave as a verb meaning 'X is named Y' in Gyälthang. The constructions with टेर 'ZER' require the name to be marked with the dative: मयिंग टेर 'MÖING-NGA CI ZER-RED (La), टेर यिंग टेर 'ZER-GYI YOD,RED, (Ù)'What is it called?' lit. 'for the name what is said?'.

1225. **TEACH** भस्ल 'BSLABS' [v2, Ctr] [PR] < CT भस्ल भस्ल भस्ल भस्ल (B)SLA(O)B(s). The initial cluster STL may be pronounced in various ways: /l, l', lts, ts, dz/. भस्ल 'BSLABS' (Hor, Am), ल्हो 'LHOB' (Dz). In some languages, compound words are also found: भस्ल भस्ल ट्हाण 'SLOB TSHAN KHRID' to give a lesson' (Ù).

1226. **LEARN/STUDY** भस्योंग 'SBYONG' [v2, Ctr] [FFR] < CT भस्योंग भस्योंग भस्योंग भस्योंग (B)SBY(A)(O)S. The verb भस्योंग 'BSLABS' [v2, Ctr] [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Ù, 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 भस्ल भस्योंग 'SLOB,SBYONG' which takes the verbaliser ब्येड to give भस्ल भस्योंग ब्येड 'SLOB,SBYONG BYED' to study'. In Ladakh, the verb भसिल 'BSIL' (La) < CT is used.

1227. **KNOW (HAVING LEARNT)** लोब्स 'LOBs' (La, Za, Am) < CT, anticausative form of 'BSLABS, शेस 'SHES < CT 'to know'.

1228. **GROW** भ्स 'SKYE' [PW] [v1] < CT भ्स 'SKYE' < CT.

1229. **BE BORN** भ्स 'SKYE' [v1] [PR]; see GROW. Other words are marginally attested. Some dialects use metaphorical expressions, such as भ्स 'SKYE' /'mik s'ä / 'open the eyes for the first time' (see OPEN); घ्स 'DRAG < CT 'to recover'. In
Amdo բཙས་ BTSAS /tsi/ < CT 'to be born' is attested; it is less plausible that it comes from གསོས་ GSOS (Am) < CT 'foster, raise'. The honorific forms འཁྲུངས KHRUNGS [H] (Û) and ལྟམས LTAMS (La) are widespread in languages with honorific systems (Û, Ts, La, Dz). The honorific form འཁྲུངས KHRUNGS is used for animals in Melung (Skh).

1230. GIVE BIRTH ska [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 བེ་མ་ལ་ཕྲུ་གུ་ A LA PHRU 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) ska2 [V2, +Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Hor, Dz, Sh, Am) < CT. This verb is generally used for grain or money. However, some languages (Û, 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) ska [V2, +Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh, Am) < CT གཡར་ G‧YA(//O). Another root is attested: བོད་ RNYA (Dz, Lho) < CT གཡར་. These are used for objects that should be given back and not replaced.

1233. WEEP/CRY s‧NGU [V1, +/−Ctr] [PR] < CT s‧ NGU(S). Note that in Dzongkha the reflex has yielded a high tone and is written ◊ SNGU. In some Amdo dialects, a compound verb (LVC) is made of an onomatopoeic expression and a light verb: བེ་འདེབས HE+DEBS < CT onomatopeia+ 'to plant' meaning 'to cry loudly', བོད་ཆུ་བཏང་ MIG.CHU BTANG [V1, +Ctr], བོད་ཆུ་ཤོར་ MIG.CHU SHOR [V1, −Ctr] 'to shed tears'. The honorific verb is བཤུམས་ BSHUM (La, Ü, Ts).
1234. BE ASHAMED $NGO.TSHA$ [FFR] < CT $NGO$ ‘face’ + $TSHA$ ‘hot’ [PW]. Another root $KHREL$ < CT lit. ‘embarrassment’ (Kh, La, Pur, Ba). /tɕi/ (Rongdrak, Kh) and /hɕi/ (gYagwa, Kh) may also be derived from this root.

1235. STAND (UP) $[V1,+Ctr] LANG$ [PW] < CT $[NGO]$ ‘face’ + $TSHA$ ‘hot’ $LA/(O)NG(S)$. This is normally used with the directional marker $YAR$ ‘up’.

1236. MAKE STAND UP $[V2,+Ctr] SLANG$ [PR]. Used for people and objects (to erect, place upright). In southern Kham, the causative form has been lost and a noncausative form $LANG$ is used instead.

1237. COUGH $LU$ [V1] [FFR] (Am, Kh, Sp) < CT ‘cough’. This is sometimes used alone, but in most cases, the verb ‘cough’ is a compound verb made of a noun $GLO$ ‘lungs’ or $LUD$ (Pa) ‘a cough’ followed by a verb $KHOG$ (Pur, La) or $LU$ or the verbaliser $RGYAG$ [V1]: $GLO.BRGYAB$ (Ú, Am, Sh), $GLO.KHOG$ (Ts, Kh, Dz, Ba, La), $GLO.LU$ (Kh, Th). Some dialects simply use $PHAR$ ‘to rub’.

1238. CROSS (RIVER/PASS) $RGAL$ [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT $RGAL$ now means ‘to go’ (past). Some dialects simply use $PHAR$ ‘to rub’.

1239. DIVIDE/SHARE $[B]GO$ [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ‘divide+slaughter’ followed by a light verb: $MGO.BSHA’BRGYAB$.

1240. COVER $BKAB$ [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT ‘cover, to conceal’.

1241. TELL/SAY $BSHAD$ [V2,+Ctr] [PW] (Ba, La, Tö, Ts, Ú, Lho, Kh, Am) < CT ‘tell’ + $BSHA’$ (Pa) ‘tell, explain’; $ZER$ [PW] (Ba, Pur La, Tö, TS, Ú, Kh, Am) < CT ‘say’; $LAB$ ‘speak’ [PW] (Ú, Ts, Yol, Lho, etc.) <
CT. ZLO [FFW] (Kh, Ho, Am) < CT རློ ZLA (B)ZLA/0 (S) ‘to repeat’. This is usually pronounced /dzo/ in the present and /dze/ in the past. In some Amdo dialects, རློ BZLAS is a suppletive form for the past of the verb རློ ZER. In Kongpo and the southern Himalayas (Yol, etc.), རློ SMRA < CT ‘speak’ is also attested. A few honorific verbs are attested: རློ MOL (La, Ba) ‘to say, tell, teach (h)’ < archaic form found in OT. རློ 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: སྐད་ཆ་ SKAD CHA ‘talk, conversation, speech’ < CT སྐད SKAD ‘language, sound’; མབ་ KHABRDAY (Am) < CT lit. ‘mouth, sound communication’; བཏང་ DPE.SGRA /spera/ < CT བཏང DPE ‘example, metaphor, illustration’ + རྲོ ‘sound’, རྲོ BLO ‘concept’, etc. The verbs that follow these nouns are either lexical verbs, such as རིག་ BSHAD ‘to tell’, རིག་ GRAG ‘to resound, be heard’ or ལྲོ LAB ‘speak’, or light verbs such as རིག་ BYED ‘to do’, རིག་ RGYAB ‘hit’, རིག་ BTANG ‘send’. Among the most frequent compound verbs are སྐད་ཆ་བཤད SKAD CHA BSHAD [V1+Ctr] (Ü, Kh, Am), སྐད་ཆ་བཤད (Kh), རྲོ རྒྱན། KHABRDAY BYED (Am), (Kh) རིག་ GRAG (Kh, Pur) and its variant རིག་ KHAGYAG (Am), རིག་ DPE.RTANG (La, Ba, Pur), རིག་ DPE.LA RYAG (Sh), རིག་ BLO’R KYAB (Dz), རིག་ BLO’SLAB (Dz). A few other compound verbs are also attested more marginally: རིག་ KHARBTANG (Ba), རིག་ SMRARBTANG (Ts), རིག་ PHORLE BSHAD (Tö), རིག་ LAB BTANG (Tö), རིག་ LON.GROS BTANG (Sp), རིག་ GROS BYED (Kh) ‘to consult’, རིག་ GROS RKYABS (Lho), རིག་ SLAB.’O LAB /lao lab/ (Kh). Some of the compound verbs may convey slightly different meanings. In Amdo, རིག་ KHAGYAGS or རིག་ KHAGYAGS means ‘speak up’.
1243. **ASK** དྲིས་ [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT དྲི་ < དྲིས (')DRI(s). Note that the initial cluster of དྲིས་DRI is pronounced as a retroflex /ʈ/ in most languages. There are some exceptions such as Thewo, which has no retroflexes and uses an affricate /ch/ here instead, and Balti, which preserves the old pronunciation /ʈr/. Amdo has an aspirated form for the imperative: གཏམ་ལན་ PHRIS. A few languages have LVC or noun incorporation, such as གཏམ་ལན་ SKAD CHA DRI or ཕྲི་ལན་ DRLBA DRI.

1244. **ANSWER/REPLY** བལན་ [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' བལན་ ZLOG or བལན་ SLOG are found. The noun in most languages is བལན་ LAN (its variant བལན་ LON) < CT 'answer': བལན་པོ་བརྒྱབ་ PO BRGYAB (Ü, Ts, Kh, Sh), or the variant བལན་ བཏེ་ བས་ KT LON PR LAB (Dz) < CT བལན་ བཏར་ བས་ LAB (Kh, Am), བལན་ བཏང་ BTANG (La), བལན་ བཏང་ BTANG (Pur), བལན་ བཏང་ BTANG (Pur). In some rare cases, the noun is a compound: བཀའ་ལན་ BKA'LAN (Th) lit. 'order answer', བཏམ་ལན་ GTAM LAN (Ba) lit. 'talk answer': བཏམ་ལན་ ZLOG (Ba), བཏམ་ བཏང་ ZLOG (Yol). One finally notes that some Amdo dialects have the expression གཏར་ བས་ RA BSHAD (Am) lit. 'say in return'. The eastern section has བཀས་ བླངས་ KHAS.BLANGS < CT 'to take with the mouth'. It is also possible, though improbable, that the form corresponds to an archaic verb བལན་ LAN not found in CT. Finally in Gyaltang, there is the form /wo/ 'to answer'.

1245. **EXCHANGE** གཏར་ [V2,+Ctr] [PR] < CT གཏེ་ གཏར་ གཏར་ གཏར་ (B)RJE(s). This is pronounced གཏར་ BZHE in Balti and གཏར་ RJE in Ladaks. The verb གཏར་ SDEB (La, Pur) is also used for this meaning.In some languages, such as Central Tibetan (Ü), there is light verb construction: གཏར་ བུ། RJE.PO BRGYAB.

1246. **LIE** གཏར་ [FFR] (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) < CT + V or LV < CT verb གཏར་ RDZU to pretend, to fake, to forge'. གཏར་ བུ། RDZUN BSHAD (Ü), ཕྲི་ བཀུན་ བཏམ་ བཏང་ RDZUN BTANG (La), བལན་ བཏང་ RDZUN SLAB (Dz). Other roots are attested such as བཀལ་ SHOP <
CT: འོ་ཤོབ་པཏང་ SHOB BTANG (Nubra) < CT,བཤོག་དགོས་ SHOB GTAM (Am), འོ་ཤོབ་ནར། SHOB RKYAB (Dz). འོ་མ་པོ་ས་ SNA BI BSHAD (U), འོ་རྐྱ་རྨོ་ JANG RKYAPS (Lho).

1247. **PLough** ゞ RM [V2, + Ctr] [PW] < CT ゞ ＫＧ ＫＧ ＫＧ RMO(S/D). The variant グ RNO is attested in Ladakh (Sham). In some languages, this verb is used as a compound verb: ང་ཤོབ་ (U, Ts, To), ང་ཤོབ་ (Tö). In Ladakh, the verb implies usually not only ploughing but also sowing at the same time. Otherwise, གཞིང་སློ ZHING SLOG lit. ‘to turn the field’ and འོ་ཤོབ་པྱུང་ 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 རེ RED is widely used. In Amdo ལོ CHOG ‘to be possible’ is also used for this meaning. In Ladakh and Purik, the Hindi–Urdu loanword འབོད་ THIG [ṭik], which is very similar to འགྲིག་ GRIG, is also used.

1249. **SHOUT** ལེན་ SKAD + LV [V1, + Ctr] [FFW]. ལེན་བརྒྱུབ་ SKAD BRGYAB, ལེན་བཏང་ SKAD BTANG, ལེན་བཏབ་ SKAD BTAB. In most languages, there is no simple verb to convey the meaning of ‘shout’, but ལེན་ ‘BOD < CT ‘call’, ལེན་ ‘SKAD BTANG, ལེན་ ‘SKAD BTAB. In most languages, there is no simple verb to convey the meaning of ‘shout’, but ལེན་ ‘BOD < CT ‘call’ is marginally used alone. Other compound verbs are attested: in Kham, Hor and Amdo རི་ཤོག་ KI BTAB lit. ‘onomatopeic war sound + plant’ is used. In north-western languages, one has: ཉ རི་ཤོག་ QA BYA (Ba), ཁུ་ཤོག་ KU CO BTANG (La), (the word ཁུ་ ‘CO is related to CLCO ‘clamor; crowd sound’), དུ་པོས་ཤིག་ ལེན་ BTSIR SKAD ‘THEN (Yol) is attested. Other forms include the word བྲ་ ‘UR ‘onomatopoeia for noises, especially the wind’ with a light verb.

1250. **HIRE** དུ་ GLA [V2, + Ctr] [PW] < CT དུ་ དུ་ དུ་ GLA(Ö) (S). This is usually pronounced /la/ in most modern languages. In some western languages (La, Ba), དུ་ GLA is used as a noun and followed by a verb, e.g. དུ་ ལེན་ GLA-LA KHYONG, འོ་མ་པོ་ དུ་ GLAKHAR LEN.

1251. **BE DRUNK** གྲི་ BZI [V1] [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT. The verb གྲི་ BZI may be used alone as in Amdo, but is often preceded by འོ་ RA < འདད་ ZARAG
'alcohol'. A pronunciation corresponding to རྫི  RDZI is also attested. In some dialects རག་ རོ་ RAG RO (Skh) or ར་ རོ་ RA RO (La, Ba, Pur) < CT are used, e.g. ར་ རོ་ RARO 'go' (Ba) lit. 'to go drunk'; བཞོ་པཞོ་ GO PHUG (Drugchu) lit. 'pierced head'.

1252. MILK/SQUEEZE བཞོ་ BZHO/ ཁོ་ JO [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT བཞོ་་བཞོ་ ཁོ་ Jo  (B)ZHO(S), ('J)O(S) derived from OT རོ་ ZHO 'milk'. In some western languages, བཙིར་ BTSIR [v2,+Ctr] [FFW] (Ba, La, Pur) < CT 'to squeeze' (usually preceded by the noun 'milk'). See MILK.

1253. FIND རྙེད་ RNYED [v2] [FFW] (Sham, Pur, Am, Lho) < CT. Other roots are attested: e.g. གོ་ THOB [FFW] (Ba, Pur, La, Lho) < CT lit. 'obtain', ཐློ་ TSHOL (Kh, Dz) < CT དཔའི་ BTSAL 'to look for'; གོ་ LON (Kh, Am), the resultative form of CT གོ་ LEN 'take'; དོ་ CHUD (Am) < lit. 'to get into'. In Balti the compound དབུ་ཐོན་ LAG-DU'ONG lit. 'to come in the hand' is used. In Southern Kham, དབུ་ TSHUR KHA RAG lit. 'hither obtain' is attested.

1254. LOOK FOR/SEARCH བཙལ་ BTSAL  'TSHOL [PR] < CT ཁོ་་ TSHOL 'to look' (B)TSHOL(A) lit. 'to try to catch, to caress'. We can also mention here the CT expression གོ་ NYUG < CT '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 གས་ལུང་ CHANG-SA+BRGYAB [v1,+Ctr] lit. 'to hold a barley beer (feast)' is used. Other nouns are used, such as བག་ BAG '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).
If this is the case, these two words related to ‘marriage’ are related to drink. Also attested are བདག་མ་ (BAG.MA) ‘bride’, བདག་ལེན་ (BAG.LEN) ‘bride taking’, གཉེན་ལེན་ (GNYEN.LEN) ‘relative taking’, བག་སྟོན་ (BAG.STON) ‘relatives’ feast’. These are followed by various light verbs, and thus we find the following compounds: བག་མ་བྱེད་ (BAG.LEN BYED) (Tö), བག་མ་བཟོ་ (BAG.MA BZO) (Ba, Pur), བག་སྟོན་བཟོ་ (BAG.STON BZO) (La, Pa), བག་པོ་ (BAG.PO) (Sp), བག་མ་ (BAG.MA) lit. ‘make bride’ (La), བརྒྱ་ (BRGYAB) lit. ‘hold a feast’. In Amdo, the terms བཟའ་བ (BZA.BA BYED) lit. ‘make spouse’ and བཟའ་ཚང་ (BZA.TSHANG) lit. ‘promise couple’ are also attested. Sherpa has borrowed the Nepali word /zendi/ in association with the verbaliser /kyi/ (< BGYID ‘to do’): བཟེན་དི (BZEN.DI) (Kh, Am), བཟེན་དི (BZEN.DI) lit. ‘she went as a bride’ (to her husband’s family), བཟེན་དི (BZEN.DI) lit. ‘he was sent as a bridegroom’, བཟེན་དི (BZEN.DI) ‘the bride was brought into the family’. Finally, we ought to mention the old practice of bride abduction, བག་མ་རྐུ (BAG.MA RKU) lit. ‘bride stealing’, which is still acted out in some areas. Kidnapping of grooms is also attested, though very rarely!

Another frequent verb is འདུག་ (DUG) [FFW] (Pur, La, Hor, Kh) < CT ‘sit’. A third root used in Amdo, northern Kham and Hor is བཙོག་ (TSOG) ‘to sit on the heels’, derived from བཙོག་པུ་ (TSOG.PU) ‘squatting posture with knees upright’. The honorific form is nearly pandialectal: བཞུགས་ (BZHUGS) (La, Ü, Ts, Dz) < CT, the high honorific སྡོད་ཆགས་ (SDOD CHAGS) (La) is also attested.

11. In some areas (Hor, Kham), a cake called དི་བ (thi) (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** BSDAD or SDOD [V1, + Ctr] [PW] (L, Ü, Ts, Yol, Dz) < CT. The root དུག ‘DUG (Pur, La, Hor, Kh, Am); see SIT. The honorific form is widespread: བཞུགས་ BZHUGS (H) [PW].

1258. **STAY** BSDAD or SDOD [V1, + Ctr] [PW] < CT. The root དུག ‘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** SRO [V1, + Ctr] [PW] < CT. This root is related to དྲོ DRO; see WARM (adjective). It is often used with 'fire'. མེ་སྲོ་ DE (Nubra) 'warm oneself by the fire'. Other forms such as བཙྱུག་ BTUG are used in Yolmo (see BURN).

1260. **THINK** BSAM [V2] [FFW] (Pur, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) < CT རོམ་སོམ་SEMBS (B)SA/O)M(S). In some dialects, other roots are also used, such as དྲན་ DRAN lit. 'to remember' (Kham, Hor), རྒྱུད་ MNO [FFW] (Tö, Sh, Yol, Lho, Dz and other Southern Himalayas) 'to think' < CT, and even དོད་ ‘DOD lit. 'to wish' (Amdo). Note that the original CT verb has an imperative form and is controllable (+Ctr). This is generally not the case of the modern forms. In order to express a controllable equivalent some languages have a compound form: བསམ་བློ་བཏང་ BSAM, BLO BTANG (Ü, Ts) 'to reflect upon' རོམ་སོམ་གཏང་ MNO, BSAM BTANG (Dz). The honorific form is དགོངས་ DONGS (La, Ü, Ts); ཕྲོག་པ་ DANG BRGYAB (Am).

1261. **RIDE (A HORSE/BICYCLE)** ZHON [V2, + Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Yol, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am). Other words such as རྒྱ་ RKYA < CT 'to move to another place' (Kh), མྱེ་ KHYER < CT 'to take' (Ho), བཙུན་ BCIB < CT 'to mount' (Am), དོར་ ‘DZEGS < CT 'to climb' (Am) are also used. The honorific བཆོས་ CHIBS (La, Ts, Ü) < CT is widespread.

1262. **LIE DOWN** Nyal [PW] < CT གྱོན་ NYA/O)J. Other forms such as དྲག་ RGYANG and དོག་ LOG are used in many Eastern languages. In many areas, དགན་
Po nyal, or simply nyal, may also mean ‘sleep with somebody, have sexual intercourse’. In order to avoid this meaning, other words are sometimes used: gyel (La) < CT ‘to faint’. The honorific gtsims is widespread.

1263. Sleep nyal [PW] < CT nyol nyal. The word is identical in most languages. In the Gyälthang dialect (Kh) /gyol/ is used and in Rongdrak (Kh) /dyol/ is heard; both of unclear origin. In some languages, the verb is preceded by the noun gnyid ‘torpor, sleep’: gnyid nyal (Ü). The honorific gtsims is widespread.

1264. Fall asleep gnyid [PR] < CT ‘sleep’. The honorific gtsims is widespread. gnyid shor ‘escape to sleep’ gnyid btang (Pur, La) is also attested. In eastern languages, gnyid functions as a verb (Am, Kh).

1265. Sing: see song.

1266. Dance zhabs.bro + lv [v1,+ct] [FFW] < CT 'dance'. One also finds compound forms made with other nouns: zhabs.skarb.rkyab (Dz), or alternatively zhabs.khrab rkyab. In Hor (Nagchu), gyas skrabs lit. ‘song’+ ‘trample’ is used. This points again the close relation between ‘song’ and ‘dance’ (see song). The word bro is sometimes used alone, as bro (Kh) or byo (E: Th), as a verb ‘to dance’, or else as a noun ‘dance’ followed by a verb: bro rtse ‘dance’+‘to play’ (Am), bro cham (Dz, Am, Kh) < ‘cham’ < CT ‘to dance a ritual mask dance’. Two additional roots are frequently attested: rtse ‘to dance’ (Ba, La, Am, etc) < CT ‘to play, enjoy’ (see below play), rtse mo rtse (Am, La) and the variant tshalla gdang, of unclear origin, is used in Gyälthang.
1267. **DANCE (RITUAL)** 'CHAM' [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT 'འཆམ' 'CHAM'. Designates mask dances and ritual dances usually performed by monks. The term '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 'BYO (ブ Rio).

1268. **PLAY/AMUSE ONESELF** 'RTSE' [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT 'རྩེབསབརྩེས' (b)RTSE(S). When it designates the generic activity of playing, this verb is preceded by an incorporated noun: བྱོ་ RTSE ('to distract'). The term is nearly pandialectal. Dialects which do not have this term may refer to theses types of dance by the general term 'dance', as in Thewo 'BYO (ブ Rio).

1269. **STEAL** 'RKU' [V1+Ctr] [PR] < CT 'རྩེབརྩེས' 'RKU' (b)RKU(S). In some dialects, the verb is preceded by an incorporated noun: བྱུ་ RKU ('to vomit vomit'). The verb 'PHRO' is also attested.

1270. **LICK** 'LDAG' [PW] < CT 'ལོགས་བལྡག་ལོགས་' (b)LDAG(S). The word is sometimes pronounced 'GLAG'. Many dialects use the expression 'ཞོ་ལྡག' (b)LDAG lit. 'to lick yoghurt' to mean 'to eat yoghurt', but in other dialects the verb 'to drink' is used: སྐེ་ལྡག་ སྐེ་ སྐེ་ སྐེ་ 'to drink yoghurt'.

1271. **LAUGH** 'DGOD' [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT 'གདོས་བགད་བགད་' (b)DGOD(S). Some languages have lost the trace of the final D; དཔྱ་ DGOD (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: བཀྲ་ནང་ GAD.MO BGDAD lit. 'to laugh laugh'. The verb is sometimes preceded by an incorporated noun: བཀྲ་ནང་ GAD.MO SHOR [-Ctr] lit. 'to burst out laughter'. The verb is sometimes preceded by an incorporated noun: བཀྲ་ནང་ DGD.BTANG (Pur).

1272. **VOMIT/THROW UP** 'SKYUG' [V1+Ctr] [PW] < CT 'སྐྱུག་བསྐྱུགས་' (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: སྐྱུག་ 'sk' 'to vomit vomit'.
1273. **ESCAPE/FLEE** [v1,+Ctr] [FFW] (Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am) < CT [v1] [FW] 'BROS' In some languages, the verb 'BUD' (Ba, Kh, Pur) ‘to get away, to get loose’ is used.

1274. **LOSE/HAVE ESCAPE** [v2] [FFW] (La, Ba, Pur, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts, Lho) < CT '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: 'RTASHOR' ‘the horses have escaped, he has lost the horses’. 'SHOR' is also used as a light verb in many languages. In Ladakh, the verb 'BUD' < CT 'SLR' 'to come out, become separated' is also used for this meaning.

1275. **REST** [v1,+Ctr] [FFW] (Pur, Sp, Tö, Dz, Sh, La, Ba) < CT ‘to recover from fatigue’; [FW] 'NGAL TSHO' (La). In some languages, the form 'NGAL GSO' is used as a noun and followed by a light verb: 'NGAL GSO BRYAB' (Ü, Ts, Kh). Another compound verb is frequent in Eastern languages: 'MAL SRO' (Am, Kh, Ho) < CT ‘to warm up one’s bed’; see WARM ONESELF. The verb 'SRO' is nearly always preceded by the noun 'MAL'. In some languages, the form 'MAL SRO' is used as a noun and followed by a light verb: 'MAL SRO BRYAB' (Am, Kh, Hor). 'THANG GSO' is attested in some southern languages (Yol, etc.).

1276. **RECOGNIZE/KNOW S.O.** [v2] [FW] (La, Sp, Tö, Ü, Ts) < CT 'NGO' ‘face’ + 'SHES' ‘to know’. This compound is quite pervasive. In Ladakh, a reduplicated form is also attested: 'NGO SHES SHES' to be familiar with’. Some few dialects may use the verb 'SHES' alone. In some languages such as Balti, another compound verb, 'NGO ZIN BYA' < CT 'NGO' ‘face’ + 'DZIN' ‘to capture, seize’ + LV'.

1277. **DRIVE (car, etc.)/PILOT (airplane, etc.)** [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’: 'MO.TA + BTANG' (Ü), 'SNUM.KHOR + BTANG' (Dz). Two other verbs are attested: 'RLANGS.KHOR + SKOR' (Am) < 'to turn'. In the western languages (Ba, Pur, La), 'GA.RISRUL' using verb
SRUL < 'to make go' (Jäschke), related to CT འགྲུལ་ GRUL is found. In some areas of Kham, a Chinese loan 甘肃 kai is used.

1278. RISE ཤེས་ SHAR [PW] < CT ཤེས་ ཤེས་ CHAR SHAR 'to rise, emerge'. This is used in the expression ལྷ་མ་ཤར་ NYI, MA SHAR 'the sun rises'. The word 'east' is derived from this verb (see EAST).

1279. SINK རུབ་ NUB [PW] < CT. This means 'to sink, to go down' and is used in the expression ལྷ་མ་ནུབ་ NYI, MA NUB 'the sun sets'. The word 'west' is derived from this verb (see WEST). The word རགས་ RGAS < CT 'get old' is used in Purik and Ladaks. In the eastern section, one finds a word འཛེས་ DZES of unclear origin.

1280. RIPE (BE) གནིན་ SMIN [V1] [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am) or གིིན། SMYIN < CT.

1281. WASH བཀྲུ་ BKRU བཀྱུ། BKYU [V2, +Ctr] [PW] < CT བཀྲུ་ བཀྱུ། BRAHMA BKRU 'wash' [H] is attested in some languages (La, Ü, Ts, Dz).

1282. TURN/SPIN ལོག་ KHOR [V1] [PW] (Ba, Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am). The archaic variant ལོག་ GYIR is also attested in some languages such as Dzongkha and Brokpa in Bhutan, and is cognate with the Ladaks word རྒྱུད་ KYIR/KYIR 'round' and Balti རྒྱུད་ KYIR/KYIR BYA 'encircle'.

1283. MAKE TURN/TURN AROUND [V2 +Ctr] [PW] ལོག་ SKOR (Ba, Pur, La, Ts, Kh, Ho, Am). Archaic forms are attested in some languages, such as ལོག་ SKYIR /kry/ (Sh), ལོག་ BSGYIR (Dz), ལོག་ KHIR (Jir). Some dialects in South Kham used the aspirated form ལོག་ KHOR for this meaning.

1284. CATCH COLD: see COLD/INFLUENZA.

1285. RESEMBLE: see SIMILAR.

1286. LEAD/GUIDE ལོག་ KHRID [V2 +Ctr] [PW] < CT ལོག་ ལོག་ KHRID. In some languages (Am, Dz) the form is ལོག་ KHVID.

1287. WAKE UP ལྷ་དད། GNYID SAD [V1] [PW] (Nubra, LJ, Ts, Ü, Jir, Am) < CT GNYID 'sleep, torpor' SAD. In western and southern, languages the variant ལོག་
1288. **Throw/Throw Off** 部分 **phan** [V2 + CTR] [PW] (Ba Pur, La, Sp, Dz, Jir, Kh, Am) < CT 'manda' 部分 'MANDA' 'throw'. As expected, this is pronounced /hang/ in Amdo. In eastern and central languages the collocation 部分 'MANDA' 'throw' means 'to shoot'. 甘 = Gyang < CT (Am, Ü, Ss).

1289. **Pull/Dragn** 部分 'then' [V2 + CTR] [PW] < CT (inv.) 'pull'.

1290. **Expel/Drive Out/Take Off** 部分 'phud' [V2 + CTR] [PW] < CT (inv). This is often pronounced 部分 '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** 部分 'bud' [V1, + CTR] [FFW] (Kh, Am) < CT 部分 'bud' 'to come out, become separated', 部分 'thon' [FFW] (Yol, Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh) < CT 'thon' [V2 + CTR] 'to go, come out'. In some dialects, the verb 'gro' or 'song' < CT 'to go' is used. The phrase 部分 'HYLA GO' (E, Skh), 部分 'phytastong' (Pur), 部分 'CHA' (La).

1292. **Take Out, Cause to Come Out** 部分 'bton' [FFW] < CT 'dgon' 'to recover, to get well'. In northwestern languages, the verb 部分 'phying' [FFW] (La, Pur) is used < CT 'byin' 'BYIN/DYP(H)YUNG'. 部分 'blang' (Am).

1293. **Come Out, Emerge, Come Up** 部分 'thon' [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Dz, Kh) < CT 'thon' [V2 + CTR] 'to go (out)'. 部分 'bying' (La) 'to come out, to come up (problems, etc.)' < CT 'byung'.

1294. **Win** 部分 'rgyal' [FFW] < CT (inv.). In southern Kham and western languages (La, Ba), the verb 部分 'drag' < CT 'to recover, to get well' is used. The verb 部分 'rgyal' (La, Pur, Jir) < CT 'to be victorious' is also frequent. More marginally, one finds two other verbs: 部分 'mkhrangs' (La, Ba) < CT 'solid, competent, clever' is also used for 'to succeed, win'; 部分 'khel' (Kh)
< CT 'to hit the exact point, to coincide' and མང བླང (Am) < CT 'to take' are sometimes used to mean 'to win'.

1295. **LOSE** (a game, battle) རྒྱུད PHAM [V2 (inv.)] [FFW] < CT.

1296. **CALCULATE/COUNT** རྩི RTSI [FFR] (Ba, La, Pur, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Kh, Am) རྩི རྩིས [BRTSIS]. In some languages (Ü, Ts, La), the verb རྩི alone has come to mean 'to consider'. The root is also used to designate astrology: བྲྭ་རྩིས SKAR,RTSIS lit. 'star calculation'. The verb meaning 'to count/calculate' is sometimes a light verb: རྩིས་རྒྱག RTIS RGYAG; རྩིས་བཏང RTIS BTANG (Pur, La).

Another root, བགྲང་ BGRANG related to the noun བགྲངས་ཀ་ GRANGS,KA 'number', also means 'count', particularly in central and southern languages. It sometimes occurs in an LVC (Ü, Ts): བགྲུགས་ཀ་ GRANGS.KA RGYAG.

1297. **TIRED (BE)** གེགས་ དཀའ DKA (Am), ངགས་ཀ་ CHAD (Ü, Ts, La, Yol, Dz, etc.), ངགས་ཀ་ CHAD (Am) < CT 'to be cut', ངག གཏོང NGAL (La).

1298. **CLIMB** ོདོ་གས་ RDAR [V1,+Ctr] [PW] (Ü, Ts, Yol, Jir, Kh) < CT. In most languages, this is pronounced as a reflex of ོདོ་གས་ DZABS (La, Za, Ü, Ts), and ོདོ་གས་ DZABS (Ba). The form རྲུ་ THUL (Pur) is of unclear origin. The word ོདོ་ 'GOS < CT' transfer' is used in Amdo.

1299. **WHET, SHARPEN** འབྲི་ RDAR [V2,+Ctr] [PW] (Pur, La, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am, Jir) < CT འབྲི་ RDAR (R)DA/(O)R.

1300. **SWALLOW** རྒྱུད MID [PW]. Its archaic form རྒྱུད MYID (Kh, Am) is also found. This is often pronounced with a final G and with a high tone: རྒྱུད MIG, རྒྱུད་གཏོང MIG GTONG (Jir), རྒྱུད་གཏོང MIG.PA GTONG (Ü). རྒྱུད SMID is also attested.

1301. **SMELL** རྒྱུད་ SNUM [V2,+Ctr] [PW] < CT རུ་/ རུ་/ རུ་/ རུ་/ རུ་/ རུ་ SNUM (B)SNUM/(O/A)M(S). In most languages, the form is a reflex of རུ་ SNUM. Exceptionally (in Dz), there are reflexes of རུ་ SNAM, also attested in CT.

1302. **BEGIN** དོ་ 'GO + BTUGS/TSUGS or འ འ ZUG [PW] < CT དོ་ 'go' beginning, head', see དཔེ་ MGO 'head' + འ། BTUGS [V2,+Ctr] 'to plant'
(see PLANT)/ཟུག་ TSHUGS or ཁུ་། 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]. བིན་ /riaks/ (Pur) of unclear origin is also attested.

103. DOUBT དོགས་པ་ DOGS. PA + ར་ ZA [v1] [FFW] (Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh); བིན་ THE TSHOMS + ར་ ZA [FFW] < CT དོགས་པ་ DOGS.PA or བིན་ THE TSHOMS (La, Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh) 'doubt' followed by the noncontrollable verb ར་ ZA or བེ། SKYE. In Purik, མྱུར་ཏེ། MGYANG.MA.RIG is attested. See BE EATEN/CONSUMED.

104. TRUST འབད་ཆེས་ YID CHES [FFW] (La, Yol, Ü, Ts, Kh, Am) < CT འབད་ YID 'mind'+ ཆེས་ CHES 'believe'. གདེ་ལུང་ ག་བྱེད་ GDYANG 'KHUR (Ba, Pur) < CT གདེ་ GDENG + བཀུར་ 'KHUR 'carry', བྲན་དེ་ བདེན་ཆེས་ BDEN CHES (La) and བསམ་ BSAM 'think' are also attested. See BE EATEN/CONSUMED.

105. 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 རྒྱུ་གས་ཤར་ RGYUG.SHR.GLOD (Ü, Ts) and སྣད་པ་ BANG BTANG (Pur, La) are also attested. This latter expression means 'to gallop (of horses)' in Amdo and CT.

106. CAUSE/MAKE བུག་ BCUG [FFW] (Pur, La, Ts, Ü).

107. BRING UP/RAISE ཕུ་སྐྱེས་ GSO [PW].

108. TRY བྲ་ LTA (Ts, Ü, La) < CT 'to look at'. ཤུན་འབྲངས་ TSHAB BCOS < CT. བུ་ ཕུ་ རྟོགས་ PA.RUGS.BA (Pur), རྨ་ NYUG (La), བུ་ རྟོགས་ TSHOD.LTABYD (Ü, Am).

109. PREPARE /ARRANGE ཕྱིན་ཅིག་ GRASGRIG BYED (Ts, Ü, La), རྨྱིན་ཅིག་ GRAL.SGRIG BCO (La), བྱ་ཤིང་ TAYARI BA (Bya) (Pur) < Urdu < Pers.; ཕྱིན་ SGRUG (Pur).

110. FINISH/ACCOMPLISH འབྲོག་ TSHAR [v1] [PW] (La, Pur Sp, Ü, Ts, Tö, Dz, Kh, Am). Other roots such as འབྲོག་ ZIN < CT 'to be over with, finished' (Sh, Jir, Sp, Kh) and its variant འབྲོག་ ZHN (Dz), བུ་ རྨྱེ་ GRUB (La) < CT lit. 'to achieve', འབྲོག་
RDZOGS 'to accomplish' < CT, མཆམས CHAMS (Ba), མཆོམས CHOMS (La, Pur, Za) are also used.

1311. HAVE THE TIME བོམ KHOM (La, Am, Kh, Dz), དོང LONG (Ü, Ts). The combination བོམ་ལོང KHOM LONG (Am) is attested.

1312. ALLOW / PERMIT མཆག CHOG [VSEC] [FFW] (La, Ts, Ü). This is used as a secondary verb. Some languages (Am, Kh, E) also use གན Nayan, བཅུ། BCUG (Pur).

1313. CAN / BE ABLE རུ་ཤེས SHES 'to know' is also used for 'can'. The word བོམ KHOM, དོང LONG (Am) is attested.

1314. WISH ལོ་འདོད DOD [FFR] (Ü, Ts, Kh) < CT (inv.). In Sherpa, the noun རི་འདོར་པ DOR PA is attested. Another frequent verb is གན Nyan, བཅུ། BCUG (Pur).

1315. DARE རི་འཕོད PHOD [VSEC] [FFW] (La, Ü, Ts, Tö, Am) < CT. In Amdo, this is pronounced རི་ཧོད HOD, རི་འཁྱུད KHYUD [FFW] (Ba, La), རི་ནུས NUS [FFW] (Ü, Ts, Tö) < CT. In Amdo, the verb རི་འདོད DOD is also used (see above CAN, BE ABLE).

1316. NEED / MUST གན་གསེར DSOS [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, /gu:/ (as vowel lengthening). In this meaning, the verb is used as a secondary verb.

1317. WANT གན་གསེར DSOS [V2] [PW] (Ba, La, Pur, Ü, TS, Kh, Ho, Dz, Sh, Lho, etc.). In this meaning, the verb is used as the main verb. It may also be used as a secondary verb: see NEED / MUST.
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Appendix 1. – The main Mountains, Rivers and Lakes of the Tibetic Area

At the extreme northwest of the area in Baltistan (Pakistan), we find the Karakoram range with the Choghori (ཆོ་གོ་རི་), better known as K2, the Gasherbrum (གི་སྒྲི་བརུན་), Masherbrum (མ་སྒྲི་བརུན་), and the Saltoro ranges (སལ་ཏོ་རོ་གངས་རི་). The Nanga Parbat, which is located further west, is outside the Tibetic zone. On the Indian side of the border, we find the Saser Gangri (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་དྭགས་ཀྱི་རི་རྒྱུད་) and Khunu ranges (ཁུ་ནུ་རི་རྒྱུད་). The Kinnair Kailash (ཆུ་ནུའི་ཀིལ་ཁྲི་) near Rekong Peo marks the southwestern boundary of the Tibetic speaking area in Himachal Pradesh.

Further, in the southwest, are the first ranges belonging to the Himalaya mountain complex: in Uttarkashi District (Uttarkhand Pradesh) are the Bandarpunch range, which belongs to the Garhwal Himalayas; the Kumaon Himalayas with their highest peak, the Nanda Devi, just outside the Tibetic speaking area; the Dhaulagiri; and, at a distance of only thirty kilometers, the Annapurna range, which is located in Nepal and stretches across Manang, Kaski, Myagdi, Lamjung and Mustang (བསྐྱུ་གྲུས་) districts. Eastwards, the Shishapangma range (ཤིས་ཤ་སྤང་མ་) is located within the TAR in Nyalam County. On the Sino-Nepalese border lies the Jomolangma range (ཇོ་མོ་ལྟ་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་ལྔ་), usually written Kangchenjunga in English (concerning our romanization, see 5.10), which is located at the border between Nepal and the Indian state of Sikkim. Mt. Jomo Lhari (ཇོ་མོ་ལྷ་རི་), the ‘bride’ of Gangchen Dzönga and Mt. Gangkar Pūnsum (གངས་དཀར་སྤུན་གསུམ་; these three ranges are each higher than 7,000 meters), as well as Kulha Gangri (སྐུ་ལྷ་གངས་རི་), are further east along the Sino-Bhutanese border, Mt. Masang Khyungdü (མ་སངས་ཁྱུང་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 Choghori is the Balti pronunciation of CHEBO RI 'the great mountain'.
at the border of Chusum, Tshomä and Lhüntse. A famous pilgrimage for Bönpos is Mt. Kongpo Bönri (ཀོང་པོ་བོན་རི་) located in Nyingthri City. Mt. Bönpo Tsari (བོན་པོ་ཙ་རི་) is located in Nang County (TAR) and further east, the next great range is the Namchak Barwa (ཉམ་ཅ་བར་བ་) and the Gyälha Pälri (རྒྱལ་ལྷ་དཔལ་རི་) both located in Mänling (སྨན་གླིང་) County (TAR). They mark the end of the great Himalayan arc.

In Central Tibet, right at the center of the TAR is the Nyänchen Thanglha range (གནམ་ཆེན་ཐང་ལྷ་). It extends over one thousand kilometers in the Jangthang area (བྱང་ཐང་). Finally, in the western Tö Ngäri region is Gang Tise (གངས་ཏི་སེ་), the Kailash range.

In the traditional eastern province of Kham, we find the following ranges: between the Dechen County of Dechen TAP (Yunnan) and Dzayül County of Nyingthri Municipality (TAR) is the Khawa Karpo massif (ཁ་བ་དཀར་པོ་) lit. ‘white snow’) which belongs to the Hengduan range 横断 at the border between Myanmar and China. The highest mountain in Myanmar is called Hkakabo Razi (ཁ་བ་དཀར་པོ་ར་ཟི་) a word made of Tibetan and Rawang terms: Khawa Karpo (Tib. ‘white snow’) and Razi (Rawang ‘peak’).

The next important mountain range, Minyak Gangkar (མི་ཉག་གངས་དཀར་), is located in Kangding County (Tib. Dartsendo [དར་རྩེ་མདོ]) of Kandze TAP, Sichuan. Also located in Kandze Prefecture is Mt. Zhara Lhatse (བཞག་བྲ་ལྷ་རྩེ་) at the border between Kangding and Ta’a counties. Gyälmo Murdo (རྒྱལ་མོ་དམུ་རྡོ་) in Rongdrak and Kula (སྐུ་བླ་), which is locally pronounced [skola] and known as Mt. Siguniang 四姑娘 in Chinese, are two of the sacred mountains of the regions.

The traditional province of Amdo is delimited in the west and southwest by the Dangla range ཆོད་ལྷ་, 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 (མཆུ་), and the Yangtze River or Drichu (འབྲི་ཆུ་).
Within Qinghai Province, the Amnye Machen range (ཨ་མྱས་རྨ་ཆེན་ or གོང་པོ་རྨ་ཆེན་) forms a border between the Golok area and the Rebgong area.

Finally, the northern border of the Tibetan Plateau is marked by the Nan Shan range and the Qilian massif (祁连), a prolongation of Altyn Tagh. In Amdo, the Qilian massif, called Dola Ringmo (མདོ་ལ་རིང་མོ) in Tibetan, forms the natural border between the provinces of Qinghai and Gansu.

Most of the mountains mentioned above are considered sacred by the various ethnic groups speaking Tibetic languages. The majority of the mountain summits are over 6,000 meters high, but many of them have an altitude of more than 7,000 meters.

A vast area of the Tibetan plateau is formed by high plains. These regions of grasslands play a fundamental role in cattle breeding. The two main areas of grasslands are the Jangthang (བྱང་ཐང་) extending in northwestern Tibet and Ladakh as well as the high plains of northeastern Tibet which are sometimes referred to as Yermothang (གཡེར་མོ་ཐང་). In eastern Tibet, the region traditionally called Dokham (མདོ་ཁམས་) is often described as having ‘six plateaus’ (སྒང་དྲུག GANG-DRUK): Zälmo Gang (ཟལ་མོ་སྒང་), Tshawa Gang (ཚ་བ་སྒང་), Markham Gang (མི་ཁམས་སྒང་), Pombor Gang (སྤོ་འབོར་སྒང་), Mardza Gang (དམར་རྫ་སྒང་) and Minyak Rabgang (མི་ཉག་རབ་སྒང་).

The Tibetan plateau and its mountain ranges provide the main water supply for Asia. We will just mention here its main rivers and lakes. Let us begin with the main rivers from the western border of the Tibetic area.

Traditional Buddhist cosmology mentions the four great rivers of Sengge Khabap, Langchen Khabap, Mabja Khabap and Tamchok Khabap, which originate near Mt. Kailash. The mountain and the four great rivers are sacred not only for the Tibetan Buddhist, but also for Bönpos, Hindus and Jains.

The Sengge Khabap river (སེང་གེ་ཁ་འབབ་), which literally means ‘flowing from the lion’s mouth’, is better known as the Indus river. It originates in the Ngari region of Western Tibet and is augmented by the Garchu (གར་ཆུ) at the prefecture city of Ngari.

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 (ཤ་ཡོག་གཙང་པོ) which is joined by the Siachen Tsangpo (སེ་བ་ཅན་གཙང་པོ) in the Nubra region. The Zanskark Tsangpo (ཛེ་ནས་ཀར་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་ཏི་ཆུ) originates in the Kunzum range and is a tributary of the Sutlej river. The Pare Chu (པ་རེ་ཆུ) is a tributary of the Spiti river, which flows from Mt. Shilla across Himachal Pradesh, Jammu Kashmir and Tsanda County (in China), and then back to Himachal Pradesh.

The Chandra river (lit. ‘Moon river’) and the Bhaga river (lit. ’Lord river’ or ‘Luck river’), which form the Chenab river (also called the Chandrabhaga), both originate in the district of Lahul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh.

The Mabja Khabap (རྨ་བྱ་ཁ་འབབ) lit. ‘flowing from the peacock’s mouth’) corresponds to the source of the Karnali river (also called the Ghagra), which originates in western Tibet, not far from Purang County. The Karnali river is one of the main tributaries of the Ganges.

The Yarlung Tsangpo (ཡར་ཀླུངས་གཙང་པོ) the upper course of which is also called the Tamchok Khabap (རྟ་མཆོག་ཁ་འབབ) lit. ‘flowing from the great horse’s mouth’) in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, is usually known as the Brahmaputra river. The river originates in western Tibet near Mt. Kailash and crosses the entire plateau from west

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 (ཉང་ཆུ་ MYANG.CHU),\(^4\) which runs through Gyantse and Zhikatse.

One of the Yarlung Tsangpo tributaries is the Kyichu river (སྐྱིད་ཆུ་) which runs through the capital, Lhasa. Further in the southeast is the Lhobrak Chu (ལོ་བར་ཆུ་), which originates in Lhobrak, crosses the Himalayas and becomes one of the main rivers in Bhutan, known as the Kuri Chu (སྐུརི་ཆུ་).

The Nyashang Chu (ཉིཤང་ཆུ་), called Niangjiangqu 姆江曲 in Chinese, also originates in southern Tibet, and flows from Tshona County through the Himalayas to join the Tawang Chu (རྟ་དབང་ཆུ་) and form the Drangme Chu (དྲང་མེད་ཆུ་), one of the main rivers of Bhutan.

In the Kongpo area, the Nyangchu (ཉང་ཆུ་ NYANG.CHU) starts near the Mila Pass, which separates Kongpo from Phänpo, and reaches the Yarlung Tsangpo in the Nyingthri area.

Further in the southeast of the TAR, is the Yiong Tsangpo (ཡིད་འོང་གཙང་པོ་), a major tributary of the Pharlung Tsangpo (ཕར་ལུང་གཙང་པོ), which joins the Yarlung Tsangpo near Pomä.

South of the Himalaya, in Nepal, the main rivers flowing across the Tibetic areas are the Karnali (Nep. कार्णाली), the Kali Gandaki (Nep. काली गंडाकी), the Trisuli (Nep. तिसूली नदी; also called the Kyirong Tsangpo [པོ་ཆུ་] on the Tibetan side), the Sun Koshi (Nep. सून कोशी; the upper course of which is also known as the Böchu [ཕོ་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.

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\(^4\) One should not confuse the MYANG.CHU (in Tsang) and the NYANG.CHU (in Kongpo). Both river names are pronounced Nyangchu, but are spelled differently.
Western Bhutan: the Amo Chu (ཨ་མོ་ཆུ་) has its source in the Chumbi valley in Tibet (Dromo County), where it is called the Machu (མ་ཆུ་). The Amo Chu flows through the Bhutanese districts of Hà, Samtse and Phuntsholing. It then flows through India and is known as the Torsa river.

The Wong Chu or Wang Chu (ཕོང་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 Raidak river.

The Puna Tsangchu (སྤུ་ན་གཙང་ཆུ་), also called the Mochu (མོ་ཆུ་), rises in Gàsa district near the border between Bhutan and Tibet. It then flows through the Punakha, Wandue Phodrang, Dagana, and Tsirang Districts. On the Indian side of the border, the river is known as the Sankosh river.

Eastern Bhutan: the two main sources of the Mangde Chu (མང་སྡེ་ཆུ་) originate in the mountains of Wangdue Phodrang District, near the Rinchen Dzö (རིན་ཆེན་མཛོད་) and the Gangkar Pünsum (གངས་དཀར་སྤུན་གསུམ་) ranges. The Mangde Chu then flows through Trongsa and Zhâmang Districts.

The Çamkhar Chu (ལྕམ་མཁར་ཆུ་) also rises near the Gangkar Pünsum, flows through Bumthang and then joins the Mangde Chu in Zhemgang District. Both are tributaries of the Drangme Chu.

The Kuri Chu (སྐུརི་ཆུ་) is the next major river. As mentioned earlier, it originates in Lhobrak County on the Tibetan side of the border, then enters Bhutan in the Lhüntse District and flows through Mongar District before joining the Drangme Chu.

The last major river is the Drangme Chu (དྲང་མེད་ཆུ་; or GRANG.MAI’ CHU). It originates in Tshona County in Tibet and flows through the Himalayas. It crosses the border in Trashigang District and is joined by the Kholong Chu (ཁོལོང་ཆུ་), flowing through Tashi Yangtse District. The Drangme river then flows through Pema Garsel, Samdrup Jongkhar and Zhâmang Districts. When it reaches India, the river is known as the Manas river.
Further east in southeastern Tibet is the Loro Chu (ལོ་རོ་ཆུ), which bears the name of Subansiri on the Indian side (Arunachal), and is a major tributary of the Brahmaputra river.

At the eastern border of the TAR is the Dzayül Chu (རྫ་ཡུལ་ཆུ), which is called the Lohit river when it reaches the Arunachal and Assam states of India. It is another tributary of the Brahmaputra river.

The Irrawaddy is Myanmar’s largest river and is also called the N’mai river in Jingpho. One of its two headwaters originates in Dzayül County of the TAR, then runs through Yunnan Province for about eighty kilometers before entering Myanmar, and is then called the Drung river (Chi. Dulong Jiang 独龙江). In Tibet, its upper course is called the Ridong Chu (རི་གདོང་ཆུ).

The next major river after the bend of the Brahmaputra is the Gyälmo Ngülchu (རྒྱལ་མོ་རྔུལ་ཆུ), the upper reaches of which are called the Nagchu (ནག་ཆུ), and which is better known as the Salween or Nu Jiang 怒江. It rises in the Dangla range and runs for about 1,000 kilometers through the Tibetan plateau (TAR and Yunnan) and then into Myanmar.

South of the Nagchu runs the Tsakya Tsangpo (རྩ་སྐྱ་གཙང་པོ; Chin: Zhajiazangbu 扎加藏布), which flows into the Serling Tsho lake.

Nearly parallel to the Salween is the Dachu (ཟླ་ཆུ), which is formed by the confluence of the Ngomchu (ངོམ་ཆུ) and Dzachu (རྫ་ཆུ) rivers, in Chamdo City. The Dachu, also pronounced Dzachu or Lachu depending on the dialects, is better known as the Mekong or by its Chinese name, the Lancang Jiang 澜沧江. The Dachu, which originates near Dzatö County in Qinghai, flows for more than 1,000 kilometers through the Tibetan Plateau before reaching Yunnan Province. After that, it runs towards Laos, on the border with Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and finally Vietnam.

Close to the Mekong is the Drichu river (འབྲི་ཆུ lit. ‘female-yak river’) which bears this name after the confluence of the Damchu and the Marchu (དམར་ཆུ). In its middle course, it is referred to as Jinsha Jiang 金沙江. The Drichu is the longest river in Asia (6,380 kilometers), and it is better known as the Yangtze (Yangzi Jiang 扬子江) or
Chang Jiang 长江 (lit. 'long river'). The Drichu river originates in the Dangla range and runs for about 2,000 kilometers on the Tibetan Plateau.

In Tshongön (Qinghai), one important tributary of the Drichu is the Chumar (ཆུ་དམར་), which flows through the eponymous district of Chumarlep.

The Nyagchu (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 (རྫ་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 (ཁྲོ་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་རོང་རྒལ་མོ་རྨུལ་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 (སྨར་ཆུ་) and Dochu (རྡོ་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 Nortepon Sichuan and runs through Gansu and western Sichuan before emptying into the Yangtze. In the same area is the Karchu (ཀར་ཆུ་; Chin: Baishui Jiang 白水江), a large tributary of the Drugchu river.

In Amdo, the main river is the Machu (རྨ་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, KHAMS, KHOR, YUG [Ecological Environment of Tibet].
http://ecologicaltibet.blogspot.fr/2013/01/blog-post_5807.html
The Chunak (ཆུ་ནག་; Chin: Heihe 黑河), which goes through Qilian county, is one of the longest rivers in China.

The Luchu (ཀླུ་ཆུ་; Chin: Taohe 洮河) is also located in Gansu, and goes through the eponymous county of Luchu.

The Sangchu (བསང་ཆུ་; Chin: Xiahe 夏河) runs through Gansu Province and is a tributary of the Yellow river.

The Tsongchu (ཙོང་ཆུ་) flows through Xining and the lower region of Northeastern Amdo. One major tributary of the Tsongchu is the Julak Chu (འཇུ་ལག་ཆུ་), which runs through Kangtsha and Semnyi (Menyuan 门源).

The Tibetan High Plateau and the Himalayan-Karakoram regions, where speakers of Tibetic languages have settled, have an extensive network of great lakes. Many of them are salt lakes, but one also finds fresh water lakes.

Let us begin with the main lakes from the western region of the Tibetic area.

In Baltistan, Kachura Tsho (ཀ་ཆུ་ར་མཚོ་) and Satpara Tsho (སད་པ་ར་མཚོ་) are located in Skardo District and are relatively small. Ladakh has three large lakes. One is the 130-kilometer-long Panggong Tsho (སྤང་གོང་མཚོ་), which extends into the Ngari region on the other side of the Sino-Indian border. The two other lakes are Tshomo Rilril or Tshomo Riri (མཚོ་མོ་རིལ་རིལ་) and Panggur Tsho (སྤང་གུར་མཚོ་).

Western Tibet (TAR) is a region of great lakes. The main lakes are Mapham Yumtsho (མ་ཕམ་གཡུ་མཚོ), also known as Manasarowar in Hindi, and Langa Tsho (ལ་ལྔ་མཚོ་), close to Mt. Kailash. Further west, we have Ngangla Ringtsho (ངང་ལ་རིང་མཚོ་), Tharo Tsho (ཐ་རོ་མཚོ་), Trashi Namtsho (བཀྲ་ཤིས་གནམ་མཚོ་), Dangra Yumtsho (དྭང་ར་གཡུ་མཚོ་), Serling Tsho (གསེར་གླིང་མཚོ་) and Mirik Gyangdram Tsho (མི་རིག་རྒྱང་འགྲམ་མཚོ་). In the center of Tibet, in Lhasa Prefecture, we find a few large lakes, such as Namtsho Chugmo (གནམ་མཚོ་ཕྱུག་མོ), Yamdrok Yumtsho (ཡར་འབྲོག་གཡུ་མཚོ་), Phuma Yumtsho (ཕུ་མ་གཡུ་མཚོ་) and Dragsum Tsho or Basum Tsho (བྲག་གསུམ་མཚོ་). In Amdo (Qinghai), there are also a few large lakes, such as Kyaring Tsho (སྐྱ་རིང་མཚོ་), Ngoring Tsho (སྔོ་རིང་མཚོ་) and Tsho Ngönpo (མཚོ་སྔོན་པོ་) or Kokonor in Mongolian.
By contrast, Kham and southeast Tibet does not have any large lakes. The main lakes found in Kham are Tsholha (མཚོ་ལྷ་), Naglung Tsho (ནག་ལུང་མཚོ), Khasar Tsho (མཁར་སར་མཚོ), Migö Tsho (མི་རྒོད་མཚོ) and Wuxuhai 伍须海. The same is true for the Tibetic area south of the Himalayas. In Sikkim, Guru Dongmar Tsho is the largest lake. Tsomgo or Tsongmo lake, which is one kilometer in diameter, is located near Gangtok.
Appendix 2. – Elements of Toponyms

Throughout the high plateau and the Himalaya over the whole Tibetic area, one finds toponyms for towns, villages, regions, lakes, rivers, mountains and passes that bear the same elements. A great number of place names are related to the local geography. They include terms such as ‘rock’, ‘pass’, ‘mountain’, ‘valley’, ‘water’ and so forth. Here are some examples.

སྒྲིག་ (BRAG) ‘rock’: བྲག་ལྷོ། (LHO.BRAG) Lhobrak, a region in southern Tibet; བྲག་པ་ (BRAG.GYAB) Drayap County; བྲག་ལྷོ། (BRAG.GO) Drango County.


གྲིག་ (NYAG.GA) ‘notch’: often used to refer to mountain passes, as in ཕྱི་ཚླ་གྲིག་ (NYI.ZLA.NYAG.GA) Nyida Nyagga pass, སྙམ་ཡང་གྲིག་ (SPANG.YANGS.NYAG.GA) Pangyang Nyagga pass and བདོ་རི་ (HASHUL.NYAG.GA) Hashul Nyagga pass.

རྟེ་ (RTSE) ‘summit’: used for mountain peak names, such as བློ་རྟེ་ (LHO.RTSE) Lhotse and སྲུ་ (NUR.RTSE) Nubse, but it is also an element of many place names across the entire Tibetic area. In Tibet, we find the following county names: ཉི་ཁུང་ (GZHIS.KAR.RTSE) Zhikarse, བྲག་ བྲོ (RGYAL.RTSE) Gyantse, བྲག་ སྲི (STAG.RTSE) Tagtse, བྲག་ (LHARTSE) Lhatse, བྲག་ འ་ (SNADKAR.RTSE) Nankartse, བྲག་ (SGER.RTSE) Gertse, བྲག་ (BAL.RTSE) Bältse, བྲག་ (RTSE.KHOG) Tsekhok and བྲག་ (DAR.RTSE.MDO) Dartsedo. In Bhutan, three district names contain the word rtse: བསམ་ (BSAM.RTSE) Samtsi, བྲག་ (LHUN.RTSE) Lhuntse and བྲག་ (BKRA.SHIS.GYANG.RTSE) Trashiyangtse.

དི (RI) ‘mountain’: appears not only in mountain names, such as བྲོ་ (JOMO.LHARI) Jomolhari and བྲོ་ (RTSA.RI) Tsari, but also in the names of many towns, such as བྲོ་ (DING.RI) Dingri (LHARI.RI) Zangri, བྲོ་ (RLBO.CHE) Riwoche and བྲོ་ (LHARI) Lhari.
SGANG 'prominence, hill': མཛོ་སྒང་ (MDZO.SGANG) Dzogang (TAR), ལྟོག་སྒང་ (GYHAL.SGANG) Zhānggang and བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་ (BKRA.SHIS.SGANG) Trashigang (both in Bhutan) and སྒང་ཏོག་ (SGANG.TOK) Gangtok, the capital of the Sikkim state in India.

CHU 'water mouth, water surface' and the stem KHOG: as pointed out by Xavier Becker (pers. comm.), these words are related to KHOG.MA 'pot, earthen vessel' and refer to rather specific geographic features. CHU usually designates high plateaus with surfacing and serpentine rivers. Such is the case for the following region names: རྨ་ཆུ་ཁ་ (RMA.CHU.KHA) Machukha, རྫ་ཆུ་ཁ་ (RDZA.CHU.KHA) Dzachukha and རྣག་ཆུ་ཁ་ (NAG.CHU.KHA) Nagchukha. KHOG is used to designate U-shaped glacier valleys and occurs in the following region or county names: ཤར་ཁོག་ (SHAR.KHOG) Sharkhok, ལྷོ་ཁོག་ (GSER.KHOG) Serkhok, རྩེ་ཁོག་ (RTSE.KHOG) Tsekhok, རྡོ་པོ་ཁོག་ (KHOD.PO.KHOG) Khöpokhok and དེགས་པོ་ཁོག་ (DWAGS.PO.KHOG) Dakpokhok.

RONG 'narrow deep valley, gorge, canyon': occurs in many toponyms, such as རྣག་ཆུ་ཁ་ (NYAG.CHU.KHA) Nyagchukha, ལོ་རོང་ (LHO.RONG) Lhorong, རོང་ (RONG.RONG) Nyagrong, རོང་ (RONG.BRAG) Rongdrak, རོང་ (RONG.MDO) Lungslo, དོན་ (DGON.LUNG) Gönlung, རོང་ (LUNG.DGU) Lunggu and སྨག་ (LUNG.NAG.NAG) Lunana. These places are located in Central Tibet, Kham, Gyälrong and Bhutan, respectively.

6. The place name ལྷོ་ཁོག་ (GSER.KHOG) Serkhok, 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.
“MDA” ‘lower part of the valley’: also frequently appears in toponyms, such as སྟོད་མདའ་(JOM.DMA) Jonda, ཚུབས་པར་(RTX.MDA) Tsanda, སྟོད་རྒྱ་མདའ་(MDA.BZHI) Dazhi, སྟོད་རི་མདོ་(KONG.PO RGY.MDA) Kongpo Gyamda. These places are located in Kham, Ngari, Amdo and Kongpo, respectively.

STOD ‘upper’ and SMAD ‘lower’: frequently used as elements of place names, such as སྟོད་རྫོག་(MDO.SMAID) Domä, another name for Amdo; སྟོད་ཁུ་(MTSHO.SMAID) Tshomä County; སྟོད་པར་(SPO.SMAID) Pomä County; སྟོད་རི་(STOD.MINGA.RIS) To Ngari region; སྟོད་(STOD) Stot, a region of Ladakh; སྟོད་རྗེ་(’BRL.STOD) Drito County; སྟོད་ཛི་(RDZ.STOD) Dzato County; སྟོད་(RMA.STOD) Matö County and སྟོད་མདོ་(KHUM.STOD) Khumtö or Khunde (according to the local pronunciation), a Sherpa village in the Khumbu area.

THANG ‘plain’: used in རྜྷང་(BYANG.THANG) Jangthang, as well as the following county names: རྜྷང་(RGYAL.THANG) Gyâlthang; རྜྷང་(LITHANG) Lithang; རྜྷང་(BA.THANG) Bathang; རྜྷང་(RTSL.GOR.THANG) Tsigorthang; རྜྷང་(RTSE.D.THANG) Tsethang; རྜྷང་(DZAM.THANG) Dzhamthang; རྜྷང་(DMAR.THANG) Marthang; རྜྷང་(BUM.THANG) Bumthang, a district in Bhutan, and རྜྷང་(GLO.SMON.THANG) Lo Mûn thang, the original name of Mustang.

CHU ‘water’: used to name rivers, but many towns and counties are also named after a river that crosses their region, such as རྜྷང་(NAG.CHU) Nagchu, རྜྷང་(BSANG.CHU) Sangchu, རྜྷང་(KLU.CHU) Luchu, རྜྷང་(RMA.CHU) Machu, རྜྷང་(BRUG.CHU) Drugchu, རྜྷང་(ZUNG.CHU) Zungchu, རྜྷང་(KHYO.CHU) Throchu, རྜྷང་(NYAG.CHU) Nyagchu, རྜྷང་(BRL.CHU) Drichu, རྜྷང་(CHUSHUR) Chushur, རྜྷང་(CHUGSUM) Chusum and རྜྷང་(CHUKHA) Chukha, a district of Bhutan.

MDO ‘confluence of rivers’: occurs in various Balti names, such as རྜྷང་(SKAR.MDO) Skardo, the capital of Baltistan, and རྜྷང་(PAREN.MDO) Arend. It also occurs in many place names in Tibet, such as རྜྷང་(JAM.MDO) Amdo, རྜྷང་(CHAM.MDO) Chamdo, རྜྷང་(SKYE.DGU.MDO) Kyegundo,
Dartsendo, Gäpa Sumdo and Lungdo.

MTSHO 'lake': used to designate the lakes across the plateau, such as Mapham Yumtsho, Namtso Chugmo, Mapham Yumtsho, Namtso Chugmo, Tsonorilril, Panggongtso. The former three lakes are located in Tö Ngari, Amdo and Tsang, respectively, while the latter two are located in Ladakh. The eastern part of the Panggongtso is situated in the TAR. This term also is part of place names, such as Tshongön, the name for the Qinghai province; or county names, such as Tshona County, Tshomä County and Tshochen County.

SHAR 'east', LHO 'south', NUB 'west' and BYANG 'north': the cardinal directions also occur in the toponyms, such as Sharkhok, Lhokha, Lhodrak, Lhorong, Nubse, Nubri and Jangthang.

SA 'earth, place' and YUL 'place, village': occur in various place names, such as Lhasa, Sakygya, Saga, Dzayul, Dşalavyul, Bhutan, Dşalavyul, Fålyul, Maryul and Rongyul.

Apart from geographic features, many place names are related to cultural or religious symbols. Some adjectives of size, quality or color, usually related to positive or auspicious representations, occur as elements of toponyms.
Elements of Toponyms

Appendix 2. – Elements of Toponyms

(MTSHO.CHEN) Tshochen, བོང་སྟག་ཐེམ་ཆེན་ (BONG.STAG THEM.CHEN) Bongtak Themchen, མཚེན་ཚེན་ཚུན་ (PANCHEN ZHENG.SDE) Panchen Zhengde, ང་ཆེན་ (RMA.CHEN) Machen, ངང་ཆེན་ (NANG.CHEN) Nangchen, ཆུ་ཆེན་ (CHU.CHEN) Chuchen and གངས་ཆེ་ (GANGS.CHE) Ganche district in Baltistan.

DKAR ‘white’: occurs in many toponyms, such as ZANGS.DKAR Zangskar region, NANG.DKAR (GONG.DKAR) Gongkar, KANDZE (DKAR.RMZES) in Kham and Spiti; and MÄL.DKAR GUNG.DKAR (BRAG.DKAR SPREL) Mäldrogungkar, བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླིང་ (BKRA.SHIS.GLING) Trashiling, བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་རྩེ་ (BKRA.SHIS.G.YANG.RTSE) Trashi Yangtse, བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་ (BKRA.SHIS.SGANG) Trashigang and བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྡིངས་ (BKRA.SHIS.SDINGS) Trashiding.

GLING ‘island’: usually used in the names of monasteries, such as བཀྲ་ཤིས་གླིང་ (BKRA.SHIS.GLING) Trashiling, སྨན་གླིང་ (SMAN.GLING) Mänling and རྣམ་གླིང་ (RNAM.GLING) Namling.

RGYAL ‘king or victorious’: also common in toponyms, such as རྒྱལ་ཐང་ (RGYAL.THANG) Gyälthang, རྒྱལ་ (RGYAL.RTSE) Gyanse and རྒྱལ་མོ་ (RGYAL.MO.RONG) Gyälmorong or Gyälrong.