Manual of Standard Tibetan
Language and Civilization
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Language and Civilization

Introduction to Standard Tibetan (Spoken and Written)
Followed by an Appendix on Classical Literary Tibetan

by

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Foreword

When I began to study the Tibetan language, during a visit to Nepal in 1970, suitable texts for beginners were few and far between. At first I located a tattered copy of the Rev. Bruce Hannah’s ancient Tibetan grammar in a used book stand, and found to my dismay that the good pastor’s illustrations of the language were entirely drawn from missionary translations of Bible stories. Not exactly the thing for a late-sixties dharma bum! A local shopkeeper, no doubt very much amused by my efforts to communicate on this basis, took pity and provided me with a small textbook published in the Punjab, that taught me how to order tea using a level of speech suitable only for small children, household domestics, and Khampa hillbillies. This proved to be quite adequate for the chang-stalls of Bodh Nath, but little more. Finally, I had the good fortune to borrow a copy of George Roerich’s Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan and, given the general absence of technology in Kathmandu at the time, eagerly set about transcribing the entire book by hand. Though by no means ideal, the exercise proved to be a useful apprenticeship. It was only after I returned to the United States the following year that I was able to avail myself of the texts by Chang and Shefts, and by Goldstein and Normang, works that marked the first efforts to adapt modern methods of language pedagogy to the requirements of Tibetan language instruction.

In the three decades that have passed since, a substantial number of contributions both to Tibetan linguistics and to Tibetan language teaching have thoroughly transformed the lay of the land, and the would-be learner of Tibetan, far from having to struggle to gain access to the merest crumb, is now more likely to suffer from an embarrassment of riches. For those who are finding it difficult to make up their minds about which course to use, I do not hesitate to recommend Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje’s excellent Manual of Standard Tibetan. Their collaboration represents the confluence of linguistic analysis of the first order with the stylistic sensibilities of a leading contemporary master of Tibetan composition. Both share a keen appreciation of an approach in which the learning of language and of culture must inform one another, with the result that this is one of those rare language textbooks that is a pleasure to read.

The Manual of Standard Tibetan emphasizes Modern colloquial Tibetan as spoken in and around Lhasa, but adhering to a register that is widely used and understood. The student who masters it should have little difficulty communicating in most communities where Tibetan is spoken. The rudiments of the literary language are also thoroughly introduced, making it possible to make rapid progress in either Classical Tibetan or Modern Literary Tibetan during the second year of study. The cultural background incorporated in the entertaining dialogues and texts given
throughout the book will prove invaluable to all who wish to enter the rich and endlessly fascinating sphere of Tibetan Civilization, whether they do so as scholars, casual visitors, or in connection with work in development or in commerce.

It is often said that learning a language begins one’s exploration of an entire new world. Rare, however, is the language course that succeeds in conveying the sense of excitement and discovery thus promised. In the *Manual of Standard Tibetan* you will find yourself transported to monastery courtyards and to nomad camps; and, though Tibetan remains always a challenging language, requiring discipline and effort to learn, the rough journey in this case turns out to be a genuine delight.

Matthew T. Kapstein
The University of Chicago
June 2002
Welcoming the English edition

The original idea of a manual of the Tibetan language, and its first dialogues, were deve-
doped between 1993 and 1995 by the teaching team at the Tibetan Section of INALCO: the
Venerable Dakpo Rinpoche, Ngawang Dakpa, Heather Stoddard and Nicolas Tournadre. The
actual writing of the Manual, with its detailed linguistic commentaries and its cultural annota-
tions, was undertaken by Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje, whose scholarship in Modern and
Classical Tibetan are internationally recognized. These two authors have achieved the remarkable
feat of producing the first manual of Tibetan in which the structures and idioms of the vernacular
language are analyzed and placed within the living context of Tibet today.

The Tibetan Section of INALCO is delighted to welcome the publication of this English

Heather Stoddard
Director of the Tibetan Section
Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales,
Paris.

Supplementary materials for the Manual on the web

The Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library of the University of Virginia hosts a website
(www.thdl.org) providing supplementary materials for the Manual of Standard Tibetan, as well as
a broad variety of other curricular materials for learning Spoken and Literary Tibetan. From the
home page, go to Education: Languages: Tibetan. The site will ultimately include videos of many
of the dialogues in the Manual, video recordings of each chapter's vocabulary, supplementary
drills and exercises, and testing procedures. It is constantly updated as new materials become
available, so we invite everyone to consult it regularly, and teachers to consider participating by
offering their own materials.
Acknowledgments for the French Edition

This Manual would not have been possible without the collaboration of the teaching staff at the Tibetan section of INALCO (l’Institut National des Langues et Civilizations Orientales).

We would therefore first of all like to thank Heather Stoddard, the director of the section, who not only took part in the formulation of the Manual and the selection of illustrations, but also read and corrected a preliminary draft and made numerous valuable suggestions. We are very grateful to Mr. Ngawang Dakpa and the Ven. Dakpo Rinpoche (Jhampa Gyatso), who edited parts of the text and helped to formulate the content of the work. There is no doubt that this book would never have seen the light of day without their precious help.

We are grateful to Clause Hagège for his foreword. Our sincerest thanks are due to Samten Karmay, Fernand Meyer, Tenzin Samphel and Françoise Robin, who read and corrected the manuscript and offered very helpful suggestions.

Anne-Marie Blondeau generously made available to us the thematic Tibetan-French dictionary that she had developed within the framework of URA (Research Unit) 1229 of the CNRS “Langues et cultures de l’aire tibétaine” (Languages and Cultures of the Tibetan Region).

We are indebted to Martine Mazaudon and Boyd Michailovsky for their linguistic expertise and their unfailing support and encouragement over the past ten years, and also to the laboratory of LACITO (CNRS), which has financed Nicolas Tournadre’s research trips to Tibet, Ladakh and Bhutan since 1986.

We would like to express our gratitude to colleagues living in Tibet: Konchok Jiatso and Thupten Wangpo, both at the Tibetan Academy of Social Science, for helping us in the course of our linguistic research; to Tibet University, which appointed Sangda Dorje to teach Tibetan at INALCO in Paris for two years; and to Kesang Gyurme, previously professor at the Nationalities University in Beijing, who taught Tibetan at INALCO in 1989.

Very many thanks are due to Christophe Gigaudaut for preparing the maps, for the page-setting of the Manual and for developing the Tibetan font, to Jean-Marc Eldin who was responsible for the typesetting and lay-out of the Second French Edition and also to Laurent Venot (LACITO) for recording the CDs; to Ngawang Dakpa, Choepel Lama and Namgyel and Rigdzin Wangmo for lending us their voices; to Tenzin Lodrup for recording songs from Kham; to Philippe Dufourg for his contribution on Tibetan crafts; to Gérard Muguet, Lodreu Zangpo, Pierre Jutier, Karen Léotoing and Jhampa Jigme for all the help they have given us, especially in developing the illustrations and symbols.

And finally, we wish to thank the students at INALCO whose questions have helped to refine our teaching of this language.

Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje
Paris and Lhasa, November 2002
Acknowledgments for the English edition

This book is an English translation of the second French edition of Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje’s *Manuel de tibétain standard* (Paris, l’Asiathèque, 2003). The second French edition, and this English edition, incorporate many improvements over the original version, including new recordings, additional summary tables, more detailed linguistic and cultural commentary, and information about Tibetan dialects. Various people have contributed to the production of this Manual, and we would like to express our gratitude to them here:

• Charles Ramble: It would have been hard to find anyone better suited to the task of translating this Manual into English than Charles Ramble, currently lecturer in Tibetan and Himalayan Studies at Oxford University. Aside from being an internationally recognized anthropologist, he has a remarkable knowledge of both Spoken and Literary Tibetan. Furthermore, having lived in France, he also has an excellent knowledge of French language and culture. I am deeply grateful to him for his meticulous translation.

• Matthew Kapstein for writing the foreword and offering support.

• Christophe Gigaudaut who produced the maps and improved the typesetting, and Jean-Marc Eldin who finalized the lay-out.

• Boyd Michailovky and Nancy Caplow who commented on linguistic aspects of the manuscript.

• David Germano for his encouragement and his support.

• The University of Virginia and the U.S. Department of Education International Research and Studies Program for their strong financial support, notably for funding field trips to Tibet by Nicolas Tournadre between 2000 and 2002.

• Travis McCauley, who was responsible for making the recordings presented on the accompanying CDs.

• Wangdu, Dedrön n, Yeshe Dorje, and Chris Walker, whose voices can be heard on the recordings.

• Alison Joyner, who translated much of the introduction and some of the earlier lessons.

• Marc Lieberman, who supported our project and put us in contact with Snow Lion Publications.

• Steven Rhodes of Snow Lion who patiently corrected the final version of the manuscript.

NT and SD
Paris and Lhasa, April 2003
The Aims of This Manual

Interest in Tibet is currently increasing throughout the world. The indispensable key to the study and research of Tibetan culture is the spoken and written language. For some time now it has been possible to find students of Tibetan on all five continents, and the need for manuals of language instruction has therefore become all the more urgent. The present work is our contribution to meeting this demand. Literary Tibetan is significantly different from the spoken language, and there are marked variations in dialect from east to west and north to south. In this Manual we have therefore concentrated on presenting the standard spoken language, which is based on the dialect of Lhasa. It is our hope that this book will be a close companion to students of the Tibetan language.

Dh gonpa Sangda Dorje
and Nicolas Tournadre,
Lhasa, September 1997.
Preface

Tibetan Civilization is rich and fascinating. Over the years both nomads and settled peoples of the high plateau have developed a culture that in many respects has a universal appeal. Apart from Tibetan Buddhist philosophy, the medicine, astrology, iconography, architecture, poetry, grammar and music of the Land of the Snows have all gained a reputation which extends far beyond the Himalayas. The impact of Tibetan Civilization has for centuries been felt in Central Asia. It has been influential in China, Mongolia, Buryatia, Nepal, northern India, and even in the European part of Russia, particularly in Kalmykia.

It is worth drawing attention to several little-known facts about Tibetan language and literature. Many Buddhist texts have survived only in Tibetan, while their Chinese and Indian versions have been lost. Tibetan language offers a route to Buddhism and an entry point to understanding this religious philosophy. Tibetan literature is extremely rich in this area, whether it be indigenous to Tibet, or coming from translations from Sanskrit or Chinese. Lamas, the keepers of a living tradition, continue to explain and elaborate these texts.

Whether lay or religious, the body of Tibetan literature is vast and the majority of texts have not yet been translated. It also manifests striking originality, a world rich in symbolism, and a poetic tradition of remarkable beauty. The Epic of Gesar, celebrated throughout Central Asia and rivalling Gilgamesh as one of the greatest epics of the world, is written in Tibetan. Modern Tibetan literature, although barely known, is very much alive. Contemporary texts, particularly poems and short stories, abound.

Finally, Tibet is at a crossroads between the Indian, Chinese and Mongol cultures. At the same time, besides Buddhism, it has seen the development of a religion unique to the area, Bön.

To sample these literary treasures or even just to address a monk, a yogin perched in a cave at 5,000 meters altitude or a Tibetan trader, or to talk to a nomad letting fly his sling over the turquoise lakes, you have to be able to speak the language of Milārāpa and Gesar, the vehicle of this culture.

This Manual is for all those who want to learn spoken and written Tibetan.
Tibetan contains a number of particular difficulties, mainly at the level of syntax and semantics. One of the fundamental features of Tibetan verbs is that they distinguish systematically between intentional and unintentional actions. Moreover, the ubiquity of agentive (or "ergative") constructions in which it is the agent, not the object, that is marked, sometimes creates the disconcerting impression that it is an entirely "passive" language. For example, the sentence "Lobzang drank the tea" would be translated into Tibetan as lôsang-ki' châ tung-song, which means literally "By Lobzang drank tea".

Generally speaking, Tibetan syntax is very different from that of European languages, though it does bear certain resemblances to the syntax of Hindi, Mongol, Japanese and Korean. The word order "subject-object-verb", which pertains also in subordinate clauses, often means that to understand a sentence we have to turn it "inside-out", and work backwards from the end. This being said, Tibetan syntax is completely logical and accessible once a certain number of new rules and novel ideas have been taken on board. This entails making a certain terminological investment, which will be quickly recouped in the form of easier progress and more thorough comprehension. The grammatical information has been presented as simply as possible in order to make the language accessible to anyone who has a reasonable grasp of English grammar.

Regarding pronunciation, the Manual uses a very readable transcription that employs no special signs, and which can be used without any knowledge of IPA (the International Phonetic Alphabet).

The problems presented by Tibetan (other than syntax) fall into two main categories: those relating to the oral and to the literary language. As far as oral Tibetan is concerned, the phonetic system and the system of auxiliary verbs are relatively complicated, but the main obstacles can be overcome by working through the exercises provided in each lesson, and by means of regular practice. For written Tibetan, the absence of any separation between words, as well as a very archaic spelling (comparable to that of English or French) make reading hard going at the beginning, but the difficulties are relatively minor and by no means insurmountable.

And finally, the good news: Tibetan verbs involve no agreement in gender, number or person (except the first person in certain cases). Furthermore, the declension of nouns is very easy: cases are formed by association with suffixes, and the basic term remains unchanged.

1. Students often find that even though they may recognize every word in a sentence they still have no idea of the overall meaning. What they often lack is a grasp of the structures that underlie the organization of the sentence. We may well imagine the confusion of unprepared readers on being presented with a dozen or so subordinate clauses in a row or, even worse, "nested" inside one another like Russian dolls.

2. The familiar concepts of subject, object, transitivity, conjugation, declension and so on are not always very relevant in Tibetan, and don't always help us to grasp the peculiarity and genius of the language. Nevertheless, to simplify matters, the Manual will use these terms throughout, with appropriate modifications wherever necessary.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>grammatically incorrect formulation</td>
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<td>abs. or Ø</td>
<td>absolutive case</td>
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<td>co.</td>
<td>connective, conjunction</td>
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<td>quantifier</td>
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<td>VP.</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
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<td>Standard Tibetan</td>
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<td>v.</td>
<td>verb</td>
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<td>vol.</td>
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<td>(3)</td>
<td>imperative stem</td>
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<td>[A]</td>
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<td>Tibetan Autonomous Region</td>
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<td>[D]</td>
<td>participant in the dative case</td>
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<tr>
<td>[E]</td>
<td>participant in the agentive (or “ergative”) case</td>
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**N.B.:** Bracketed words in the Tibetan text represent literary variants.
Introduction

1. The Tibetan language

Tibetan belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. This group encompasses about two hundred and fifty languages, spoken mainly in the Himalayas, on the Tibetan plateau and in the vicinity of the Mekong and the Salween. Within this linguistic family there are only two ancient literary languages: Burmese (12th century) and Tibetan (7th century). While very different, the common parentage of these two languages means that they share certain characteristics of phonology, syntax and vocabulary.

The Tibeto-Burman group of languages is part of the Sino-Tibetan superfamily, which compares in size and diversity with the Indo-European family. Apart from Tibeto-Burman, the Sino-Tibetan family includes the Karen and Chinese languages (comprising most importantly the languages of Wu, Xiang, Hakka, Mandarin, and Min). These groups of languages are however only distantly related.

With the exception of Burmese, Tibetan, both in terms of syntax and vocabulary, is entirely different from the other major languages of the region: Chinese, Hindi, Nepali, the Turkish languages (Uigur, Kazakh, Tatar, etc.) and Mongolian.

Tibetan in its various dialects is spoken over an area the size of Western Europe, stretching from Baltistan (Pakistan) in the west, to Sichuan (China) in the east. To the north, the linguistic range of Tibetan extends beyond Lake Kokonor (in the province of Qinghai, China). Its southern limits are the southern slopes of the Himalaya, encompassing the independent state of Bhutan, Sikkim (India), the high valleys of Mustang and Dölpo, and Solukhumbu (Nepal), the region of Everest inhabited by the Sherpas of Nepal.

The language presented in this Manual

The language presented here is “Standard Tibetan” སྤོད་ཁ་ སྤྱི་ཁ སྐད་ /kā/. It corresponds to the language spoken in Central Tibet in the region of Lhasa, as well as among the diaspora community. This language is a variety of the “Central Tibetan” གཏན་ཁ སྐད་ dbus-skad /dba/,

3. Remember that this Indo-European family includes such disparate languages as English, Greek, Russian, Persian, Hindi, French, Swedish, etc.
4. The literal translation of this term is “common language”. We also come across the term “unified language” (gcig skad). Here we use “Standard Tibetan” (spyi skad), the term increasingly widely used. Strictly however, it would be more accurate to speak of “language in the process of standardization”. There is in fact neither a genuine academy of the Tibetan language, nor the political will to round off the process of standardization, which is nevertheless taking place naturally.
5. There are several varieties of “Central Tibetan”. There are peculiarities and linguistic variations between each valley, even between different villages in Central Tibet. However these differences are minimal and do not hinder communication. In this Manual the terms “Standard Tibetan” and “Central Tibetan” will be used interchangeably. In 1999, an important book called Collective Work on the Common Tibetan Language was published in Beijing, with the participation of many prominent scholars from all the regions of Tibet. This is the first major recognition of Standard Tibetan based on Lhasa dialect.
spoken around Lhasa, which has become the lingua franca among Tibetans. It allows Tibetans living in other regions of Tibet (Amdo, Kham, Ngari, etc.), and indeed those residing in China, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Europe and North America, to communicate with one another whatever their native dialect ༦༥༩༢༢༢ yul-skad /yǔkā/. The general term ཕ་པོ་དཀར་/bo-skad, “Tibetan language”, is also sometimes used to describe the lingua franca, as are ཕ་པོ་དཀར། /kha-skad, “spoken language” or ཕ་པོ་དཀར་/phā-skad, “ordinary language” – which differentiates it from Literary Tibetan ཆིག་པོ་/yig-skad, “written language”.

The term “Lhasa language” མཉམ་པོ་/la-sa ‘i-skad, often used to describe Standard Tibetan, will be avoided here as it has too narrow a meaning to be accurate. The language spoken in Tibet’s capital includes peculiarities not found in villages just outside.

Conversely, a knowledge of Central or Standard Tibetan allows a clear understanding of the dialect སྐང་པོ་/gsang-skad, spoken in the province of Tsang, of which the main town is Zhikatse. On the basis of this similarity, the term སྐང་པོ་/gsang-kā, is sometimes used to refer to this group of dialects.

It is possible to write Standard Spoken Tibetan and preserve the orthography inherited from Literary Tibetan. For the rare words not found in the literary language a new orthography is adopted. This is the written language presented in the Manual.

**Literary Tibetan**

There is however another form of Tibetan used by educated people: Literary Tibetan, བོད་ལྡན་པོ་/bo-dan-pa, or བོད་ལྡན་པོ་/bo-rtsom. This is considered more prestigious and is common to scholars of all regions of Tibet, as well as the countries where Vajrayana Buddhism is established. Literary and Standard (or Central) Tibetan share the same basic grammar and are very similar lexically, to the extent that with a knowledge of one it is possible to read the other without too much difficulty.

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6. It should be noted that some intellectuals from Amdo and even from Kham are reluctant to learn the current “Standard Tibetan”, based on Central Tibetan. They would prefer a common language not entirely derived from the latter. Unfortunately such a language does not exist. When Amdowas or Khampas meet natives of Tsang or Central Tibet they have no other option, if they don’t know “Standard Spoken Tibetan”, but to converse in Chinese or English (depending on the country in which they find themselves), or indeed to write in Literary Tibetan, which is common to all Tibet but is not a spoken language. At Tibetanology conferences throughout the world (in China, Europe, India and the United States), speakers normally use Standard Tibetan whatever their dialect of origin.

7. This usage has the disadvantage of being used also to describe the other dialects.

8. Many Tibetans, as well as some non-Tibetans consider that only Literary Tibetan has a true grammar. Educated Tibetans are mildly disparaging of their spoken language, which they consider “vulgar” or “ordinary” (Tib. phal-skad). Only classical Literary Tibetan is well regarded enough to be “blessed” with a grammar. Linguists oppose such claims as false, and for non-specialists, it is worth stressing that Standard Spoken Tibetan does indeed possess a grammar. While fundamentally similar to that of literature, the grammar of the spoken language contains certain peculiarities. Examples include the working of auxiliaries and the way in which they are used with different connectives, or evidentials (or “mediatory moods”, see the Glossary) which are one of the characteristics unique to the oral language. The literary and oral registers are better regarded as two poles. Some works in Literary Tibetan reveal the influence of the spoken language, while the reverse is also true: letters written in the vernacular contain literary features. The difference between the two registers is greater than in the case of spoken and literary English.
In contrast to Standard or Central Tibetan, Literary Tibetan is not normally used for conversation. However, some lamas or lay intellectuals use a form of expression which is virtually Literary Tibetan, referred to as the "speech of the learned" འབུམ་པ་ བཤེག་ མཁས-པའི་ མཁས་. There is therefore a real diglossia in their speech.

It is possible to identify in Literary Tibetan, depending on period and region, different types, styles and registers, each belonging to one of three broad categories: Old Tibetan (7th to 11th century), Classical Literary Tibetan (12th to 19th century) and Modern Literary Tibetan (20th century). It should be noted that Modern Literary Tibetan is still very conservative in its grammar, such that a non-specialist can read texts going back as far as the 12th century and even beyond. In its vocabulary, on the other hand, Modern Literary Tibetan has a large stock of neologisms, relating mainly to technical inventions.

The current manual focuses on Standard Spoken Tibetan and its written form. Literary Tibetan is briefly presented in Appendix 1, where the main differences from the spoken form are noted.

There are nevertheless some words in standard Tibetan which do not have a literary form, or where the pronunciation is notably different from that in Literary Tibetan. In these cases, a spelling which reflects Standard Tibetan is given, followed in brackets by the Literary Tibetan word.

The language of Dharma

The term རོ་ཁང་པོ་ རོ་ཁང་པོ་ /ངོ་མོ་ "language of Dharma", refers to the language of the religion and philosophy. However this does not mean that liturgical and philosophical languages have a separate grammar. གོ་མོ་ is in fact pure Literary Tibetan, using a philosophical terminology that is specific to Dharma. Classical Tibetan is used as the liturgical language outside the Tibetan-speaking world in Mongolia and in the Russian Federation in Buriatia, Tuva and in Kalmykia. It is also sometimes used by various ethnic groups of Nepal such as Tamangs, Manangis, Lepchas, Gurungs, etc.

Oral teachings are normally given in the vernacular language, usually Spoken Standard Tibetan, fully complemented with quotations in Literary Tibetan.

9. Modern Literary Tibetan includes the language of journalism (gsar-shog gi skad-yig), as well as modern biographies (rnam-thar), scientific texts and novels.
10. To this extent, Tibetan is comparable to Hebrew or Persian. By contrast, other languages such as French, English and Chinese have evolved much more rapidly. In these languages, writings from the fifteenth century are effectively accessible only to specialists.
11. It is sometimes said that some lama has been giving teachings in a Kham or Amdo dialect. In fact this happens when lamas are at home but it is rare, when they teach Dharma outside their native region. In that case they use the Standard Spoken language mixed with Literary Tibetan, and pronounce the words with an accent of their native dialect. We wouldn’t say that a native of Cardiff or Aberystwyth was speaking Gaelic if he was conversing in English with a Welsh accent.
The term chökä’ is sometimes also used for political reasons in order to avoid mentioning the word “Tibetan”, which refers to a nation and may therefore be less than ideal in a religious context. Finally, one occasionally hears the term chökä’ used to refer to the common language spoken in large monasteries that house monks of diverse regional provenance.

Levels of language

As in Literary Tibetan, there are several registers of politeness in Spoken Tibetan. The basic difference is between a form of polite speech རི་སཱ་ zhe-sa /she-sa/ and ordinary speech, པད་པས་ skad dkyus-ma /kā’ kyūmā/. The polite form means using honorific (H) expressions for the 2nd and 3rd persons and humilific (h) expressions for the 1st person. རི་སཱ/she-sa/ is expressed mainly through personal pronouns, nouns, verbs and their auxiliaries. In this Manual, the honorific is identified with a capital H and the humilific term with a small h. The honorific forms are only specified when they are used in everyday speech.  

Slang and “secret languages”

In Tibet, as in most other parts of the world, there are cryptic language codes corresponding to “argots”, slang usages or languages of guilds, known as རི་སཱ་ logs skad /gkkā’/. In Lhasa, certain artisanal associations, such as carpenters, use special argots. In cities, too, some youth sub-cultures have also developed their own sociolects.

The term /gkkā’/ has a secondary meaning of “isolated” language, usually a Tibeto-Burman language that is close to, but mutually incomprehensible with, Tibetan. These languages are sometimes also referred to as “secret languages” ཉོན་པར་ རི་སཱ་ སང་ བཞག་ སྐད /sāngwā kā’ / or “languages of the Dakinis (celestial goddesses)” འཇིག་ བཞག་ རི་སཱ་ སྐད /mkha’-'gro ma’i skad /khāndromā kā’/.

An example of this is the language of Basum, which is spoken in Kongpo about four hundred kilometers from Lhasa by fewer than three thousand people. There are some twenty “isolated” languages spoken on the high plateau by populations that are either Tibetan or else have been assimilated to Tibetan culture.

The main Tibetan dialects

There are dozens of Tibetan dialects spread over five countries: China, Bhutan, Nepal India and Pakistan. The Tibetan dialects are derived from Old Tibetan and are closely related to Literary Tibetan.

The term dialects is used in the present work, though there is no mutual understanding between some of the dialects and they might as well be called languages. The main reason why

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12. For further details, see also Appendix 3, which deals with the honorific register.
we speak of dialects is that they traditionally share Classical Tibetan as their literary language. The expression “Tibetan dialects” to denote closely related languages that share a common literary language is analogous to the traditional terms of “Arabic dialects” or “Chinese dialects”. We will list below the main dialects and their location within each country (see also the map of the dialects, on plate II).

in China:

- ཕུན་པོ་། སྐད་། བུད་སྐད་། / in Lhasa Prefecture, Tibetan Autonomous Region.
- ཤིགས་པོ་། སྐད་། རྟོགས་སྐད་། / in Zhikatse Prefecture, T.A.R.
- ཁོང་པོ་། སྐད་། ཀོང་པོ། རྫོགས། / in Nyingthri Prefecture, T.A.R.
- རྡོ་ཁ་། སྐད་། རྡོ་ཁ་། / in Lhokha Prefecture, T.A.R.
- རྡོ་ཁ་། སྐད་། རྡོ་ཁ་། / in Nagchu Prefecture, T.A.R.
- སྐྱིས་སྐད་། སྐད་། སྐྱིས་སྐད། / Kham dialects are spoken in Chamdo Prefecture (T.A.R.), Kandze T.A.P. (Sichuan), in Yushu T.A.P. (Qinghai), and Dechen T.A.P. (Yunnan). Some Kham dialects are also spoken in Gannan Prefecture (Gansu, Choni County) and even in Ngari Prefecture (T.A.R., Gertse County).
- འབྲོ་ཁ་། སྐད་། འབྲོ་ཁ་། / Amdo dialects are spoken around Kokonor Lake, in Tsochang T.A.P., North of the Lake, (Qinghai, Haibei), Tsholho T.A.P., South of the Lake (Qinghai, Hainan), Tsonup T.A.P., West of the Lake (Qinghai, Haixi), in Tshoshar Prefecture, East of the Lake (Qinghai, Haidong). They are also spoken in Golok T.A.P. (Qinghai, guoluo), to the south of the Yellow River, in Malho T.A.P. (Qinghai Huangnan), in Kanlho T.A.P. (Gansu, Gannan) in Ngapa T.A.P. (Sichuan, Aba). Amdo dialects are also spoken by some nomads (drogpa) of Kandze Prefecture.

in Bhutan:

- ལྷོ་ཁ་/ རློ་ཁ་/ ‘dzongskad /tsongka/ or རྲོ་ཁ་/ ‘brug skad /trykkä/’, Dzongkha (lit: “the language of the fortresses”), the national language of Bhutan is spoken in the twenty districts of Bhutan, but only in eight districts as a native language: Thimphu, Paro, Punakha, Wangdi Phodra, Garsa, Hā, Dhakarna and Chukha (for more details, see Driem, 1998.)

In Bhutan, one finds other Tibetan dialects such as:

- བྲོག་བོད་ལྔ་བཞི་། / khyod-ca nga-ca kha /khyöcha ngacha khā/ is spoken in Lhüntsí and Monggar districts.
- བྲོག་བོད་ལྔ་བཞི། / la-kha /laka/. Lakhia is spoken in Wangdi Phodra district.

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13: The only exception is the Balti dialect. Balti people in Pakistan were Buddhists until their conversion to Islam in the sixteenth century. Before that date, they also used Classical Tibetan as their literary language.
in Nepal:

- དཔའ་འཕགས་པ་ 'shar-pa' skad /ṣārpa: kā/'. The Sherpa dialect is found in the area near the Jhomolangma and the Ghangchendzonga ridges mainly in the following districts Solokhumbo, Tappelung, Sankhuwa-Sabha, Dolakha and Sindupalchok. It is also spoken in the Tibetan Autonomous Region in Dram County.

- བོད་པོ་ 'gdol-po' skad /tö:po: kā/'. The Dôlpö dialect is found in Dolpa district.

- སྐྲོ་ 'glo skad /kā/'. The Lokā or Mustangi dialect is found in Mustang district.

- སྒྲོ་ 'grogs pa' i sgo la' i skad /ṭhrökpa kglā: kā/'. The Dhropai Gola dialect is spoken in Tappelung district.

in India:

- དྲོ་ 'bras-longs skad /brāncong kā/'. The Drānjong dialect or Sikkimese is spoken in the state of Sikkim.

- འབྲུ་ 'la-dwags skad /ta' kā/'. Ladakhi is spoken in Ladakh district and Zangskar Tehsil of Kargil district in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

- གྲུ་ 'pu-rig skad /pūri' kā/'. Purik dialect is spoken in Kargil Tehsil of Ladakh district in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

- སྟིའི་ 'spiti' skad /spiti: kā/'. Spiti dialect is spoken in the district of Lahul and Spiti in the state of Himachal Pradesh.

- འབྲུ་ 'la-hul skad /lahū: kā/ or སྣ་ 'gar-shwa skad /kārsha kā/'. The Lahuli dialect locally called Gharsha dialect is spoken in the district of Lahul and Spiti (Himachal Pradesh).

- མྨ་ 'nyam skad /nyārn kā/'. Nyamkat dialect is located in the district of Upper Kinnaur (Himachal Pradesh).

in Pakistan:

- ཉི་ 'sbal-ti' skad /pā:ti: kā/'. Balti dialect is spoken in Baltistan and Ghanche districts in the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

It is possible to regroup the dialects in the following groups:¹⁴

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¹⁴ This is a tentative classification. For some dialects such as Sherpa or Mustangi, further research is needed to establish their affiliation.
The Ū-Tsang group: Ū, Lhokha, Kongpo, Tsang, Tō.

The Tō subgroup of Ū-Tsang includes dialects from Ngari and Zhikatse Prefectures in the T.A.R. as well as various dialects spoken in northwestern Nepal (Limī, Mugu, Dolpo, Mustangī and Nubri) and northeastern Nepal (Lhomi, Dhropap Gola and Walungchung Gola).

The Kham-Hor group: Central Kham (Derge and Chamdo area), Southern Kham (Dechen area), Northeastern Kham (Yūshū, Nangchen area), Northeastern Kham (Thewo, Choni), and Hor (Nagchu area).

The Amdo group: North Kokonor Amdo (Kangtsa, Chilen, etc.), West Kokonor Amdo (Dalān, Nagormo, etc.), Southeast Kokonor Amdo (Chentsa, Thrika, Hualong, etc.), South Gansu Amdo (Labrang, Luchu, etc.), Golok Amdo (Machen, Matō, Gade, etc.), Ngapa Amdo (Ngapa, Dzorge, Dzamthang, etc.) and Kandze area Amdo spoken by some drogpa tribes.

The Dzongkha-Sikkimese group: Dzongkha, Lakhā, Chochangacha, Sikkhimese, Merak Sakteng Drogap, Dur Drogap.

The Ladakhi-Balti group: Ladakhi, Balti, Purik.

The Lahul-Spiti group: Lahul, Spiti, Nyamkat.

The Sherpa-Jirel group: Solu Sherpa, Khumbu Sherpa, Jirel (all spoken in northeastern Nepal).

The Kyirong-Kagate group: Kyirong (spoken in Kyirong County, T.A.R.), and Kagate, Tsum, Langtang, and Yolmo (sometimes called Helambu Sherpa), all spoken in northeastern Nepal15.

Mutual comprehension is generally good between the dialects of the Ū-Tsang group and Standard Tibetan. On the other hand, with the dialects of the other groups, communication is severely limited if their speakers know absolutely no Standard or Literary Tibetan: Of these the furthest removed from Central Tibetan are the dialects of Ladakh, Balti and Amdo, which did not develop tones.

Nomad-pastoralists, from whichever region (Ngari, Nagchu, Kham, etc.) have a particular speech referred to as & à b & a 'brog skad /tongkā/, as distinct from the speech of sedentary agriculturalists, which is described as & à b & a rong skad /tongkā/16.

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15 I am grateful to Roland Bielmeier who provided valuable information on dialects of Nepal and Pakistan. (personal communication, February 2003).

16 The word rong-pa refers to farming communities in the low-lying valleys, as opposed to the nomads. Tibetans in Nepal use the term to denote the ethnic groups of the middle hills.
Amongst the populations bordering Tibet, many people speak Tibetan. Two examples are the populations of Gyarong ཞཱ་རོང་ gyal-rong /kyāːrōng/ and Minyak མི་གཞལ་ mi-nyag /mīnyak/ in Sichuan.  

It should be noted finally that within the Tibetan-speaking world, most educated people in the cities speak at least one or even two languages apart from their native Tibetan language: Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Nepali or English depending on the country where they live.

2. Pronunciation and transcription

Phonological transcription 18 of Tibetan words will be provided up to Lesson 20. Before tackling the alphabet, it would be a good idea to get to grips with the Tibetan phonological system, and we shall therefore begin with a brief presentation of the pronunciation of sounds. For further details, refer to the basics of phonology given in Appendix 2.

The 28 consonants in Tibetan are: k, ky, t, p, t, tr, ts, c, s, r, sh, l, m, n, ng, ny, w, y and the aspirates kh, khy, ph, th, thr, tsh, ch, rh, lh, h. The eight vowels are: a, å, e, ö, o, u, ü, i.

Each of these sounds will now be presented.

The consonants

We suggest that you make use of the CD when reading the explanations given here.

All the sounds presented here are illustrated in Appendix 2 with corresponding recordings.

• /k/ with a high tone 19 is pronounced like the k of poker or skull; with a low tone like the g of gasp and, in other cases, somewhere between a k and a g. Thus /kā/ is pronounced ka, while /kə/ is pronounced ga, and /ka/ falls somewhere between ka and ga. At the end of a word (and sometimes within a word), the pronunciation of the k is very weak, corresponding to a barely audible glottal stop. 20

• /kh/ corresponds to an aspirated k, rather like the c of cull or curb. Aspiration involves breathing out sharply while uttering the consonant.

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17. The inhabitants of both Gyarong and Minyak consider themselves as Tibetans and they usually speak Tibetan. However, in neither case is the native language a Tibetan dialect, although Tibetan is used by both as the literary language.

18. Phonetic transcription of Tibetan words would be very complex and unreadable for non-specialists. The system used in this Manual is therefore both a simple and largely phonological one that will enable readers to know the pronunciation of words and to predict their contextual variations by means of standard keyboard signs.

19. High and low tones are indicated by a line above and below the vowel respectively. Further information on tones is provided below.

20. The glottal stop will be indicated by an apostrophe.
The apostrophe\(^{21}\) corresponds to a glottal stop. The sound is produced by starting to say a \(k\) but stopping abruptly before expelling the air. Sometimes this is heard just as a tone or a lengthening of the preceding vowel. The effect is similar to the ending of the word \textit{what} spoken in a South London accent \([\text{wo}']\), or in the middle of the American exclamation “uh-oh!”

\(\cdot /ky/\) with a high tone corresponds to a slightly “moist” \(k\), i.e., as if it were followed by a short \(i\). Thus \(/kyu/\) is pronounced like the \textit{cu} in \textit{cute}. In other cases (when in an unstressed position), \(/ky/\) is pronounced somewhere between \(ky\) and \(gy\).

\(\cdot /khy/\) is pronounced like \(/ky/\), but aspirated and always voiceless.

\(\cdot /tr/\) is very similar to the English \textit{tr}, particularly when followed by rounded vowels such as \(/o, u/'\). When it is followed by non-rounded vowels, the pronunciation differs from English in that the lips are drawn back. When it carries a high tone, \(/tr/\) is pronounced like the \textit{tr} in \textit{metropolitan}; when it carries a low tone, it is pronounced like the \textit{dr} in English \textit{drew}, and in other cases somewhere between a \textit{tr} and a \textit{dr}.

\(\cdot /thr/\) is pronounced similarly to \(/tr/\), but aspirated and always voiceless, as in \textit{true}.

\(\cdot /t/\) is pronounced with a high tone like the \(t\) in \textit{stop}, with a low tone like the \(d\) in \textit{debt}, and in other cases somewhere between \(t\) and \(d\).

\(\cdot /th/\) is similar to \(t\) but aspirated. It corresponds roughly to the \(t\) of \textit{top}.

\(\cdot /p/\) with a high tone is pronounced like the \(p\) in \textit{spit} or \textit{depot}, and with a low tone like the \(b\) in \textit{bit}; and in other cases it falls somewhere between \(p\) and \(b\).

\(\cdot /ph/\) is pronounced like \(p\), but aspirated. It corresponds to the \(p\) in \textit{pit} or \textit{pot}.

\(\cdot /c/\) with a high tone is similar to the \textit{ch} of \textit{chair}, or the Italian \textit{ciao}, but with less aspiration and more “moist”. With a low tone \(/c/\) is similar to the \textit{j} of \textit{journey} but, again, more “moist”. The rest of the time it is pronounced somewhere between \textit{ch} and \textit{j}.

\(\cdot /ch/\) is pronounced like the \textit{ch} in \textit{chair}.

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21. In certain rare cases, the apostrophe appears after a nasal to indicate a falling tone.
• /ts/ with a high tone is pronounced like the ts of patsy, or the z in Mozart, and with a low tone like the dz in adze.

• /tsh/ is pronounced like ts, but aspirated.

• /sh/ corresponds to the sh of show, but is “moistened”. It is equivalent to the Chinese sound xi in pinyin transcription.

• /r/ can be pronounced in two different ways. The first corresponds to a rolled r, similar to that in the Spanish cara or Russian gorà or the British rolled r. The second is quite close to the English r in raw, but pronounced with the lips drawn back (and not rounded). It is virtually the same as the Chinese pinyin r in rou. At the end of a word or syllable, the ra is barely audible and most of the time becomes a lengthening of the preceding vowel, similar to the r of better.

• /rh/ is approximately like the s in sugar, but lightly aspirated, with the point of the tongue curled back, touching the alveolar ridge (upper gums) and the lips retracted. This sound is noted in the transcription as /rh/ for two reasons: first, because it is written in Tibetan as an h with an r subjoined. Secondly, because at the beginning of the second syllable, the sound is normally pronounced as an /r/.

• /s/ is similar to the s of sit.

• /l/ is similar to the l of lap or low. At the end of a word or syllable, the l is barely pronounced and normally becomes a lengthening of the preceding vowel.

• /lh/ corresponds to a heavily-aspirated l.

• /h/ corresponds to the h in holy or hello.

• /m/ corresponds to the m of me.

• /n/ corresponds to the n of nut. At the end of a word, the sound is lightly pronounced and generally becomes a nasalization of the preceding voewel, similar, though a little more pronounced, than the n in the French main or sain.

• /ny/ is equivalent to the neu of neutral.

• /ng/ is equivalent to the ng of king or song. In some English dialects, the nasal velar also occurs within a word, as in “singer”. In Tibetan, this sound appears not only at the end of a word or syllable, but also at the beginning – contrary to most European
languages. At the end of the word or syllable, /ŋ/ also nasalizes the preceding vowel. Thus the pronunciation of /læŋ/, /lɛŋ/ and /lɔŋ/ is quite similar to that of the French words langue, dingue and longue.

- /w/ corresponds to the w in we.
- /y/ corresponds to the y of year or young.

Vowels

The eight Tibetan vowels /a, e, ə, o, ð, u, ū, i/ are relatively straightforward, the vowel system being similar to that in French and German.

- /a/ is an open central vowel, similar to the a in am or ram. Apart from when it is stressed, it tends to be pronounced like a central vowel a, similar to the English article a.
- /ä/ corresponds to the vowel sound in share, or the è of the French père.
- /e/ corresponds to è of the French étê or the ee of the German See. When the vowel is followed by a consonant (closed syllable), it is pronounced like an /a/.
- /ö/ corresponds to the sound eu in French or the German ö.
- /o/ corresponds to the sound o in the word so. When the syllable is closed, the sound is normally pronounced more openly, as in sock.
- /u/ corresponds to the sound oo in the word cool or the u in rune.
- /û/ corresponds to the sound u in the French word rue, or the ü in the German Bücher.
- /i/ corresponds to the ee in see.

Tones

Phonologically, standard Tibetan has only two tones: high and low. The tone is only important for the first syllable of a word. Thus, for polysyllabic words, the tone will be marked only for the first syllable, while the following syllables are atonal. To the extent that there is only one tone per word, and it falls on the first syllable, tones can be a good criterion for distinguishing words in Standard Tibetan.

It is important to be able to hear the tones, since this makes it possible to distinguish between a large number of words. In the transcription, the high and low tones are marked by a bar respectively above and below the vowel.

Ex.: /ṅg/ “I”, /ṅg/ “five” or “drum”, /læŋ/ “to get up”, /læŋ/ “to lift up”, /sā/ “to eat”, /sā/ “to kill” (past tense), /šəmo/ “hat”, /šəmo/ “mushroom”, etc.
Tone contour

In monosyllabic words, high and low tones are pronounced with different “contours” or “shapes” (flat or modulated), depending on the final consonant of the syllable. We can distinguish four types: high flat, high falling, low flat (rising) and low rising-falling.

While the level of tones (high or low) is essential for understanding and producing sounds, the contours are secondary and can be ignored without hindering communication. Thus, the following paragraphs are for information only, and can be skipped by readers without impeding the process of learning the language.

The high tone is flat or slightly falling if the syllable ends with a vowel or with the nasals (n, m, ng). For example: /sā/ “earth”, /chāng/ “beer”, /chū/ “water”, /sāng/ “scales (for weighing)”, /khāṃ/ “piece”.

- The high tone is falling if the syllable ends with the consonant p, a glottal stop ’, or the nasals n’, m’, ng’. For example: /sā/ “to kill”, /shō/ “strength”, /thāp/ “hearth, stove”, /khāṃ/ “Kham” (a region of Tibet), /sāng/ “to become enlightened”.
- The low tone is flat (slightly rising) if the syllable ends in a vowel or with the nasals (n, m, ng). For example: /ṅg/ “t”, /sā/ “to eat”, /ṅang/ “to get up”, /ṅang/ “full, one”.
- The low tone is rising followed by a short fall if the syllable ends with the consonants p or ’ or with the nasals (n’, m’, ng’). For example: /ṣhy/ “to sit down” /sā/ “to eat” (past tense), /ṅang/ “to get up (past tense)”, /ṅang/ “snow”.

Note: After the final nasals n, m, ng, the apostrophe is used to indicate a modulated tone rather than a glottal stop. This comes from an s (yang-jug) which was formerly pronounced, but which is now only written. Thus /khāṃ/ “Kham, Eastern Tibet” /sāng/ “fumigation”, /sāng/ “to say”(H) are pronounced with a sharply falling high tone.

Aspiration

Aspiration can only occur at the beginning of a word, on a high or a low tone. It never occurs in the middle of a word.

It is nevertheless possible to distinguish many words according to aspiration, by comparing the following two series: /p, t, tr, ky, k, ts, c, l, r/ and /ph, th, thr, khy, kh, tsh, ch, lh, ṭh/.

22. The fall is very abrupt: 52.
23. Slightly rising: 12.
24. The configuration is 132.
25. After nasals, the apostrophe denotes a tone: see above.
26. Less frequently, it can be a da drag, or adjoined d: see the following section.
The relationship between tone, aspiration and voicing

It is important to note the following rule: aspirated consonants are always voiceless while non-aspirated consonants are voiceless when they carry a high tone but voiced with a low tone.

Aspiration is strong with a high tone and weaker with a low tone. In the case of a low tone, a difference in voicing goes with the difference between aspirated and non-aspirated sounds: aspirated voiceless versus non-aspirated voiced.

Finally, it should be noted that a non-aspirated high tone is pronounced higher than an aspirated high tone.


The combined oppositions of aspiration and tone allow the following series to be identified; it is important to be able to hear the differences and to train yourself to reproduce them:

**nonaspirated high** tone (voiceless) versus **aspirated high** tone (voiceless).

**nonaspirated low** tone (voiced) versus **aspirated low** tone (voiceless).


**Geminates**

There are sometimes double letters in phonological notation. These are not pronounced as double or long. Double letters in Tibetan only change the length of the preceding vowels (compare English *fiber* and *fibber*) and the tone contour, both of which can be overlooked in the early stages of learning Tibetan.

Thus the words /läppa/ “instruction”; /läpa/ “employee” are pronounced identically, except for lengthening of the vowel and a slightly falling tone on the first syllable of /läppa/.
Stress

In Tibetan, the stress normally falls on the first syllable of polysyllabic words, but the accentuation is weak and not very noticeable (by contrast with English, Italian or Russian). Accentuation therefore poses little problem in Tibetan. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that grammatical suffixes (plural, case, conjunctions, nominalization, etc.) are generally atonal and attached to the preceding word. This has implications for the segmentation of phrases, rhythm and intonation.

Tibetan poetry relies entirely on metre and doesn’t rhyme, and in this context stress is therefore essential.

Summary of the essential rules of pronunciation

• 1. Tones are only distinctive for the first syllable of words.
• 2. With a low tone, nonaspirated initial consonants are voiced (or are partially voiced): p = [b], k = [g], t = [d] tr = [dr], ts = [dz].
• 3. Aspirated consonants are always voiceless.
• 4. There is no aspiration in the second syllable.
• 5. The consonants /k, p, r, l/ “weaken” at the end of a syllable or word, and are sometimes barely pronounced.
• 6. The final nasals /ng, n/ are weakly pronounced and cause a nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Exercises

1) Practice pronouncing and listening to the differences between the following words:

/ka/, /kyi/, /ci/, /hr/, /ha/

/kla/, /kyo/, /co/, /hro/, /ka/

/kul/, /kyu/, /cu/, /hu/, /u/

/kl/, /ky/, /cl/, /hl/, /i/

/kel/, /kye/, /ce/, /hre/, /e/

27. As opposed to French, for example, where the weak stress falls on the last syllable.
2) Do the same with the aspirated series:

/kʰɒ/, /kʰȳ/, /ch̪ʰ/, /h trăm/, /th̪ʰ/
/kʰʊ/, /kʰȳʊ/, /ch̪ʰʊ/, /h trămʊ/, /th̪ʊ/
/kʰɭ/, /kʰȳɭ/, /ch̪ʰɭ/, /h trămɭ/, /th̪ɭ/
/kʰɛ/, /kʰȳɛ/, /ch̪ʰɛ/, /h trămɛ/, /th̪ɛ/

3) Do the same with the nasal series:

/nɒ/, /nɡɒ/, /nɣɒ/
/nʊ/, /nɡʊ/, /nɣʊ/
/nɭ/, /nɡɭ/, /nɣɭ/
/nɛ/, /nɡɛ/, /nɣɛ/
/nɨ/, /nɡɨ/, /nɣɨ/

4) Learn to pronounce the high/low tones, and to hear the difference between them:

/nɒ/, /nʌ/, /nɑ/, /nɔ/, /nɡɒ/, /nɡɒ/, /nɣɒ/, /nɣɒ/
/lɒ/, /lʌ/, /lɑ/, /lɔ/, /lʃɒ/, /lʃɒ/, /lʃɛ/, /lɛ/,
/l沃尔, /l沃尔.

5) Learn to pronounce the high and low tones and aspirated sounds by differentiating the following series. Repeat the same exercise with each of the four different vowels:

/kɑ/, /kʰɑ/, /kʰɑ/, /kɑ/
/kɤɪ/, /kʰɤɪ/, /kʰɤɪ/, /kɤɪ/
/cɑ/, /ch̪ɑ/, /ch̪ɑ/, /cɑ/
/hɭ/, /hɭ/, /hɭ/, /hɭ/
/pɭ/, /pʰɭ/, /pʰɭ/, /pɭ/
/tɭ/, /tʰɭ/, /tʰɭ/, /tɭ/
6) Learn to pronounce and hear the difference between the following series, with and without glottal stops:


7) Pronounce clearly the high and low tones in the following pairs:


8) Pronounce clearly the aspirated sounds in the following pairs:


3. Tibetan writing

The Tibetan alphabet consists of thirty letters corresponding to consonants which are pronounced with the vowel a by default. The vowels i, u, e and o are marked as accents (diacritical signs) written above or below these letters. Written Tibetan is derived from Devanagari writing (more specifically from the Gupta variant of this, once used in northern India), and bears some similarities to written Burmese and other alphabets of Southeast Asia, which also derive from Devanagari. It was created in the seventh century, during the First Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. According to Tibetan tradition, King Songtsan Gampo (Srong-btsan sGam-po), an emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, dispatched to India his minister Thönpin Sambhota, himself an emanation of the bodhisattva Mañjusri, with the aim of establishing a permanent alphabet, which would allow the translation of Buddhist texts in particular. This story does not rule out the possibility that a writing system could have existed in Tibet before the seventh century, but it is from this date that written Tibetan began to flourish on the high plateau.

The Tibetan alphabet

Table 1

The thirty consonants and their pronunciation

| བ | ཉ | ད | ཆ | ཐ | པ | ཞ | བ | ཉ | ད | ཆ | ཐ | པ | ཞ | བ | ཉ | ད | ཆ | ཐ | པ | ཞ | བ | ཉ | ད | ཆ | ཐ | པ | ཞ |
| kā | khā | khā | nga | ca | chā | chā | nya | tä | thā | thā | na | pā | phā | phā | ma | ṭsā | tshā | tshā | wa | ṭshā | sa | a | ya | ra | la | sa | sā |

28. These thirty letters include two vowels and two semi-vowels. The vowel a is in fact a consonant by origin, as revealed by its pronunciation as a glottal fricative [h] or nasal in certain contexts (see the appendix on phonology).
29. The term bod-yig means primarily "written Tibetan", but by extension it refers also to "Tibetan literature". The word "alphabet" in Tibetan is like our own (alpha-beta), formed from the first two letters: ka-kha.
The four diacritic vowels །།།།

These are called respectively ཉི། gi-gu /khiku/, ཉི།ུ། zhabs-kyu /shapkyu/, ཉི། ད༢། ད་པུ། 'greng-bu /trengpu/, ཉི། རེ། na-ro /naro/.

Ex.: ཉི་ ཉི་དུ། ཉི་མེ། ཉི་ལོ།

**How to write the letters of the Tibetan alphabet**

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Notes on the alphabet

Unlike the Greek, Hebrew or Arabic alphabets, Tibetan letters, apart from the vowels, do not have a name. Each letter, however, has a precise symbolism in Tibetan Buddhism. The alphabet is read by pronouncing each letter with the vowel A, which is implicit. Following the Indian tradition, the letters come in an order reflecting the phonology of the language; they are presented by series according to their locus of articulation. For the first four series (ka, ca, ta, pa), the order follows the progress of articulation from the back of the mouth (velars) to the edge of the lips (labials), via the palate (palatals) and teeth (dentals), after which there is the series of affricates (sounds consisting of an plosive followed by a fricative).

1) \( k\) kā velars 2) \( c\) ca palatals 3) \( ñ\) tā dentals 4) \( ñ\) pā labials 5) \( ñ\) tsā affricates (dentals).

The remaining letters do not correspond to a clear phonological order. Regarding the first five series, we note that the first letter of each series is voiced with a high tone, the second is also a high tone but aspirated, the third is a low tone lightly aspirated,\(^{30}\) and the fourth is a nasal corresponding to the place of articulation of the three preceding letters.

The vowel markers are written above and below the consonants.

The I, the E and the O are written above the letter, while the U is written below. The A is not marked, but is implicit. When the Tibetan language was first written as this alphabet of thirty letters, there were no tones.\(^{31}\) Over time, the convergence of voiced and voiceless consonants has created tonal oppositions. As we have seen, Standard Tibetan has two tones important enough to identify and distinguish. However, **tones are not marked with special signs**, and must be deduced from the radical letter. Most radicals are associated with a distinct high or low tone. The nine original voiced consonants \( k\) khā, \( ch\) cha, \( th\) thā, \( ph\) phā, \( tsh\) tsha, \( ñ\) ñā, \( s\) sā, \( w\) wā, are always pronounced with a low tone, whereas fourteen sounds, the voiceless \( k\) kā, \( ch\) cha, \( ñ\) ñā, \( th\) thā, \( ph\) phā, \( ts\) tshā, \( s\) sā, \( w\) wā, the vowel ñā, always carry a high tone.

However, seven letters that usually carry a low tone shift to a high tone when they figure in certain combinations (when they are prefixed or superscribed): these are the four nasals \( ñ\) nga, \( ng\) nag, \( ñ\) na, \( ñ\) ma, and the letters \( ñ\) ñā, \( ñ\) rā, \( ñ\) lā.

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30: This sound corresponds to an old voiced consonant which is still pronounced as such in many dialects. The Wylie transliteration therefore writes a voiced consonant g, j, d, b. See the table on the following page.

31. The dialects of Ladakh, Baltistan and Amdo have never developed a tonal system.

32. This consonant is an exception to the general rule insofar as it carries a high tone when it appears with certain combinations involving a prefixed letter.

33. The letter ‘a chang yields a low tone but also generates a labialization in front of back vowels o, o. Thus /gma/ “milk” is usually pronounced [wɔma].
Transliteration and phonological transcription

Table 2
The thirty consonants: transliteration and pronunciation

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The four vowels

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Transliteration

In European, Japanese, and Chinese works that deal with Tibetan culture, or whenever (for typographical reasons) the Tibetan script can’t be used, a system of romanized transliteration may be employed.

The principle of transliteration is that each letter of the Tibetan alphabet corresponds to one or more Roman letters. While transliteration enables the reader to recognize the Tibetan spelling of a word and, to a certain extent, its archaic pronunciation, it gives no straightforward indication of how it is pronounced in Modern Central Tibetan. It may be noted that while spelling is standard throughout the Tibetan-speaking world (Ü, Tsang, Tö Ngari, Ladakh, Amdo, Kham, Bhutan, etc.), texts are read with different pronunciation according to the regional provenance of the reader.

34. There are numerous differences between Central Tibetan and Old Tibetan (which provided the basis for the current system of spelling), especially in the case of consonant clusters. As far as the pronunciation of individual letters is concerned, however, the only difference lies in the fact that the voiced plosives of Old Tibetan have produced low tones, while voiceless plosives have produced high tones. It is interesting to note that the spelling of Modern Tibetan is at least as archaic as that of modern French and in some cases, English. Tibetan spelling represents the way in which the language was pronounced around the eighth century, whereas that of English corresponds to its pronunciation around the fifteenth. Certain archaic dialects of Baltistan, Ladakh and Amdo have retained a pronunciation close to the written form.
Introduction

This Manual will make use of the Wyllie system of transliteration (the simplest and most commonly used), presented in Table 2. Transliterated renderings will be presented in italics. Transliteration of polysyllabic words will use the following conventions:

- Syllables within a word will be linked by a hyphen. Grammatical morphemes (case markers and connectives) attached to words will be preceded by the sign +. For example: dge-rgan+gvis “by the teacher”.
- The letter y preceded by a prefix will be distinguished from the subscript y by a full stop after the prefix. For example: "\[\text{g}yag\]" and "\[\text{g}yur\]“ to be separated”.

**Phonological transcription**

The transcription that figures in this Manual in roman letters (and sometimes between oblique strokes) reproduces the pronunciation of Standard Tibetan or Central Tibetan. This is the transcription that was presented in the last chapter. Although it gives no indication of the spelling of words, it is all the more useful insofar as spelling is often very far removed from pronunciation. However, by applying a few simple rules, you will be able to deduce the pronunciation from the orthographic presentation. Note that there are certain exceptions (see Appendix I, section 2.1). Moreover, there are a few rare words in the spoken language with no written form. The literary pronunciation of words will be indicated by the sign (I).

*Note:* When there is a slight disparity between current and literary pronunciation, in the absence of a written Standard form, the word will be written in Literary Tibetan, but the transcription will reproduce the colloquial form.

- The following convention will be used for the transcription of polysyllabic words: syllables of the same word will be joined without any hyphen, while grammatical morphemes (case markers and connectives) attached to the word will be preceded by a hyphen. For example: kekān-kī “by the teacher”.

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35. It also makes it possible to grasp the pronunciation of Tibetan in the province of Tsang, which is very close to that of Central Tibet, and certain basic rules of correspondence make it possible to shift from one to the other. By contrast, the phonological systems that obtain in Ladakh, Zangskar, Ngari, Amdo, Kham and Bhutan (in the case of Dzongkha) are different from the one presented here. For example, in Amdo and Kham, there are sounds such as [x] (the Spanish jota) and [\], the French or German r, [s] (the French j) and [z] (the English z). These sounds are all absent in Standard Tibetan (ST). In Dzongkha there are also sounds such as [ʃ] (pch in English) and [x] (b), which are also absent in ST. Since all these dialects share the same literary language, the way in which texts are read varies considerably according to the regional provenance of the speaker. The fact that the same letter can be pronounced in several different ways is not a unique feature of Tibetan. The same is true of Latin and the Romance languages derived from it. For example, ch is pronounced as [ʃ] in French (as in Chine) but [k] in Italian (as in chiuso) and [ʃ] in Spanish (as in Chino); g is pronounced [ʒ] in French (as in gens), [x] in Spanish (as in gente) and [ç] in Italian (as in giorno). The same phenomenon may be observed in Chinese, where the pronunciation of a single character varies from one dialect to another.

36. By contrast, a number of words from Literary Tibetan are not used in the colloquial language.

37. The literary pronunciation can always be deduced from the spelling.
Orthography of Tibetan words within the English text

When presenting Tibetan words in scientific publications in English (or other languages), most authors use Wylie transliteration which renders the Tibetan orthography but does not provide the actual pronunciation in Standard Tibetan. For non-specialists, a transcription system of the pronunciation is more appropriate. However, until now there is a considerable variation between the various authors. For the sake of standardization, we propose in this Manual a system of phonetic transcription that is simple and directly derived from the Wylie transliteration. It is presented in Appendix 7. It will be used to transcribe the Tibetan words that occur in the lessons as well as on the maps 38.

The syllable

The thirty basic letters of the alphabet may be combined to produce other sounds. Certain letters may be “stacked up” within a syllable, which is the main unit when reading.

Syllables ཐིང་ /tshing/ are easy to identify in written Tibetan: each syllable is marked off from its neighbours by an intersyllabic dot ‘called ཐི /tshā/. Thus the syllables, which are connected to one another by these dots, are strung together like beads on a thread without any spaces between words or even, in many cases, between clauses.

A syllable may contain from one to seven letters

The simplest syllable consists of a single radical letter, while the most complex comprises seven letters in the following combination: a prefix, a superscript, a radical, a subscript, a vowel-accent, a first suffix and a second suffix. 40 Even if there is theoretically a very large set of possibilities, the actual number of complex syllables is relatively limited. 41

A full list of possible combinations is provided in Appendix 6.

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38. The problem of multiple renderings is due not only to constant variation (sometimes even on the part of the same author) but often to a lack of consistency. For example, these renderings rarely distinguish the pronunciation of the g in words such as dga’-ldan and gangs-longs; in fact the first is a low-toned voiced velar whereas the second is a slightly aspirated low-toned voiceless velar. In this Manual they will be presented respectively as gandān and ghangjong. The letter k represents high-toned velars (always voiceless) that appear for example in the words khang-bdag and rkangling, which will be rendered respectively as khangdog and kangling.

39. The term tshig ’bru literally means “word grain or unit”. Other expressions are also sometimes used, such as tsheg-bar which literally means “[that which is] between the dots”, and tsheg-khyim “household [of letters between] the dots”, as well as yig-’bru “seed letter”. The latter is also used in tantric rituals: the “seed syllable” enables the practitioner to produce the divinity in the course of the “generation” phase of meditation.

40. This Manual will use the usual terminology of “first suffix” and “second suffix”. These should, however, be regarded as syllable-finals, and not as suffixes in the usual sense of the term.

41. For example, of the radicals that can take superscripts and subscripts (that is, all except ‘a, ya, la, a) only ka, ga, pa, ba, ma and tsa can have both at once. And even among these, only certain combinations of superscripts and subscripts are possible. The consonant k takes three superscripts: rk, sk and lk, and all four subscripts: kr, ky, kl and kw, but the combinations lky, rkr and lkr are never encountered. Certain prefixes and subscripts are also incompatible; for example, although k may be prefixed by the letter ba, the combination blka does not exist.
Syllabic structure in detail

A syllable consists of:

- a radical letter གྲེང་པ། (ming-gzhi), corresponding to one of the thirty consonants.

And possibly:

- a vowel accent (or diacritical mark) ང་འགྱུར་ (dbyangs) placed above or below the basic consonant. There are four vowel accents, and the A is implied by default.
- a superscribed letter གཞི་ (mgo-can) placed immediately above the radical. There are three superscribed consonants.
- a subscribed letter གཞིལ་ (dogs-can) placed immediately below the radical. There are four subscribed consonants.
- a prefixed letter གཞིལ་ (song-can) placed immediately before the radical. There are five prefixed consonants.
- a first suffix གཞིལ་ (rjes-can) placed immediately after the radical. There are ten first suffixes.
- a second suffix གཞིལ་ (yang-can) placed immediately after the first suffixed consonant. There are two second suffixes.

The principles of spelling

The traditional Tibetan procedure for learning to read involves spelling out loud (sbyor klog) over the course of weeks or even months before coming to the stage of word pronunciation (bsdus klog). Young Tibetans spell entire texts aloud, and only begin to read directly when they have thoroughly mastered the technique of spelling.

As a general rule, when a syllable contains several letters, they are spelled out in the following order: prefix, superscript, radical, subscript, vowel, first suffix, second suffix. In other words, the letters are spelled out horizontally from left to right and vertically from top to bottom (except in the case of superscribed vowels, which are pronounced after the subscribed consonant).

The simple radical

In many cases, the simple radical, with or without a vowel, is sufficient to constitute a word, as the following examples illustrate:


42. These various letters are described in the next section, which deals with the syllable.
Spelling a simple consonant and a vowel accent entails pronouncing the consonant followed by the name of the vowel.

Ex.: सॅ नारो सॅ, ्रा नारो लॉ, झा शक्यु प्यु, सॅ शक्यु सॅ, ्रा खिकु रि,
मा खिकु मि, मा त्रेंगु मे, ब्ञा त्रेंगु ब्ञे.

**Subscripts, superscripts**

There are four subscribed and three superscribed consonants. Certain letters involve ligatures or sandhi when they are combined, and in this case the shape of the letters is modified.

**The four subscribed consonants** ग्यान्यास ग्यान्यास /ttgkān shj/

These are: उँग, ्रा, ्का, ्वा.

When these letters are subscribed, their shape is more or less modified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ग्या</th>
<th>्रा</th>
<th>्का</th>
<th>्वा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

They are known respectively as उँग यतां यतां (“attached” ग्या), ्का रतां, ्वा रतां (“attached” रा), ्वा लतां, व्या रतां, न्या रतां (“attached” ला), घ्या व्या, घ्या व्या “corner” व्या).

- The 7 consonants that may be combined with a subscript ग्या are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>घ्या</th>
<th>क्या</th>
<th>झ्या</th>
<th>क्या</th>
<th>झ्या</th>
<th>क्या</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
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<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
</tr>
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<td>झ्या</td>
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<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
<td>झ्या</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The seven letters with a subscript ग्या all produce palatal consonants viz, palatal plosives ्क; palatal affricates त् (“ch”); and the palatal nasal ्न्य (like the “nio” of “onion”).

On rare occasions you may encounter the combination ्न्या, which is used to transcribe words from other languages, especially Sanskrit.
To spell a syllable containing a subscribed letter, first pronounce the radical, then the subscript followed by the sound /ṭa/ (which means “attached”), and then conclude with the result of the combination.

Ex.: й kā yata’ kyā, й kā yata’ khyā, й kā yata’ khyā, й pā yata’ cā, й phā yata’ chā, й phā yata’ cha, й ma yata’ nya, й phā yata’ chā, й trā yata’ rī, й ma yata’ rī, й ha yata’ khyā khiku khyī.

• The 13 consonants with a subscript ra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>त्र</th>
<th>त्र</th>
<th>त्र</th>
<th>त्र</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trā</td>
<td>trā</td>
<td>trā</td>
<td>trā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā</td>
<td>rā</td>
<td>rā</td>
<td>rā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subscript ra produces a significant change in the pronunciation of the radical letters. The velars ka, kha, ga, the dentals ta, tha, da, the labials pa, pha, ba and the fricative sa (in certain cases) become the retroflex plosives /tr/. The ha, too, is modified, and is pronounced as a retroflex fricative /r/, but this sound occurs in only a few words. The subscript ra does not alter the pronunciation of the radicals sha, ma (but generates a high tone on mā).

The radical sa with a subscript ra is always pronounced sā when reading. In conversational Tibetan, however, there are two ways of pronouncing the combination depending on the word involved: /s/ or /tr/. Another pronunciation, /r/, appears in certain dialects (Tsang, Hor, Amdo, Ladakhi, etc.).

Ex.: རི་འཇོ་ sishung, རི་འཇོ་ sōmo, རི་འཇོ་ sa, རི་འཇོ་ trāma, sānma (L); རི་འཇོ་ trāp, sāp (L); རི་འཇོ་ trāppo, sāppo (L); རི་འཇོ་ metra’, mese’ (L); རི་འཇོ་ trām, sām (L); རི་འཇོ་ trung, sūng (L).

A combination containing a subscript ra is spelled by pronouncing the radical, followed by rata’, and finally the outcome of the combination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>त्र</th>
<th>त्र</th>
<th>त्र</th>
<th>त्र</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trā</td>
<td>trā</td>
<td>trā</td>
<td>trā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā</td>
<td>rā</td>
<td>rā</td>
<td>rā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Footnote
43. This variant appears in colloquial Tibetan, but is not pronounced when reading.
Note: In exceptional cases, the combination br is pronounced /pr/ and not /tr/, when it appears in the second syllable of certain words: ལྷ་བྲང་ /brang/, ལྷ་འབྲ་ /bra/, ཤོ་ཁྲེག་ /lho-brag/, ཤོ་བྲེས་ /lha-bris-pa/.  

- The 6 consonants with a subscript la:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ལ་</th>
<th>ཞ་</th>
<th>ལ་</th>
<th>ཞ་</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ཞ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ཞ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ཞ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ཞ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ཞ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ཞ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The combinations that contain a subscript la all produce the sound lā with the exception of ལཀ་ zla which is pronounced tā.

Spelling out a combination comprising a radical and a subscript la entails first of all pronouncing the consonant, then la(p)ta', and finally the result of the combination, as follows:

ལཀ་ lā tā, ལཀ་ lā tā, ལཀ་ lā tā, ལཀ་ lā tā, ལཀ་ lā tā.

Note: When occurring as a second syllable in some words, ལཀ་ zla produces a nasalization and is pronounced nta'. See Appendix 1, section 1.1.

- The 16 consonants with a subscript wa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ལ་</th>
<th>ལ་</th>
<th>ལ་</th>
<th>ལ་</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
<td>ལ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some words, the subscript wa is attached to a subscript ra. This is illustrated by the syllable ལ་ thra in ལ་ཐྭ་ thrgatsang “monastic college” or ལ་ཐྭ་ lōpta “school”.

44. It is as if there were a “resyllabification” going on. For example, the b which belongs to the second syllable brang is treated in the spoken language as if it were the final consonant of the first syllable. In Standard Spoken Tibetan, the pronunciation /pr/ never occurs at the beginning of a word.
Nowadays the wasur (lit. “corner wa”) does not change the sound of the radical to which it is attached, and consequently even scholars frequently forget to write it. In the past it probably corresponded to a labialization resulting in a slight lengthening, but these features have vanished and the wasur is now just a vestigial spelling. However, it is currently used in the transcription of foreign words such as swa-sti and tun-hwang (i.e., Dunhuang).

To spell out the combination of a consonant with a subscript wasur, first pronounce the radical, then wasur, and finally the overall result:

Ex.: ླྀོི་ tshā wasur tshā, རི་ ra wasur ra.

- The subscript 'a chung

In the case of certain rare modern Tibetan words, as well as a few loanwords and mantras, the 'a chung appears as a subscribed letter. The subscript ‘a chung has the effect of lengthening the vowel.

Ex.: སྦ་ འ་ la’

| Table 3 |
| Pronunciation of the subscribed letters |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>combinations with a subscript “ya”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>མ ས ད ར བ ཆ ཇ ཨ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>combinations with a subscript “ra”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཚ བ ས ས ར ད</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>combinations with a subscript “la”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཚ བ ས ས ར ད</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>combinations with a subscript “wa”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཚ བ ས ས ར ད</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three superscribed consonants བ ད ར /kocān süm/:

ra la sa

They are known as ད་ ཐ་ ranko (“head” ra), འ ཐ་ lanko (“head” la), ད་ མ sānko (“head” sa).

45. Combinations followed by an asterisk are used only in mantras or foreign loanwords.
46. This combination is spelled shā, but it is pronounced shrā in mantras.
The three superscribed letters ra, la and sa have two effects:

- They raise the tone of the nasals
- They cause the low-toned consonants kh₂, ch₂, th₂, ph₂, tsh₂ to lose their aspiration, so that they are pronounced k₂, c₂, t₂, p₂, tš₂. This alteration is often accompanied by partial or complete voicing, that is, the consonants become closer to the corresponding voiced sounds:[g₂, dz₂, d₂, b₂, dz₂].

Note: Even though the letters may be partly or wholly voiced, this will not be indicated in the transcription, which will be as follows: k₂, c₂, t₂, p₂, tš₂, since it is only the low tone and the lack of aspiration that are relevant. As a general rule, speakers of European languages at first have difficulty in picking up the tones and hear them instead as the corresponding voiced sounds:[g₂, dz₂, d₂, b₂, dz₂]. By contrast, speakers of Standard Tibetan perceive a low tone and a lack of aspiration. The fact that the sound is more or less voiced (between k₂ and g₂, t₂ and d₂, p₂ and b₂), or even completely voiced, is not a determining factor. Indeed, Tibetan speakers have difficulty in distinguishing between “brick” and “prig”, “gut” and “cut”, “battle” and “padle”, and so forth.

Historically, the superscribed letters were pronounced in Central Tibet, and their disappearance resulted in the emergence of tones. In some Amdo dialects, and especially in those of Baltistan and Ladakh, the superscripts are still pronounced, or else have left phonetic traces. These dialects have never developed tones.

To spell combinations involving superscribed consonants, begin with the top letter and then go on to the one below followed by [ŋ/ (meaning “attached”), and finally the result of the combination.

- The 12 consonants with a superscript ra:

In Central Tibetan, while the superscribed ra has no effect on the actual pronunciation of the radical, it does modify tone and aspiration.\(^\text{47}\)

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>k₂</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>k₂</td>
<td>ḍ ngā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḍ nyā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ nā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḍ mā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ mā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ḍ</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex. of spellings: ŋ ra kātā’ k₂, ṭ ra ngata’ ngā.

Note: In some rare cases, the superscript r of the second syllable of a word is pronounced.

---

47. It may be noted in passing that in certain Amdo dialects and in Ladakhi the superscript ra is in fact pronounced.
Ex.: ཡ་གའི་ka-rgyug /k'ar'gyug/ “tent pole”, ཡ་ཞྣོ་mi-rgod /mi'r'go/ “yeti”, ང་རྒྱལ nga-rgyal /ngar'gyal/ “pride, aggression”, སྲོི་rdo-rje /hor'ce/ “vajra” (first name).

*The 10 consonants with a superscript la:

The superscript la has much the same effect on pronunciation as the superscript ra, in that it primarily alters tone or aspiration.⁴⁸

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ཨ་</th>
<th>ར་</th>
<th>ཨ་</th>
<th>ར་</th>
<th>ngā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>འ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>འ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>ས་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>ས་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex. of spellings: ར་ལ། tā-tā, ར་ལ། hā-tā lhā

*Note: In some rare cases, the superscript l of the second syllable of a word produces a nasal n or m. This occurs in the combinations lt, ld. See Appendix 1.

Ex.: ར་གྲེལ་dga'-lna /dga'-ldan /k'antān/ “Gandān (monastery)”

*The 11 consonants with a superscript sa:

The effect of the superscript sa is, likewise, essentially on tone or aspiration.⁴⁹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ཨ་</th>
<th>ར་</th>
<th>ཨ་</th>
<th>ར་</th>
<th>ngā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>འ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>འ་</td>
<td>nyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>བ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex. of spellings: ར་པ་nā-tā, ར་པ་ pha-tā pa.

⁴⁸ In Ladakhi and Balti the superscript la is still pronounced as l.
⁴⁹ However, in certain dialects such as those of Ladakh and Baltistan, the “s” is clearly heard (for example stag [stak]), while in Amdo it may be pronounced as a fricative or an aspirate, for example sta [stak] or [htak].
### Table 4

Pronunciation of superscribed letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple letters</th>
<th>Letters with superscripts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>compatible radicals</strong></td>
<td><strong>with superscript “ra”</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā tā ṭā sa</td>
<td>kā tā ṭā sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pronunciation identical)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha cha tha pha tsha</td>
<td>ka ca ta pa tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(loss of aspiration)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga nya na ma</td>
<td>ngā nyā nā ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(shift to high tone)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>compatible radicals</strong></th>
<th><strong>with superscript “la”</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā cā tā pā</td>
<td>kā cā tā pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pronunciation identical)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha cha tha pha</td>
<td>ka ca ta pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(loss of aspiration)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga ha</td>
<td>ngā lhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(shift to high tone)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>compatible radicals</strong></th>
<th><strong>with superscript “sa”</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā tā pā tsā</td>
<td>kā tā pā tsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pronunciation identical)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha tha pha</td>
<td>ka ta pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(loss of aspiration)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
<td>ཁ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ ཐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga nya na ma</td>
<td>ngā nyā nā ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(shift to high tone)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is possible to associate a superscript (ra, sa) and a subscript (ra, ya). The number of such combinations is in fact very limited as appears from the Table 5 below.

Table 5

Pronunciation of stacked letters (subscripts and superscripts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical with superscript “ra” and subscript “ya”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>🌹 kyā  🌹 kyā  🌹 nyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical with superscript “sa” and subscript “ya”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>🌹 kyā  🌹 kyā  🌹 cā  🌹 cā  🌹 nyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical with superscript “sa” and subscript “ra”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>🌹 trā  🌹 trā  🌹 trā  🌹 trā  🌹 mā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ten “first suffixes” /cencu/:

- Kha, nga, tha, na, pha, ma, a, ra, la, sa are the ten consonants that may figure as “first suffixes”. There are very few final consonants by comparison with radicals. This situation is confirmed by the traditional presentation of the alphabet, inasmuch as only one third of the letters may appear at the end of a syllable or a word, whereas any of the thirty may feature as an initial or “radical” (ming-gzhi).

It should be remembered that none of these letters is voiced, and that the pronunciation of some of them varies according to the context (see the discussion of phonology in Appendix 2, and listen to the CD).

- k: k or ‘


- ng. This usually causes a nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Ex.: སྭིང/ mingle/ “name”, སྙིང/rang/ “self, really”.

- n. In general, the n causes a nasalization of the preceding vowel, and also has the effect of an umlaut on the vowels /a, o, u/ which become respectively /ä, ö, ü/.

Ex.: མིན/ yin/ “I am”, བོད་/län/ “reply, message”, བོད་གཏན/ yon-tan /yöntän/ “qualities, excellence”.
• མི: m

Ex.: ཏམ/“way, road”, ཅོར/“bear”, ལོ་/“mother”(H).

• ཐ: p

Ex.: ཡ་/“needle”, རྟོལ/“right, share”, སྐྱ/“book”.

• ོ / མ: are not pronounced.

They do, however, create the effect of an umlaut on the vowels /a, o, u/ which become respectively /ã, ō, ū/. At the end of a word, they produce a glottal stop (’). Ex.: སྐྱོས/“sunray”, སྐྱོས/“time”, སི་/“body”.

*Note*: The fact that the final s and d become silent is precisely analogous to what happens in French. In the case of the latter, too, the dental plosives t, d and s are commonly not pronounced at the end of a word, even though they are still written. Compare the following French, English and Tibetan examples:

French: beret, pied, nid, tas, pas.

American English: Arkansas, beret.

Tibetan: སྐོ/“light”, སྐོ/“to be”, སྐོ/“karma”, སྐོ/“cotton”, སྐོ/“cloth”.

• ར: is either pronounced r or produces a lengthening of the vowel (marked as:)

Ex.: སྤ/“mar/“mar”, “butter; below”, སྤ/“ser-po/“yellow”, སྤ/“phor-pa/“wooden”.

• ཝ: produces a lengthening (marked as:) and has the effect of an umlaut on the preceding vowels, /a, o, u/ which become respectively /ã, ō, ū/. When a speaker is articulating carefully in a literary register, the /h/ may be heard.

Ex.: སྡ/“pha-yul/“land”, སྡ/“bal-po/“Nepalese”, སྡ/“shel/“crystal”, སྡ/“rill-bu/“pill”.

• མ: the presence of this suffix has no effect on pronunciation.50

Ex.: སི་/“gun”, སི་/“sky”.

---

50. After consulting the lotawa (the great translators of Buddhist texts) King Trisong Detsän issued an edict aimed at reforming spelling. Previously, most words ending in a vowel carried a final ‘a. For example, “mountain” was written སྣ་/"mountain". 
The letter ས a chung may carry a vowel.

As a suffix, the letter ས may carry the vowel i or u (and in rare cases e or o). In this case the syllable contains two vowels, which are written as follows:

ཐེ ཆ /a:/  ཐེ ཆ /i:/  ཐེ ཆ /u:/  ཐེ ཆ /e:/  ཐེ ཆ /o:/  ཐེ ཆ /ä:/  ཐེ ཆ /ao/, etc.

ཐེ ཆ /au/  ཐེ ཆ /eu/  ཐེ ཆ /u/  ཐེ ཆ /ou/  ཐེ ཆ /u:/

The addition of the vowel i results in a lengthening in the case of all preceding vowels, and moreover has the effect of an umlaut on /a,o,u/, which become respectively /ä, ö, ü/


The two secondary suffixes ལོ་/yangcu/: 

These suffixes are ལོ་/sä and ལོ་/tha.  

The suffix ལོ་/sä appears after the first suffixes ལོ་/ka, læ/ nga, ལོ་/phä, sø/ ma. Although it never alters the pronunciation of the preceding consonant, when it is appended to nasals it transforms the flat tone into a contour tone. For example, compare ལོ་/kham/ “piece” and ལོ་/khams/ “harm”/ (the name of an eastern Tibetan region), or ལོ་/gang/ “full” and ལོ་/gangs/ “snow”, ལོ་/gsang/ “secret” and ལོ་/bsangs/ “to purify (past)”, ལོ་/lang/ “to rise (present)” and ལོ་/langs/ “to rise (past)” (see the description of the tones in section 2).

The archaic suffix ལོ་/tha known as ལོ་/tha da-drag corresponds to an appendage that may appear in certain words: ལོ་/gyur/ “to be transformed”, ལོ་/bskor/ “to turn”, ལོ་/bsan/ “to teach”.

The letter gradually disappeared from the tenth century onward, following a decree of King Ralpačhan aimed at simplifying the conventions of spelling. However, even though it is invisible, it still exerts an influence in both speaking and writing. In the former case it may have an effect on the tone. For example ལོ་/phyin is not pronounced /chín/ but /xín/, with a falling tone, because it used originally to be written ལོ་/phyin/ (d). In writing, it affects the spelling of particles and suffixes to the extent that these agree not with the last letter of the preceding syllable but with the da-drag.

Ex.: ལོ་/ng/ “even though it had been shown that...” bstan(d)+kyang /tän'-kyang/ and not *bsan+yang; /tän'-yang/, ལོ་/gyur/ “while turning, as he/she was turning” bskor(d)+cing

51. Traditionally, the suffix d is generally presented before the suffix s. This order has been reversed here because the former, which was used in Old Tibetan, has disappeared in the classical language.
52. Remember that after a nasal, the apostrophe indicates not a glottal stop but a falling tone.
/kör-cing/ and not *bksor+zhing /kör-shing/. The da-drag is already obsolete in Classical Tibetan, and no longer figures in modern dictionaries.
To spell a word containing one or two suffixes, say them after the radical letter and pronounce the overall result.

Ex.: ཕོ་ kha nga khang, མོ་ kha nga sā khang.

### Table 6

Pronunciation of vowels and suffixed letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>ཉ་ a</th>
<th>ཀ ས ་ i</th>
<th>ཁ ་ u</th>
<th>ཀ ་ e</th>
<th>ཁ ་ o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོ</td>
<td>ཀ' a'</td>
<td>ཀ' i'</td>
<td>ཀ' u'</td>
<td>ཀ' e'</td>
<td>ཀ' o'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོ</td>
<td>བོ ན</td>
<td>བོ ན</td>
<td>བོ ན</td>
<td>བོ ན</td>
<td>བོ ན</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
<td>བོ ཆ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53. The # sign indicates a pronunciation that is used in certain contexts, notably when the suffix appears at the end of the first syllable of a word. The asterisk signifies a very formal, rather literary pronunciation.
The five prefixes /ngoncu/:

The five consonants that can immediately precede the radical in a syllable are:

\[ \text{ŋ} \text{kʰa} \text{ŋ} \text{tha} \text{ŋ} \text{pha} \text{ŋ} \text{ma} \text{ŋ} \text{a} \]

- The prefix \(\text{ŋ} \text{kʰa}\) may occur before the letters \(\text{ŋ} \text{cʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{nyā}, \text{ŋ} \text{tʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{na}, \text{ŋ} \text{tsʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{sha}, \text{ŋ} \text{sʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{shā}, \text{ŋ} \text{sā}, \text{ŋ} \text{ya}\).

- The prefix \(\text{ŋ} \text{tha}\) may appear before the letters \(\text{ŋ} \text{kʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{ngā}, \text{ŋ} \text{pā}, \text{ŋ} \text{pha}, \text{ŋ} \text{ma}\).

- The prefix \(\text{ŋ} \text{pha}\) may appear before the letters \(\text{ŋ} \text{kʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{ngā}, \text{ŋ} \text{cʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{cha}, \text{ŋ} \text{nyā}, \text{ŋ} \text{tʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{tha}, \text{ŋ} \text{na}, \text{ŋ} \text{tsʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{sha}, \text{ŋ} \text{shā}, \text{ŋ} \text{sā}, \text{ŋ} \text{sʰa}\).

- The prefix \(\text{ŋ} \text{ma}\) may appear before the letters \(\text{ŋ} \text{kʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{cha}, \text{ŋ} \text{na}, \text{ŋ} \text{cʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{cha}, \text{ŋ} \text{nyā}, \text{ŋ} \text{thā}, \text{ŋ} \text{tha}, \text{ŋ} \text{na}, \text{ŋ} \text{tsʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{tha}\).

- The prefix \(\text{ŋ} \text{a}\) may appear before the letters \(\text{ŋ} \text{kʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{cha}, \text{ŋ} \text{na}, \text{ŋ} \text{tsʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{tha}\).

The five prefixes are usually silent\(^5\) but they play a crucial role in the production of tones and the neutralization of aspiration: when they carry a prefix, the five radicals \(\text{ŋ} \text{kʰa}, \text{ŋ} \text{cha}, \text{ŋ} \text{tha}, \text{ŋ} \text{pha}, \text{ŋ} \text{tsʰa}\) lose their aspiration and are pronounced respectively: \(\text{kʰ}, \text{cʰ}, \text{tʰ}, \text{pʰ}, \text{tsʰ}\).\(^5\)

\[ \text{Ex.}: \text{ŋ} \text{cʰa'}, \text{ŋ} \text{cha'}, \text{ŋ} \text{tha'}, \text{ŋ} \text{pha'}, \text{ŋ} \text{tsʰa'}. \]

When the four nasal consonants carry a prefix, they shift to a high tone: \(\text{ŋ} \text{ngā}, \text{ŋ} \text{nyā}, \text{ŋ} \text{na}, \text{ŋ} \text{ma}\) are pronounced respectively: \(\text{ngā}, \text{nyā}, \text{na}, \text{ma}\).

\[ \text{Ex.}: \text{ŋ} \text{ngā}, \text{ŋ} \text{ma}, \text{ŋ} \text{ma'}, \text{ŋ} \text{na}, \text{ŋ} \text{nyā}. \]

When \(\text{ŋ} \text{a}\) is prefixed it shifts to a high tone /ŋā/.

\[ \text{Ex.}: \text{ŋ} \text{ma'} \text{ŋ} \text{a}. \]

- Pronunciation of prefixes in exceptional cases:

As we have seen, the five prefixes are not pronounced, and only have an effect on tone and aspiration. However, the prefixes of the second syllable within certain words may be pronounced. Those most likely to be pronounced are: \(\text{ŋ} \text{ma}\) and \(\text{ŋ} \text{a}\), which produce a nasalization between the syllables: \(\text{n}, \text{m}\) or \(\text{ng}\). The other prefixes only affect pronunciation in rare cases.

- In certain words the prefix \(\text{ŋ} \text{kʰa}\) produces the sound /k/ or even the sound /p/.

---

\(^5\) These prefixes are the vestiges of an ancient pronunciation that is still preserved in several dialects (particularly in Amdo). Even in Central Tibetan they are still pronounced in certain words (see below).

\(^5\) Remember that while non-Tibetan-speakers generally perceive these sounds as being voiced rather than voiceless, for Central Tibetans the important feature is that the consonant is unaspirated and carries a low tone. The fact that it is more or less voiced is regarded as a secondary feature!

- The prefix ཞི་pha produces the sound /p/.


- The prefix སྣ་tha modifies pronunciation only in སྣ་dba’, སྣ་dbya and སྣ་dba. In all three cases, the combination db is not pronounced but produces a high tone.

羌 is pronounced /wa/ with the vowel A, whereas in the case of other vowels the semi-vowel (or glide) w disappears, leaving སྣ/b/, སྣ/b/ སྣ/u/, སྣ/u/. སྣ is pronounced /r/ and སྣ as /y/.


- The prefixes ཐྲ་ma and མ ཁ་often produce a nasal sound /m/, n or ng/.

Ex.: སྣ/di/ mmtu “there is not”, སྣ/d/ khyam “reason”, etc.

When spelling out a syllable that contains a prefix, the prefix in question is followed by the syllable སྣ/o/’. Thus in the case of the syllable སྣ/n/ in which the prefix is the སྣ, the spelling is: སྣ/ba/ tháo kā rā kār. (It may be mentioned in passing that in Kham and Amdo the procedure is different: while the prefix is not marked, the suffix is followed by སྣ/sha/’. Thus the same word would be spelled: སྣ/ba/ tháo kā rā-sha kār.)

Ex.: སྣ/phao sha khiku = shi, སྣ/thao wa shapkyu = ü

Note: The radical letter (ming-gzhi) is easy to identify within a syllable, insofar as it is the letter that takes the vowel and the affixes (i.e., the superscripts and subscripts).

Ex.: སྣ/bsos/s/ “to make” (past), སྣ/dge-dun/g/ “monastic community, monk”, སྣ/bskor/k/or/ “to turn”, སྣ/thrup/ “to be fulfilled”, སྣ/gro/ “to go”, སྣ/jig/ “jig-” (‘jigten /diktren/ “the world”, སྣ/stag/ “tiger”.

When the vowel is an A (i.e., implied by default), and there is neither a superscript nor a subscript on the radical, there is chance of ambiguity. The problem may be circumvented by following these rules concerning the identification of the radical:

56. This may also be pronounced laang.

57. The semi-vowel y sometimes disappears before an i. For example, /yin/ is also pronounced /in/.

58. See also Appendix 1.
a) In a two-letter syllable, the radical is the first.

Ex.: ({...}) mang, {...} thā’, {...} thang, {...} tham, {...} thân, {...} khang.

b) In a syllable of three letters where there is no suffix ⁵⁷ sa, the radical is the second.

Ex.:  {...}, {...} ngā, {...} sāng, {...} sång.

c) In a syllable of three letters with the suffix ⁵⁷ sa, there are two possibilities. In most cases, the radical is the first:

Ex.:  {...} khang’, {...} phap.

However, where the first letter could qualify as a prefix, the radical may be the second:

 {...} can be read as either /māng'/ or /ngā'/; {...} can be read as either /thāp'/ or /wā'/; {...} can be read as either /thang'/ or /ngā'/; {...} can be read as either /thā'/ or /kā'/.

Words that carry this ambiguity are rare (there are fewer than ten), and their structure may be deduced from the context. The ambiguity is sometimes disposed of altogether by adding a wasur to the radical: {...} can only be read as /thā'/.

d) In a syllable of four letters, the radical is always the second:

Ex.:  {...} māng’, {...} sāng’, {...} tán'.

### Table 7

Pronunciation of Prefixed Letters (with simple radicals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Identical Pronunciation</th>
<th>Modified Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ས</td>
<td>ས</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (loss of aspiration.)
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (shift to high tone) |
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (loss of aspiration) |
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (shift to high tone) |
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (loss of aspiration) |
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (shift to high tone) |
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (loss of aspiration) |
| ས | ས | ས | ས | ས | (shift to high tone) |
Table 8
Pronunciation of prefixed letters with stacked consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>kyä</th>
<th>kya</th>
<th>cä</th>
<th>yä</th>
<th>nyä</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>rä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kä</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ngä</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>nyä</td>
<td>tä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tä</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kä</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ngä</td>
<td>nyä</td>
<td>tä</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyä</td>
<td>kya</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>sä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lä</td>
<td>lä</td>
<td>lä</td>
<td>lä</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyä</td>
<td>kya</td>
<td>kyä</td>
<td>kya</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>trä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyä</td>
<td>kya</td>
<td>thrä</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyä</td>
<td>kya</td>
<td>chä</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrä</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td>thrä</td>
<td>trä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Combinations used for transliterating Sanskrit:**

- The 6 reversed letters སྙི, སྙི, སྙི, སྙི, སྙི, སྙི:

These letters are marginal, and don’t feature in the basic alphabet of thirty letters. They correspond to the retroflexes in the Sanskrit alphabet, and are used principally to transcribe text or mantras. In transliteration they appear as capitals or, in certain conventions, as lower-case letters with a diacritical dot beneath them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>སྙི</th>
<th>སྙི</th>
<th>སྙི</th>
<th>སྙི</th>
<th>སྙི</th>
<th>སྙི</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>Tha</td>
<td>Da</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Sha</td>
<td>kSha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trā</td>
<td>thṛā</td>
<td>thra</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>khā/shā</td>
<td>khyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Sanskrit sounds corresponding to Na (nasal retroflex), kSha and Sha do not exist in Tibetan, and are respectively pronounced: nā, khā (or shā), khyā.

*Ex.:* སྙི་ /mæn/ “jewel” is pronounced simply /mæn/ and not with a retroflex n as /mæn/.

The three retroflexes T, Th and D are phonetically interchangeable with the combinations kr, khr and gr. In Modern Tibetan, they are used only to represent the retroflex sounds of certain loanwords. For example, སྙི་ /mogra/, “car”, borrowed from the English motor (the English t is treated as a retroflex by Tibetans) and “dollar”, which is written སྙི་ /Do-lar/.

To spell combinations that contain a reversed letter, pronounce the letter followed by lo’ (meaning “reversed”), and then the result of the combination.

*Ex.:* སྙི་ thā lo’ thra.

- The five subscript ha or “thick” consonants སྙི་ སྙི་ སྙི་ སྙི་ སྙི་:

The following combinations, which contain a subscript ha, are used primarily for transcribing text or mantras from Sanskrit. These borrowed sounds do not belong to the Tibetan phonological system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>སྙི་</th>
<th>སྙི་</th>
<th>སྙི་</th>
<th>སྙི་</th>
<th>སྙི་</th>
<th>སྙི་</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gha</td>
<td>dzha</td>
<td>dha</td>
<td>bha</td>
<td>Dha</td>
<td>drha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contemporary usage they are employed in the transcription of foreign names: bhom-bhe “Bombay” or dha-ram-sa-la “Dharamsala”. To spell out these combinations, begin with the top consonant followed by hātā’, and finally the overall combination.

*Ex. of spellings:* སྙི་ thā hātā’ dha, སྙི་ pha hātā’ bha.

And finally, there is the combination སྙི་ hph, pronounced fā, to transcribe the sound f, which doesn’t exist in Tibetan but does appear in Chinese and English words.
Words

In ancient Literary Tibetan, words are usually monosyllabic, whereas words of two syllables are most common in Modern Central Tibetan.

Compound words

Some polysyllabic words cannot be analysed. For example, the words རྡེ་བཱོ་ཞི་མི /shimi/ “cat”, རྡེ་ཁྲེས་ me-long /rme’long/ “mirror”, རྡེ་སྟ་རེ ལྷེ་ “axe”, རྡེ་རི་མོ /rimo/ “drawing”, and རྡེ་ཁྲིས་ tsha-lu-ma /tshālama/ “orange” cannot be broken down into syllables with an independent meaning (or if they can, then the syllables have nothing to do with the overall meaning of the word in question). In many cases, however, words may be analysed, so that each syllable has a meaning that contributes to the general sense. This is true for example of the words:


Even though each syllable constitutes a semantic unit, it is important to think of these compositions as integral words, and not just as a juxtaposition of two distinct words. For example, from a semantic point of view, the etymology is by no means always obvious (as in the case of “fire corpse” or “water measure”); and from a phonological perspective, these words function as a unit, since they carry only one tone. The pronunciation of a word is therefore not the result of treating the component syllables in isolation. For example: རྒྱལ་སྦྱེ / shipcu “forty” is not the same as རྒྱལ་ི / shi+ cu.

Spelling aloud of compound words

When a word consists of several syllables, each of the latter is pronounced to give the intermediary result, and then the overall combination is pronounced at the end.

Ex.: རྒྱལ་སྦྱེ / pha og sha khjku shi / pha og ca shap kyu cu = shipcu

Phonology of syllables within a word

It should be remembered that it is only the first syllable of a word that carries a tone. Syllables within a word carry neither tone nor aspiration.60 Furthermore the syllables རྡེ་phä and རྡེ་ phg (including when followed by a case particle) are pronounced respectively wa and wo when they do not appear at the beginning of a word.

Ex.: རྡེ་ tawa (and not tawpa) “moon”, རྡེ་ལོ་ lopr trawa “student”, རྡེ་ tawo “spouse”, རྡེ་ lhōlo (and not lhōho) “relaxed”.

---

59. The etymology refers to the ancient water clock.
60. Even if Tibetan spelling uses an aspirated consonant.
**Isolating words when reading**

Since written Tibetan does not separate words from one another by blanks or any other sign, before acquiring a substantial vocabulary it is not always easy to identify them and separate them off from one another. The task may be made easier by picking out grammatical particles such as plurals, conjunctions and case markers, which always follow the words with which they are associated, and therefore indicate where they end.

At the beginning, when reading and trying to recognize words, you may encounter certain ambiguities: a syllable could be identified as the second syllable of a previous word or as the first syllable of the word that follows. These problems are solved to a large extent by context and with experience. The interpretation you choose has certain obvious consequences for meaning and pronunciation: the existence of tone (and perhaps aspiration) when the syllable is the first in a word, or their absence when the syllable occurs later. (For more details see Appendix 8.)

**Summary of rules concerning the pronunciation of letters**

In the pronunciation of Modern Central Tibetan, the radicals, subscripts, first suffixes and vowels play a crucial part, whereas the prefixes and superscripts have only a minimal influence. In other words, everything that precedes the radical is generally of secondary importance from the point of view of pronunciation.

- With the exception of the \( wā \), the subscript consonants alter the pronunciation of the radical:

  - The subscript \( ra \) produces the series of retroflexes: /tra/ (etc.).
  - The subscript \( yā \) produces the series of palatal plosives: /kya/ (etc.) /ca/ (etc.) and /nya/.

  Combinations involving the letter \( la \) are pronounced /la/ at the expense of the radical (except in the case of \( zl \)).

- The three superscript consonants \( ra, sa \) and \( la \), as well as the prefixed consonants \( ga, ba, ma \) and \( 'a \) (i.e., all but \( da \)) affect only the tone and aspiration of the radical.

- Tones are not marked by special signs, but must be deduced from the radicals and affixes. It is important to distinguish between the following sets:
Table 9

Phonological oppositions in Tibetan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>high unaspirated</th>
<th>high aspirated</th>
<th>low aspirated</th>
<th>low unaspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཋ་</td>
<td>ཀ་</td>
<td>ན་</td>
<td>(n) ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཋ་</td>
<td>ཀྱ་</td>
<td>ན་</td>
<td>(n) kya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཏྫ།</td>
<td>ཉྫ།</td>
<td>ཚ་</td>
<td>(n) ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཏྫ།</td>
<td>ཉྫ།</td>
<td>ཚ་</td>
<td>(n) kya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཏྫ།</td>
<td>ཉྫ།</td>
<td>ཚ་</td>
<td>(n) tra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) tra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) tsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>།</td>
<td>(n) wa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Punctuation**

This Manual will use three punctuation marks taken from Literary Tibetan (see the Appendices): the simple bar: | known as ཆི | rkyang-shad or ཉི། | tsheg-ring which corresponds more or less to a comma or a full stop; the double bar: || called ཙི། | nyis-shad, which usually marks the end of a section and can be represented by a full stop; and the sign ང། | yig-'go or ཉི། | dbu-'khyud, which marks the beginning of a text or of a page (see Appendix 1, section 2.6).
Question marks and brackets will be used in the exercises. These two punctuation marks have been borrowed from European languages, and although they are used in some modern works, they never occur in classical texts.

**Using the dictionary**

Dictionary entries follow the alphabetical order of the thirty letters of the alphabet and the five vowels \( a, i, u, e, o \).

To find a word in the dictionary, begin by locating the *radical letter* of the first syllable according to alphabetical order.

Then, if relevant, look for the *initial consonant cluster* (subscript, superscript and prefix), according to the procedure outlined below, then the *vowel* and finally the *suffixes*.

**To summarize:**

1) Radical letter or initial consonant cluster (see below)
2) Vowel
3) Suffixed letter(s)

*Note:* The subscript \( wa \) is to be found in dictionaries after the vowels: \( a, i, u, e, o, w \).

If the word is polysyllabic, the order of appearance of the second and following syllables follows the same principles.

As for the *initial consonants in a syllable*, entries in the dictionary are classified under each radical according to the following system:

1) Radicals without superscripts or prefixes
   a) without subscripts, b) with subscripts.

The following sequence illustrates the order of appearance in the dictionary.

**Ex.:** ཞ་ན་ འི་ བ་ ས་ བ་ ས་ ད་ ལ་ ད་ ར་ ར་

2) Radicals with prefixes (but without superscripts)
   a) without subscripts, b) with subscripts.

**Ex.:** ཞ་ན་ འི་ བ་ ས་ བ་ ས་ ད་ ལ་ ད་ ར་ ར་ ས་

3) Radicals with superscripts (but without prefixes)
   a) without subscripts, b) with subscripts.

**Ex.:** བ་ འི་ བ་ ས་ བ་ ས་ ད་ ལ་ ད་ ར་ ར་ ས་
4) Radicals with superscripts and prefixed by the letter B
   a) without subscripts, b) with subscripts.

   Ex.: དོན་ནི་ཐུབ་བུ་ཕྱོགས་པ་ཐུབ་པ་སྒྲུབ་པ་རྒྱུན་པ

   By making frequent use of the dictionary you will become familiar with the order without having to memorize these rules.

   Since the vocabulary of Literary Tibetan is different from that of Spoken Tibetan, make sure to choose a dictionary that suits your purposes. For the spoken language, the most complete dictionaries are Melvyn Goldstein’s New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan and English-Tibetan Dictionary of Modern Tibetan (see Bibliography). For Literary Tibetan, there are the Tibetan-English Dictionary of Sarat Chandra Das, H.A. Jäsche’s Tibetan-English Dictionary and George Roerich’s Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Equivalents. From the first year on you may find it helpful to consult the Large Tibetan-Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary (Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo).

The different styles of writing

The many styles of writing Tibetan may be grouped into two main categories: “capital letters” དོན་ནི་ཐུབ་བུ་ “ücan (lit. “with a head”), used mainly for the purposes of printing, and དོན་ནི་ལོར་“üme‘ (lit. “without a head”), which includes the various cursive and ornamental styles.

The first of these – which is the one we shall use in this Manual – is standard throughout the various countries and regions of Tibetan culture, from Amdo to Bhutan, Ladakh to Kham and in the liturgical texts of the Mongols, Buryats and Kalmyks. The cursive script, by contrast, varies considerably from one region to another. Central Tibetan cursive is slightly different from that of Kham or Bhutan. In Amdo it is very little used at all, and people tend to write in ücan.

Among the most important cursive styles are དོན་ནི་ཁྲི་ tshü’yi’, དོན་ནི་སྐོར་ tr dysa, the usual handwriting style དོན་ནི་ཁྲི་ khyü’yi’, and the decorative དོན་ནི་དབང་ tr yas, which is used for Sanskrit.

The structure and pagination of traditional books

Until the 1950s, there were hardly any books in Tibet apart from the traditional pecha (dpecha), consisting of unbound rectangular pages block-printed or handwritten on both sides. Usually, the front of the page (recto) bears a sign (du-khyud), and the first line is indented. The page number is written in letters in a vertical strip in the left-hand margin (usually on the recto face). The corresponding place on the verso side often carries an abridged title of the work. In Tibetan, the recto side is called gong-ma, “upper”, while the verso side is called ’og-ma, “lower”.

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62. In Amdo and Kham, the terms དོན་ནི་“white letters” and དོན་ནི་“black letters” are used instead of ücan and üme‘.
Cursive and ornamental styles

khyi' style

tryo style
tshū' thung style (one of the forms of ནག་མཁྱེན tshū' yi')

lantsa style

Kalachakra mantra
Example of a pecha
The volume number is also shown in the margin by a letter of the Tibetan alphabet: from *ka* (1) to *a* (30), then from *ki* (31) to *i* (60), from *ku* (61) to *u* (90), from *ke* (91) to *e* (120) and finally from *ko* (121) to *o* (150). These cardinal numbers may be transformed into ordinal numbers by adding the suffix *pa*. Thus *ka-pa* signifies “volume 1”, and *khi-par* “in volume 32”.

The exact organization and structure of the text depends on the genre of literature involved, but the following layout is fairly typical of all genres:

- Title page
- Invocation
- The text proper
- A colophon at the end which contains the name of the author and perhaps the sponsor and the scribe, as well as the place and circumstances of the text’s production. Most *pecha* deal with traditional subjects (Buddhism, philosophy, religious biography, medicine, grammar, history, etc.), but in recent decades have also tended to be concerned with more modern issues. Nevertheless, most books (including religious works) – both in Tibet proper as well as in the diaspora community – are now produced in European format. Western-style books are called *thep* (*deb*).

### Exercises:

1. **Practice writing the letters of the Tibetan alphabet.**

2. **Read aloud the letters of the alphabet and visualize them.**

3. **Pronounce the letters of the alphabet with special attention to the tones.**

4. **Read the following words and write them out in phonological transcription:**

5. Spell out and pronounce the following words:

- with a subscript or a superscript:
  
  ཆོ་ rnga /ngā/ “drum”, རྩ་ rta /tā/ “horse”, རྩ་ rma /mā/ “wound”, རྩ་ rtsa /tsā/ “grass”,
  རྱ་ khro /thrā/ “cauldron”.

- with a subscript and a superscript:
  རྲྜྷ skra /trā/ “hair”, རྲྜྷ sgro /tṛo/ “feather”, རྲྜྷ skye /kyē/ “to be born”, རྲྜྷ sgra /tra/
  “sound”, རྲྜྷ smyo /nyō/ “to be mad”.

- with a prefix, a subscript and a superscript:
  ཕྱུན brgya /kyā/ “hundred”, དངུལ bsgro /tṛo/ “to discuss”.

- with a prefix, a subscript, a superscript and a suffix:
  རྱིན brgyad /kyā/ “eight”, རྱིན brgyab /kyā/ “to do”.

- with a prefix, a subscript, a superscript and two suffixes:
  རྨོ་ bsgrīb /tṛi/ “to veil”, རྨོ་ bsgrigs /tṛi/ “to arrange”, རྨོ་ bsgrangs /tṛo/ “to train”,
  རྨོ bsgrubs /tṛu/ “to accomplish”.

6. Look up the words listed in Exercise 5 in the dictionary.

7. Spell out the following words:

8. Transliterate the words given in Exercise 7 and look them up in the dictionary.

9. Spell out the combinations given in Table 10 of Appendix 6.

10. Select any text and spell out all the syllables until you can do so without hesitation. It is only from this moment onward that you can begin to read directly.

11. Read the following words, being careful to distinguish high and low tones:
12. Write out the words in Exercise 11 in phonological transcription.

13. Read the following series, being careful to distinguish high and low tones and aspiration.
First Part

THE LESSONS

The Manual includes 41 lessons, organized as follows: First, the grammar aims presented in the lesson are summarized in a frame. This is followed by the Tibetan text, comprising a dialogue or short narrative. A phonetic transcription is included for the texts through Lesson 20, to aid the student in reading and pronunciation. Recordings of all the texts are provided on the accompanying CD. Each text is followed by a list of new vocabulary, the grammatical lessons, and relevant exercises. Some chapters include comments on elements of Tibetan civilization.
Grammar aims
- Word order.
- The verb “to be” དམི་ར། re’.
- The demonstratives ཏི་ནི་the དཔག་phäki.
- The interrogative pronoun ཀུན་khyre.
- The honorific.

1.1 Dialogue དབེན་པོ་ (thriwa thrilän)

“Looking at the map”

Nyima ti khare rā’ What’s this?
tawa ti pho’ re’ This is Tibet
Nyima ti lhäsā re’ This is Lhasa
tawa the shikatse rē’-pā’ Is that Zhikatse?
Nyima la’ re’ shikatse rē’ Yes, that’s Zhikatse
1.2 Vocabulary (_manual) (shēksar)


(a) t'i
(b) the
(c) phāki

(e) tē:  tē' (L)
(f) ther
(g) phākā  phākir (L)
(h) khare
(i) phō'pa
(j) pa'
(k) la'

(l) thep  chā'tep (H)
(m) pēca  chā'pe
(n) nyüku  chā'nyu' (H)
(o) nyūkma (H)
(p) kāryo:  shākar (H)
(q) phörpa
(r) sāutra
(s) chē  sō'ca (H)
(t) chāng  chō'cang (H)

(u) nyīma
(v) tawa
(w) tsamling
(x) shūku  chāksho' (H)
(y) nāktsa  chā'na' (H)
(z) lōptsān

(a) rē' (rā' with interrogative pronouns)

(det. pron.) this, this one, proximal dem.
(det. pron.) that, that one, medial dem.
(det. pron.) that, that one over there distal dem.
(adv.) here
(adv.) there
(adv.) over there
(interr. pron.) what?
(n., adj.) Tibetan (person)
(part.) final interrogative particle
(part.) mark of politeness, after names or before “yes” and “no”
(n.) book (Western style)
(n.) pecha, Tibetan-style book
(n.) pen
(n.) bamboo
(n.) cup
(n.) wooden bowl
(n.) map
(n.) tea
(n.) chang, local beer usually made from barley
(n.) sun, day
(n.) moon, month
(n.) world
(n.) paper
(n.) ink
(n.) lesson
(aux.) to be
1.3 Remarks

1.3.1 Word order

In both Spoken and Literary Tibetan, the verb always comes last in a clause. This applies to the verb not only in the main clause but also in subordinate clauses (relative, causal, complementary, etc.). The simple sentence may be broken down into three components: a subject noun phrase, an object noun phrase and the verb complex (or predicate).\(^{63}\)

Usual word order is “subject – object – verb” (SOV). However, the object may precede the subject (OSV) in order to give special emphasis to the latter, or in the case of certain questions. The emphasis is accompanied by a particular stress on the element that is being emphasized, and by a rising intonation.

Compare:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ti} & \text{thep} & \text{re}^\prime \\
\text{this} & \text{book} & \text{to be} \\
\text{thep} & \text{ti} & \text{re}^\prime \\
\text{book} & \text{this} & \text{to be} \\
\end{array}
\]

"This is a book"
"It’s this book."

The only indispensable element in the sentence is the verb; the subject and object may be implied or omitted. The verb exhibits no agreement in terms of:

- gender
- number
- person

---

63. This variant represents the way in which the people of Lhasa themselves pronounce the word.

64. Even though the notions of “subject” and “object” are not really appropriate in the case of languages such as Tibetan, these terms have been retained in this book for the sake of convenience.
There is no distinction between the active and the passive voice. The neutrality of the verb and its lack of orientation mean that passive transformations are impossible.

It is only the case particles that make it possible to distinguish between the agent and the person or thing that is acted upon.  

1.3.2 The auxiliary verb མི་ཨེ་ and its negation མི་ལེ་

The auxiliary མི་ is similar to the verb “to be” in English. It can function either as an autonomous linking verb (or “copula”), or as the auxiliary of another verb. This is comparable to the English “to be” or the French “être”, which are both copulas (e.g., “he is mad”, “il est fou”) and auxiliaries (e.g., “he is working”, “il est arrivé”). Likewise, in the following Tibetan sentences མི་is a copula in the first and an auxiliary (associated with nominalizer pa) in the second:

a) མི་ལེ་ཞུགས་ཐོབ་པ། མི་རེ་ཁོང་གིས་བོད་པ། “he is mad”

b) མི་ལེ་ཞུགས་ཐོབ་པ། མི་ལེ་དཔོན་པོ་“he came” (literally, “he is come”)

As a copula, མི་expresses the nature or the essential quality of the subject. Note that མི· «to be» is used to express people’s age (see also 6.4), just as in English.

The verb མི་ is generally pronounced མི· ག ོ (with a more open vowel) in sentences that have an interrogative pronoun. However, the Tibetan spelling remains unaffected.

Questions are constructed by using the final interrogative particle མི་ ག ོ (see Lesson 2):

Ex.: མི་ལེ་པ་ “is it?” མི་ལེ་མི་ལེ་ “isn’t it?”

Like other auxiliaries, the verb མི· and its negation མི་are used to signify “yes” and “no”. They may be preceded by the polite marker ལུགས་་་ བ ས བ ་.

1.3.3 The demonstratives མི་ ཆུ མི་ ཆུ མི་ ལྷ།

The demonstratives function both as adjectives and as pronouns. As adjectives, they always come after the noun (or after the noun phrase), and carry a case or plural marker as appropriate.

Ex.: མི་ སུ་ཐོབ་པ། “What is this?” (“This is what?”)

The demonstratives མི་ ཆུ (proximal), མི་ སུ (medial) and མི་ ལྷ། (distal) denote three degrees of removal: nearby, distant and far-off, corresponding to the English expressions “here”, “there” and “over there”.

65. The neutrality of Tibetan verbs can be illustrated by comparison with nouns, which are intrinsically neither active nor passive. Thus the sentences “Lobzang corrected the book” or “The book was corrected by Lobzang” might be rendered as “(there was) a correction (of) the book by Lobzang”.

The demonstratives ti, the and phaki function as pronouns and adjectives. When used as adjectives, demonstratives always come after the noun (or after the noun phrase); they are given a case particle and, where appropriate, a plural particle.

The demonstratives ti and the are employed not only to draw attention to something/point out/show something (deictic function), but also to refer to elements previously mentioned (anaphoric function) in a text or conversation. The expression phaki, however, is used only to indicate spatial distance.

The demonstrative ti is linked to the present moment; the, on the other hand, is associated with the past or the future, and with the notions of “the beyond” and the invisible.

Ex.:

- ngā’ the shu-payin “I said that”
- ngā’ ti shu-kiyin “I’ll say this”
- lo ti “this year” (present)
- lo the “that year” (past or future)
- thep ti “this book”
- thep the “that book”
- thep phaki “that book over there”

The demonstratives tir, the, phaki are used to form the adverbs tir, the, phakir “here, there, over there”. In the spoken language they have undergone a small variation in their pronunciation tir: (tir), phaki: (phaki).

1.4 Exercises (congsän)

1.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. What's this?
2. This is a book.
3. What's that?
4. That's a pecha.
5. Is this tea?
6. It's chang.
7. What's that over there?
8. That's Lhasa over there.

1.4.2 Transliterate the dialogue at the beginning of this lesson.

1.4.3 Translate into English:

2) tir det
3) phakir det
4) tir det
5) the det
1.4.4 Read the sentences in the preceding exercise and mark the high and low tones as follows:

\[ \text{བོད} \quad \text{དཀར་བཞིན} \quad \text{ཝོ་བོ་} \]

1.4.5 Complete the following sentences using words you have learned:

1) བོད་ ( ) རེད་པ་
2) བོད་ ( ) རེ་
3) བོད་ ( ) རེ་པ་
4) བོད་ ( ) རེ་
Grammar aims
- the interrogative particles བོད་'ngä’ ག་ དེ་ དག སྤ་.
- the plural marker བོད་ tshö.
- gender
- the interrogative pronoun བོད་ sū.

“Who’s that?”

ཁོང་སུ་རག

2.1 Dialogue དུས་དུས་ཁས་ (thriwa thrijān)

ཁོང་ sū

ཁོང་ lösang

tshering sū

tshering khog

khogts sū

khogts laspra re'

lösang kekān re'-'pā'

Who’s that?
That’s Lobzang.
Who’s Tshering?
That’s Tshering.
Who are they?
They’re students.
Is Lobzang a teacher?
2.2 Vocabulary ཚིགས་འབྲི་ (tshiksar)

(he, she)  he
(pron.) they (masc. and fem.)  they
(pron.) he
(pron.) they
(pron.) she
(part.) plural marker
(det., pron.) these, proximal dem.
(det., pron.) those, medial dem.
(det., pron.) those (over there), distal dem.
(interr. pron.) who?
(part.) negation
(n.) student, pupil
(n.) school
(n.) master, teacher
(n.) Sir (term of address)
(n.) lama, teacher, master
(n.) monk
(n.) Sir; Venerable (of monks)
(n.) Venerable (of nuns)
(n.) nun
(n.) nomad, pastoralist

66. This word is also used to mean “paternal aunt”.

No, (he) isn’t a teacher.
He’s a student.
Lesson 2. གཞི་ལམ་བཞིའི་(ལོ་བཙན་ནི་པ་) 85

_dashung (n.) secretary
-_shingpa (n.) farmer
- tshakpar (n.) newspaper
_ shamo  སྲུང་ི་ུས་(H) (n.) hat
_ kupkya’ ཕུབས་པ་ shapkya (H) (n.) chair
_ or  ཚོས་རྒྱུས་ གློ་ཅེ་ soks’o (H) (n.) table
- tshintra (n.) class

Proper nouns

_ lobsang Lobzang
_ tshering Tshering

2.3 Remarks (ཁ་ཞག་)

2.3.1 The final interrogative particles གསུ་-པ་, གསུ་-ངས་, བསུ་-ཀ་

Interrogative sentences end with a final interrogative particle (f.i.p.), the precise form of which is determined by the last letter of the preceding auxiliary.

after གསུ་ nga > གསུ་-ངས་
after བསུ་ kha > བསུ་-ཀ་
in all other cases > བསུ་-པ་

Ex.: གནོན་པོ་ yin-pa’, བོད་པོ་ re-pa’, རྒྱལ་པོ་ yig-pa’, མངོན་པོ་ sngon-ngas, གནོན་པོ་ nyong-ngas, བྱང་པོ་ chung-ngas, གཏན་ཏུ་�ྱ་-ཀ་

Final interrogative particles are not used with the copulas and auxiliaries mentioned above when a sentence already contains an interrogative pronoun (such as kha ‘what’, sū ‘who’, etc.).

67. Tibetan names often consist of two juxtaposed names. In Central and Western Tibet and in Khams names usually consist of four syllables, whereas in Amdo they tend to have three. People of aristocratic origin may also use a family name, and nomads too often make use of clan names. Among farming communities, there seems to be a historical trend whereby clan names are disappearing and individuals are identified instead by the name of the household in which they were born. In the vast majority of cases, Tibetan personal names have an obvious meaning. Thus Lobzang means “Excellent Mind”, Tshering means “Long Life”, Nyima means “Sun”, Dawa “Moon” and Lhagpa “Mercury”; the last three also denote the days of the week Sunday, Monday and Wednesday respectively, and are applied to people as appropriate to the day on which they were born. Dorje means “Vajra” or “Diamond”, Thubtän “Buddhist Doctrine”, Rinchen Kyi “Precious-Joyous”, Dhondrup Gyâl “Victorious One Who Achieves His Aims”, and so forth. While the majority of names are gender-neutral, there are a few that are either specifically masculine (e.g., Dorje) or feminine (e.g., Drölkar).

68. Tibetan final interrogative particles may be compared to Burmese /la/ and Chinese /ma/.

69. From a historical point of view, the interrogative particles ngas and gas probably correspond to variants of the particle pas. The phonological assimilation rule is explained in Appendix I, section 1.
However, with the verb རྒྱུན་, a final interrogative particle བ་ is sometimes used. If there is no interrogative pronoun in the question, the sentence ends with རྒྱུན-བ་, the interrogative form of the verb རྒྱུན; if the question does contain an interrogative pronoun, the sentence ends in རྒྱུན-བ or རྒྱུན.

Ex.: བུ་ སུ་ རྒྱུན-བ་ "Are you a teacher?"

Interrogative pronouns are usually placed directly before the verb. The pronoun མྣི་ means both “what” and “which”, and corresponds to the literary forms མི་ and ལེ་ མྣི་ (it is in fact derived from the latter). The interrogative pronouns མྣི་ “what” and བུ། “who” may be doubled (ི་ོ་ མྣི་ མྣི་ མྣི་, བུ་ བུ་ བུ་ བུ་) to elicit an enumeration in the reply or to mean “what types of...?” or “what kinds of...?”

2.3.2 Number and the plural marker མི་ / -tsö

Number is never marked on verbs, adjectives or the majority of nouns. Plurality is usually implied either by context, or by quantifiers such as བརྟགས་ རང་ དཔེར། “many”, ཤོད་ རོང་ “all”, ལོ་ བཟུང་ “some, certain”, གཞིན་ རི་ “two”, etc.

However, there is a plural marker མི་-tsö, which appears with demonstratives and personal pronouns: བཞི། རུ་ “these”, བཞི་ ཆུ་ “those”, བཞི་ གསུ་ “those, those over there”, བཞི་ རྟེན་ “they”, etc.

The marker -tsö by itself is used with nouns denoting people only when the people in question are specified/defined: ཤོག་ ཤི་-tsö “the mothers”, ཤི་ རྒྱུན-tsö “the teachers”, ཤོག་ རྒྱུན-tsö “the students”, etc. (but not *mothers, *teachers, etc.). The non-specific plural is not marked with the plural particle: ཤོག་ ཤི་ “mothers”, རྒྱུན- རྒྱུན “teachers”.

This suffix is not used with animals or inanimate objects: * རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་-tsö “[the] sheep”, * རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན- tsö “[the] tables”, * རྒྱུན- རྒྱུན- tsö “[the] thangkas”.

Consequently, unambiguous renderings of the plural / indications of plurality require the use of demonstratives: རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་-tsö “those sheep”, རྒྱུན- རྒྱུན- tsö “[those tables].

Number is only marked once per noun or noun phrase; the marker, which is placed at the end of the group, is therefore never redundant.

Ex.: རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་-tsö བགུ་ རྗེན་ རྒྱུན་-tsö “those little girls”

* རྒྱུན- རྒྱུན- tsö “those high snow-mountains”

* རྒྱུན- རྒྱུན- tsö “the young mothers”

* རྒྱུན- རྒྱུན- tsö “the other companions”

N.B.: the following demonstratives also occur in conversation:

70. When the marker is not accented it is pronounced without aspiration: -tsö.
These last two expressions are used to make a selection from a group.

Ex.: མོར་འགྲུ་འི་ thep tıkya’ tì “all these books” (and not the others)

2.3.3 Gender

Grammatical gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) does not exist in Tibetan.

Articles, demonstratives, adjectives and verbs are therefore invariable with respect to gender. Male and female sex are, however, sometimes marked within the lexicon (by distinct words) or else by means of suffixes (pa or po for the male and ma or mo for the female) in the case of certain pronouns and substantives denoting animate beings.

Ex.: ལེགས་པ་ “yak” (male), གཟིང་ཤེས་ “yak-cow” (generic), གཟིང་ཤེས་སེམ་ “mare”, གཟིང་ཤེས་ཕུ “boy”, གཟིང་ཤེས་ཕུ་ “girl”, རོ་ལེང་པུ། khampa “man from Kham”, རོ་ལེང་པུ། khámmo “woman from Kham”, རོ་ལེང་པུ། nangcorpa “yogin”, རོ་ལེང་པུ། nangcorma “yogini”, རོ་ལེང་ཐོང་ “yak/cow hybrid”, རོ་ལེང་ཐོང་ “female dzo”

N.B.: some pronouns make no distinction between “he” and “she”:

ཆོང་ཐོབ་ “He/she is rich.”

2.4 Exercises གཞན་ཁ།

2.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. This isn’t a chair, it’s a table.
2. This is a pecha, it isn’t a book.
3. These are nuns, they aren’t monks!
4. Who is the teacher?
5. Is he a lama?
6. No, he’s a monk.
7. Are those nomads over there?
8. No, those are farmers.
9. He is a secretary.
10. She is a teacher.

2.4.2 Transliterate the dialogue at the beginning of this lesson.
2.4.3  Translate into English:

1) ཤེས་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
2) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
3) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
4) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
5) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
6) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
7) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
8) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
9) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
10) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
11) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
12) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
13) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
14) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
15) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
16) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
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23) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
24) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
25) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
26) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
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28) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
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93) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
94) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
95) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
96) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
97) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
98) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
99) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།
100) རྣམ་ཐོབ་རེ་ཏེ།

2.4.4  Read the sentences above and mark the high and low tones.

2.4.5  With the use of your dictionary, find ten words containing the following honorific prefixes: phyag “hand”, dbu “head”, ljags “tongue”, thugs “mind”, sku “body”.

2.4.6  Give the plural of the following words using the markers ལྡན་ or ཞེས་:

་བུ་ ཡུ་ རུ་ ཤུ་ རུ་ རུ་ རུ་ རུ་ རུ་ རུ་
"The telephone"

Grammar aims

- personal pronouns.
- the verb རྡོ་ རོང་ and "egophoric" verbs.
- the rule of anticipation.
- the place of adjectives.
- the existential verb བཤིལ། ང་

3.1 Dialogue

ལོ་ རྡོ་ རོང་

"Dring! Dring!..."
Translation

Lobzang — Hello?
Dorje — Hello (formal)
Lobzang — Hello (formal)
Dorje — Is that Thubtän?
Lobzang — No, who are you?
Dorje — I’m Dorje, and you?
Lobzang — Ah, sorry, Dorje, I’m Lobzang. How are you?
Dorje — I’m fine, thanks. Is Thubtän there?
Lobzang — No, he isn’t.
Dorje — Well, thanks. See you later.
Lobzang — Bye, see you later.

3.2 Vocabulary

རང (pron.) same, you

བོད་པར་ཐུའི་ལོང་ཐུ་(L) (part.) final interrogative particle

ཆ་ཨ་ (exp.) ah!

ཐུབ་ (exp.) well, well then

མི (n.) man, person

ཐུའི་ལོང་(L) (n.) road, path, way

ཐུའི་ཐུ་(H) (n.) mind, spirit

ཐུའི་ཆུའི་kūs (n.) body

ཐུའི་མོ་kongta (n.) sorry

ཐུའི་མོ་thukce ché (n.) thank you

ཐུའི་མོ་thukce ché (n.) key
Lesson 3 - རོལ་ཆེན་མཆེན་པའི་ (löptsän sünpa)

khāpar shā-par (H)
cemar
ringpo
thūngtung
sukpo ringpo
sukpo chūngcung
chūngcung
chēnpo
tepo
kārpo
nakpo
cema
trāshi tele'
cemar cā'yang
kūsu' tepo yin pā'
yin
mān min (L)
mu'
mintu'
mi

(n.) telephone
(adv.) later, afterwards
(adj.) long
(adj.) short
(adj.) tall
(adj.) short
(adj.) small
(adj.) big
(adj.) well, fine
(adj.) white
(adj.) black
(adj.) next, following
(idiom.) hello, greetings
(idiom.) see you later
(idiom.) how are you?
(aux.) to be, egophoric
(aux.) not to be, egophoric
(aux.) there is, to have, to be, testimonial
(aux.) there isn’t, not to have, not to be, testimonial
(aux.) negation

Proper nouns

thūptān

Thubtān
torge

Dorje
### Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>མ་ ngä</td>
<td>བོ་ བོ་ khyerang</td>
<td>ཕོང་ “he”, “she” (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བོ་ khyö</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བོ་ rang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོ་ ngag(n)so</td>
<td>བོ་ བོ་ khyerangtsong</td>
<td>ཕོང་ “they” (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོ་ ཤོ་ khyenamtsog</td>
<td>བོ་ བོ་ བོ་ khyerangtsog</td>
<td>ཕོང་ “they” (HH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོ་ ཤོ་ ཤོ་ khyorangtsog</td>
<td>བོ་ བོ་ khyerang</td>
<td>ཕོང་ “they”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོ་ ཤོ་ ཤོ་ ཤོ་ khyorang</td>
<td>བོ་ བོ་ བོ་ བོ་ khyerang</td>
<td>ཕོང་ “those two”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོ་ ཤོ་ ཤོ་ ཤོ་ ཤོ་ ཤོ་ khyorang</td>
<td>བོ་ བོ་ བོ་ བོ་ བོ་ བོ་ khyerang</td>
<td>ཕོང་ “those two” (H)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Remarks

3.3.1 **Personal pronouns**

There are three registers of personal pronouns: ordinary, honorific and high honorific. In Literary Tibetan, as well as in some dialects (Tsang), a humilific form (bdag) is used for the first person. This form is not used in Standard Spoken Tibetan.

In Literary Tibetan and in certain dialects (including Kham and Mustang), there are distinct forms for the **exclusive** ("us, not including you") and **inclusive** ("us, including you") first person plural. This opposition, too, is absent in Standard Tibetan.

For the second person, it is safest to use the honorific form བོ་ བོ་ khyerang / བོ་ བོ་ khyerangtsog and ཕོང་/ ཕོང་/ ཕོང་/ ཕོང་/ ཕོང་ khyöng/khöngtsong. The ordinary forms བོ་ rang "you", ཕོང་ "he", བོ་ rang khörang "he" and བོ་ བོ་ mör or བོ་ བོ་ mörang "she" imply familiarity. The forms བོ་ བོ་ khyö and བོ་ བོ་


Lesson 3  སྟོབས་པ་ལ་བོད་ཡིག (lozspa sumpa)

In Standard Tibetan and many other dialects, as well as in Literary Tibetan, there is a special dual form for both personal pronouns and demonstratives: སྟོབས་པ་ རྒྱུད་ “we two”, སྟོབས་པ་ རྒྱུད་ “you two”, སྟོབས་པ་ རྒྱུད་ “the two of them” སྟོབས་པ་ རྒྱུད་ “those two”.

3.3.2 “Egophoric” (rang ngos) auxiliary verbs

Certain auxiliary verbs are associated only with the first person (singular or plural), irrespective of the function of that person in the sentence, i.e., as subject, object or complement. The use of an “egophoric” auxiliary expresses the speaker’s knowledge or personal intention, often directly implied in the event that is being described. Whereas this type of auxiliary does not occur in Classical Literary Tibetan, it plays an important role in the spoken language. The egophoric auxiliaries (and copulas) are:

ཇི་ནོ, ཉོ་ཡོ, ་ཟླ་ཐོང, དེ་དཔོ་, ཞིབ་ནོ་, སཱ་

In contrast, all the remaining auxiliaries are neutral with respect to person:

ཉི་རེ, དུ་དྲ་, ཉོ་དེ་ལྡ་, དེ་གཉོོ, ཞིོ་ཟོང, སཱ་ཟླ་

Ex.: སྲིད་ཅིན ngag torce yin “I am Dorje.”

སྲིད་ཅིན ngag kapo chung “I was happy.”

སྲིད་ཅིན ngag thep mangpo yod’ “I have many books.”

སྲིད་ཅིན ngag nangchur rong-yod “I have been (lit. gone) to Nagchu.”

སྲིད་ཅིན yikje mangpo taw-pa “I sent many letters.”

In all the above sentences, it is possible to dispense with the pronoun ngag, “I”, in view of the fact that the first person is indicated by the auxiliary (or the copula).

In the following sentences, the egophorics do not agree with the subject but with a complement:

སྲིད་ཅིན གཙོ་ཏི ngag yin “This key is mine!”

སྲིད་ཅིན གཙོ་ཏི ngag la phr-ki-yod’ “He [generally] comes to my place.”

སྲིད་ཅིན གཙོ་ཏི ngag phamo la-pra-la tro-ki-yod’ “My daughter goes to school.” (cf. English “I’ve got my daughter in school.”)

སྲིད་ཅིན གཙོ་ཏི ngag-yod’ “He sent me a letter.”

71. Etymologically, "egophoric" signifies "bearer of I or 'ego'".
“This is your tea (the tea that I made for you or that I intend you should drink).”

When the first person appears as an oblique complement (other than as a subject or object), the use of an egophoric auxiliary usually stresses the personal intention or the certainty of the speaker. Where there is no such emphasis, egophoric auxiliaries may always be replaced by neutral auxiliaries. For example, some of the above sentences may be rephrased as follows:

“This key is mine.”

“My daughter goes to school.”

“This is your tea (this is the tea that’s yours).”

Whereas egophoric auxiliaries need not always be used with the first person, it is incorrect to use egophorics in statements that neither contain the first person nor express the speaker’s personal involvement.

Finally, it should be noted that egophoric forms are used only when an auxiliary verb occurs in the main clause, but usually not in subordinate clauses.

For the time being, the important thing to remember is that the auxiliary རི་ yin is used mainly for the first person, whereas the auxiliary རི་ re is used for the second and third persons.

3.3.3 The existential verb ཤཱ་ tu and its negation རི་མོ་ min tu

The verb tu, which depending on context may mean “to have” or “there is” or “to be”, implies that the speaker is or has been a direct witness to whatever he or she is asserting. The verb will be described in detail in Lesson 6.

3.3.4 The rule of anticipation

In the case of interrogative sentences that directly concern the person being addressed (that is, sentences containing second-person pronouns), the questioner must anticipate an answer containing an “I” or a “we” by making advance use of an egophoric auxiliary in the question itself.

Ex.: — རི་གསལགས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པ། khyêrag tepo yin-pa “Are you well?”
— རི་གསལགས་ཀྱི་ཡིན / རི་ ngarang tepo yin/ mìn “I’m well / not well.”
This exchange might be rendered literally in English as “Am you well?”, since the anticipated reply, whether positive or negative, is “I am well/ not well”.

The rule of anticipation operates in a similar way, but with a reverse result, when the speaker is asking a question about him- or herself. In this case, since the reply will of course contain a “you”, the rule requires that the first person be represented by a neutral, not egophoric, auxiliary.

Ex.:  

- ོ་ཐུད་པ་རེ་བ་  nga nyönpa 'pä’  “Am I mad?”
- སྱེར་ཐུད་པ་(མ་)  khyérasing nyönpa (ma) rä’  “You are (not) mad!”

A more literal English rendering of this exchange would be:

- “Are I mad?”
- “You are(n’t) mad.”

This “anticipatory mood” is a distinctive feature of Tibetan. It appears not only in Standard Tibetan but in all other Tibetan dialects too, though not in the classical literary language.

3.3.4 The place of adjectives

In the spoken language, adjectives always come after the nouns they describe, and may be followed by determinants such as articles and quantifiers: N. + Adj. + Art.

Although adjectives are invariable they have a long and a short form, a subject which will be addressed in Lesson 17.

Constructions involving an attributive adjective bear a superficial resemblance to constructions with a predicate adjective.

- མ་ཐུད་པ་  nyöku nákpo rä’  “The pen is black”, or “(This) is a black pen”

The ambiguity may be avoided by using a demonstrative. Compare:

- མ་ཐུད་པ་  nyöku tì nákpo rä’  “This pen is black.”
- མ་ཐུད་པ་  tì nyöku nákpo rä’  “This is a black pen.”
3.4 Exercises གཉེན་ཚོས་

3.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. This key is big.
2. Who is this great lama?
3. What is this little book?
4. Is there any tea?
5. There isn’t any paper.
6. Is Nyima there?
7. There are no big cups.
8. Is Dorje well?
9. Lobzang is short.

3.4.2 Transliterate the dialogue at the beginning of this lesson.

3.4.3 Translate into English:

7) དབུགས་བཞི་མཁྲིད་ལྟ་ནུས།
8) འེབས་རྒྱི་མཁྲིད་ལྟ་ནུས།
9) ཕྲག་ཟོར་དོན་དབུས།
10) ངེ་སོ་དོན་དབུས།
11) བུད་ཀྱིས་མཆེན་པོ་དབུས།

3.4.4 Read the above sentences and mark the high and low tones.

3.4.5 Rewrite the sentences in Exercise 3.4.3 in the honorific form.

3.4.6 Complete the following sentences with affirmative or interrogative auxiliaries as appropriate: དེ་ནི་; རྩེ་དེ་; རྩེ་ བཤེད་ལ།:

7) དེ་ནི་རི་ནུས་( )?
8) དེ་ནི་ཨིང་( )!!
9) དེ་ནི་སྣང་གི་བྱེད་( )?
10) དེ་ནི་རི་ནུས་( )!!
11) དེ་ནི་སྣང་གི་བྱེད་( )??
12) དེ་ནི་བཤེད་( )!!
13) དེ་ནི་སྣང་གི་བྱེད་( )??
14) དེ་ནི་བཤེད་( )!!
15) དེ་ནི་སྣང་གི་བྱེད་( )??
16) དེ་ནི་བཤེད་( )!!
“Come in!”

Grammar aims
- General presentation of cases.
- The genitive case: དེ་-ki and its variants.
- The absolutive case.
- The imperative mood with the verb alone.

4.1 Dialogue

pañjina:

ඣྲོ་རྩི་ཟླང་པ་་རེ་ཐེ་ལེགས།

trökar
ti ngā: khängpa re', yar phęp

lōsang
không su rā'

ngā: pāla' re', pāla', không ngā: throkpo lōsang-la' re',

thāşi-la'ki phy re'

paṇa
yar phęp, shurtānca'

thukce chē
da'na

ti ngā: āma-la' re'

ama chāpe' nāng-cung

trāshi tele'
Translation

Drölkar --- This is our house. Come in!
Lobzang --- Who is it?
Drölkar --- It's my father. Father, this is my friend Lobzang. (He)'s Trashi's son.
Father --- Come in, sit down.
Lobzang --- Thank you.
Drölkar --- This is my mother.
Mother --- Welcome.
Lobzang --- How do you do?

4.2 Vocabulary

 dùng pa  chen pa'  sūmsa' (H)
da'gön  shingka
もの  yung-ga:
day  teva
nay  pa'pa  rgyan pa'ila' (H)
ārna  ḍrma'  ḍrma-la' (H)
pho  pönpo
bra  thrökpo
stona  thrökmo
phu  sā' (H)
phu  phumo  ḍug  sāmo (H)
pa'  phu  tshurku (L)  āwa (H)
nying  rgyalma'
sārpa
pho  'gūl po
kāla' khākpo
[yar
mar
trig(1) / tshin (2) / šrīk'kyu' (3)

72. Remember that the numbers in brackets correspond to the forms of the present-future (1), the past (2) and the imperative (3). Literary Tibetan uses certain verb forms that have disappeared from the spoken language. As we shall see later, "inflected" verbs of this sort are rather uncommon in Standard Tibetan. When the infinitive of a verb that has several forms in oral Tibetan is cited, the present-future form will be given. Contrary to usual practice, the form in which infinitives are cited here will not contain the nominalizing particle pa, since this adds nothing to the reader's understanding.
Lesson 4 - (loptsan shiipa)\footnote{There are no exceptions to this rule in the written language, and very few in Spoken Tibetan.}

\textbf{Proper nouns}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{trökar} Drökar
  \item \textit{trashi} Trashi
\end{itemize}

\section*{4.3 Remarks  དཔེ་ཤིང་}

\subsection*{4.3.1 General remarks on cases}

Both the spoken and literary languages contain case-marking particles that specify the function of a noun within a sentence.

There are six cases: the absolutive (unmarked), the agentive \textit{gis}, the genitive \textit{gi}, the oblique \textit{la}, the ablative \textit{nas} and the associative \textit{dang}. The following lessons will discuss each one in turn.

In English, these cases are represented by prepositions such as “to”, “of”, “in”, “by”, or “for”, or else are not translated at all.

The system of cases in Tibetan is quite distinct from that of European languages such as Latin, Greek, German and Russian, for a number of reasons:

- First of all, contrary to the case of these languages, the form of \textbf{the noun itself remains invariable}.) Instead, it makes use of particles or \textbf{suffixes that vary in form}. For example, some Tibetan case suffixes vary according to the final letter (or sound) of the preceding word.

- Literary Tibetan and to a lesser extent the spoken language show some features of agglutinative morphology. That is, the case suffixes and the other grammatical suffixes are added on in a series. For example, the plural is marked by a suffix distinct from case (unlike Latin or Russian, where they are blended together with each other and often with the noun stem). In the following
sentences in Literary Tibetan, the head nouns *lus* "body" and *mkin-pa* "learned" are followed by three suffixes including a plural marker and then a case marker (genitive or agentive):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kus-} & \text{-nam-kyi’-kyang} \\
\text{learned-plural-agentive-additive} & \text{negation see (H)} \\
\text{“Even the learned ones have not seen (it),”} \\
\text{lji’-cān-ta’-ki} & \text{karma} \\
\text{body-possession suffix-plural-genitive} & \text{“The karma of those who have a body…”}
\end{align*}
\]

- Cases markers in Tibetan have a range of functions that are not confined to the noun, but also relate to the verb. Thus all case markers have two basic functions: a case-related function and a connective function (See the discussion on the ablative case in Lesson 9, and Appendix 1, section 3.3). When they follow a noun or noun phrase, they mark case, indicating the role of that noun or noun phrase in the clause or sentence. When the same forms are used after a verb or a clause, they serve as a connective function, indicating how two clauses are related (e.g., coordination, subordination, etc.).

The following are the main case-related and connective functions:

- *ki’, the agentive case, traditionally referred to as *kigs-lugs’/kṣetra/, literally “agent-sound”, indicates the agent of the action (“by”), the instrument (“with”), the cause (“because of”, “by”), and the manner (“with”); this form also marks causal subordinate clauses, in which case it may be translated by “since”, “because”, etc.

- *-ki, the genitive case, traditionally referred to as *kigs-lugs’/kritra’, literally “link-sound”, designates the complement of the noun, and is translated by “of”; this form may also correspond to the conjunction “but” (L), when it is used to link clauses.

---

74. Our presentation of case does not reflect the Tibetan grammatical tradition which is based on Sanskrit, a sacred language for Tibetans (Sanskrit is an Indo-European language entirely different in its structures from the Tibeto-Burman languages). The Tibetan tradition usually mentions eight cases corresponding to the eight Sanskrit cases in the following order: 1st case: ngo-bo-tsam ‘absolutive’ (Q), 2nd case: las-su bya-ba ‘accusative’ (la or its variants), 3rd case: byed-sgra ‘agentive’ or ‘instrumental’ (gis and its variants), 4th case: dgos-ched ‘dative’ (la or its variants), 5th case: byung-khungs ‘ablative’ (nas or lax), 6th case: brel-sgra ‘genitive’ (gi or its variants), 7th case: gnas-gshi ‘locative’ (la or its variants), 8th case: bod-sgra ‘vocative’ (Q).
-la, the **oblique** (or dative-locative) case, traditionally referred to as *Ngön* /gtön/, literally “meaning of ‘to’”, indicates the person or goal to which an action is directed, as well as place and direction, and corresponds to the English prepositions “to”, “at” or “in”; this form may also mark a subordinate purpose clause, where it is translated as “to” or “in order to”.

Ø the **absolutive** case, traditionally referred to as *Ngowotsam* /ngowotsam/, literally “just the essence”, or “the meaning in essence”, is the unmarked case. It denotes the patient, i.e., the person or thing that undergoes the action (in the case of transitive verbs), and the single participant (in the case of intransitive verbs).

-nä’, the **ablative** case, traditionally referred to as *Yungkung-Ki Tra* /ycungkung-ki trai/, literally “sound of the source”, indicates provenance (“from”); this form also marks causal or temporal subordinate clauses, where it may be translated by “because” or “after”, or simply by “and”. Another ablative marker *Ngön* -lä’ is also used in Literary Tibetan. However, this form is restricted to the use as a comparative marker in the spoken language.

-tang, the **associative** case, traditionally referred to as *Thangtra* /thangtra/\(^75\), literally “sound of ‘with’”, has the sense of “with”, “against” or “from”; when it links clauses, this form may also mean simply “and”, and may function as a temporal connective meaning “as soon as” (literary).

- There is no agreement on the basis of function within the elements of a noun group or noun phrase: **the case marker appears just once, at the end of the noun phrase**, and there is consequently no redundancy.

For example, if the noun is not followed by any qualification such as adjectives, demonstratives and so forth, the case particle is suffixed directly:

- *Ngön* pönpo’ “by the leader” (agentive)
- *Ngön* pönpo-la “to the leader” (dative)

But if the noun is qualified, the final element of the noun group is followed by a case particle:

- *Ngön* *Ngön* pönpo chenpo tonyi’-ki’ “by these two great leaders”
- *Ngön* *Ngön* pönpo chenpo t’i nyil-la “to these two great leaders”

The case may be omitted in the literary language (mainly in order to preserve the metre in poetic writing) as well as in the spoken language, in circumstances that will be discussed below.

\(^{75}\) In traditional grammars, *Dang* is not considered to be a case (*rnam-dbye*) but a particle (*thig-phrad*). See Lesson 9.3.3 and Appendix 1, section 3.3 for an explanation of why it is treated as a case in this Manual.
4.3.2 The genitive

Traditional grammars refer to this marker as 'brel-sgra (lit. link sound, relation sound), and it is commonly translated in English as "of".

The genitive has several variant forms depending on the final letter of the preceding word. These variants are: ཉི རི རི རྫི རི རི ‘i:

- after a vowel and མ ‘a
  > ཉི རི
- after མ མ ng
  > ཉི རི /khyi\n- after མ མ b, མ མ s and the da-drag མ d
  > ཉི རི /kyl\n- after མ མ, མ མ, མ r, མ l
  > ཉི རི /khyi\n
In Classical Tibetan, vowels and the letter ‘a may be followed by the variant ཉི yi /y/; this is especially true in poetry, to suit the requirements of the metre.

The three particles ཉི /khyi/ ཉི /kyl/, ཉི /khyi/ are pronounced in exactly the same way in conversation, as an unstressed syllable: /-k/. The addition of the variant ‘i to the vowel produces a lengthening of the latter in speech; in the case of ‘a, ‘u, ‘o/, the result is equivalent to the addition of an umlaut: a+i > /a/, u+i > /u/, o+i > /o/, e+i > /e/, i+i > /i/.

Ex.: བོད་/nyima/ “sun”
     བོད་/rimo/ “water”
     བོད་/chü/ “water”
     བོད་/mi/ “man, person”
     བོད་/ma/ “fire”
     བོད་/ga/ “arrow”
     བོད་/kekan/ “teacher”
     བོད་/kana/ “teacher (H)”
     བོད་/thungrgyi/ “secretary”

The genitive is used not only to form noun complements, possessive pronouns and adjectives, but also relative clauses. In this case, it may be translated by a relative pronoun such as “that”, “who”, “where”, etc. The complement that is marked by the genitive always precedes the noun to which it refers.

Ex.: བོད་/nyima/
     བོད་/rimo/ “throkpo
     བོད་/chü/ “khong-ki cha’nyu’
     བོད་/mi/ “tr"ash"ili’ki phy
     བོད་/ma/ “lāmā: lōarna

“my friend” (lit. “the friend of me”)
“his pen” (lit.: the pen of him)
“Tashi’s son”
“the lama’s disciple”

76. Pronunciations followed by the symbol Δ correspond to a literary register or an accentuated reading of the particle. Because case particles are unstressed when read under normal conditions, their tone and aspiration are irrelevant.
4.3.3 *The absolutive case*

The absolutive is marked by the absence of any overt case particle: it is morphologically void. Because it lacks a formal mark, the absolutive in Tibetan isn't always easy to identify at first. Remember that a case marker is always to be found at the end of any noun group (or phrase).

The absolutive indicates the grammatical role of patient. This role typically refers to the animate or inanimate participant that undergoes or suffers a given action performed by an agent (in the case of transitive verbs), or a single participant in a process (in the case of intransitive verbs).

In syntactic or relational terms, it designates both the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb.

*Ex.:* ལྦ་ནང་ "Drink the tea", ལྦ་ནང་འགྲུལ་ "The tea is hot"

In both these examples, the "tea" (chă) is in the absolutive case. However, in the first sentence it is a direct object, while in the second it is the subject of the verb. By contrast, the subject of a transitive verb is marked by the agentive case (see Lesson 8).

4.3.4 *The imperative with the verb alone*

The imperative mood may be formed by means of a verb without an auxiliary. In most cases, as we shall see (Lesson 9), verbs in the imperative mood are followed by "jussive" particles (see Lesson 19). Moreover, some verbs have a special form (an inflection) to mark the imperative.

| 4.4 Exercises |  |

4.4.1 *Translate into Tibetan:*

1. There are some old books.

2. This is my cup.

3. That’s your hat.

4. That’s his new girlfriend.

---

77. Unlike the other cases which are overtly marked by a particle, the absolutive is not distinguished by any formal marker.

78. The role of patient also includes the experiencer of an emotion.
5. That small boy is hers.
6. This lesson is easy.
7. That’s our field over there.
8. Isn’t that man your friend?
9. Is this the key to the house?
10. This person is their mother.

4.4.2 Transliterate the dialogue at the beginning of this lesson.

4.4.3 Translate into English:
1) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
2) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
3) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
4) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
5) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
6) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
7) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
8) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་

4.4.4 Make a phonological transcription of the sentences in the last exercise.

4.4.5 Complete the sentences using the appropriate form of the genitive.
1) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
2) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
3) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
4) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
5) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
6) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
7) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
8) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
9) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
10) བོད་བཞི་བོད་དེ་བཞི་རིང་
“I have many books”

**Grammar aims**

- The oblique case བ་ -la.
- Evidential moods.
- The connective ཆིང་ ག་ “also”.
- The existential verbs བཞིན་ གཤིར་ and འབུ་ ཁོ་.

**5.1 Dialogue**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>འཇིག་ བཞིན།</td>
<td>I have a book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>འཇིག་ བཞིན་པ་</td>
<td>I have many books.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>འཇིག་ བཞིན་པ་</td>
<td>I have a book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>འཇིག་ བཞིན་པ་</td>
<td>I have a book.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CD 1 • Tr. 19-20**
Pronunciation

- thep yö'-pā'
- thep māṅpo yö'
- phöyi' re' pā'
- māṅ chēwa phöyi' re', thātung kyayi'-tang yīnci: yīke yā: yö'
- thep tī khāre rā'
- tī āmērikā: thūṭep re'
- āmērikar ya'-tang chākō' yo:re'-pā'
- yā' yo:mare' yīn-nā: chākō' yo:re', tā-tang ly'-tang phācu' yā: yo:re'
- rī thōpo yo:re'-pā'
- yo:re'
- lātā-la yā' tu'-kā'
- lātā-la yā' tu' thātung sāṅkar-tang trāṅcong-tang trū'yū:-la tu'. phöri'-ki lūṅpa māṅ chēwa-la yo:re'
- lātā ra-tang ly'-tang phoṅgku lāsokpa tu'-kā'
- tu' māṅpo tu'

Translation

Lobzang — Have you got any books?
Drölkar — Yes, I have many books.
Lobzang — Are they in Tibetan?
Drölkar — Most are in Tibetan, but I also have some in Chinese and in English.
Lobzang — What’s this book?
Drölkar — This is an American magazine.
Lobzang — Are there yaks and vultures in America?
Drölkar — There aren’t any yaks, but there are vultures. There are also horses, sheep and cows.
Lobzang — Are there any high mountains?
Drölkar — Yes, there are.
Lobzang — And in Ladakh, are there yaks?
Drölkar — Yes, there are in Ladakh, and in Zangskar, Sikkim and Bhutan, too, as well as in most of the regions inhabited by ethnic Tibetans.
Lobzang — In Ladakh, are there goats, sheep, donkeys and so on?
Drölkar — Yes, plenty.
5.2 Vocabulary

- (n.) letter, mail
- (n.) magazine
- (n.) Tibetan (written)
- (n.) Tibetan (oral)
- (n.) Tibetan (ethnic group)
- (n.) Chinese (written)
- (n.) English
- (n.) country, valley
- (n.) natal land
- (n.) goat
- (n.) sheep
- (n.) horse
- (n.) vulture
- (n.) donkey
- (n.) yak
- (n.) dzø, yak-cow crossbreed
- (n.) cow
- (n.) most, the majority
- (n.) still, furthermore, yet
- (n.) hill, mountain
- (adj., adv.) many
- (adj., adv.) few
- (adj.) high
- (adj.) low
- (adj.) pleasant to hear, interesting
- (adj.) pretty, nice

79. The non-honorific form denotes both a letter of the alphabet as well as a postal letter. The honorific form, however, refers only to the latter.

80. The difference in pronunciation between the familiar and literary registers is explained in Appendix 1, section 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>འགག་ yagpo</td>
<td>(adj.) good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བུད་ཁ་ tukca’</td>
<td>(adj.) bad, wicked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཤོང་ yinná: བཤོང་ yinnayang (L)</td>
<td>(adv.) but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཤོ་ lasokpa</td>
<td>(locution) <em>et cetera</em>, and so forth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབད་ yāṅ (L)</td>
<td>(co.) also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབཀར་ tang</td>
<td>(co.) and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབུ་ yö’</td>
<td>(aux.) to have, <em>egophoric</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དེ་ me’</td>
<td>(aux.) not to have, <em>egophoric</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབུ་འཁུར་ yodore’</td>
<td>(aux.) there is/ are, to have, <em>assertive</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབུ་མེ་ར་ yomare’</td>
<td>(aux.) there isn’t/ aren’t, not to have, <em>assertive</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Proper nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ལྷ་ནག ཉབོ’ ཕྱག དྱིན། kyana’</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྷ་ནག ཉབོ’ ཕྱག དྱིན། kyakar</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྩུ་གླུ་ རྟི་ཡུ་ རྩུ་གླུ་ རྟི་ལི རྟི་གླུ་ tru’yu: lata’</td>
<td>Bhutan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྡུ་མ་ རྡུ་མ་ རྡུ་མ་ རྡུ་མ་ རྡུ་མ་ རྡུ་མ་ རྡུ་མ་ རྡུ་མ་ sengkar</td>
<td>Ladakh (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྫོ་རོ་ རྫོ་རོ་ རྫོ་རོ་ རྫོ་རོ་ trāncong</td>
<td>Zangskar (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མོ་གྲོ་ yurop</td>
<td>Sikkim (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མོ་གྲོ་ ameriika</td>
<td>Europe, European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མོ་གྲོ་ ameriika</td>
<td>America, American</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.3 Remarks on grammar

#### 5.3.1 The oblique case *་-la*

The oblique particle *la* has two main case-related functions: as the locative and as the dative. In Spoken Tibetan there are two variants, depending on the final letter of the preceding word. These markers are: *་ la, -ི- r:

- After vowels or མ་ ‘a’  
  > -ི- r /-r/
- After all endings (consonants or vowels)  
  > *་ la /a/

---

81. In Literary Tibetan, there are seven forms. See Appendix 1, section 3.3.
In the conversational register, the particle la is sometimes pronounced ˈawə/laya/ or even ˈaw/lay. Note also that the variant -r is rarely used with monosyllabic words for the dative (except in the case of personal pronouns, as well as demonstrative and interrogative adjectives).

Thus རི་ལ། “to the mountain” is used in preference to རི་ར, and འོ་ལ། phu-la “to the boy” in preference to འོ་phu-r.

- The locative is used to mark complements of place (with or without movement) or time (date, time), and is generally translated by English “at”, “to”, “in” or “on”.

Ex.: འདོད་ལ། lata-la “to/ in Ladakh”
     འཐེརིཀ་ ཆབས། ärmerikar “to/ in America”
     མགོན་ལ། kyakar-la “to/ in India”
     ཐམས་ཅན་ལ། chütsö’ nylpar “at two o’clock”
     བོད་ལ། tshēpa cōngar “on the fifth [of the month]”
     ཤུགསཀར künkar “in winter”

- The dative is used to indicate the grammatical role of goal, i.e., the person or thing to which the action is directed, or the owner of something in possessive constructions. This particle corresponds to English “to”, or else is not translated at all. It is also used to form adverbs.

Ex.: ཀྲིག་ཙོམ་བྱུང་པོའི་ལོ་སང་གི་ལེགས་ལ། khöng-ki’ löpsang-la yike tāng-song “He sent a letter to Lobzang.”
     ཁྲིག་ཙོམ་བྱུང་པོ། khöng-la ngū: yog “He has money.”
     སྤེལ་པོ “clear” > སྤེལ་པོ་ sā:por “clearly”

As we have just seen, possessive constructions in Tibetan are formed with the dative: Subject (dat.) + Object (abs.) + Verb. This structure follows the pattern: [to X there is Y], and may be translated literally as “to him there is money”. It has exactly the same form as constructions of existence.

Thus the sentence གོང་ལེགས་ལ། lāpta-la thep tū may mean both “There are books at the school” and “The school has books”.

N.B.: Be careful not to confuse this construction with the genitive:

སྐོར་ལེགས་ལ། lāpta: thep tū “There are (some of) the school’s books.”

82. The same structure is used in Russian, Hebrew and numerous other languages that lack a lexical verb "to have".
5.3.2 Evidential moods

These moods are conveyed by auxiliary verbs (or by copulas), and have the function of specifying the source of information on which a statement is based. There are basically four moods: 83 egophoric, testimonial, assertive and inferential. These four moods are used with any statement that conveys an information.

The assertive auxiliary verbs re' and yG:re' specify that the information being transmitted may be a general truth or a specific fact, and is something that is considered by the speaker to be certain. In general, the assertive implies that the speaker is letting it be known that while the assertion is certain, he or she has not personally witnessed it. Typically, the information has been obtained second-hand from some other source (reported speech, a book, the radio, etc.) or else forms a part of the speaker's general knowledge.

However, it may happen that even though the speaker can personally testify to the validity of the assertion, he or she may use the assertive in order to present the statement as an objective or well-known fact.

N.B.: The assertive mood should not be confused with the marker of reported speech, which may be used in combination with any of the four moods (see Lesson 15) and implies a measure of uncertainty (cf. "it would seem that...").

Testimonial or "sensorial" auxiliaries such as tY signify that the speaker has personally observed the fact or event he or she is reporting. The evidence is usually derived from the senses, most commonly sight or hearing, but occasionally also from the other three, as in the case of a pain suffered by the speaker. 84 In other words, the speaker is, or has been, a direct witness to what he or she is describing. Thus in Lesson 5, the use of the testimonial tY suggests that Dröllkar has actually been to Ladakh and witnessed the things she is talking about. The assertive and testimonial moods could be described as respectively objective and subjective, but as far as the speaker is concerned they are equally certain.

The egophoric mood is linked to personal knowledge or intention on the speaker's part, and has been described above (see 3.4).

Finally, the inferential mood (see 10.4) indicates that the basis of the speaker's assertion is an inference or a conclusion that is being drawn from the traces or the present results of a past action.

N.B.: Auxiliary verbs almost always come after the main clause, at the end of the sentence. On rare occasions they may be placed after subordinate clauses.

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83. These moods are essential in Central Tibetan, and appear in different forms in several other Tibetan dialects (Dzongkha, Ladakhi, Kham, Amdo, Sherpa, etc.). However, they are practically nonexistent in Literary Tibetan.

84. Or by the original source of the assertion in the case of reported speech.
5.3.3 *The connective* न्‍यां यांग “also”

In Spoken Tibetan, न्‍यां यांग is pronounced न्‍यां (य) न्‍यां. In Literary Tibetan, this connective has three possible forms, depending on the last letter of the preceding syllable.

* after the consonants "<" ब "" त "" थ and न "" यांग > न्‍यां यांग
* after the consonants "` " द "" ध and the da-drag > न्यां क्यांग
* after vowels and ए > एं यांग / एं यांग

It also appears in the expression विनयांग यीनयांग, meaning “but, nevertheless”, and pronounced विनयांग यीनयांग: in Spoken Tibetan.

5.3.4 *The existential verbs* यो यो यो वे and यो यो

These are generally translated by the verbs “to have” or “there is/ are”, or “to be”. The assertive verb यो यो वे indicates information that is certain (see 5.3.2) and is used for the second and third persons singular and plural. The egophoric verb यो यो refers to information that directly concerns the speaker (see 5.3.2) and is used only with the first person singular and plural. Its application will be described in detail in Lesson 6.

5.4 *Exercises*

5.4.1 *Translate into English:*

1) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे
2) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे
3) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे
4) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे
5) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे
6) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे
7) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे
8) न्याङ त्रिया अलायो यो यो वे

5.4.2 *Rewrite the above sentences, first in the interrogative, then in the negative.*

5.4.3 *Read the sentences in 5.4.1 and mark the high and low tones.*
5.4.4 Translate into Tibetan:

1. This teacher has many students.
2. There aren’t many schools in Tibet.
3. Are there any white yaks?
4. Are there any vultures in Europe?
5. This monk has many pecha.
6. Have you got any tea?
7. The white house is pretty.

5.4.5 Complete the sentences using the appropriate form of the oblique: འ" or ཡ’:

7) རིག་མེ་ ( ཁུན་པོ་)
6) རིག་པར་ ( རིག་པར་)
5) རྒྱུན་པར་ ( རྒྱུན་པར་)
4) རྒྱུན་པར་ ( རྒྱུན་པར་)
3) རྒྱུན་པར་ ( རྒྱུན་པར་)
2) རིག་པར་ ( རིག་པར་)
1) རིག་པར་ ( རིག་པར་)

5.5 Civilization མིན་ཐོར་

The main cities and towns of Tibetan culture.85

 lhāsa Lhasa (T.A.R.)
 tshang Tsethang (T.A.R.)
 tštšam Tsham (T.A.R.)
 kyékyung Kyegundo (Qinghai)
 thar−tsho Dhartsendo (Sichuan)
 mācên Machen (Qinghai)
 repkōng Rebkong (Gansu)
 ngāpa Ngapa (Sichuan)
 or bā bā Leh (Ladakh, India)
 kālōnpu Kalimpong (India)

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85 In some cases, even though Tibetan culture may not be the dominant one, it occupies an important place. This is particularly true of towns that are not located in Tibet, such as Thimpu (the capital of Bhutan) and Darjeeling (India).
Lesson 5  མིག་ཐེག་པ། (འོགས་ཞིབ་ཐ་)  113

Lo-Mönthang (Mustang, Nepal)
Nyingthri (T.A.R.)
Dharamsala (India)
Zhikatse (T.A.R.)
Gyantse (T.A.R.)
Nagchu (T.A.R.)
Bathang (Sichuan)
Chabcha (Qinghai)
Derge (Sichuan)
Labrang (Gansu)
Darjeeling or Dorjeling (India)
Gangtok (Sikkim, India)
Thimphu (Bhutan)
Grammar aims

- The singular indefinite article, བོད་ "d".
- The importance of the situation in communication.
- The essential and existential verbs བོད་ "re", སྣོད་ "gsho" "gshu".
- The interrogative pronoun བོད་ "khapar".

“Family photo”

ནངོས་: བར

6.1 Dialogue

CD I • Tr. 21-22
Pronunciation

- č, phākā: pār č’ tu’
- phāki ngā: pār re’
- pār shānta’ yō’-pā’
- ngtsō: nagmi: pār yō’
- khapar yo’ra’
- phākā: yo’re’
- tī sū rā’
- mi shōnshōn the ngā: chola’ re’ tī ngā: okma re’. č, tī ngā: mōla’ re’-sha’
- khyērang-la pārčā’ yō’-pā’
- nga-r pārčā’ me’, pōla’-la yo’re’

Translation

Lobzang — Oh, there’s a photo over there.
Drölkar — It’s a photo of me.
Lobzang — Have you got any other photos?
Drölkar — I have photos of my family.
Lobzang — Where are they?
Drölkar — [They’re] over there.

(looking at the photos)
Lobzang — Who’s this?
Drölkar — This young man is my elder brother; this is my little sister. Look! This is Grandmother.
Lobzang — Have you got a camera?
Drölkar — I haven’t got a camera, but my Grandfather has one.

6.2 Vocabulary

(art.) a, one
(n.) photo
(n.) drawing
(n.) camera
(n.) family, family member
(interr. pron.) where?
(adj.) one
(adj.) other, another
Lesson 6 -  གི་སྲེལ་དཔོན། (loptsân thrukpa)

The main kinship terms

(adj.) young
(adj.) old, elderly (person)
(adv., adj.) before, past, previous(ly)
(aux.) to be, revelatory mood

relative, sibling, cousin
grandmother, elderly woman
grandfather, elderly man
nephew, grandson
niece, granddaughter
mother
mother (of someone else)
father
father (of someone else)
child
son
daughter
brother/sister (same parents)
elder sister, wife, Madam
elder brother
younger brother/sister
younger sister
younger brother
elder brother
elder sister
paternal aunt
maternal aunt
paternal uncle
maternal uncle
bride, daughter-in-law
groom, son-in-law
husband, wife, spouse
6.3 Remarks

6.3.1 The singular indefinite article འཇི་ཟིན་

Articles are not generally used in Tibetan.

Ex.: According to the context or the situation, འཇི་ཟིན་ རྩུ་འོད་པ་ may mean “Have you got a/the/any pen(s)?”

However, this statement ought to be slightly modified: first, as we saw earlier, the use of the plural marker ོ་མོ་ implies that the (human) noun so qualified is definite, and that it should be preceded in the English translation by the use of the (plural) definite article ‘the’. Secondly, Tibetan does indeed have a singular indefinite article འཇི་ that is placed after the noun, but this is used only when the noun is specific:

Ex.: ་ཟིན་ཆི་ཁྲེལ་ “a (certainty) teacher”, འཇི་ལེགས་པ། གཤིགས་ ཁྲོ་ “a (certain) student”

but not when the noun is generic:

Ex.: འཇི་ཁྲེལ་ ཁྲོ་ སྣོ། དོ་ “he is a teacher”, but འཇི་ལེགས་པ། གཤིགས་ ཁྲོ་ སྣོ། དོ་ “He’s one of the teacher(s)”

The form of the indefinite article འཇི་ “a” should not be confused with that of the cardinal number “one” འཇིག་, although the pronunciation of the two is the same. In Literary Tibetan, the indefinite article has three variants འཇི་, འཇིག་, འཇིག་Depending on the final letter of the preceding word.

- after ཝ, འ, འ, ར, ར, ན, ར, ར, ར-
- after vowels and ཝ, འ, འ, ར, ར, ར, ར, ར, ར, ར-
- after འ, འ

In the spoken language, only the form འཇི་ is used.

Finally, the demonstrative འཇི་ is often used in much the same way as a (specific) definite article in the European languages.

Ex.: འཇི་བཤད་དེ་གྲིས་ཏེ་ སྲིད་སྐར་སྤྱད་ཁ་པར་ཏེ། “Where is that/the new book?”

Ex.: འཇི་ལྷོ་སང་ཉི་ཡི་ཁྲེད་དམ་ གྲེམ་པ་ “He’s the brother of Lobzang.”

6.3.2 The importance of situation and context

In languages in general, statements are rooted in a given situation or context. Tibetan is particularly sensitive to situation and environment, as well as the sources of information on which a speaker’s assertions are based. It would be therefore appropriate to speak of a “situational grammar”. For example, we have seen the use of evidential or “mediatory” auxiliaries (see 5.4) which reveal whether or not the speaker directly witnessed whatever he or she is stating to be the case.
When a statement cannot be immediately associated with a concrete situation of communication, Tibetans tend not to accept it or to find it strange. One consequence of this attitude is a reluctance to present verbs in a series of conjugations. For example, when the verb “to be” is “mechanically” conjugated – “I am a student”, “you are a student”, etc., Tibetan speakers will accept the first person without any trouble but often stop short at the second, since the absence of a marked intonation makes it difficult for them to imagine a situation in which they would be telling someone, “You’re a student!” since the addressee is obviously in a better position than they are to know this.

6.3.3 Essential and existential verbs

Tibetan has several stative verbs or copulas corresponding to the verbs “to be” and “to have” in European languages. Two main categories may be distinguished: essential copulas, which denote an essential quality of the person or thing; and existential copulas, which express the existence of a phenomenon or a characteristic with the implication of an evaluation by the speaker. Furthermore, these “essential” and “existential” stative verbs are associated with various evidential moods, as we shall see presently.

Note that they may be used for both the present and the past.

A) The essential copulas: རེ། རེ།, ཡོད། རེ།, རེ། རེ། རེ། རེ།-

These express the nature or essence of the subject (equative meaning), or else an inherent quality of it (attributive meaning). They differ only in terms of the evidential mood that they convey (assertive, egophoric, testimonial, etc.).

• The “assertive” copula རེ། རེ། and its negation རེ། རེ། རེ། རེ།.

The copula རེ། is usually translated by the verb “to be”, and corresponds to an objective assertion or affirmation (see 5.4). The attribute of the subject, which immediately precedes the verb, may be a substantive (equative meaning) or an adjective (attributive meaning). Age is also expressed with the use of རེ།.

Ex.: མོ་ལ་བིན་པ་རེ། དོན་ལ་བིན་པ་རེ། དོན་ལ་བིན་པ་རེ།

ཁོང་ཁོང་དེ་སྐྱེས་བོད། ཕོ་ཁོང་ཁོང་དེ་སྐྱེས་བོད།

ཏི་ཐུབཅྡུན་རེ། ཆོང་ཁྲོད་པ་རེ། ཆོང་ཁྲོད་པ་རེ།

“Tibet.”

“He isn’t a nomad.”

“Nyima is seven.”

“She’s pretty.”

“He isn’t mad.”

“He’s kind.”

In rare cases, རེ། may also be used to express an essential property or an inalienable possession of the subject, in which case it corresponds to the English “to have”.

86. The distinction between existential and essential is similar to the difference between the verbs ser and estar in Spanish.

87. The present and the past have the same form, with the meaning depending on the context. However, as we shall see in Lesson 10.4, this applies only to the past imperfective: for the perfective past, there are specific forms.
Ex.: \(\text{khöng yêntân chênpo re'}\) “He has great qualities.”
\(\text{m로그 râng mi' chênpoc re'}\) “She has small eyes.”
\(\text{khöng ámco' chênpo re'}\) “He has big ears.”

- The “egophoric” copula: བིན་ཡིན and its negation བིན་མན་.

The copula བིན་functions as an essential stative verb, normally associated with the first person (see 3.4), and is generally translated by “I am”. The attribute of the subject may be a substantive (equative sense) or an adjective (attributive sense).

Ex.: \(\text{ngä thuptân yin} \) “I am Thubtân.”
\(\text{ngä trokpa yin} \) “I am a nomad.”
\(\text{ngä tepo yin} \) “I am fine.”

In rare cases, they may express an intention or an insistence on the part of the speaker.

Ex.: \(\text{khyêrang cha yin} \) “It’s your tea [that I’m intending to give you].”
\(\text{thê ngä: temi' yin} \) “That’s my key.”

- The “revelatory” copula རེ་-ཤྭ and its negation རེ་-མོི་ཏུ་.

The copula རེ་-ཤྭ functions like an essential stative verb, implying that the speaker has just discovered or become aware of whatever he or she is asserting. It may often be translated by the verb “to be” preceded by some exclamation such as “Why!” or “Hey!”

Ex.: \(\text{thuptân re}-
\text{'sha'} \) “Hey! It’s Thubtân.”
\(\text{trokpa re}-
\text{'mijü} \) “No, he isn’t a nomad.”
\(\text{nyönpa re}-
\text{'sha'} \) “Why, he’s mad! [I’ve just realized it]”

B) The existential copulas རེ་-ཏུ་, རེ་-པོ་ལེ་, རེ་-གྲོ་.

These verbs express existence, location, or a circumstantial feature of the subject, often implying an evaluation on the speaker’s part. These various stative verbs differ only in terms of the evidential mood that they convey (assertive, testimonial, egophoric, etc.).

- The “assertive” copula རེ་-པོ་ལེ་ and its negation རེ་-ལས་པ་ག་.

There are two other ways of writing རེ་-པོ་ལེ་, but the pronunciation is the same in each case: རེ་-པོ་, or རེ་-པོ་, as well as a literary form རེ་-པོ་ལེ་ འབྲོ་.\(^{89}\) The negative form of the auxiliary is རེ་-ལས་པ་ག་, for which there are also two other written forms: རེ་-ལས་པ་ག་ འབྲོ་ འབྲོ་, as well as a literary form རེ་-ལས་པ་ག་ འབྲོ་ འབྲོ་.

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88. Note that mig is pronounced with a high tone. It is an exceptional case since the radical m does not have any prefixed or subscribed letter.

89. The variant yod-red has been retained here because it is the one most commonly used in contemporary writing. Moreover, the spelling is based on the etymology of the expression: yod-red is in fact derived from yod-pa-red, whereas the forms yog-red and yod-o-red are purely phonetic.
The copula ṣre' implies a definite assertion or affirmation by the speaker. According to the context, it may be translated as “there is/are” (existential sense) or “to be at (a certain location)” (situationals sense), or by the verb “to have” (possessive sense).

Ex.:  

pho'-la namtru ṣre'  
“There are aeroplanes in Tibet.”

thuptan ta: ṣre'  
“Thubtän is here.”

khong-la thep mangpo ṣre'  
“He has many books.”

tsher-ing-la matha ṣre'  
“Tshering has a car.”

ngarma pho'-la namtru ṣre'mare'  
“In the past, there were no aeroplanes in Tibet.”

thegu: tsher-ing-la matha ṣre'  
“At that time, Tshering had a car.”

Remember that constructions expressing possession are identical to existential constructions.

The copula ṣre' may also be translated by some form of the verb “to be” (attributive sense). This requires that the attribute of the subject that precedes the verb should be a qualifying adjective.

Ex.:  

ti nyinrongpo ṣre'  
“This is pretty.”

ti sa:po ṣre'  
“This is clear.”

ti tsha:po ṣre'  
“This is hot.”

It may not, however, be used with a noun: *ṣre’-khang kyami ṣre’ “He is Chinese”.

* The testimonial copula: āṇu: tu' and its negation āṇu: min tu'

This copula indicates a past or present testimony on the speaker’s part. In English, it is translated by the same expressions as for ṣre’, i.e., according to context as “there is/are” (existential sense), “to be at” (situationals sense), “to have” (possessive sense), or by the verb “to be” (attributive sense). The latter applies only when the verb is preceded by a qualifying adjective. Thus the only difference between tu' and ṣre' lies in the different evidential moods they express (these moods have been described above). The translation of the following phrases would therefore be exactly the same as those given above:

Ex.:  

pho'-la namtru tu'  
“There are aeroplanes in Tibet.”

thuptan ta: tu'  
“Thubtän is here.”

khong-la thep mangpo tu'  
“He has many books.”

ti nyinrongpo tu'  
“This is pretty.”
However, exactly as in the case of the assertive copula, it is impossible to say: *ṅin paṅ tu’ “He is Chinese”.

- The “egophoric” copula ṭeyə’ yə’ and its negation ṭeyə’ me’

This copula is always associated with the first person, and is generally translated as “I have” (possessive sense), or as “I am (at)” (locative sense). In certain rare cases, it may also indicate a personal or intimate acquaintance by the speaker, and should accordingly be translated by the verb “to be”.

Ex.: thep mangpo yə’ “I have many books.”
kyana-la yə’ “I am in China.”
cha ti shimpo yə’ “This tea is good (in my opinion).”

The copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronoun)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronoun)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭeš</td>
<td>ṭeš-pa’</td>
<td>ṭeš / ṭeš-pa’</td>
<td>ṭeš</td>
<td>ṭeš-pa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍem</td>
<td>ḍem-pa’</td>
<td>ḍem / ḍem-pa’</td>
<td>ḍem</td>
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<td>ḍem</td>
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<td>ḍem / ḍem-pa’</td>
<td>ḍem</td>
<td>ḍem-pa’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remark: When used with interrogative pronouns, the copulas (and the corresponding auxiliaries) ḍem, re’, ḍem ṭeš, ḍem re’-pa’, ḍem tu’ are pronounced with an opened vowel ḍem, ḍem re’, ḍem re’-pa’, ḍem tu’. However, this small phonetic variation is not traditionally recorded in Tibetan orthography.

Ex.: ḍem ṭeš | ḍem ṭeš-pa’ “What is it?”
mi khatsö ṭeš | mi khatsö ṭeš-pa’ “How many people are there?”
6.4 Exercises elijkbya

6.4.1 Translate into English:
1) དེསར་འགའ་བུ་
2) ང་ཐ་ལམ་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་
3) སར་ཐམ་ཐམ་ཐམ་ཐམ་
4) སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅན་ཐོབ
5) སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅན་ཐོབ

6.4.2 Replace the indefinite article with the form required in literary usage.
1) དེས་
2) དེས་
3) སཁབ་
4) སྤི་
5) སྤི་
6) སྤྱི་
7) སྤྱི་
8) སྤྱི་
9) སྤྱི་
10) སྤྱི་
11) སྤྱི་
12) སྤྱི་
13) སྤྱི་
14) སྤྱི་
15) སྤྱི་
16) སྤྱི་
17) སྤྱི་
18) སྤྱི་
19) སྤྱི་
20) སྤྱི་
21) སྤྱི་
22) སྤྱི་
23) སྤྱི་
24) སྤྱི་
25) སྤྱི་
26) སྤྱི་
27) སྤྱི་
28) སྤྱི་
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30) སྤྱི་
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34) སྤྱི་
35) སྤྱི་
36) སྤྱི་
37) སྤྱི་
38) སྤྱི་
39) སྤྱི་
40) སྤྱི་

6.4.3 Translate into Tibetan:
1. It's his (paternal) uncle.
2. He is in Zhikatse.
3. He used to be in Lhasa.
4. In the past, were there many monks in Tibet?
5. Yes, there were many.
6. Dorje used to be a teacher.

6.4.4 Rewrite these sentences in the testimonial mood:
1) དེས་ན། སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅན་འོད།
2) དེས་ན། སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅན་འོད།
3) དེས་ན། སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅན་འོད།
4) དེས་ན། སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅན་འོད།
5) དེས་ན། སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅན་འོད།
“Where did you go?”

Grammar aims

- Word order and postpositions.
- The past tense auxiliaries: "gyi" "pare",
  "gyi" "payin",
  "gyi" "song.
- The essential and existential verbs “to be”
  “to have” in the past.
- The cardinal and ordinal numbers.

7.1 Dialogue

CD I • Tr. 23-24
Pronunciation
- khyērang khāsa khapar phēp-pa
- khāsa lingkar chin-payin
- sū nyāampo phēp-pa
- pūku-tso nyāampo chin-payin
- trgykar-la' phēp-song-ngā
- khöng nang-la shū'-song
- āmala' nang-la shū'-pare'-pā'
- mare', lingkor-la phēp-pare'
- lingka the: nang-la khare to'
- lingkā: nang-la meto'-tang chūtsing mangpo tu', chū: nang-la nya mangpo tu'. nya thētsu nyīng cepo shētra' tu'.

Translation
Dawa — Where did you go yesterday?
Nyima — Yesterday, I went to the park.
Dawa — Who did you go with?
Nyima — I went with the children.
Dawa — Has Drölkar come?
Nyima — She stayed at home.
Dawa — Did [your] mother stay at home?
Nyima — No, she went on a circumambulation of the Lingkor.
Dawa — What was in the park?
Nyima — In the park there were flowers and many ponds. In the water, there were lots of fish. Those fish were very lovely.

7.2 Vocabulary གཟིང་གཟིང་

chū (n.) water
nya (n.) fish
pu (n.) insect
shukling (n.) park
lingka (n.) circular pilgrimage route
lingkor (n.) flower
meto' (n.) pond, reservoir
chūtsin (n.) outside
chilo'
Lesson 7 - རྩ་ཁུལ་བུང་།

7.3 Remarks རིམིང་།

7.3.1 Word order and postpositions

As we have seen above, basic word order in Tibetan is Subject-Object-Verb. As is often the case in languages with this SOV word order, there are no prepositions but postpositions. The head nouns of relative clauses are usually placed after the relative clause. Moreover, the main clause, which goes at the end of the statement, is always placed after the subordinate clause (object, causal, etc.). The main information is therefore almost always deferred to the end of the sentence.

Word order within a noun phrase is as follows: the substantive head comes first, followed by the qualifying adjective, the article (or demonstrative adjective), the plural marker and the
case. The case particle takes last place in the the noun phrase (although it may happen that the case marker is followed by the topicaliser ni).

| Noun + [Adj. + Det. + Pl.] + Case |

Ex.: བོད་རིང ρི་ེན་པོ། ངོ་མཐོན་ “to those pretty girls”
girl pretty those+Dative

In Tibetan, then, there are no prepositions but only postpositions: the equivalents of “in”, “on”, “with”, and so on all follow the noun to which they relate. We don’t say “in the water” but “water in”; not “on the table” but “table on”.

Postpositions are always followed by a case particle, usually the locative case (but also sometimes other cases such as the genitive or the ablative). They also command the genitive, which is inserted between the noun group and the postposition. The structure of the prepositional phrase is therefore:

| Noun + [Gen.: དཔོན] + Postposition + Loc. ི་ བོད་ གཅོད |

E.g., “water of inside-in”, which would correspond to the English word order “in [the inside of] the water”.

Note: The postpositions are all clearly derived from substantives. They generally require that the preceding noun (or noun group) be followed by a genitive particle. While the genitive is always used when the preceding word ends in a vowel, its use is optional with certain postpositions when the preceding word ends in a consonant. This is particularly the case with: གང “in”, གང་ ཀང “on”, གང ཁབ་ “behind”, གང གུན “in front of”.

Ex.: གང གུན གཡ་ གན་ “in the park”
park+Gen. in+Loc.

Ex.: གན་ གཡ་ གཅོད: ཁ་ལ་ “under the table”, ཁ་ལ་ གན་ གཅོད “in the world”, ཁ་ལ་ གན་ གཅོད “in the lesson”, ཁ་ལ་ གན་ གཅོད “next to the school”

90. Or noun phrase.
7.3.2. The past tense

The past tense\(^91\) is formed by placing after the verb the expressions ʼra RXpare’ (assertive), RXpayin (intentional egophoric) or RXsong (testimonial).

In English these forms can be translated by the past or sometimes by the present perfect.

The forms RXpayinRXpare’ are composed of the suffix RXa pa followed by the essential copula RXre’ or RXyiNyin. The intentional form RXpayin may only be used with volitional\(^92\) verbs in the first person.

In interrogative sentences which contain no interrogative pronoun (where, who, why, what, etc.), the egophoric form RXpayin is replaced by RXa pa’; in sentences where there is an interrogative pronoun, RXpayin is replaced by RXa pa’.

The auxiliary RXpare’ is used in narratives and stories, which is why it is sometimes described as the “narrative past”. The various forms are presented in the following table.

| Ex.: RXnge’ RXnang-la’ RXt’a RXpayin RXstay-Past + egophoric | RX“I stayed at home” |
| RXNyima RXnang-la’ RXt’a RXpare’ RXNyima stayed at home” |
| RXNyima RXhome RXstay-Past + assertive |
| RXNyima RXnang-la’ RXt’a RXsong RXNyima stayed at home” |

Table: the past tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronouns)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronouns)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RXpayin</td>
<td>RXpayin RXpare’ RXa pa’</td>
<td>RXa’ pa’</td>
<td>RXa’ + V</td>
<td>RXa’ + V + RXpare’ RXma + V + RXpayin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RXsong</td>
<td>RXsong RXa pa’</td>
<td>RXa pa’</td>
<td>RXa pa’ + V + RXsong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RXpare’</td>
<td>RXpare’ RXa pa’</td>
<td>RXpar’a’</td>
<td>RXa ma V + RXpare’ RXma + V + RXpare’ RXa pa’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

91. As we shall see in Lesson 10.4, this is the perfective past.

92. I.e., verbs in which it is implied that the subject has control over the action. This class of verbs is described in Lesson 8.
N.B.: The negative forms that are marked in the table with a Δ: "ma+V or ma+V+en pare’, as well as the corresponding negative interrogative forms, are rarely used, and other forms are usually preferred (see the perfect tense-aspect in Lesson 10). The simple past forms may be used to emphasize the subject’s refusal to perform the action: “I / he didn’t go (even though I/he was supposed to)”.

Ex.:

nyima
ma chën-pa-re’
"Nyima did not go"

I
ma chën
"I did not go"

7.3.3 The essential and existential verbs “to be” and “to have” in the past

The forms of the imperfective are equivalent to those of the present (see 6.3). For the perfective past however, there are special forms. The following full verbs are used in the construction of the (perfective) past: "to become”, "to do”, “to stay”, "to happen, to obtain”. All these verbs correspond to the (perfective) past tense of the verbs "to be” and "to have”. For the sake of convenience, we may distinguish between essential and existential statements.

A) Essential statements

• When the complement of the subject is a substantive (equative meaning), Tibetan uses the verb: "to do” (in the past stem: "chë’") or the verb "chë’" followed by past auxiliaries (in association with the various evidential moods: assertive, testimonial, egophoric).

Ex.: 
không nyönpa chë’-pare’  "He became crazy.” (assertive)
không nyönpa chë’-song  "He became crazy.” (testimonial)

Note: In the case of the imperfective past, the same form as the present is used:

Ex.:  thegu’ không âmci re’  "He was a doctor” (lit. “at that time he is a doctor”).

B) Existential statements

• Possession and existence are constructed with the use of the verb "chung" in the (perfective) past tense (in association with the various evidential moods: assertive, testimonial, egophoric).

---

93. The notions of perfective and imperfective aspects are explained in 10.4. Here we need only bear in mind that the imperfective past forms are equivalent to the present.

94. About the verb stems, see Lesson 10.
Lesson 7 - རིགས་ཀུན་དཔོན་པ།

Ex.: མྱུརང་ལྟོས་ཐོབ་བཞི། mгрang-la tshema chung-pare' “She had twins.”

Ex.: འདོརའ་དགུ་། རྒྱུན་པ་ chung-pare' “He got some money.”

Ex.: དབང་། nyoktra chung-pare

Ex.: དབང་། nyoktra chung-song

Ex.: ཉག་ nyoktra chung

- When the complement of the subject is an adjective, the verb ཁུང་ chung in the (perfective) past is also used (in association with the various evidential moods: assertive, testimonial, egophoric).

Ex.: འབདོན་ཏི། ཐོབ་ bspa chung-pare’ “It was easy.”

Ex.: འབདོན་ཏི། དབང་། kyippo chung-song

Ex.: འབདོན་ཏི། kyippo chung

- To convey a locative meaning, the verb གི་ tül “to stay”, or its honorific བཞིན་ shu’ is used in the (perfective) past (in association with the various evidential moods: assertive, testimonial, egophoric).

Ex.: ཡོངས་ལྟོས་པའི་ལྟོན་འབྲིས་ གིས་ཐོབ་ lhäsar dpǔm shu’-pare’ “He has been in Lhasa for three years.” (lit. stayed)

Ex.: ཡོངས་ལྟོས་པའི་ལྟོན་འབྲིས་ དབང་། lhäsar dpǔm tül-payin “I have been in Lhasa for three years.” (lit. stayed)

Note: In the case of the imperfective past, the same form as the present is used:

Ex.: ཡོངས་ལྟོས་པའི་ལྟོན་འབྲིས་ དེ་གྲེ། གིས་ཐོབ་ thetu’ lhäsar yo’re’ “At that time he was in Lhasa.” (lit. is in Lhasa)

7.3.4 The cardinal and ordinal numbers

Numbers come after the noun. Unlike Burmese, Chinese and several other Asian languages, Tibetan has no classifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཀ</td>
<td>ག</td>
<td>གླ</td>
<td>གོ</td>
<td>གུ</td>
<td>གོ་ གྲི་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉོན། དི། “zero”</td>
<td>རྩོམ། ཁ། “one”</td>
<td>རྩོམ། ཡོ། “two”</td>
<td>རྩོམ། ནོ། “three”</td>
<td>རྩོམ། དོ། “four”</td>
<td>རྩོམ། དགུ། “five”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Between 20 and 90, each set of ten makes use of a special particle:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>སྣས (20)</th>
<th>སྣ (30)</th>
<th>ལྷེ (40)</th>
<th>ལྷང (50)</th>
<th>རི (60)</th>
<th>ཁོན (70)</th>
<th>མཉེ (80)</th>
<th>རེ (90)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsā (20)</td>
<td>sō (30)</td>
<td>she (40)</td>
<td>nga (50)</td>
<td>re (60)</td>
<td>thön (70)</td>
<td>khyå (80)</td>
<td>kho (90)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remembering these particles is made easier by the fact that, with the exception of tsā, they are all derived from the term for the set of ten in question. For example, sō, the particle for the thirties, is derived from sūm “three”. The same is true of the forties, where she is a modification of shi “four”, and so on.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>སྣས༔</th>
<th>སྣ</th>
<th>ལྷེ</th>
<th>ལོང</th>
<th>རི</th>
<th>ཁོན</th>
<th>མཉེ</th>
<th>རེ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཨྲི་</td>
<td>ཨྲ</td>
<td>རྐི</td>
<td>རཾ</td>
<td>རི</td>
<td>རི</td>
<td>རི</td>
<td>རི</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཨྲི་བུ་ཐེ་</td>
<td>ཨྲི་ ཨྲི་ tsā</td>
<td>ཨྲི་</td>
<td>ཨྲི་</td>
<td>ཨྲི་</td>
<td>ཨྲི་</td>
<td>ཨྲི་</td>
<td>ཨྲི་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“hundred”; chikkya “one hundred”, nyikya “two hundred”, sümkya “three hundred”.

Between 100 and 199, the number “hundred” is followed by the connective thang (-tang) “and”.

Ex: kya-tang ngāpcu “150”

tong “thousand”; chiktong “one thousand”, nyjong “two thousand”, sümton “three thousand”.

thri “ten thousand”; chiktri “one myriad”, nyitri “twenty thousand (two myriad)”, sümtri “thirty thousand”.

chikpum “a hundred thousand”; chikpum “one (unit of a) hundred thousand”, nyitpum “two hundred thousand”, sümtpum “three hundred thousand”.

After “million”, the numbers are treated as substantives and must be followed (not preceded) by the number of units.

saya “million”; saya cī “one million”, saya nyi “two million”, etc.

chewa “ten million”; chewa cī “(one unit of) ten million”, chewa nyi “twenty million”, etc.

thungcur “hundred million”; thungcur cī “one (unit of a) hundred million”, thungcur nyi “two hundred million”, thungcur cū “one billion”.

From a hundred up to a hundred thousand, units may be placed afterwards, and the number is therefore treated syntactically as a substantive. In the case of “thousand”, the suffix thra’ is added.

Ex: tongtra’ nyi “two thousand”, thri süm “thirty thousand”

pum süm “three hundred thousand”

From one hundred up, when there is a zero in the tens, hundreds or any higher column, as in 108 or 1015, the column name (10, 100, etc.) is followed by me’ “without”. This expression is optional.

Ex: chiktong shikya (cūme’) tūn “1407”

chiktong (kyame’) cūtru “1016”

Note: The numbers 1, 2, 3 and 10 are spelled differently according to the other numbers with which they are combined, as in the case of 15 (10+5), 18 (10+8), 20 (2x10), 30 (3x10), etc.

95. Between 200 and 999 dang is optional and usually dropped.
The written variants represent a formalization, from the classical period, of different pronunciations of the numbers in question.

\[\text{ཉི་་} /cù/ \quad > \quad 
\text{ཉི་/cù/ in དང་/cönga/ “15” and /cù/ in དང་/cöpkyä/ “18”}
\]

\[\text{ཉི་་} /cù/ \quad > \quad 
\text{ཉི་/shù/ in རྫོ་/nygshu/ “20”}
\]

\[\text{ཉི་་} /cù/ \quad > \quad 
\text{ཉི་/cù/ in ཤཱུ་/sümcu/ “30” and in ཤཱུ་/threču/ “60”, etc.}
\]

\[\text{ཤོཀ} /chi’/ \quad > \quad 
\text{ཤོཀ /chi’/ in རྫོ་/chikting/ “1000”}
\]

\[\text{ཤོཀ} /myi’/ \quad > \quad 
\text{ཤོཀ /myi’/ in རྫོ་/nygshu/ “20”}
\]

\[\text{ཤོཀ} /myi’/ \quad > \quad 
\text{ཤོཀ /myi’/ in རྫོ་/nytong/ “200”}
\]

\[\text{ཤོཀ} /süm/ \quad > \quad 
\text{ཤོཀ /süm/ in ཤཱུ་/sümcu/ “30”}
\]

Note that round tens and hundreds may be followed by རྗེས་ tham pa.

Ex.: རྗེས་ tham pa “a hundred”, རྗེས་ tham pa “thirty”.

Ordinal numbers present no difficulties. With the exception of “first”, which has a special radical, they are formed simply by adding the suffix pa.

Ex.: པ་ thang po “first”, ག་ nyip “second”, གཞི་ sumpa “third”, རྗེས་ cu pa “tenth”, རྗེས་ cu kpa “eleventh”, etc.

The percentages and fractions are formed by using the word ཙེི cha “part”. Thus

Ex.: One hundred percent རྗེས་ kyang kyà “100%”
Fifty percent རྗེས་ kyang ngap ku “50%”
One third རྗེས་ རོ་ sumpa ci’ “1/3”
Three quarters རྗེས་ རོ་ shiga süm “3/4”

7.4 Exercises རིག་མཆོག་

7.4.1 Rewrite the dialogue at the beginning
of this lesson in the non-honorific register.

7.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. The field is behind the house.
2. The key is on the table.
3. The camera is on the chair.
4. They are at school.
5. There are two schools.
6. The teacher is fifty-nine years old.
7. The school is beside the road.
8. Bhutan is next to Tibet.
9. Lobsang has six horses.
10. Nyima has twenty dzo.
6. They have thirty yaks.
7. Dawa is twenty-two years old.

7.4.3 Complete the sentences using the appropriate form: བདོ་, ལྷ་, དོན་ or བོད་.

7) བདོ་ དུས་མི་འི་ ( )?
8) བདོ་ དུས་མི་འི་ ( )?
9) བདོ་ དུས་ ( )!
10) བདོ་ དུས་མི་འི་ ( )?
11) བདོ་ དུས་མི་འི་ ( )?
12) བདོ་ དུས་ ( )?

7.4.4. Rewrite the following sentences in the assertive mode
(using the auxiliaries དེ་, རེ་ and སོ་ as appropriate).

7) བོད་ དུས་མི་འི་ ( )?
8) བོད་ དུས་ ( )?
9) བོད་ དུས་ ( )?
10) བོད་ དུས་ ( )?

7.4.5 Write out these numbers in full in Tibetan:

29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37
38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46

7.4.6 Translate into English:

བོད་ དུས་ ( )
ཐལ་ དུས་ ( )
ཐལ་ དུས་ ( )
ཐལ་ དུས་ ( )
ཐལ་ དུས་ ( )
“Invitation to a meal”

Grammar aims

- Classes of verbs.
- The agentive case ʼki.
- The future auxiliaries: kire, kiyin.
- The future forms of the verbs “to be” and “to have”.
- The past tense receptive egophoric auxiliary: cung.
- The interrogative pronoun phu khari.

8.1 Dialogue

Lesson 8

CD 1 • Tr. 25-26
Pronunciation
- shā-la’ nyēpo nāngko
- thūkce chē thentra’: thrawa chēwala a! khyērang-ki’ sō’ nāng-pa’
- ngā’ nēka ci’ sō’-payin
- khāk sō’ nāng-pa
- ’tī ngā’ sō’-payin, tītso phymo’ sō’-pare’
- ngōnā’, trōpo shētra’ tu’
- shā-la’ yakpo chungmasong, kongpa ma tshōm, khyērang kharer nyēpo yō’
- shā phaklep shā momo’ shāmtra’, thātung chūrra momo’ yāi kapo yō’
- ona sāngnyin chūrra momo’ sō-kiyin-ta
- sōm-o-la’ sāngnyin phēp-kire’-pā’
- khāsa phēp-cung, sāngnyin phēp-kimare’
- āku-la’ cāi-cung-ngā’
- cāi-cung
- nga kongpa shu-kiyin thūkce chē, thering kyōpo shētra’ chung, kyōpō cāi-yong

Translation
Mother — Bon appetit!
Lobzang — Thanks, it’s very good (lit. “such a great taste!”). Was it you who made it?
Mother — I made one of the dishes.
Lobzang — Which one did you make?
Mother — I made this one, and my daughter made these.
Lobzang — It’s really excellent!
Mother — The meal wasn’t good – our apologies. What [kind of food] do you like?
Lobzang — Bread with meat stuffing, meat momos, and meat stew with rice [and potatoes]; I also like cheese momos.
Mother — Well then, tomorrow I shall make cheese momos.
Daughter — Will our aunt come tomorrow?
Mother — She came yesterday. She won’t come tomorrow.
Daughter — Did you see (lit. meet) our uncle?
Mother — Yes, I saw him.
Lobzang — I shall take my leave, thank you. I’ve had a very pleasant day (lit. today was very pleasant [for me]). See you soon!

8.2 Vocabulary

[วรรณิ]

khaki (interr. pron.) which?
l-a (part.) interjection after an adjective
Lesson 8.

96. See Lesson 17. When followed by a suffix (comparative, superlative, etc.), the short form of the adjective must be used.
sāṃgnyin
thering
thentra
ngöna’
kapo
ka
so (1) / sō (2,3)
thū’
cā (H)
trā’
nāṅ (H)
tér
sokrā’ nāṅ (H)
khāla’ sō
chung
chā’
shy (1) / shū (2-3) (h)
phū: (h)
trī’ (1) / thri’ (2,3)
ls’ / klā’ klo’ nāṅ (H)
che’ (1,3) / chā’ (2)
nāṅ (H)
tāṅ
kongpa shu (h)

(adv.) tomorrow
(adv.) today
(adv.) so, such, thus
(adv.) really
(adj.) happy
(v.) [inv., AD] to like
(v.) [vol., EA] to make, to do
(v.) [inv., EA] to meet
(v.) [vol., EA] to give, pass
(v.) [vol. EA] to make a gift of
(v.) [vol., EA] to make a gift of
(v.) [vol., E] to prepare a meal
(v.) [inv., A] to occur, happen
— (aux.) receptive
(v.) [inv., A] to become
(v.) [vol., EA] to take
(v.) - [vol., EDA] to say, ask,
— verbalizer
(v.) - [vol., EDA] to offer, give,
— verbalizer
(v.) [vol., EA] to write
(v.) [vol., EA] to read
(v.) - [vol., EA] to do, act,
— verbalizer
(v.) - [vol., EDA] to give, do,
— verbalizer
(v.) - [vol., EDA] to send,
— [vol., EA] to let by,
— verbalizer
(v.) - [vol., E] to take leave

97. In Literary Tibetan, certain verbs such as phūl, klog, biang, etc. have several variants according to tense, but these have become invariable in the spoken language. See Appendix 1, section 10.
8.3 Remarks on grammar

8.3.1 Classes of verbs

Tibetan verbs fall into two main classes: volitional verbs and non-volitional verbs. The first group are concerned with controllable actions, and are compatible with intentional auxiliaries such as -payin (see 10.4) and “jussive” suffixes that convey an order or a suggestion (such as -ta or -sh). Moreover, these verbs sometimes have a special inflected form for the imperative.

The verbs in the second class imply non-controllable processes which do not depend on the subject’s volition, and are compatible with neither intentional auxiliaries nor imperative markers. With non-volitional verbs, non-intentional auxiliaries such as -cung or -song must be used. In this Manual, volitional verbs are marked as “[vol.]”, while non-volitional verbs are identified as “[inv.]”

Ex. of volitional verbs:

པོ་ལ་ལེ་ིན་ཏི་-payin “I looked.”

ཐོང་ལོ་ཏི་-sh “Look!”

ལོ་ལ་ལེ་ིན་ལོ་-payin “I went to bed.”

དགོས་ལོ་-sh “Go to bed! Lie down!”

Ex. of non-volitional verbs:

ལོ་ལ་ལེ་ིན་ལོ་-cung “I saw.”

ཏྭ་དུ་-sh “I recovered.”

Thus the following forms are incorrect because they combine a non-volitional verb with an intentional auxiliary: *ལོ་ལ་ལེ་ིན་-payin, *ཏོ་དུ་-sh “thra’-payin; so, too, are the following imperatives: *ལོ་ལ་ལེ་ིན་-sh, *ཏོ་དུ་-sh “thra’-sh.

The grammar of European languages does not make the opposition volitional / non-volitional. However in their vocabulary, they do differentiate between hear, see (non-volitional) and listen, look (volitional).

As in other languages, a distinction is made between transitive verbs (or polyvalent verbs) and intransitive verbs (or monovalent verbs). Transitive verbs require an object, whereas intransitive verbs do not.

Ex.: བོ་ལ་“to look” and འཇིག་“to see” are transitive whereas བོ་ལ་“to go to bed, to lie down” and བོ་ལ་“thra’/“to recover (from an illness)” are intransitive.

In this Manual, whether a verb is transitive or intransitive will be indicated indirectly: for each verb, the case required for the subject and, where relevant, for the direct or indirect object

98. With some non-volitional verbs which imply a certain degree of control, such as “lose” or “fall asleep”, the imperative forms are also possible.

99. In order to avoid the linguistically problematic notion of “subject” in Tibetan, verbs may be defined according to their valency, e.g., the number of participants they require. See the Glossary of linguistic terms.
will be specified. Thus if an object is required, the verb must be a transitive one (see 8.3.2 below, “The ergative construction”, as well as section 9.3).

There are, then, altogether four basic classes of verbs: non-volitional intransitive, volitional intransitive, non-volitional transitive and volitional transitive.

In the case of transitive verbs, a distinction may be made between those which require two participants (bivalent verbs) and those which require three (trivalent verbs).

**Summary of the four categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Volitional</th>
<th>Non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>དགའ /‘ha‘ “look”</td>
<td>འོག /thöng “see”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གི་ལོ /nyän “listen”</td>
<td>ཆོག /kho “hear”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཇོག /so “make”</td>
<td>མདོག /hā kho “understand”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Intransitive | | |
|--------------| | |
| གོང /nyāg “lie down” | རོ /ng “be sick” |
| དང /lang “get up” | འི /shī “die” |
| མཁའ /tro “go” | དོ /thrā “recover” |

8.3.2 The agentive བས་ /-ki/

Traditional grammars refer to this mark as byed-sgra (lit. agent-sound). The agentive is formed by adding an ‘s’ to the genitive. The variants follow the same pattern as in the case of the genitive: བས་ gis, བས་ gyis, བས་ kyis, བས་ s.

- after vowels and ཉ ‘a’
- after ག, ག ng
- after ཉ d, ཉ b, ཉ s and the da-drag
- after ཉ n ཉ m, ཉ r, ཉ l

In Classical Tibetan, vowels may also be followed by the variant བས་ yis /yi/, or even by the more archaic form བས་ 'i s /i/.

In conversation, the three particles བས /khī/, བས /kyī/, བས /khyī/ are pronounced in exactly the same way, as an unstressed syllable: /-ki/. Remember that adding the variant ‘s’ produces a glottal stop (or a modulated tone) in the pronunciation, and that in the case of /a, u, o/, an umlaut

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100. Pronunciations followed by the symbol Δ correspond to a literary register or an accented reading of the particle. Because case particles are unstressed when read under normal conditions, their tone and aspiration are irrelevant.
is effectively added: a+s > /a'/, u+s > /u'/, o+s > /ɔ'/. The vowels /e,i/ do not change: e+s > /e'/, i+s > /i'/.

Ex.: རྗུས་ /rjus/ “sun” > རྗུས་ /rjus/.
ཐྲེམ་ /thre-m/ “drawing” > རྗུས་ /rjus/.
ཐ་ /thu/ “water” > རྗུས་ /rjus/.
ཐི /thi/ “man, person” > རྗུས་ /rjus/.
ཐི /thi/ “fire” > རྗུས་ /rjus/.
ཀུན་ /kun/ “arrow” > རྗུས་ /rjus/.
ཀུན་ /kun/ “teacher” > སྤྱིན་ /snyin/ “teacher”.
ཀུན་ /kun/ “teacher (H)” > སྤྱིན་ /snyin/ “teacher (H)”.
ཁྲ་ /khr/ “secretary” > སྤྱིན་ /snyin/ “secretary”.

The agentive particle has two case-related functions: the ergative and the instrumental: 101

The ergative function is used to mark the grammatical role of agent. In transitive clauses, this role typically matches the semantic agent or causer who performs an action on a patient, but also includes the agent of “mental” and “verbal” actions and the perceiver of a sensation. However, it does not refer to the experiencer of an emotion, which is marked as the patient (the absolutive or zero case). In syntactic or relational terms, the agentive particle generally marks the subject of transitive verbs governing an ergative construction. Most transitive verbs require an ergative construction but some non-volitional transitive verbs require other constructions (affective or possessive, see Lesson 9.3).

**Ergative constructions** may seem strange at first, to the extent that they work in the opposite way to accusative constructions in European languages (except Basque). However, even though ergative constructions are not familiar to speakers of European languages, they are as logical as accusative constructions. As discussed in Chapter 4, the main point is that all languages need a mechanism or device to distinguish “who does what to whom”, or, in other words, to distinguish between the subject and the object of a transitive verb. In accusative European languages, as well as in Chinese, it is not the subject that is marked, but the object, either by using a distinct accusative case marker (as in Latin and Russian), or by opposition in the sentence, i.e., being placed after the verb (as in French, English and Chinese) 102. In English, for example, word

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101. In traditional grammars, the first is referred to as the particle of “the main agent” (byed-pa-po gtsos-bo), while the second is referred to as the particle of “the secondary agent” (byed-pa-po phal-bo).

102. We may compare the same transitive statement in five different languages, which all operate according to an accusative model.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin:</td>
<td>ego</td>
<td>ill:um</td>
<td>libr:um</td>
<td>legi</td>
<td>legi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian:</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>etu</td>
<td>knj:u</td>
<td>proc:el</td>
<td>proc:el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese:</td>
<td>1 + Nomin.</td>
<td>this + Accus.</td>
<td>book + Accus.</td>
<td>shu</td>
<td>shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French:</td>
<td>j'ai</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>livre</td>
<td>livre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English:</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>read</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>book</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
order is used to distinguish between ‘the policeman killed the fugitive’ and ‘the fugitive killed the policeman’.

Tibetan chooses to mark not the object, but subject of the transitive verb, by using a distinct case marker – the ergative. It is called དབེ་ཟློ་བཤེས་ byed sgra gtso bo “main ergative” in the traditional grammars.

A subject that is marked by the ergative is almost always a human or other animate. The object lacks an overt formal marker (Ø); in linguistic terminology this is known as the “absolutive”, and in traditional Tibetan grammars as དགོ་བོ་ཙམ ngo-bo-tsam, “just (the word) in the absolute”.

Here are some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S (erg.)</th>
<th>O (abs.)</th>
<th>V(ergative construction)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>གནས</td>
<td>ཤེག</td>
<td>བཏོས་པའིན</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga-s</td>
<td>deb + Ø</td>
<td>“I read the book.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉགས།</td>
<td>ཨེ་པ</td>
<td>tā-payin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I + Erg.</td>
<td>book + Abs.</td>
<td>read-past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Basque, the only ergative language of Europe, the structure is similar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S (erg.)</th>
<th>O (abs.)</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཉི-ཀ</td>
<td>ཡིབ་ར་-ཞོ</td>
<td>འཱ་ུ་-཭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I + Erg.</td>
<td>Book-def + Abs.</td>
<td>Read Abs-Aux-Erg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཕོགས།</td>
<td>ཐོགས་༡</td>
<td>ཁོང་མི།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བལ་</td>
<td>དོ་ཆ</td>
<td>འདོ་-བོད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lama + Erg.</td>
<td>tea (H) + Abs.</td>
<td>drink (H)-past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ཐེ་འེ་</td>
<td>ཁྲ</td>
<td>འོ་-པར་་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshering-ki’</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>nyog’-pare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshering+Erg.</td>
<td>horse + Abs.</td>
<td>buy -past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“The lama drank the tea.”

“Tshering bought the horse.”

Verbs that take the ergative construction will be identified as: E(rgative) A(bsolutive).

Ex.: དབུ་ “to buy” [vol., EA]

It should be noted that there is also an indirect ergative in which the subject is in the ergative and the object in the dative (indirect object).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S (erg.)</th>
<th>O (dat.)</th>
<th>V (mixed construction)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ཐེ་འེ་</td>
<td>ཁྲ</td>
<td>འོ་-པར་་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshering-ki’</td>
<td>tā-la</td>
<td>tā’-pare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshering + Erg.</td>
<td>horse+Dat.</td>
<td>look-past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Tshering looked at the horse.”

Verbs governing this type of construction will be identified as: E(rgative) D(ative).

Ex.: དབུ་ “to look (at)” [vol., ED]
This construction appears mainly with compound verbs (which usually have three syllables), such as ཨོི་ོ་ཐོག་ནང་ སྐྱེ་“to be interested (in)”, ཚོ་ཐོ་མཁན་ཐོ་ སྲོ་པ་ གཞུང་“to be careful of”), ཞེས་་ཐོ་གཞི་ སྐྱེ་“to make a phone call (to)”, ཁུ་ཐོ་ཐོ་ཐ་ སྲོ་པ་“to have faith (in)”. 

The ergative also appears with verbs involving three participants (ditransitive):

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{S (erg.)} & \text{O indirect (dat.)} & \text{O (abs.)} & \text{V} \\
ངོ་སོའི་ & མོང་ལ་ & རྟེ་དེ་ & གཞུང་པོ་ིན \ 

give (h)-past & & & \\

the agent & \\

gave him a book. \\

Verbs that take this type of construction will be noted as: E(rgative) D(ative) A(bsolutive).

Ex. : ཉེ་“to offer” [vol., EDA]

In exceptional cases, the ergative may also be used to mark the agent of volitional intransitive verbs, especially verbs of movement (see Lesson 27). The effect of the ergative in this case is to emphasize the agent or his/her volition.

- The instrumental is used to convey three main meanings: the instrument or implement; the manner; the cause. It may be used either with an agent (explicit or implicit) or without one.

Ex. : ནི་ཐོ འཐོ བསྟོད་པོས་ བསྟོད་པོས་

mäni tise tsämän-ki' sù'-pare'

“These medicines are made with medicinal herbs.”

ཁོ བེ་ཐོ བསྟོད་པོས་ བསྟོད་པོས་

khö' rjmo ti sànyu'-ki' thri'-song

“He drew this picture with chalk.”

ལུསི་ ངོ་ བསྟོད་པོས་ བསྟོད་པོས་

luktsi' kh质量安全 yūkpa' tung-song

“The shepherd hit the dog with a stick.”

ཁོ བསྟོད་པོས་ བསྟོད་པོས་

khö mäni-ki' thra'-song

“He got better thanks to the medicine.”

8.3.3 Future auxiliaries

The future is formed by placing after the verb the particles: ཀྲེེ (assertive) or ཆི་ (intentional egophoric). These are composed by adding the essential copula re’ or yin to the suffix ཁི. In written Tibetan, ཁི has several possible variants according to the final consonant of the preceding syllable. The pattern of these variants is the same as in the case of the genitive (see 4.3.2) except for vowels and the letter ‘a: }
• after vowels and ʰa, ʰi, ʰg, ʰng  > ʰggi /khi/  
• after ʰd, ʰb, ʰs and the second crypted suffix ʰd  > ʰkyi /kyl/  
• after ʰn, ʰm, ʰr, ʰl  > ʰgvi /kyl/  

In Spoken Tibetan, the suffix is pronounced ki in all cases.

The intentional form kiyin may be used only with volitional verbs in the first person. In interrogative sentences, the egophoric form ʰbidi kiyi is replaced by ʰm̥ kā if the statement contains no interrogative pronoun, and by ʰm̥ kā otherwise.

The different forms are given in the following table:

**The future auxiliaries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronoun)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronoun)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʰbidi</td>
<td>ʰbidi-pā’ kiyin-pā’</td>
<td>ʰp’</td>
<td>ʰbidi</td>
<td>ʰbidi-pā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyin</td>
<td>ʰm̥ kā’</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kimān</td>
<td>kimān-pā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰm̥ rē’</td>
<td>ʰm̥ rē’-pā’</td>
<td>ʰrē’</td>
<td>kimāre’</td>
<td>kimāre’-pā’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex.: ʰbidi kiyin ‘sangnyin momo’ so-kiyi  “Tomorrow I shall make momos.”
ʰbidi kiyin ‘sangnyin momo’ so-rē’  “Tomorrow he/she will make momos.”

**8.3.4 The future forms of the verbs “to be” and “to have”**

The copulas yō’, ty’, yg:re’, etc. are not used in future constructions. Instead, the future forms of the full verbs khang chā’ “to become”, ʰn̥ chęk’ “to do”, ṭ CGRect “to come” and ṭ CGRect tā’ “to stay” are used. A distinction may be made between essential and existential statements.

A) Essential statements

• When the complement of the subject is a substantive (equative sense), Tibetan uses the following verbs: ʰkang kā’ chā’-kire’ or ʰkang kā’ chék’-kire’.

Ex.: ʰkang kā’ chék’-kire’  “He/she will be a doctor.”
ʰkang kā’ chā’-kire’  “She will be a nurse.”

• When the complement of the subject is an adjective, the following verbs are used: ʰkang kā’ chā’-kire’ or ʰkang kā’ yong-kire’.

103. Note that yong may also mean “to be appropriate”.

Ex.
Ex.: ལབ’ ལབ’ དབྱེ་བོ་  “It will be easy.”

Ex.: ཀྱི་ཟླངས་ དབྱེ་བོ་  “It will be pleasant.”

* If the gradual process of the future is to be stressed, the form མགོ་པོ་ ཆི་ དབེ་བོ་ is also used:

Ex.: ངོན་པོ་ ཆི་ དབྱེ་བོ་  “It will turn blue.”

B) Existential statements

A distinction may be made between expressions of situation, of existence and of possession.

* The verb “to be” in the sense of “to be located at” (situational sense) is translated by the future of the verb “to stay” ལེགས་ ས་་, or its honorific form ལེགས་ སྨིན་་:

Ex.: ལེགས་ ས་་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “I shall be (or stay) at home.”

Ex.: ལེགས་ ས་་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “He will be (or stay) in the capital.”

* Possession and existence are expressed by using the future form of the verb བོད་ དབེ་བོ་.

Ex.: བོད་ དབྱེ་བོ་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “She will have twins.”

Ex.: བོད་ དབྱེ་བོ་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “He will have money.”

Ex.: བོད་ དབྱེ་བོ་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “He won’t have any problems.”

8.3.5 The receptive egophoric past tense auxiliary ོ་ དབྱེ་བོ་

The “receptive” auxiliary -cung is used only in the past tense. This auxiliary is associated with the first-person pronoun, whether this be the subject (“I”), the object (“me”), the indirect (“to me”) or an adverbial (“at my place”, etc.).

Ex.: ལྗོང་ དབྱེ་བོ་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “I fell ill.”

Ex.: ལྗོང་ དབྱེ་བོ་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “He phoned me.”

Ex.: ལྗོང་ དབྱེ་བོ་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “I met our uncle.”

Ex.: ལྗོང་ དབྱེ་བོ་  དབྱེ་བོ་  “He came to my place.”
8.4 Exercises

8.4.1 Fill in the brackets using the appropriate future form or ་(remember to use the proper form of the suffix ོ།):

1) གཅིག་པ་གང་བརྒྱུད་པ་ ( )
2) ཨིན་པ་གང་བརྒྱུད་པ་ ( )?
3) ཟུ་པ་བོ་བཅིས་ིར་གངས་པ་ ( )?
4) གི་ཁིམ་འཇིག་གཞན་གྱུར་བ་ ( )?
5) གང་བརྒྱུད་པ་མཚོན་ཁྱབ་ཅིག་ ( )!
6) འབྲེ་འཇིག་ ( )!
7) ཁྱད་དཔོན་བསང་པོ་བཙོལ་བ་ ( )?
8) དུས་པ་བདེ་ན་( )?
9) དབྱུར་བ་བདེ་ན་( )!
10) ཀུན་འཇིག་དཔོན་( )?
11) ཕྱི་ཁིམ་བྱུང་བསམ་ཤེས་པ་ ( )?
12) ཡི་བོ་བཙོལ་བ་ ( )?

8.4.2 Rewrite sentences 1-9 from Exercise 8.4.1 in the negative.

8.4.3 Complete the sentences using the appropriate form of the genitive or the agentive.

1) ཤི་བསྟན་( )
2) རྒྱ་བ་( )
3) རྒྱ་བ་( )
4) རྒྱ་བ་( )
5) རྒྱ་བ་( )
6) རྒྱ་བ་( )
7) རྒྱ་བ་( )
8) རྒྱ་བ་( )
9) རྒྱ་བ་( )
10) རྒྱ་བ་( )

8.4.4 Translate into English:

1) བདག་པ་བོ་བཅིས་ིར་གངས་པ་
2) སྡེ་ལུགས་ངོམ་ོ་
3) བོད་ཐོབ་སྐུ་ི་ཐོབ་སྐངས་
4) སྤྱོད་པ་བོ་བཅིས་ིར་གངས་པ་

8.4.5 Translate into Tibetan:

1. The cook made bread with meat stuffing.
2. I met your mother.
3. The doctor gave me some medicine.
4. His older brother loves chang.
5. My younger sister gave me a pen.
6. He wrote three words.
Lesson 9

"What's your name?"

Grammar aims
- Verb constructions: ergative, affective and possessive.
- The ablative case 'rúm -ná'.
- The associative case 'min -tang.'
- The present auxiliaries: 'së-ðin -dën',
  -këyore', 'së-ðëšë -kitu', 'së-ðëšë -këyë'.
- The interrogative pronouns 'së-in khaná' and 'së-in khatsö'.

9.1 Dialogue

CD 1 - Tr. 27-28
Pronunciation
- törce-la’, cḥa’pe’ nāng-cung.
- la’ yö’, kūkyi: sāttang
- khōngtso khanā’ phēp-parā’
- khōngtso kyā:kap trāmintra-nā’ phēp-pare’
- törce’-la’, khōng khanā’ rā’, yēnci-nā’ rē’-pā’
- māre’, khōng āmerika-nā’ rē’
- khyērang-ki tshān-la khare shu-kiyō’
- ngā: mīng-la cō:n ser-kiyō’
- trāshi tèle’, ngā: mīng-la lösang ser-kiyō’
- khōngtso khanā’ yīn-na
- phō’-la nyima khaṭsō’ shu’-kīrā’
- tūntra’ c’i’-ts shu’-kīrē’

Translation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lobzang</th>
<th>Dorje</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>— Dorje, welcome.</td>
<td>— Thanks, how are you? (Is the mandala of your body clear?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobzang</td>
<td>Dorje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Where are they from?</td>
<td>— They are (have come) from various countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobzang</td>
<td>Dorje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Tell me Dorje, where’s he from? Is he from England?</td>
<td>— No, he’s from America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobzang</td>
<td>Dorje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— What’s your name?</td>
<td>— My name’s John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobzang</td>
<td>Dorje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— How do you do, my name’s Lobzang. And where are they from?</td>
<td>— They’re French, and they’re called Marie and Caroline. They’re Japanese and they’re called Yuko and Makoto. He’s German, and he’s called Hans. He’s Chinese; he comes from Hong Kong and he’s called Wang. They come from Russia and they’re called Masha and Tania. Those come from India and Nepal. They’re called Ramesh and Sunita. They come from Bhutan and Mongolia, and they have Tibetan names: Lhakpa Gyap and Ngawang Dorje.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobzang</td>
<td>Dorje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— How long (how many days) are they going to stay in Tibet?</td>
<td>— About a week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2 Vocabulary

(ENCH) tshān (H)
kyā:kap
ţüntra'
khānā'
khātā'  ’ā khsā:’ (L)
tsām (L)
phartu
tramintra
kūkyi: sā:tang
shy (h)
she'

(n.) name
(n.) state, country
(n.) week
(pron.) from where?
(pron.) how much, how many?
(part.) about
(post.) up to
(adj.) various
(idiom.) how are you?
(v.) [inv., DA] to call, to be called, named
(v.) [inv., AD] to be afraid

Names of countries:

Country

China
PRC
India
Mongolia
Nepal
Bhutan
Persia, Iran
Russia
Burma, Myanmar
Pakistan
Japan
Italy
Switzerland
Germany
France

Inhabitants

Chinese
member of the PRC
Indian
Mongol
Nepalese
Bhutanese
Iranian
Russia
Burmese
Pakistani
Japanese
Italian
Swiss
German
French
The spelling of country names that have no standard written form reproduces the English or Chinese pronunciation.

Some languages:
- हिंदी (Hindi)
- नेपाली (Nepali)
- भूटानी (Bhutanese)
- परسی (Persian)
- रूसी (Russian)
- इंग्लिश (English)
- फ्रेंच (French)
- इटालियन (Italian)
- मंगोल (Mongol)
- बर्मन (Burmese)
- जापानी (Japanese)
- अरबी (Arabic)
- स्पेनिश (Spanish)
- जर्मन (German)

9.3 Remarks

9.3.1 Verb constructions
The ergative construction (see 8.4) is used by the following class of verbs:

A) All volitional transitive verbs:
- Verbs of action (e.g., गर्न “to make”), verbs of speech (e.g., लाग “to speak”), etc.
- Several verbs that are formed with the use of the transitive verbalizers to send” (e.g., ज्ञाना धर्म सामलो “to think, reflect”), चेह “to do” (e.g., रक्षा तिन्न सेम्ट्रा: चेह “to worry”), तिन्न सापसाप चेह “to be careful”), etc.

B) Non-volitional transitive verbs:
- Certain verbs of perception (e.g., देख “to see”, घोर “to hear”).
- Certain psychological verbs (e.g., धर्म साम “to think”, रक्षागुे “to forget”).

Verbs that require the particle क्ष will be referred to as “ergative verbs”.

104. The abbreviated form अर्थ is often used.

105. Verbalizers are “meaning-free” verbs such as “to do” which are combined with nouns to create a wide range of verbs. See Lesson 14.
Unlike volitional transitive verbs, which only govern ergative constructions, non-volitional transitive verbs may take several different kinds of constructions. Depending on the circumstances, non-volitional transitive verbs may require: the ergative construction, the affective construction and the possessive construction.

With non-volitional verbs, ergative constructions are identical to what we have already seen for volitional verbs: the subject is in the ergative case, while the object is in the absolutive.

\[
\begin{align*}
S &\text{ (Erg.)} & O &\text{ (Abs.)} & V &\text{(ergative construction)} \\
\text{štēring-ki} & & \text{ḥ} & & \text{skrām-če} & \\
\text{tā} & & & & \text{thong-pare}' &
\end{align*}
\]

"Tshering saw the horse."

Verbs that govern this type of construction will be identified as: inv(oluntary), E(rgative) A(bsolutive).

Ex. \[
\text{ṣhe} \text{ “to see” [inv., EA]} \]

In affective constructions, the subject is in the absolutive and the object in the dative. The construction is governed mainly by verbs of feeling such as \[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥrē’ka} & \text{ “to like”, } \text{ḥrē’ she’ “to be afraid”, } \\
\text{štēlpā sā} & \text{ “to get angry”, } \text{štēlpā lā “to be amazed”, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
S &\text{ (Abs.)} & O &\text{ (Dat.)} & V &\text{(affective construction)} \\
\text{štēring} & & \text{ḥrē’} & & \text{štēlpā} & \\
\text{tā-la} & & & & \text{she’-pare’} & 
\end{align*}
\]

"Tshering was afraid of the horse."

Verbs that govern this sort of construction will be identified as: inv(oluntary), A(bsolutive) D(ative).

Ex. \[
\text{ष्टे” “to be afraid” [inv., AD]} \]

In possessive constructions, the subject is in the dative and the object in the absolutive. They are governed mainly by verbs relating to belonging or acquisition, such as \[
\begin{align*}
\text{štēlpā “to get”, } \text{štēlpā “to find, acquire”, } \text{ṣbe’ “to be born”, } \\
\text{štēlpā miṣrā “to dream”, etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
S &\text{ (Dat.)} & O &\text{ (Abs.)} & V &\text{(possessive construction)} \\
\text{štēlpā} & & \text{ḥrē’} & & \text{štēlpā} & \\
\text{tā-la} & & & & \text{nye’-pare’} & 
\end{align*}
\]

"Tshering found the horse."

Verbs governing this kind of construction will be identified as: inv(oluntary), D(ative) A(bsolutive).

Ex. \[
\text{ष्टे” “to find” [inv., DA]} \]
9.3.2 The ablative རང་-nä'

* This invariable case-particle indicates spatial or temporal provenance.

Ex.: རང་ལྷUILTINཀ སྐབས་-nä' chārmtö phartu "from Lhasa to Chamdo"
རང་གུས་-nä' ngāpa phartu "from three to five o’clock"

N.B.: The ablative is often associated with verbs indicating acquisition, such as ཕྱིང་-nyē’ "to find", ཁུང་-nyö’ "to buy", སྡོང་-thö’ “to obtain”, རླུ་-yär “to borrow”, རྣལ་-rʌ’ “to get, find”, and verbs of movement such as བོད་-treq “to go”.

Ex.: རང་ཁྲོས་-nä’ nyē’-pare’ “bought from the market"
རང་ཤིག་-nä’ nyē’-cung “I found it on [lit. from] the road”
རང་ཏི-nä’ treq “go through [lit. from] here”

* When it follows an animate being, the ablative may also assume the role of the ergative, and thus becomes a marker for the **agent of the action**. Used in this way, it is the same as the agentive case. While this usage is common in Literary Tibetan, it is rare in the spoken language.

Ex.: རོ་པོ་-nä’ kālop nang song “Rinpoche gave a teaching.”

།བོ་ལོ་-nä’ không-la pho’ khatso’ kya’-kitu’ “What (lit. how much) salary does the government give him?"

* The particle -nä’ may be used in the composition of postpositions and adverbs.

Ex.: རང་-nä’ adverbializer, “in an X way”, རང་-nä’ kō-nä’ adverbializer “in an X way”, རང་khyön-nä’ "absolutely (not)”, རང་-nä’ tsāwa-nä’ “absolutely (not)”, etc.

As in the other cases, the particle -nä’ may function as a **subordinating conjunction**. When used in this way it means “after”, “then”, “because”, or it may be used to form gerundives (see 14.4).

9.3.3 The associative case གུང་thang/-tang.

* This particle, which we have met earlier, is used mainly as a coordinating conjunction (or connective) meaning “and”; however, it also corresponds to a case, the **associative**, which is generally translated as “with” or “against”, or else is not translated at all. In the spoken language, this case-related function is little used (for the literary language, see section 3.3 in Appendix 1).

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106. A title, accorded to certain lamas, meaning “precious”.
• The particle -tang is usually unstressed, and attached to the preceding word. However, on certain occasions it is stressed, in which case it is pronounced: thang.

Contrary to normal practice in the European languages and in Chinese, Tibetan inserts a pause (when one is required) after, not before, the conjunction. In fact, the particle -tang is often followed by a punctuation mark, the kyang-shad, which indicates a pause.

Ex.: ཚུལ་བུ་གནས་གྲིམ་པ་བདེ་བར། pāla'-tang āku-tang āni “the father, the uncle and the aunt”

To reproduce the Tibetan rhythm, we would have to say: “the father and… the uncle and… the aunt”.

• The conjunction -tang is distributive with respect to case and number. This means that the noun group which precedes it has no number or case marker: these markers appear only once, at the end of the whole group. Thus in the following examples, the plural marker appears only once.

Ex.: འདས་བཀྲུབ་གསར། āma-tang pūktso “the mother and the children”
(Tibetan would not say: འདས་བཀྲུབ་གསར། āmatso-tang pūktso.)

In the following examples, the case marker appears only once:

Ex.: ལེགས་པའི་ཐོམ་གནང་ལྡན་འབྲི་སེང་། phy-tang phyomtso-r lakt'a trā'-pare’
“(They) gave presents to the boys and (to the) girls.”

་ཚིི་དཀོན་མཆོག་སྤྲེབས་ལྡན་འབྲི་སེང་། tshering-tang lōsang-ki' āra' tūng'-song
“Tshering and Lobzang drank some alcohol.”

• In the spoken language, the associative case marker applies to a very limited number of verbs. Furthermore, it may sometimes be replaced by other cases such as the absolutive or the oblique. Here are some verbs that still take this case in oral usage:

ex: རྒྱ་ན་ཐུན་པོ་ “to get on with”, སྣ་ཐུན་ “to break (a law)”, རྒྱ་ཐུན་ “to exchange (for)” ཀྲུལ་ “to mistake (for)”, གླེང་ ” to separate (from)”, and certain adverbial constructions. ཡོག་ཐུན་ nyāmpo “with”, etc.

Ex.: རྒྱ་ན་པར་ དྲེ་གྲིས། tsāmpa-tang cē-kīyö’
“I exchange it for tsampa.”

་ཚིི་དཀོན་མཆོག་སྤྲེབས་ལྡན་འབྲི་སེང་། tshering lōsang-tang thūnpo tu’
“Tshering gets on well with Lobzang.”

ཐུན་པོ་ཁམས་དང་པོ་ དྲེ་གྲིས་ ngā’ mo-tang khā'ka' che'-kīyin
“I’m going to separate from her.”
9.3.4 Present tense auxiliaries

The present tense is formed by placing after the verb the particles: རེ་ ཨ་ མི་ སྐྱོད་ (assertive), རེ་ ཨ་ བྱུང་ (testimonial) and རེ་ སྐོལ་ (egophoric). These are formed by adding an existential copula to the suffix རེ་. The resulting auxiliaries have the same evidential value as the existential copulas. In modern conversational usage, the form རེ་ བྱུང་ kitu’ is often abbreviated to རེ་ བར་ ཆ་.

In English, these forms may be translated either by the progressive or the simple present depending on the context.

The various forms are presented in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronouns)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronouns)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| རེ་ ཨ་ | རེ་ སྐོལ་ | རེ་ ཨ་ | རེ་ སྐོལ་ | རེ་ སྐོལ་ བར་
| སྐྱོད་ | སྐྱོད་ བར་ | སྐྱོད་ | སྐྱོད་ | སྐྱོད་ བར་
| བྱུང་ | བྱུང་ བར་ | བྱུང་ | བྱུང་ | བྱུང་ བར་
| kitu’/དྲི་ | kitu’ བར་ | kitu’ | kitu’ | kitu’ བར་
| རེ་ ཨ་ སྐྱོད་ | རེ་ ཨ་ སྐྱོད་ བར་ | རེ་ ཨ་ སྐྱོད་ | རེ་ ཨ་ སྐྱོད་ | རེ་ ཨ་ སྐྱོད་ བར་
| སྐྱོད་ | སྐྱོད་ | སྐྱོད་ | སྐྱོད་ | སྐྱོད་
| སྐོལ་ | སྐོལ་ | སྐོལ་ | སྐོལ་ | སྐོལ་

Ex.: རེ་ ཨ་ སྐྱོད་ སྐོལ་ སྐྱོད་ སྐོལ་

“I am preparing the meal.” or “I prepare the meal.” (egophoric)

རེ་ ཨ་ བྱུང་ སྐྱོད་ སྐྱོད་ སྐོལ་

“I am writing a letter.” or “I write letters.” (egophoric)

རེ་ ཨ་ རེ་ སྐྱོད་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་

“Lobzang prepares food.” or “Lobzang is preparing food.” (assertive)

རེ་ ཨ་ རེ་ སྐྱོད་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་

“Lobzang is preparing food.” or “Lobzang prepares food.” (testimonial)

རེ་ ཨ་ རེ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་

“Dorje writes letters.” or “Dorje is writing a letter.” (assertive)

རེ་ ཨ་ རེ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་ སྐོལ་

“Dorje is writing a letter.” or “Dorje writes letters.” (testimonial)
9.4 Exercises

9.4.1 Complete the following sentences with the use of present auxiliaries.

7) བོད་ནི་རི་གུན་(   )?  8) བོད་ཤིག་ཤིག་(   )?
8) སྦོ་ཤིག་(   )!  9) སྨོ་རོ་ཚོས་(   )?
10) སྦོ་ཤིག་(   )!  11) སྨོ་རོ་ཚོས་(   )?

9.4.2 Rewrite the following sentences in the testimonial mood (using the auxiliaries བོད་, རི་ or དུ་ as appropriate).

7) བོད་པོ་མེད་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་  8) བོད་པོ་ཏོ་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་
8) སྦོ་པོ་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་  9) སྦོ་་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་
10) སྦོ་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་  11) སྨོ་་ཚོས་ དུ་
12) སྨོ་་ཚོས་ དུ་

9.4.3 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Tomorrow my son will not go to school.  4. I love momos.
2. She gave the teacher flowers.  5. Nyima prepared the meal.
3. The teacher gave me a book.  6. It’s really delicious.

9.4.4 Rewrite the sentences following the example given:

7) བོད་པོ་མེད་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་  8) བོད་ཤིག་༢༠ དུ་
8) སྦོ་པོ་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་  9) སྦོ་པོ་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་
10) སྦོ་ཤིག་ཤིག་ དུ་  11) སྨོ་་ཚོས་ དུ་
12) སྨོ་་ཚོས་ དུ་
9.4.5 Translate into English:

9.4.6 Complete the following sentences by inserting the appropriate case particles in the brackets.

1. རིག་རིགས་( ) གཤེར་( ) བཏང་ལོངས་ཟེར།
2. ཟ་མཐོང་( ) རྣམ་མཐོང་( ) བདག
3. རིག་རིགས་( ) ཅེས་( ) བཙུན་པོའི་ནོར།
4. རྟོལ་ཕྱོགས་( ) གཙུག་( ) དཀར་རབས།
5. དུས་རབ་( ) དི་ཤི( ) དཀའ་རིགས་
“What are you doing these days?”

Grammar aims

- The notion of verb aspect.
- Verb inflection.
- Auxiliary verbs and the system of tenses.
- The past (perfect) tense auxiliaries: འབྲིང་-འོ་; རུང་-sha’
  (or རུང་-tu’), དིར་-yore’.
- The interrogative pronoun རྗེ་'khatô’.
- Alternative interrogative forms.

10.1 Dialogue

CD 1 • Tr. 29-30
Pronunciation

- lösang-la 'shu-’tu-’kä'
- la 'shu-’sha’ yar chökyur nāṅgko, lösang-la’ taj: dī phęp-song
- ö torce rē’-wa, tēpo yinpā
- tēpo yin, khīērang?
- te thākco’ thengsang khare che’-kiyō’
- lāptrar trog-kiyō’
- khungsang khatū’ rā’
- tawa cēmar rē’
- sŏ:ca kyā’-ka khoći kyā’-ka
- sŏ:ca khoći shū-kiyın
- chāng thūng-kimān-pā
- lā’ mān, chāng thūng-kimān
- āmala’ chŏcang chō’-kire’-pā’
- khości’ chō’-kimare’

Translation

Dorje — Is Lobzang there (lit.: has he stayed)?
Drölkar — Yes, he’s here. Please come in. Lobzang, someone’s come!
Lobzang — Oh, it’s Dorje, isn’t it? How are you?
Dorje — Fine, and you?
Lobzang — Very well indeed. What are you doing these days?
Dorje — I’m going to school.
Lobzang — When are the holidays?
Dorje — Next month.
Drölkar — Shall I bring some tea or coffee?
Dorje — I’ll have a cup of tea.
Lobzang — Won’t you have some chang?
Dorje — No thanks, I won’t have any chang.
Lobzang — Will your mother have some chang?
Dorje — No, she never drinks

10.2 Vocabulary

khungsang (n.) holidays, vacation
khungseng (L.) (n.) very well indeed
thākco’ (n.) these days
thensang (n.) coffee
khōpi (n.) coffee
10.3 Remarks  བཀྲིག་མཚན

10.3.1 The notion of verb aspect

The notion of aspect is essential for learning the system of verb “tenses” in most of the world’s languages. In view of the importance of aspect in Tibetan, it may be good to have a working definition of the term, following a reminder of what we mean by “tense”.

Tense is defined most immediately with respect to the moment of speech utterance. Whatever precedes this moment is the past; everything that coincides with it is the present; and whatever follows it is the future.

Aspect is concerned primarily with whether the action has or has not been completed with respect to a given point of reference (past, present or future). According to the chosen perspective, the process is regarded as perfective, that is completed, or else as imperfective, meaning that it is still going on or is a habitual event. (In either case the point of reference need not be the

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107. This is an adjectival suffix. The category is dealt with in Lesson 17.
present.) This explains why, in many languages, the imperfective bears a strong resemblance to the present: both the present and the imperfect past are non-completed. The action is regarded as still going on, and is seen as being incomplete from a given point of reference (respectively, the present and the future). In Tibetan, the present and the imperfect past are identical, whereas the perfective past is entirely different (see Lesson 6.4).

Only context makes it possible to distinguish between the present and the past imperfective. For example, the sentences below convey a present meaning.

Ex.:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>དབུ་བརླ་བུ་ལྔོགས་ཀྱི་བཤད་ནི་རཱེ་</td>
<td>kyäntsän-la’ ēmci r̃e’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Gyantshān is a doctor.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོང་ཉགས་མངོན་མཁའ་ཆེ’-ཁྱོར་</td>
<td>không ngamlên mängpo che’-kiyore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He practices a lot.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོང་ཐས་ཀྱར་གོང་</td>
<td>không lhāsr ỹore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“He is in Lhasa.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ནག་མགོ་གཞི་ཐེག་བཟོ་ཆེ’-ཁྱོར་</td>
<td>tshering pentsökgang nang-la lāka che’-ki ỹore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Tshering works in the library.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, if each of these sentences were preceded by ཡང་འཕྲིན་འཕྲིན་ (“at that time”) or ཡང་འཕྲིན་ngāma, they would correspond to the past imperfective (without any transformation of the verb).

Ex.:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཡང་འཕྲིན་གོང་ཐས་ཀྱར་གོང་</td>
<td>“At that time, Gyantshān was a doctor.” (same as: Gyantshān is a doctor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཡང་འཕྲིན་དབུ་བརླ་བུ་ལྔོགས་ཀྱི་བཤད་ནི་རཱེ་</td>
<td>“At that time he was in Lhasa.” (same as: is in Lhasa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཡང་འཕྲིན་ཆེ་ཁྱོད་བཟོ་ཆེ’-ཁྱོར་</td>
<td>“At that time, he used to practice a lot.” (same as: He practices a lot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཡང་འཕྲིན་ངོ་མགོ་གཞི་ཐེག་བཟོ་ཆེ’-ཁྱོར་</td>
<td>“Before, Tshering worked / used to work in the library.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Perfective” means that an action is regarded as being finished (from a present, past or even future point of reference).  

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108. In English for example, the progressive formed with the present participle “ing” and the auxiliary “be” corresponds to an imperfective aspect. The progressive past, present and future are all formed with the same present participle. I.e.: was practi-<i>cing</i>, is practi-<i>ing</i> and will be practi-<i>ing</i>.  
109. In the present and the future, the mark for the agent is often left out. See the “remarks” section in Lesson 12.  
110. More precisely, with the imperfective aspect, no limit of the process is overstepped or reached, while with the
The last two examples become in the perfective past:

Ex.:  <-kā¹ bīṅg-kas dren  cā thal-pa lha rje
khöṅ-gki nyamlen mangpo chā'-pare'
“He practiced a lot.”

<-kā¹ bīṅg-kas dren pa  cā dren gnam lha rje
tshēr-gki pēn-thogs khang nang-la lākā chā'-pare'
“Tsherking worked in the library.”

- The perfective aspect may be subdivided into perfect and aorist (or non-perfect). The perfect signifies that the effects of an action performed in the past are still relevant at the moment the statement is made, while in the case of the aorist, the past action being referred to bears no relationship to the present moment.111

In Tibetan, as in English, there is a grammatical opposition between aorist and perfect.

In English, the aorist is marked by the preterite while the perfect is marked by the “present perfect”.112

Ex.:  <-lā mā kā lā sō’-yō’
“I’ve prepared the meal.” (it’s ready, we can eat)

<-lā mā kā lā sō’-payin
“I prepared the meal.” (last time, some time ago, etc.)

The perfect aspect will be described in detail below in 10.3.3.

10.3.2 Verb inflection

In Classical Tibetan many verbs have up to four different root forms (see Appendix 1). Spoken Tibetan makes indiscriminate use of verb stem forms that correspond to the “future” and the “present” in Literary Tibetan, and at the most only distinguishes between two tenses: the past and the present-future. While some verbs also have a distinctive imperative stem, in most cases this stem resembles either the present-future or the past. Very often, the verb is quite simply invariable (see Appendix 1, section 3.6).

perfective the final limit (or sometimes the initial limit) has been reached. The above definition is based on D. Cohen’s theory in *l’Aspect verbal* (1989). Let us quote here also Comrie’s definition of these aspects: “The imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation”. “Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole” Comrie (1987: 16).

The French imparfait, Spanish imperfecto, Russian imperfective (*nesoveršennyj vid*), the English progressive all bear the basic features of the imperfective, while the French passé composé, the Russian perfective (*soveršennyj vid*), the Spanish preterito all bear the basic features of the perfective. The English preterite however is neutral and may be translated depending on the context either by perfective or imperfective forms in other languages.

111. The opposition between the perfect and the aorist in Tibetan corresponds to the opposition we find in literary French between the passé composé and the passé simple; in English between the present perfect and the preterite, and in Spanish between the preterite and the passado compuesto “composed past”.

112. In Tibetan, however, this opposition is not as pervasive as in English. The simple past perfective may convey both perfect and aorist meanings in the absence of specific perfect form.
The large number of invariable verbs means that inflection is practically obsolete in the spoken language. Tenses are formed by using a system of auxiliaries. In this Manual, the present-future stem form will be marked by the number (1), the past by (2) and the imperative by (3).

### 10.3.3 The perfect auxiliaries

ཆིག་རྫུ་ རྗེ་, རྗེ་ མི་ (or རྗེ་ རུ་) and རྗེ་ རུ་ are directly connected to the past tense form of the main verb. These auxiliaries respectively represent the three evidential moods: assertive, inferential and egophoric.

**Ex.:**

*ཁང་པ་སྲིད་པོ་མངོན་པོ་ལྟར་ཁེ་*  
khängpa sārpa māngpo kyap yo:re'

*"Many new houses have been built."*

*ཁང་པ་སྲིད་པོ་མངོན་པོ་ལྟར་*  
khängpa sārpa māngpo kyap-sha'

*"Look! Many new houses have been built."*

*ལུག་་མདོ་སི་ལ་*  
ngā' cha sō'-yō'

*"I’ve made the tea."

The range of the perfect forms is presented in the following table:

#### The perfect tense auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronouns)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronouns)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>རྗེ་-པ་</td>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-པ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤེ་/ སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-ཁ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-ཁ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤེ་/ སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-ཁ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-ཁ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-པ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-པ་</td>
<td>སྤེ་-པ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The inferential perfect.

The auxiliary སྤེ་/ སྤེ་ bzhag /sha'/ is sometimes spelled shag སྤེ་/ སྤེ་, but here we shall use the former spelling for etymological reasons: the word is derived from the verb bzhag, which means "to put, leave".

As a general rule, the use of the form -sha' (or its variant tu') implies that the speaker is making an "inference" or a deduction in discovering the result or the enduring traces of a past action. Most of the time, the inferential mode may be translated into English by adding "Look!", "My!" or "Why!" to the beginning of a statement in the past tense. In the example given above, it’s upon discovering a construction site in a sector of Lhasa that the speaker says “Why, they’ve
built a lot of new houses!” In certain contexts, the form -sha' may have another, purely resultative connotation: the speaker may use it to emphasize the enduring presence of a past action, even if he or she has been able to see not just these traces but the entirety of the action that is being described.

Ex.: བོད་ལྕགས་ཐོང་ཐོལ་ཞེན་ “Lobzang is here (lit. has stayed here).”

In this statement, the speaker has just discovered Lobzang’s presence either by seeing him directly or from various clues (his hat, for example). Alternatively, he might have been aware of his presence for some time but is emphasizing the fact that he is still around.

• The assertive perfect

The assertive perfect refers to a past action or event with current relevance. Its evidential function is to convey certainty though the speaker does not claim to have personally witnessed the event.

Ex.: བོད་ལྕགས་ཐོང་ཐོལ་ཞེན་ khāng pa sār pa māng po kyāp yo′re’

“Many new houses have been built.”

• The egophoric perfect

Unlike the inferential perfect (and to a certain extent the assertive perfect), the egophoric perfect auxiliary is not widely used. The use of this auxiliary is a complex matter, and it is restricted to a small class of volitional verbs. For example, with the non-volitional verbs འི་ “to be sick” or གཞིན་ thong “to see”, the egophoric perfect aspect may not be used. Even some volitional verbs such as བོད་ “eat”, གཞིན་ “look” are not compatible with the egophoric perfect. In this case, one must instead use the perfective forms.

Ex.: བོད་ལྕགས་ ngā na-cung “I fell ill, I have fallen ill.”

and not * བོད་ བོད་ལྕགས་ ngā thong-cung “I saw, I have seen.”

and not * བོད་ བོད་ལྕགས་ ngā' kha la' sā- payin “I ate, I have eaten the food.”

and not * བོད་ བོད་ལྕགས་ ngā chīn-payin “I have gone (there).”

However with some volitional verbs such as བོད་ “prepare”, བོད་ “write”, བོད་ “stay”, etc. the egophoric aspect frequently occurs.

Ex.: བོད་ལྕགས་ ngā' kha la' sō' yo’ “I have prepared the food.” (the food is here, ready)

and not * བོད་ བོད་ལྕགས་ ngā' yje tsh'i′-yo’ “I have written the letter.” (the letter is here)

113. In most cases, the compatibility of the perfect depends on whether the object of the transitive verb (or the subject of an intransitive verb) exists objectively after the completion of the action and is still present.
 nga nang-la ta’-yo’ “I have stayed at home.” (I am still there)

Note: The negative forms of the egophoric and assertive perfect auxiliaries are more widely used than the affirmative forms. They are often even preferred to the simple perfective, and may occur with non-volitional verbs. Thus, negation in the past tense blurs the distinction between the perfect and perfective aspects.

For example, ང་བ་ཀྱི་ལོག་“I haven’t gone” is more commonly heard than པ་པ་མེད།, and similarly, རིམ་པ་མེད་པའི་གཉེན་“He hasn’t gone” rather than རིམ་པ་མེད་པའི་གཉེན་. Nevertheless, perfective forms may be used to emphasize the subject’s refusal to perform the action: རིམ་པ་མེད་པའི་གཉེན་“I didn’t go (even though I was supposed to).”114 [deontic modality]

10.3.4 Auxiliary verbs and the system of tenses

Tense-aspects are formed by combining two kinds of marker: verb inflection, as described above, and the use of a system of final auxiliaries. In view of the large number of invariant verbs, oral Tibetan makes extensive use of these auxiliaries. The latter indicate both the tense-aspect and the evidential nature of a given statement, which thereby reveals the source of information from which its authority is derived.

As far as tense-aspect is concerned, Tibetan distinguishes: future, present (similar to the imperfective past), perfective past and perfect.

Reminder: auxiliaries usually go after the main verb, i.e., at the end of the sentence and only rarely within subordinate clauses.

The system of auxiliary verbs is summarized in Table 3 of Appendix 6.

10.3.5 Auxiliary verbs and evidential modalities

Auxiliaries have the same evidential categories as copulas (see 5.3 and 6.3): testimonial, assertive, egophoric and inferential.

A) The assertive

The assertive corresponds to a definite item of information, or else a historical or general truth (see Lesson 5.3). This mood may be used in all the tenses: future བོད་, present བོད་, and past བོད་. Note that the present includes forms similar to the future that denote a habitual state of affairs or a general truth (see Lesson 24.3).

Ex.: བོད། མང་ོང་། མེ་ོར། “It’s going to snow.”

114. The ergative case is sometimes used with intransitive volitional verbs in order to put an emphasis on the subject. (see Lesson 12).
Lesson 10 - རོ་པ་རིགས་པར

B) The testimonial

The testimonial specifies that the speaker is personally a witness to what he or she is stating to be the case. The authority is usually visual, but may also be aural or derived from any of the other senses (touch, smell or taste). This mood appears only in the present with བན་པར། and in the past with ཇེས་. It does not appear in future constructions because of the impossibility of witnessing what hasn’t already happened!

Ex.:

ków-rig-ka

khang’ täng-song

“It snowed.” (I saw it snowing)

khang’ täng-ki-tu’

“It’s snowing.” (I can see it snowing)

różo nyijn ce-po c’ thri’-song

“He drew a pretty picture.” (I saw him drawing it)

With volitional verbs and most non-volitional verbs, the testimonial mood is used essentially for the second and third persons (singular and plural), except in special instances of self-observation (looking in the mirror, dreaming, watching a video recording of oneself, etc.) or performing involuntary actions.

Ex.:

ག་ར་བ་དྲ་བ་

nga nor-pu lling kar tro-ki-tu’

“I’m going to the Norbu lingk’a.” (I see myself going there in a dream, in a film, etc.)

འག་བྱ་ས་་-song

“(Dammit) I’ve eaten meat.”

འག་པ་ས་-song

“I’ve killed an insect.” (accidentally)

These sentences are usually constructed with intentional auxiliaries.

On the other hand, when the testimonial mood is associated with certain non-volitional verb forms, particularly of perception (such as དོ་་ to hear, སྣོད་ to see, མདོ་ to be ill, etc.) and affect (such as དབྱུང་ to love, སྤེ་ to fear), it appears naturally with the first person, and more rarely with the second and third (in which case reported or inferential speech is preferred). The perception of certain feelings or sensations is accessible only to the speaker. We refer to this as the endopathic function of the testimonial mood.

Ex.: འག་འ་

nga na-ki-tu’

“I’m ill, I’m in pain.” (I feel it)

nga’ thran-ki-tu’

“I remember!” (I can testify to it)
The last two sentences are normally not acceptable because the speaker cannot have direct access to this sort of information — that is, he cannot perceive the state of pain or hunger experienced by the sufferer. The two sentences would be correctly expressed, using the inferential mood (explained immediately below), as:

khö ng-sha'  "He’s ill, he’s in pain."
khö thröko’ tö’-sha’  "He’s hungry."

The statement in each case corresponds to an inference based on an observation of the sufferer’s symptoms.

C) The inferential

The inferential mood ཡག་པ། implies that the authority for what is said is derived from the enduring traces or results of a past action. Even if the speaker has not taken part in the event being described, he or she considers it to be definitely factual.

Ex.:  ཆང་ལ་གཟིགས།  khang’ täng-sha’
"Look, it’s snowed!” (I can see the traces)

rin mnyöng cpo d‘i thri’-sha’  "He’s drawn a pretty picture.” (I’ve just come across it)

tharco’ särpa mngpo tšu’-sha’
"They’ve put up a lot of prayer-flags.”
pö’ mngpo pär-sha’  "(Look!) they’ve burned a lot of incense.” (we can smell it, and see the ash)

The inferential is rarely used with the first person. However, it may be used when the subject has not been aware of performing the action and only later has discovered he actually did it.

Ex.:  ལྷི་སྐྱེས།  nga’ pu sā’-sha’  "Why, I’ve killed an insect.”

D) The egophoric

Remember that the term “egophoric” refers to auxiliaries that are used only with the first person, whatever the role of the latter may be in a given sentence (subject, object, indirect object,

115. The Japanese language has similar restrictions regarding the endopathic function.
complement). The final auxiliaries include several kinds of egophorics: intentional, receptive, habitual, experiential (see Lesson 15) and allocentric (see Lesson 23).

• Intentional egophoric

These imply that the subject-speaker is performing an action deliberately and may be used only with volitional (or controllable) verbs. The intentional auxiliaries are: ོག་མཚམས།-kiyin(future), ོག་མཚར།-kiyö (present), ོག་མཚར།-payin (perfective), ོག་མཚར།-yö (perfect).

Ex.: ོག་མཚར། ོག་མཚམས། ngä' tšampa nyö-kiyin “I’ll buy some tsampa.”
 Osborne ོག་མཚར། ོག་མཚམས། ngä' tšampa nyö'-yö' “I’ve bought some tsampa.” (perfect)
 Osborne ོག་མཚར། ོག་མཚར། ngä' tšampa nyö'-payin “I bought some tsampa.” (perfective)
 Osborne ོག་མཚར། ོག་མཚར། ngä norpu linges tsi-khyö “I go (or I am going) to the Norbu lingkha palace.” (now or habitually)
 Osborne ོག་མཚར། ོག་མཚར། ngä' shä sã'-payin “I ate some meat.”
 Osborne ོག་མཚរ། ོག་མཚར། ngä' py sã'- payin “I’ve killed an insect.” (intentionally)

• The receptive egophoric

The “receptive” (non-intentional) auxiliary ོག་མཚར། chung, which is used only in the perfective past, implies that the subject-speaker has undergone the action, perceived it (involuntarily) or has been the recipient of it. This auxiliary is associated with the first person pronoun, whether as a subject (“I”), direct object (“me”), indirect object (“to me”) or adverbial (“at my place”, etc.). It may also signify that the action is directed (actually or metaphorically) towards the speaker. Thus we can’t say: ོག་མཚར། ོག་མཚར། “I’ve lost (it)” but rather ོག་མཚར། ོག་མཚར། since the verb “to lose” implies a “distancing” from the speaker.

Ex.: ོག་མཚར། ngä na-cung “I fell ill.”
 Osborne ོག་མཚར། khö' nga-la kha-par tsi-cung “He phoned me.”
 Osborne ོག་མཚར། ngä ca süm thong-cung “I saw three rainbows.”
 Osborne ོག་མ��་གཉིས། khöng-ki' nga mänkang-la thri'-cung “He took me to the hospital.”

It is sometimes possible to replace the receptive egophoric auxiliary by the testimonial as shown below, with a subtle distinction in their meaning.

Ex.: ོག་མཚར། ngä hä khg-cung “I understood.” or “I have understood.”
 Osborne ོག་མ��་གཉིས། ngä hä khg-song “I have understood.” (just right now)

The use of cung indicates that the verbal action (or process) may have happened some time before the moment of speech, while the use of the testimonial song suggests that it has just happened just now.
The habitual egophoric

The auxiliary ཤིང་འགྱུར་ མ་’ is used with reference to habitual facts that involve the speaker.

Ex.: རྟེན་སྐྱིད། n'ya nga-kime ‘I’m never ill.’
ངླ་མ་ རྟེན་གཉིས་ མ་ ཁྲེང་གི་སྲིད། ngāma nga yakpo thöng-kiyō’
“Previously, I used to see well.”
ངླ་ ལྟར་ སྐྱིད། ngā phymo läprar trö-kiyō’
“My daughter goes to school.”
ཁོང་ སྐྱིད། nang-la yangse phē’-kiyō’
“He often comes to my place.”

10.3.6 Questions with alternative interrogative

Questions involving alternatives, such as “Would you like this or that?”, are formed by placing the final interrogative particle རྒྱ་-ka (for the future) and རྒྱ་-pa (for the past) after each of the alternative sentences.

Ex.: རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ sō: ca kyā’-ka khöpi kyā’-ka
“Shall I bring you tea or coffee?”
ཆེས་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ རྒྱ་ chārmcam-la phēp-ka nang-la shu’-ka
“Will you go for a stroll or will you stay in?”

This formulation is sometimes referred to as a consultative construction.

10.4 Exercises གྲེལ་སྐབས།

10.4.1 Rewrite the following sentences in the inferential perfect.

1) རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་ 2) རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་
3) རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་ 4) རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་ རྡེ་

10.4.2 Rewrite the above sentences in the negative.

10.4.3 Translate into Tibetan:

1. How are you? Please sit down, have some tea.
2. I won’t have any tea. I’ll drink some chang.
3. Are you working a lot these days? — No, I’m not working much.
4. Have you eaten? — Yes, I’ve eaten, thank you.
10.4.4 Answer the following questions in the negative, as follows:

- ཨི་ཐོར་ཀྱིས་ཞི་བཞི་ལོག

  7) ཀྲི་ཆེན་པོའི་གཉེན་པོ་
  8) ཀྲི་ཤུལས་བཤེག་སྐྱེས་པ་
  9) ཁབ་པས་ནད་དེ་དུས་ལེན་
  10) གཤིས་པར་ོགས་ལུས་སུ་ཞི་བཞི་ལོག
  11) ཁྱི་ཅིག་ལ་ཤུལས
  12) གཤིས་པར་ོགས་ལུས་སུ་ཞི་བཞི་ལོག
"Pilgrimage"

Grammar aims

- The auxiliaries of probability
  - རོ་་བར་འག་པར་, རོ་་བོ་འག་པར་, རོ་་བོ་འག་པར་
  - རོ་་བོ་ལོ་འག་པར་, རོ་་བོ་ལོ་འག་པར་

- Nominalizing suffixes
- The nominalizers པ་-ya’ and ཕ་-kyu.
- The connective: བོ-tsang “because”.
- Presentations of secondary verbs.
- The modal verbs བུ་thup, རེ་si “to be able”

“Each valley has its dialect, each lama has his religion.” (proverb)

11.1 Dialogue

CD 1 • Tr. 31-32
Pronunciation
- torche-la' tawa ngarna khyerang khapar phelp-pa
- nna nanc-a-la chin-payin
- tsangna-la phelp-pa, lhoena' la phelp-pa
- thutsos' mngo me-tsang, tsangna-tang lhoena' tro thup-macung
- ona khapar phelp-pa
- lhasa-tang lhasa: nyekor-la chin-payin
- uu khuu-la caa-kyu mngo yo-patra
- mngo shezra tuy, tsoowo lhasa: cho kang, serra, trapung, kantang-tshe pho-trang norpu lingka thaka nangshing, lhasa: nyentap-la kompa chungcung mngo caa-yaa (kyu) tuy
- kantang-la khantras phelp-pa
- throkpo: mgtra: nang-la chin-payin

Translation
Lobzang — Dorje, where did you go last month?
Dorje — I went on pilgrimage.

Lobzang — The Tsang pilgrimage or the Lhokha pilgrimage?
Dorje — Because I didn’t have much time, I couldn’t go to either Tsang or Lhokha.

Lobzang — So where did you go?
Dorje — I went to Lhasa and the area around Lhasa.

Lobzang — There must be a lot of places to visit in Central Tibet.
Dorje — Very many indeed! Mainly, the Jokhang116 of Lhasa, the monasteries of Sera, Gandan and Drupung, the Potala Palace and the gardens of the Norbu Lingkha. There are also many small monasteries to visit in the Lhasa surroundings.

Lobzang — How did you go to Gandan?
Dorje — I went in [my] friend’s car.

11.2 Vocabulary (in the same way)

|  |  |
|——|——|
| བོད་ཐོབ་ | (adj.) main |
| སྣ་དཔལ་བྱེ་ | (adv.) in the same way |
| རང་སྣིགས་ | (n.) pilgrimage |

116. The main temple of Lhasa is generally written as “Jokhang”. This corresponds to the Tibetan spelling of the word rather than to its pronunciation. The spelling used here is intended to represent the pronunciation.

As a general rule, the spelling of Tibetan words in European writing varies not only from one language to another, but also from one writer to another within the same language. Moreover, the conventions themselves are often not based on a consistent logic. Thus the conventional spelling “Jokhang” is based on Tibetan orthography, while renderings such as “losar”, “yak”, “Bharkor” are derived from the pronunciation (the orthography is respectively lo-gsar, g.yag, bar-skor). In this Manual, the spelling of Tibetan names follows their pronunciation, according to the rules set out in Appendix 7.
Proper nouns

Lhokha pilgrimage
Tsang pilgrimage
“Summit Palace”, another name of the Potala, residence of the Dalai Lamas
Norbu lingkha, summer palace of the Dalai Lamas
Jhokhang (main temple of Lhasa)
Region of Central Tibet
Sera, a major monastery north of Lhasa
Drāpung, major monastery west of Lhasa
Gandān, major monastery 30 km east of Lhasa

11.3 Remarks

11.3.1 Auxiliaries of probability

In addition to final auxiliary verbs that convey various tenses and evidential moods, there is also a set of “epistemic” final copulas and auxiliaries that express different degrees of certainty or probability. These correspond to the epistemic adverbs of European languages, such as “perhaps”, “probably”, “apparently” and to modal verbs such as “must”, “may”, “can”, etc. A distinction may be drawn between, on the one hand, stative verbs or copulas that figure as independent verbs and, on the other hand, auxiliary verbs that (like evidential auxiliaries) go at the end of the sentence after the main verb. These auxiliaries are also associated with different tense-aspects, and for the most part involve the same verbs as the evidential auxiliaries, but combined in a
different way (see Table 6 of Appendix 6, which summarizes the use of these auxiliaries in relation to tense-aspect).

A) Epistemic copulas

Tibetan contains an important set of epistemic stative verbs (or copulas). These do not vary according to tense-aspect. As in the case of declarative stative verbs, a distinction is drawn between existential and essential epistemic copulas. The former are derived from the verb igest and the latter from the verb yin.

- The existential copulas:
  
  རིག་པར་ yopatra  རིག་པར་ yokire  རིག་པར་ yosare

  and the negatives:  རིག་པར་ megatra  རིག་པར་ yokimare  རིག་པར་ yosamare

- The essential copulas:
  
  རིག་པར་ yinpatra  རིག་པར་ yinkire  རིག་པར་ yinsare

  and the negatives:  རིག་པར་ mupatra  རིག་པར་ yinkimare  རིག་པར་ yinsamare

These copulas express a high degree of probability and according to the context may be translated by the use of adverbs such as “surely”, “probably” or the modal verb “must”.

Ex.: རིག་པར་ mignpo yopatra  “There must be a lot of people.”
     རིག་པར་ trokpa yokire  “There must be some nomads.”
     རིག་པར་ khotu kyami yinkire  “He must be Chinese.”

There is a slight difference between the auxiliaries formed with རིག་ tr and those formed with རིག་ re’. The former suggests that the speaker’s inference is based on his direct observation of the evidence, while the latter indicates that the speaker’s inference is based on logic or on factual information not borne out by observation.

Other auxiliaries such as རིག་ röst, རིག་ payö, རིག་ ayö are presented in Lessons 18, 28 and 29.

B) The epistemic auxiliaries

These auxiliaries are effectively similar to copulas and may also be translated by the same devices. How they are used depends on the tense of the verb.

See the tables in Appendix 6.

Ex.: རིག་པར་ trö’-kiyopatra  “It must be all right.”
     རིག་པར་ khöng phöp-kiiysare  “He will probably come.”
     རིག་པར་ kyäktün sha’-kiyökire’  “[he/she] probably lies.”
11.3.2 Nominalizers

In Tibetan, any verb may be followed by a nominalizing suffix or "nominalizer". Nominalization converts a verb or even an entire clause into a noun (or rather a noun phrase). It is an important and complex feature of Tibetan grammar.

The commonest suffixes are: དེ་ pa; ཕྱུ་ kyu; བཀྲ་ khon, དི་ sa, ལོག་ tshu, འོ་ so, སྐྱ་ (*L) and ཤེ་ སྐྱེ་ nkyo' (*L) 117.

Most of these suffixes are used for three main purposes:

• They form nominal clauses 118 functioning like any noun phrase as subject, object, complement, etc. The nominalized verb (or the proposition) becomes the head of the noun phrase: i.e., it operates as a noun and may be followed by a demonstrative and a case marker (see 11.3.3 below and Lessons 18, 20, 25, 40).

• They form relative clauses 119 functioning as modifiers of noun phrases like an adjective (see Lesson 26).

• Finally, it may be noted that most of these nominalizers may combine with final auxiliary verbs to form inflectional endings: དེ་ སྐྱུ་+yin (see Lesson 7.3.2), བཀྲ་+khon+yin (see Lesson 20.3.1), ཕྱུ་ kyu+yin and རེ་ སྐྱེ་ ya+yin (see Lesson 28.3.1), etc.

11.3.3 The nominalizers རེ་ ya' and ཕྱུ་ kyu

The suffixes ya' and kyu are associated only with the present-future form of the verb.

Ex.: དེ་ སྐྱུ་ shu-ya' but not དེ་ སྐྱེ་ shu'-ya'

དེ་ sa-ya' but not བཀྲ་ sa'-ya'

དེ་ སྐྱུ་ tshu-ya' but not བཀྲ་ tshu'-ya'

The suffix རེ་ ya', which is sometimes spelled རེ་ ya', does not occur in Literary Tibetan, which instead uses the nominalizer དེ་ pa. The form ཕྱུ་ kyu, on the other hand, is used both in Spoken Tibetan and in the literary language.

• The functions of རེ་ ya'

Verbs followed by the nominalizer ya' indicate the present, future or imperfective past depending on the context. Furthermore, they often convey a sense of obligation (deontic sense).

The nominalizer ya' is used to form nominal and relative clauses. A distinction needs to be made between two functions:

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117. All these nominalizers are used in Literary Tibetan with the exception of ya' and nkyo'. The latter is used exclusively in a familiar register, and despite the frequency of its occurrence doesn't figure in grammars. The spelling given here is purely phonetic. All the other suffixes are clearly derived from nouns and have kept a grammatical role linked with their original meaning.

118. In English, nominal clauses correspond to that-clauses, ing-clauses and infinitive clauses. See 11.3.3.

119. In English, relative clauses are introduced by wh-pronouns or that (including zero-that). See 26. 3.1.
The nominalizer indicates the grammatical patient of the verbal action (the object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb) in the present and future.  

ཀྱིས་“that (which) needs to be written, that (which) one writes”, ང་ལེགས་“that (which) is to be offered, that (which) one offers”, ཀུན་ལེགས་“that (which) is to be visited, that one visits”, གིས་“that (which) is to be built, that (which) one builds”.

Ex.: ཞེས་གྱིས་ག་ལེགས་པའི་ལེགས་པ་དུས་མེད།

“Where are the cups to be washed?”

“Have you brought the book that we’re going to present?”

Ex.: ཞེས་གྱིས་ག་ལེགས་པའི་ལེགས་པ་དུས་མེད།

“The things (that have) to be taken are over there.”

The suffix also operates as a neutral nominalizer: it nominalizes the entire clause.

In this case, the suffix is not oriented towards any grammatical role and nominalizes the entire clause. From a syntactic point of view, the nominalized verb functions as a head noun and may be translated in English by a verb in the infinitive, by an ing-clause, a that-clause or even by a noun: རིག་པ་“(the fact of) writing”, ལུགས་“(the fact of) offering”, མིག་“(the fact of) constructing, construction”.

Ex.: ཞེས་གྱིས་ག་ལེགས་པའི་ལེགས་པ་དུས་མེད།

“I’ve forgotten to bring the book.”

“I’ve got small monasteries to visit.”

Only the syntactic context allows one to distinguish between the neutral nominalizer and the patient-centered nominalizer.

The functions of མ་ kyu

Verbs followed by the nominalizer -kyu correspond to the future or the imperfective, often with a sense of obligation. The functions of the nominalizer -kyu are analogous to those of བ་, though it has more formal, and rather literary, overtones.

Ex.: ཞེས་གྱིས་ག་ལེགས་པའི་ལེགས་པ་དུས་མེད།

“I’ve forgotten to bring the book.”

“There are many small monasteries to visit.”

11.3.4 The conjunction བྱ་-tsang “because”, “since”, “for”

This very common conjunction is suffixed directly to the verb or to certain auxiliaries. It appears in the following combinations: བྱ་་ རིག་-tsang, བྱ་་ སྐྱེལ་-tsang. However, the following combinations are incorrect: ་་རིག་-tsang, ་་ སྐྱེལ་-tsang, ་་ བི་-tsang.

Ex.: ཞེས་གྱིས་ག་ལེགས་པའི་ལེགས་པ་དུས་མེད།

“Since I haven’t got much time I won’t be able to go there.”

120. From a syntactic point of view, the nominalized verb functions here as a head noun or as a modifier of the head noun and may often be translated in English by using a relative clause (see also Lesson 26) as the examples show.
“That may be difficult because I don’t speak Hindi well.”
“I’m not very sure, as this is the first time I’ve been to Europe.”

11.3.5 Secondary verbs

There are about twenty or so “secondary” verbs that go between the principal and auxiliary verb: principal V + secondary V + AUX.

Most of these verbs are modal verbs

པོ་ལ་ “to need, want, have to”, ཁོ་ལ་ “to be able”, དེ་ན་ “to be possible”, ང་བོ་ “to be allowed”, ང་ཤེ་ “to know”, དེ་ན་ “to dare”, ཚོ་ལ་ “to want, wish”, མིང་གོ་ “to wish”, རེ་སང “to think”, ཁྲེ་ སི ‘ “to intend, plan”.

There are also a number of “tense-aspect” verbs:

ཅང་ཐོར་ “to finish”, བཤེ་ལ་ “to stay”, རེ་རུ་ “to be time to”, མིང་ (མ་) མིང་ “to be about to”, ཨོ་མོ་ རོ་ “to be ready to”, རེ་ བོ་ “to have the time to”, as well as the directional verbs ཁོ་ ལོང་ “to come” (action towards) and བོ་ རོ་ “to go” (action away from).

As in English, the modal verbs are defective[121] insofar as they are not compatible with certain auxiliary verbs. Their compatibility will be examined as they are introduced in the course of the lessons.

11.3.6 The modal verbs ཁོ་ལ་ “to be able”, “can”, དེ་ན་ “to be possible”, “may”.

When combined with modal verbs, the main verb must be in the present-future. The past form is incorrect.

Ex.: བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་སེང་ཁྲེ་ “There may be problems (later).”
སྨིབས་ནི་ལེགས་ལྡན་ “This grandmother can’t get up.”
སྨིབས་ནི་ལེགས་ལྡན་ “I couldn’t go to that area.”

(In this case it would be incorrect to say * བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་སེང་ཁྲེ་ “There may be problems”)

ཁོ་ལ་ is compatible with most non-intentional auxiliaries: བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་, བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་- བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་- བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་, བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་- བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་.  It is usually incompatible with the following egophoric auxiliaries * བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་-, * བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་-, * བོ་སྐེ་ལེགས་ཁོ་ཁོར་-. The compatibility of དེ་ན་ with auxiliary verbs is relatively restricted. As a rule, only the forms དེ་ན་ དེ་ན་- and དེ་ན་ དེ་ན་- are encountered.

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[121] For example, the modal verbs have no infinitives (*to can, *to may, *to must), and they cannot be conjugated (*he can, *he may, *he musts).
11.4 Exercises

11.4.1 Translate into English:

2) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
3) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
4) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
5) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
6) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
7) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
8) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
9) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
10) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།

11.4.2 Reply to these questions as follows:

Q: བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
R: བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།

2) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
3) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
4) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
5) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།
6) བོད་དང་དབང་པོར་འདོད་པ།

11.4.3 Translate into Tibetan:

1. The lama has a nice car.
2. When will you leave for India?
3. There are many monasteries to visit over there.
4. Have you got some time?
5. In Tibet there are sacred mountains.
6. How will you travel to Peking?
7. How many months will you stay there?
8. Did the teacher have a camera?
11.5 Civilization

The main mountains of Tibet

Kailash
Jhomo langma (Everest)
Nyäñchen thangla
Yarla shampo
Machen pomra
Amnye machen
Jhomo lhari
Shisha pangma
Dangla
Ghangchen dzönga (Kanchenjunga)
Ghongkar riwo

Pilgrimage
The main lakes of Tibet

Yamdro yamtsho
The Blue Lake, Qinghai (Chin.), Kokonor (Mong.)
Manasarowar
Namtsho, Heaven Lake
Lhamo latsho

The main rivers of Tibet

Some of the greatest rivers of Asia rise in Tibet and cross much of the high plateau (for example the Mekong, of which more than a thousand kilometers are in Tibet).

Brahmaputra
alternative name of the Brahmaputra
Indus (Chin. Shiquanhe)
Sutlej (Chin. Xiangquanhe)
Yellow River (Chin. Huanghe)
Mekong (Chin. Lancangjiang)
Blue River (Chin. Changjiang)
Salween (Chin. Nujiang)
Kyichu (“River of Happiness”) or ཁེ་ཐུ་ ེུ་, Lhasa River
"The football match"

Grammar aims
- The complement of verbs of motion: 鹑�-kaa.
- The time.
- Omitting the ergative case.
- Omitting the subject.
- The various meanings of ཆུ་་་

12.1a Dialogue ་བོད་བོད།

CD I • Tr. 33-34
Pronunciation

- khapa tr-'ka
- pōlo tā-kar tr-'khyin
- khapa yor'-a
- pōlingkar
- khāpta' sū-tang sū rā
- ngatsō: lāptra-tang throngkyer lhäsā: rjka ṛe
- o cha'-na tāmo chēnpo yor're' chūtsō' khātsō'-la ko tshū'-kirā'
- chūtsō' nyīpar tshū'-kire'
- cha'na thrella mintu'
- cha khang tōng-kar tro'
- ong ṛe
- khyērang-ki tāngkari: khapa shā'-yō'
- māntsiskang-ki tūn-la shā'-yō'
- thāma' nyī-kyin ngū: dī' yār-ta
- yīn-ta yīn, tā'-yō'
- thā chūtsō' nyīpa simpar kārma cū ṛe ngan-yī kyokpo tro'

Translation

Thubtān      — Where are you going?
Samtān       — I’m going to watch a football match.
Thubtān      — Where?
Samtān       — At the Polingkha Stadium.
Thubtān      — Who’s playing who? (The opponents are who and who?)
Samtān       — Our school and the Lhasa city team.
Thubtān      — Ah, that’s going to be a big show! What time does it start?
Samtān       — It starts at two o’clock.
Thubtān      — So we have time (there’s no hurry).
Samtān       — Let’s go and have some tea.
Thubtān      — Sure.
Samtān       — Where have you left your bike?
Thubtān      — I’ve left it in front of the traditional medicine hospital.
Samtān       — I’ll go and buy some cigarettes. Lend me a bit of money.
Thubtān      — Yes, of course.
Samtān       — It’s ten to two – let’s go quickly!
Translation

“My friend Dorje”

The boy Dorje is eight years old. His home is in the countryside. Now he stays at his uncle’s home in Lhasa. It’s been one year since he came to Lhasa. He goes to school. In summer and winter there is a holiday of about one month. During the holiday he goes to meet his father and mother.

12.2 Vocabulary

shungtsapkang (n.) embassy
ngũkang (n.) bank
chängkang (n.) bar
pentsökang (n.) library
trakkang (n.) post office
ryukang (n.) assembly hall of a monastery
mankang (n.) hospital
pärkang (n.) hotel
kshöngkang (n.) printers
chakang (n.) shop, store
mönkang (n.) teashop
trönkang (n.) museum
pártkang (n.) hairdresser
lön’yangkang (n.) shrine, chapel
śakang (n.) theatre
lögkang (n.) courthouse

(r.) cinema
(n.) restaurant.
(n.) hydroelectric plant
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lông-tra trëng&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lông-tra khem&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lông-tra chör&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) primary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lông-tra chung-cung&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) bicycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;käng-kar, tâng-kar&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) motor cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;râk&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) cigarette, tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sikmo&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) football</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;polo&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;châ-ngú&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) money, silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kärma&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) star, minute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kärça&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;chêka&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;chü-tsö&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) hour, watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sikmo&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) show, performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sikmo&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) team, brigade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;châ-tsö&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) doctrine, vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;tâmo&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) opponent, adversary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sikmo&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) to (telling time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ruka&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) urgent business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;tâwa&quot;</td>
<td>(n.) town, city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;khâpta&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) – [vol., ED] to look at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sinpar&quot;</td>
<td>– [vol., EA] to read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thêlla&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) – [vol., EA] to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thêlla&quot;</td>
<td>– [vol., ED] to look at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thêlla&quot;</td>
<td>– [inv., EA] to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;tâ (1) / tâ (2) / tó (3)&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) – [vol., EA] to sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;nyg (1) / nyg (2,3)&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) – [vol., EA] to put, place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;së (H)&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) [vol., EDA] to lend, borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;tsö (1,2,3)&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) [vol., EDA] to lend, borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;shâ&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) [inv., A] to begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;yar&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) [vol., EA] to begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;yar-nâng (H)&quot;</td>
<td>(v.) [vol., EA] to end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kô tshû&quot;</td>
<td>(idiom.) and so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;tshê&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proper nouns:

- "pölingka"
- "mântsikang"

"Polingkha" Stadium
Mântsikhang, hospital of traditional medicine in Lhasa
12.3 Remarks

12.3.1 The suffix ་-kar

This verb suffix, which may be spelled either ་-ka’ or ་-kar, occurs only in Spoken Tibetan. It is used to introduce the complement of a verb of motion. The verb to which this suffix is attached must be in the present-future stem. It is translated by the English infinitive. We must therefore say གག ལ་-kar, “to watch”, and not གག ལ་-ka’. In Literary Tibetan, this suffix is replaced by the forms བོད་པར་and སྐར་.

Ex.

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar དབྱེ་བའི་

polo la-ka’ tro ki-kiyin

“I’m going to watch the soccer match.”

ཐོག ཁྲོམ་ལ་ཐུབ་ཚིགས་: ལ་-kar ལུང་-song

“He has gone to buy vegetables in the market (H).”

ཐོག ཁྲོམ་ལ་ཐུབ་ཚིགས་: ལ་-kar ལུང་-song

tawa khyerang ca-ka’ car-kire’

“Dawa will come to see you (H).”

12.3.2 Time

When telling time, complete hours are expressed by means of ordinal numbers. “It’s one o’clock” in Tibetan literally means “It’s the first hour”, and “It’s two o’clock” means “It’s the second hour”, and so on. However, when minutes are involved, cardinal numbers are used, except in the case of one o’clock.

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

chutsol khotso’ ra’

“What’s the time?”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ཞང་པོ་རེ

chutsol thangpo re’

“It’s one o’clock.”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

“It’s half past one.”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

“It’s a quarter to two.”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

“It’s exactly two o’clock.”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

“It’s a quarter past two.”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

“It’s half past two.”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

“At what time will he come?”

་ལ། གག ལ་-kar ར་

“He’ll come at five or six o’clock.”
12.3.3 Omitting the ergative

The particle ki' must be used with “ergative” verbs\(^{122}\) in the perfective past. However, the particle is often omitted in the present (or past imperfective) and future.

\underline{Ex.:} \text{को सोक्ष्यो} \text{राङ्खे ते ’क्यो}‘
“What are you doing?”

\text{अर्ना ला चोङ चोङ की के पा}‘
“Will your mother have some beer?”

However, it reappears if the speaker is either stressing the agent or if the latter is being contrastively emphasized.

\underline{Ex.:} \text{लोक्ष्यो} \text{को चोङ चोङ रे}‘
“He’s making tea.”

\text{को श्री को चोङ चोङ रे}‘
“He’s making the tea.” (I’m making momos)

In cases where the ergative marker is omitted, the agentive function is simply indicated by word order: the grammatical agent\(^{123}\) comes first, while the patient figures just before the verb.

\underline{Ex.:} \text{श्रीग चोङ त्रान्कि} \text{जयंग त्रानू}‘
“I remember you.”\(^{124}\)

\text{श्रीग चोङ त्रानू}‘
“Do you remember me?”

In both these examples the agentive particle could of course be inserted; this would have the effect of emphasizing the agent.

\underline{Ex.:} \text{श्रीग चोङ त्रान्कि} \text{न्राङ क्योहंग तश्री}‘
“I remember you.”

When the agent is shifted to occupy the position just before the verb, it usually carries a case marker.

\underline{Ex.:} \text{श्रीग चोङ त्रानू}‘
“You, I remember.”

The ergative marker is not usually used with volitional intransitive verbs (notably verbs of motion), but it may appear with verbs in this category if the subject is being emphatically contrasted with another.

\underline{Ex.:} \text{सोक्ष्यो} \text{नाङ्ग्का ला चोङ चुङ पुरी}‘
“I went on a pilgrimage.”

\text{सोक्ष्यो} \text{नाङ्ग्का ला चोङ चुङ पुरी}‘
“They went trading”

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122. See Lesson 8.
123. I.e., the subject of a transitive ergative verb.
124. This is also the usual way of saying “I miss you!”
By contrast, it should be remembered that the ergative never occurs with non-volitional intransitive verbs.

- The functions of agent and possessor

When the agent (marked with the ergative) and the possessor of an object (marked with the genitive) refer to the same person in a single sentence (in which case they are coreferential), in most cases only the possessor is mentioned. For example, in the following sentence, the owner of the bicycle and the agent of the verb “to put” are the same person, and therefore only the genitive case appears, without the agentive.

Ex.: སྦྱར་ངེས་དགོངས་པར་འཕེལ་ཙུག་ པའི་ལག་ “Where did (you) put your bicycle?”

The use of the ergative instead of the genitive is possible, but this would place the stress on the action and not on ownership.

Ex.: སྦྱར་ངེས་དགོངས་པར་འཕེལ་ཙུག་ པའི་ལག་ “Where did you put (the/ your) bicycle?”

The use of both agent and possessor would be very odd:

12.3.4 Omitting the subject

In both Spoken and Literary Tibetan, the subject is often omitted. In the preceding lessons we have encountered numerous sentences without any subject being specified.

Ex.: གིས་ནི་ནང་དོ་དེ། “(She) never drinks.”
གིས་ནི་ནང་དོ་དེ། “Is (he) from England?”

It is often the case that the auxiliary or the interrogative particle indicates whether the subject is the first, second or third person, but in many instances context is our only clue. Thus in another context the last sentence might mean “Am I from England?”

12.3.5 The pronoun མི བོད་“someone, something”

The number མི “one” has several meanings. We have already come across (in Lesson 10) the pronominal use of མི. It means both “someone” and “something”. On the other hand, in certain contexts, མི means “once” or “a little”.

Ex.: སྒང་ོལ་བོད་པར་མི། “Someone came here.”
བོད་པར་མི། “Lend me a little money.”
འགན་པོད་པར་མི། “I’m going to have a bit of a quarrel with him.”
12.4 Exercises གྲང་བར།

12.4.1 Translate into English:

1.  They are in the restaurant.
2.  Dorje has gone to the bank.
3.  I went to have (lit. drink) some tea.
5.  Behind the hospital there is a library.
6.  They bought some tsampa (ground roasted barley).
7.  Now it’s half past four; we have to get up!
8.  Will you come to the show? What time is the show? At a quarter to nine.
9.  There are many hotels in Lhasa.
10. Where is the post office?

12.4.3 Read and translate Text 12.1.b of this lesson.

12.4.4 Insert the appropriate verb suffix གཞན་(་) or གཞིན་.

2) བོད་པའི་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།  ་) བོད་པའི་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།
3) བོད་ལྷག་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།  6) བོད་ལྷག་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།
4) བོད་ལྷག་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།  7) བོད་ལྷག་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།
5) བོད་ལྷག་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།  8) བོད་ལྷག་ཐུབ་( ) རེའོ་བཞིན།

12.4.5 Write a phonological transcription of Text 12.1b.
“Arriving at the Airport”

Grammar aims

- The conditional.
- The imperative suffix *ro’bang.*
- The construction V+ *ga’+* Aux. “about to”, “have just”.

13.1 Dialogue

CD 1 • Tr. 37-38
Pronunciation

- s'i-ta tjintrā' tsep'o!
- thaka rang himalaya: rjkyū' yinpatra
- la' re' lhōkā: nämtang-la lēp tro': yo:re'
- sō lēp-song
- khālé phēp-ko
- thūkce chē khālé shu'
- kūsho', chā'pe' nāng-cung
- khānā' phēp-pa. khyērang-ki chākk'yer khapar yō'
- phāransi-nā' yong-payin la'kyer tā: yō'
- thūkce chē khālé phēp
- la'-so khālé shu'
- kūsho' chāpe' nāng chākk'yer ngar tān-ro'nu'ng kūcā'-la tā-ts chā'-na trī'-kire'-pā'
- yin-ta yin ngā: cāla' tshāngma tā: yō'. sī'-ro'ng
- thūkce chē. thā, khā kyōn-ro'ng.

Translation

Lobzang — Look, It’s so beautiful!
Michel — Isn’t it just! That’s probably the Himalayan Range.
Lobzang — Yes, we’re about to arrive at Lhokha Airport.
Michel — Oh! We’ve arrived.
Pilot — Goodbye.
Michel and Lobzang — Thank you, goodbye (lit. stay slowly).
Frontier policeman — Welcome. Where have you come from? (Where’s) your passport, please?
Michel — I’ve come from France. Here’s my passport.
Frontier policeman — Thank you, goodbye.
Michel — Lovely, thank you.
Customs official — Welcome, gentlemen. Show me your passports, please. May I take a look at your luggage please? (If I take a brief look at your luggage will that be all right?)
Michel — Certainly, all my things are in here! Please take a look.
Customs official — Thank you. Now close them please.

13.2 Vocabulary

kūsho' kushap (L) (n.) sir
kūngo (n.) Your Excellency
Lesson 13 - རྩི་བུ་ 29

( n. ) official, civil servant
( n. ) driver, pilot
( n. ) soldier
( n. ) permit, passport
( n. ) mountain range
( n. ) airport
( n. ) airport
( n. ) station
( n. ) door
( n. ) chain, range, tantra
( n. ) things, belongings
( n. ) aeroplane
( n. ) train
( n. ) boat
( n. ) helicopter
( n. ) bus
(adj.) beautiful
(adj.) ugly
(adv.) really, absolutely
(adv.) of course, certainly
(co.) if
(quant.) all
(aux.) to be about to
(aux.) imperative
(v.) [inv., A] to arrive
(v.) [inv., A] to be all right
(v.) [vol., EA] to show
(v.) [vol., EA] – to make, do
   – verbalizer
(v.) [vol., EA] – to make, do
   – verbalizer
(v.) [vol., EA] to open (objects)
(v.) [vol., EA] to close (objects)
(v.) [vol., EA] to open (a door)
(v.) [vol., EA] to close (a door)
(idiom.) goodbye (to someone leaving)
(idiom.) goodbye (to someone staying)

Proper nouns
Himalaya

Himalaya
13.3 Remarks སོགས་པར་གཉིས

13.3.1 The conditional

Tibetan has no specific verb mood to express the conditional. The conditional is formed by adding the particle ན་“if” to the verb in the subordinate clause or to its auxiliary. The particle ན་ is combined with auxiliaries in the following cases: ཨ་བྲ་ཏ་-na, ཨ་བུ་ཏ་-na, ཨ་ཐི་-na, ཨ་ཡིན-na, but the following combinations are incorrect: ཨ་རི་-na and ཨ་ལི་-na.

The protasis (the “if” clause) may be preceded by the expression བརྗེད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་. There are basically three types of constructions, corresponding respectively to the present, past and “future” conditional.

- The present conditional expresses a situation that has not occurred, but that remains a possibility at the time the statement is made; or else a pure hypothesis, about the likelihood of which the statement has nothing to say. In this case the verb in the subordinate clause appears in the past tense optionally followed by the past auxiliary བུ་ཀི དུ་བུ་(125) and the main clause verb is in the future tense. The structure may be represented as follows:

\[ \text{བརྗེད་ཀྱི་} \ldots \text{V (past) + ན་} \ldots, \text{ V + AUX (future)} \]

\[ \text{བརྗེད་ཀྱི་} \ldots \text{V (past) + བུ་ཀི དུ་} \ldots, \text{ V + AUX (future)} \]

These constructions, which translate both the conditional and indicative moods of English, are by far the most commonly used in Tibetan to formulate conditionals. They are also sometimes used to express past and future conditionals.

Ex.: བརྗེད་ལ་བོད་སྒྲིལ་བརྙེད། མི་ངུམ། chiri: tshangma sng-za-throgko nang-kire
“If he ate all the sweets, he would have a stomach ache.”

ཀུར་མཛད་ན་བོད་སྒྲིལ་བརྙེད། མི་ངུམ། chiri: tshangma sng-za-pa-zin-na-throgko nang-kire
“If he ate all the sweets, he would have a stomach ache.”

ཀུར་མཛད་ན་ཐུབ་བསྒྲོད་པ་མོང་དཔེ་རི་སྤེལ་པ་ཅི་ཁང་འུ་མི་ལུགས་ གཟུང་མི་ཁྲོ་པ་བསྒྲོད་པ་ཅི་ཁང་འུ་མི་ལུགས་ karm-la koc-pa kyap-na cala lekimare
“If you close the box with a padlock, the things won’t be lost.”

ཁྲི་བརྗེད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་སྒྲིལ་བརྙེད། མི་ངུམ། “If you were to sell your car, I’d buy it.”

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125. The auxiliary pa-yin may be used with any verb class (volitional or non-volitional), although sometimes other auxiliaries such as byung-na or song-na may also be used. There is a slight difference between the two constructions: when the verb is followed by the auxiliary pa-yin, it can indicate a mere hypothesis, a general statement which is not linked to the ongoing situation.
On the other hand, the present conditional is often used to translate polite requests with the verb “can” or “may” (lit. would it be all right if...).

Ex.: མི་བཾ་དག དོ་ན་རིག་“May I do that?”
ཁུ་རིག་དུ་ཐོན་པར་ཐོན་པར་རིག་“You can sleep here tonight.”

Finally, there is another construction involving the present conditional: The subordinated conditional clause is followed by the perfect auxiliary. The meaning differs from the above construction only in terms of verb aspect.

&w intermediary

Ex.: དེ་ིན་རེ་གཉིས་འབང་ཡུལ་པ་་་་ན་ལེགས་་‘chiri: tshangma sā-yō'-na threko' na-ki're'
“If he has eaten all the sweets, he will have a stomach ache.”

• The past conditional expresses a possibility that could have been envisaged in the past, but that did not actually occur. The verb in the subordinated clause is usually in the past tense-aspect (perfect or perfective); the main verb is usually in the past and is followed by the perfect auxiliary or auxiliaries of probability.\(^{26}\)

&w intermediary

Ex.: དེ་ིན་རེ་གཉིས་འབང་ཡུལ་པ་་་་ན་ལེགས་་‘chiri: tshangma sā'-yō'-na threko' na-yo:re'
“If (he) had eaten all the sweets, he would have had a stomach ache.”

The perfective is also sometimes used:

Ex.: དེ་ིན་རེ་གཉིས་འབང་ཡུལ་པ་་་་ན་ལེགས་‘chiri: tshangma sā'-payin-na threko' na-yo:re'
idem.

Ex.: དེ་ིན་རེ་གཉིས་འབང་ཡུལ་པ་་་་ན་ལེགས་‘kam-la ko' ka' yao-na câla’ lā'-yo:mare'
“If the box had been padlocked, the things wouldn’t have been lost.”

Or: དེ་ིན་རེ་གཉིས་འབང་ཡུལ་པ་་་་ན་ལེགས་‘kam-la ko' ka' yao-na câla’ lā'-pame’ idem.

Ex.: དེ་ིན་རེ་གཉིས་འབང་ཡུལ་པ་་་་ན་ལེགས་‘If you’d sold your car, I’d have bought it.’

Or: དེ་ིན་རེ་གཉིས་འབང་ཡུལ་པ་་་་ན་ལེགས་‘idem.

• The future conditional expresses a future possibility. In this case, the verbs of the subordinate and main clauses are both in the future. This construction is not very commonly used, and it is usually replaced by the present conditional.

\(^{26}\) The auxiliaries -payō’ / patu’ are discussed in Lesson 28.
13.3.2 The imperative suffix རོ་'ཟོང་
This suffix may be attached to any volitional verb, preferably an honorific one, to formulate a request or a polite command.

Ex.: སི་-རོ་'ཟོང་ “Look.” or “Buy.”
ཐོས་ཀྱོན་-རོ་'ཟོང་ “Close it.”
ཕེ་པོ-རོ་'ཟོང་ “Come.”

13.3.3 The constructions “to be about to” and “to have just”.
These two constructions are expressed by placing རོ་, which is derived from the literary form རོ་, after the main verb.

To say “to be about to”, Tibetan uses the existential auxiliaries དཔེ་, ཁ, སོ: རོ་-ལོ་ (ego), རོ་-ཏུ་, རོ་-ལེ་ རོ་-བོང་.

“To have just” is expressed by using the essential auxiliaries དེ་ or ནོར རོ་-ལོ་ (ego), རོ་-ཐུ་, རོ་-ཕེ་.

And finally, the verb རོ་ (or its literary form རོ་) may be followed by the verb “to do” མེ་ འིང་ to mean “all but” or “almost”.

Ex.: མེ་མེ་ མེ་མེ་ “Are you about to eat?”
དེ་ཕོ་ ཐོས་ཀྱོན་ བོད་ ཐོས་ཀྱོན་ དོར་ “He almost died in this river.”
ལེགས་པའི་འགོ་ཁུང་ བོད་ དོར་ “We’re about to arrive at the airport.”
ལེགས་པའི་འགོ་ཁུང་ བོད་ དོར་ “I’ve just come from Bhutan.”

13.4 Exercises རོ་

13.4.1 Translate into English:

1) མེ་མེ་ མེ་མེ་
2) མེ་མེ་ མེ་མེ་
3) མེ་མེ་ མེ་མེ་
4) མེ་མེ་ མེ་མེ་
5) མེ་མེ་ མེ་མེ་
13.4.2 Rewrite the sentences according to the example given.

1.  proyecto de investigación ( )

2.  proyecto de investigación ( )

3.  proyecto de investigación ( )

4.  proyecto de investigación ( )

5.  proyecto de investigación ( )

6.  proyecto de investigación ( )

7.  proyecto de investigación ( )

8.  proyecto de investigación ( )

9.  proyecto de investigación ( )

13.4.3 Complete the following sentences using the appropriate auxiliaries.

1.  proyecto de investigación ( )

2.  proyecto de investigación ( )

3.  proyecto de investigación ( )

4.  proyecto de investigación ( )

5.  proyecto de investigación ( )

6.  proyecto de investigación ( )

7.  proyecto de investigación ( )

8.  proyecto de investigación ( )

9.  proyecto de investigación ( )

10.  proyecto de investigación ( )

11.  proyecto de investigación ( )

13.4.4 Complete the following sentences using the appropriate auxiliaries.

1.  proyecto de investigación ( )

2.  proyecto de investigación ( )

3.  proyecto de investigación ( )

4.  proyecto de investigación ( )

5.  proyecto de investigación ( )

6.  proyecto de investigación ( )

7.  proyecto de investigación ( )

8.  proyecto de investigación ( )

13.4.5 Translate into Tibetan:

1. The pilot of the aeroplane is Tibetan.

2. They’ve just arrived at the station.

3. There are some helicopters at the airport.
4. There are a lot of soldiers on the train.
5. If you haven’t got a permit, you won’t be able to go there.
6. If you go to Gandan monastery, you’ll meet his brother.

13.5 Civilization

Administrative Tibet

Situated in the southwest of the People’s Republic of China, the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures and the Tibetan Autonomous Counties comprise a vast territory of over 2 200 000 km². The Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures are located within the Chinese provinces of Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu, and Yunnan.

The Tibetan Autonomous Region

- བོད་རང་སྲྦུང་ཁུལ། phö’ rangkyong cong (Chin. xizang zizhiqu)

1 138 400 km² (excluding NEFA or Arunachal Pradesh, a border region under Indian control but claimed by the PRC). Apart from Standard Tibetan, the dialects spoken in the T.A.R. include those of Ü, Tsang, Tö Ngari and Kham. (ཞུ་ཁ་, དོ་ཁ་, དོ་ཁ., ཆོས་ཁ., འབྲོ་སྐོན་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་, བོད་ཁ., རྟོག་ཁ., བོད་ཁ., རྟོག་ཁ., བོད་ཁ., རྟོག་ཁ., བོད་ཁ.)

The T.A.R. is subdivided into six prefectures and one municipality: Lhasa Municipality ཀྲུ་རྩུང་ཁུལ། (lhasa thringkyer), Zhikatsé Prefecture ཕིག་ཤེས་དར་ཁུལ། (shigatse sākū), Lhokha Prefecture བྲོ་ཁ་དར་ཁུལ། (lhöka sākū), Chamdo Prefecture གཅོད་མདོ་དར་ཁུལ། (chámto sākū), Nagchu Prefecture ཕྱག་ཆུ་དར་ཁུལ། (nakcu sākū), Ngari Prefecture གྲོ་ཐང་ལིང་ཁུལ། (ngāri sākū), and Nyingthri Prefecture རྟོག་ཁ་དར་ཁུལ། (nyintri sākū).

The Chinese province of Qinghai (ཐོང་ཁོ་ tshö ngön)

The Tibetan areas of Qinghai cover a total of 723 600 km².

- Golok Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

- གོལ་ཁབ་རང་སྲྦུང་ཁུལ། kgo’ phö’i’ rangkyong khū (Chin. guoluo zangzu zizhizhou).

Various Amdo dialects (བོད་ཁ་ འབྲོ་སྐོན་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་) are spoken in this area.

- Kyegundo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

- ཕྲོ་ཐང་ལིང་རང་སྲྦུང་ཁུལ། kyékuento (or yūshu) phö’i’ rangkyong khū (Chin. yushu zangzu zizhizhou).

Various Kham dialects (བོད་ཁ་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་) are spoken.

- Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of the South of the Yellow River

- གྲོ་ཐང་ལིང་རང་སྲྦུང་ཁུལ། mā lhö phö’i’ rangkyong khū (Chin. huangnan zangzu zizhizhou).

Various Amdo dialects (བོད་ཁ་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་, འབྲོ་སྐོན་) are spoken in this area.
The Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of the North of the Lake (Kokonor)

This area includes the region of Tosh changphöri rangkyong khūn. (Chin. haibei zangzu zizhizhou). Various Amdo dialects (གཤེགས་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) are spoken in this area.

The Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of the West of the Lake (Kokonor)

This area includes the region of Tosh nup phöri-tang sōri rangkyong khūn. (Chin. haixi menggu zangzu zizhizhou). Various Amdo dialects (གཤེགས་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) are spoken in this area.

The Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of the South of the Lake (Kokonor)

This area includes the region of Tosh lho phöri rangkyong khūn. (Chin. hainan zangzu zizhizhou). Various Amdo dialects (གཤེགས་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) are spoken in this area.

This province also contains a number of Tibetan townships (ཕྲོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) attached to Chinese counties or autonomous counties of other nationalities (Hui, Salar, Tu).

Region East of the Lake (Kokonor)

This area includes the region of Tsho shar khūn. (Chin. Haidong). Although this area, around the city of Xining, has a population of some 200,000 Tibetans as well as a number of other ethnic groups, it has no autonomous status. Various Amdo dialects (གཤེགས་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) are spoken in this area.

The Chinese Province of Gansu (甘 肃 kānsu)
The Tibetan areas of Gansu cover a total of 45 625 km².

The Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of the South of Gansu.

This area includes the region of Kān lho phöri rangkyong khūn. (Chin. gannan zangzu zizhizhou). (39 825 km²). Various Amdo dialects (གཤེགས་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) are spoken in this area.

The Tibet Autonomous County of Pari

This area includes the region of Pari phöri rangkyong tsong. (Chin. tianzhu zangzu zizhixian) (5 800 km²). Amdo dialect (གཤེགས་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) is spoken in this area.

This province also contains a number of Tibetan townships (ཕྲོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ) attached to Chinese counties.

The Chinese Province of Sichuan (四川 sítrön)
The Tibetan areas of Sichuan cover a total of 247 530 km².
• Ngapa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

(བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་རང་སྙིང་) ngāpa phöri’ rangkyong khū: (Chin. aba zangzu zizhizhou) (83 201 km²). Dialects of Amdo (བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་) and Kham (བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁམས་) as well as Gyärlong language (བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་གྱི་རོང་) are spoken in this area.

• Kanze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

(བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་རྫོང་) kāntse phöri’ rangkyong khū: (Chin. ganzi zangzu zizhizhou) (151 082 km²). Dialects of Kham (བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁམས་) as well as Gyärlong language (བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་གྱི་རོང་) are spoken in this area.

• Mili Tibetan Autonomous County

(བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་རྩོང་) mī phöri’ rangkyong tsong (Chin. muli zangzu zizhixian). (13 246 km²). Various Kham dialects (བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁམས་) are spoken in this area.

This province also contains Tibetan townships attached to Chinese counties, and an autonomous county of the Yi nationality.

The Chinese province of Yunnan (云南, yunnān)

• Dechen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

(བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་དེ་ཆེན་) tgcen phöri’ rangkyong khū: (Chin. diqing zangzu zizhizhou) (23 870 km²). Various Kham dialects (བོད་(རང་)པོ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁམས་) are spoken in this area.

(See map Tibetan administrative areas)
“The Banagzhöl Area”

Grammar aims

- The verbalizers ཤི་"che" རི་"rī kiya" རུང་"rung tāng.
- The connective རུ་"rū na".
- The construction བལ་"bol tse" -pataka.

14.1 Dialogue

CD I • Tr. 39-40
Pronunciation

- ṇiksho, pañaksho: phartu kḥatsö' che'-ka
- kormo tün
- o yong-nga
- lēp tro: yo:xre'-pā'
- lēp tro tā' thā' nyepo rē'
- thā khapar rā'
- tā: rē' ngā: āni: khānga ti rē'
- la'-so tā: kormo tün yō'
- thākce nāng shytānca-ko
- chāpe' nāng-cung
- la' yō' āni-la' kūsu' tepo yīn-pā'
- tepo yīn
- ngā: trokpo mīshe: khōng phārānṣi-nā' rē' phōkā'-tang phō'-ki shēn' lōpcong nāng-kī:yo:re'. nganyi' nyīma kāshā' tā'-sa yō'-pā'
- shū'-sa yō' āla yār phēp. khōng lhāsar phēp-nā' kḥatsō' thā'-song
- lēp-pataka rē' nganyi' sā nyīma phartu tā'-na trī'-kīre'-pā'
- trī'-kīre'

Translation

Lobzang — *Rickshaw!* How much is it (lit. will you make it) up to Banagzhōl?
The *rickshaw* — Seven *gormo*.
Lobzang — That’s fine.
Michel — Are we about to arrive?
Lobzang — Yes, we’re nearly there, it’s very close.
Michel — Where is it?
Lobzang — It’s here. Here’s my aunt’s house.
Michel — Well then, here’s seven *gormo*.
The *rickshaw* — Thanks, goodbye!
Aunt — Welcome!
Lobzang — Thank you. How are you, Auntie?
Aunt — I’m fine.
Lobzang — This is my friend Michel. He’s French. He’s studying Tibetan language and culture. Have you got a room where we can stay for a few days?
Aunt — Yes, I have a room. But come in! How long has he been in Lhasa? (lit. since he arrived how much [time] has passed)
Lobzang — He’s just arrived. Can we stay until Sunday (lit. if we stay will that be all right)?
Aunt — Yes, that will be fine.
14.2 Vocabulary

kormo (n.) gormo, currency unit
rjesho’ (aux.) just
sänlün (ch.) (n.) earth, place
pataka (n.) room, place
ña (n.) planet
ña-ta’-sa (H) (n.) Sunday
ña-ta’-sa (H) (n.) Monday
ña-phurpu (n.) Tuesday
ña-pasang (n.) Wednesday
ña-penpa (n.) Thursday
ña-thangpo (n.) Friday
ña-nyipa (n.) Saturday
ña-ta’-sa (H) (n.) January
ña-thangpo (n.) February
ña-símpa (n.) March
ña-shíja (n.) April
ña-ngápa (n.) May
ña-thru’ka (n.) June
ña-túnpa (n.) July
ña-kyápa (n.) August
ña-kupa (n.) September
ña-cúpa (n.) October
ña-cúlkpa (n.) November
ña-cúnyipa (n.) December
phonta (n.) month (lunar calendar)
cínta (n.) month (international calendar)
lío (n.) year (international calendar)
tshepa (n.) date
chänga (n.) marriage
thrungsa (H) (n.) thought, idea
sámlo (adj.) close, near
kongpa (H) (adj.) far, distant
tha’ nyepo (adj.) some, several
tha’ ringpo (v.) [inv., EA] to think
khashá’ (v.) [vol., E] to think, ponder
sám’
sámlo táng
Proper nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>མི་ཤེས།</td>
<td>Michel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་མློ།</td>
<td>Mars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྷོང་པ་</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མི་ཤེས། སྒྲུབ།</td>
<td>Jupiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་མློ། སྒྲུབ།</td>
<td>Venus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་མློ། ཚུ་</td>
<td>Saturn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.3 Remarks

14.3.1 Compound verbs and verbalizers

In Spoken Tibetan, compound verbs are more common than simple verbs (verbs comprising only one syllable). For the most part, these consist of a noun and a “verbalizer”. Verbalizers (Tibetan: bya-tshig stong-pa) are verbs that do not convey a specific meaning or else mean “to do” in a general sense. Compound verbs of this sort generally comprise two or three syllables, but some contain up to five.

The three basic verbalizers are: ཤེས་/ ཤེས་(H) “to do, act”, རང་/ རང་(H) “to make” and རང་/ རང་(H) “to send, do”.127

Other verbalizers – some of them used only rarely – include: ལྷོང་/ ལྷོང་(h) “to say, to take”, ོ་/ ོ་(h) “to take”, རང་/ རང་(h) “to lift”, རང་/ རང་(h) “to get up”, རེ་/ རེ་(h) “to go”, ཞེར་/ ཞེར་“to let go”, ཞེར་/ ཞེར་“to be caught or hit”, ཞེས་/ ཞེས་“to circulate”, etc.

* The choice of verbalizer is determined partly by whether the verb is volitional or non-volitional. The verbalizers ཞེར་, རེ་, རང་ and ཞེས་ are used in the formation of non-volitional verbs.

**Ex.:** འི་ིས་/ འི་ིས་“to deceive”

* འི་ིས་/ འི་ིས་“to make angry”

127. Losang Thonden, Modern Tibetan Language (1986), volume 2, provides a substantial list of compound verbs involving these three verbalizers.
The honorifics of compound verbs are formed by putting both the verbalizer and the preceding noun in the honorific.

Ex.: སྐབྲེར་དགོས། “to marry”
སྐབྲེར་ལོག་ “to work”

Compound verbs retain a certain syntactic flexibility: the noun can be separated from the verbalizer by an adverb or a negation, and may also be marked by a complement.

Ex.: འབྲུག་པ་ངོ་བོ་ལོང་བ་ཞིང་། “(We) have to give it a lot of thought.”
སྐྱབས་ཞིབ་དུས་པ་དེ་དམངས་སྐོོར་། “The girl sang a lovely song.”
སྐྱབས་ཞིབ་དུས་བྱེང་ཆེན་མོ། “If you’re not careful, it’s risky.”

The semantics of a verb offer no clue as to the verbalizer that should be used. As a general rule, compound verbs take only one verbalizer.

Ex.: སྐབྲེར་པ། “to work” but not སྐབྲེར་དགོས། or སྐབྲེར་ལོག་
སྐབྲེར་ལོག་ “to marry” but not སྐབྲེར་དགོས། or སྐབྲེར་ལོག་

In certain cases, however, there is a choice of which verbalizer may be used.

Ex.: འབྲུག་པ་རབ་བོ། or འབྲུག་པ་ལོག་ “to use”; འབྲུག་པ་དགོས། or འབྲུག་པ་ལོག་ “to move”

In some exceptional instances, different verbalizers may be used, yielding a different meaning in each case.

Ex.: འབྲུག་པ་ “to call” but འབྲུག་པ་ “to shout”
སྐྱབས་པ་ “to set fire” but སྐྱབས་པ་ “to light, make a fire”
སྐབྲེར་པ། “to reply” but སྐབྲེར་བ། “to send a message”

Like all verbs, verbalizers must be followed by auxiliaries. Here is a list of the “conjugations” (in all the tense-aspects and moods) with the auxiliaries we have encountered so far. Knowing all these forms will enable you to conjugate most verbs in Standard Tibetan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbalizer གྱིན་</th>
<th>Verbalizer བྱུང་</th>
<th>Verbalizer ཁུན་</th>
<th>Verbalizer བཟང་</th>
<th>Verbalizer ཡུལ་</th>
<th>Verbalizer རྒྱག་</th>
<th>Verbalizer ལྟ་</th>
<th>Verbalizer སྐྱེས་</th>
<th>Verbalizer བྱུང་</th>
<th>Verbalizer ཁུན་</th>
<th>Verbalizer བཟང་</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>གྱིན་(བཙོམ་)གི་བཟང་</td>
<td>བྱུང་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>བཟང་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>ཡུལ་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>ཡུལ་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>འབྲས་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་(བཙོམ་)བཟང་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The egophoric auxiliaries and the perfect auxiliaries are not compatible with all verbs. For example, for a verb such as གཞི་གཏིང་ “to call”, depending on context it is possible to use either the intentional auxiliary or the receptive auxiliary: གཞི་གཏིང་ “I called”, གཞི་གཏིང་ གཞི་ “I was called, (someone) called me”. On the other hand, for a non-volitional verb such as གཞི་གཏིང་ “to dream”, the intentional auxiliary is incorrect གཞི་གཏིང་ གཞི་ and instead the receptive auxiliary must be used གཞི་གཏིང་ གཞི་.

• Some verbs can take a complement in the form of a direct or an indirect object, whereas others cannot. The verbalizer gives no indication as to whether a verb is “transitive” or “intransitive”. The following verbs all take an object:

Ex.: གཞི་(བཙོམ་)འོང་བོའི་བཟང་ | “He studied (Chinese).”

ཉི་(ཞིང་)ལྟ་འཛིན་(བཟང་)བཟང་ | “He used (the computer).”

དོན་(དོན་)ཞེས་(བཟང་)བཟང་ | “The teacher called (the student).”

མོའི་(མོའི་)པོ་ལྟ་(བཟང་)བཟང་ | “I dreamed (about you).”

དོན་(དོན་)ཞེས་(བཟང་)བཟང་ | “The teacher presented (the situation).”

མོའི་(མོའི་)པོ་ལྟ་(བཟང་)བཟང་ | “He practices (the Dharma) a lot!”

Unlike the verb “to study”, the verb “to work” is not transitive, and one can not say: གཞི་(བཙོམ་)ལྟ་འཛིན་ “He worked the wood.”

Note: Several “intransitive” compound verbs take an ergative construction, whereas in the case of “simple” verbs this construction occurs only with transitive verbs. This may be explained
by the fact that the noun that precedes the verbalizer can be analyzed as an “internal” object. In other words, the verbalizer acts as if it were an autonomous transitive verb.

14.3.2 The connective ཐ་ / -nä’

This particle, which is the same as that used to form the ablative case, is placed after the verb in a temporal or causal subordinate clause to link it with a following clause. It is always placed directly after the verb, and may not be preceded by an auxiliary. The marker -nä’ is translated, according to the context, by the conjunctions “and” or “then”, or else by “after” or “since”.

Ex.: བོད་དང་ལས་བོད་ཀྱིས་ཞེས་ཞེས། “I’ll come after I’ve eaten.”
བོད་དང་ལས་བོད་ཀྱིས་ཞེས་ཞེས། “How long has he been in Lhasa?”
(lit. since he came to Lhasa how much [time] has passed)
གྲངས་ཐེགས་ཐོན་ལས་འདས་ཞེས་ཞེས། “I get up early and go to school.”

14.3.3 The construction V (past) + བཀྲ་ཤིན་ -pataka

The expression -pataka is derived from the form བཀྲ་ཤིན་ -pateka, which consists of the nominalizer བཀྲ་ and the demonstrative བཀྲ་ “just that” or “just there”. This expression, which is always attached to a verb in the past tense, means “to have just” or “as soon as”. In Literary Tibetan, it is replaced by བཀྲལ་ -matha’ or འལ་ -patang.

Ex.: བཀྲ་ལུས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལེགས་པ་ཞེས། “I came as soon as I’d eaten.”
སློ་ཞེ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལེགས་པ་ཞེས། “Tshering has just arrived.”
རྩོ་ཤེུ་ལུས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལེགས་པ་ཞེས། “As soon as we got into the tent, we drank some hot tea.”
རྩོ་ཤེུ་ལུས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལེགས་པ་ཞེས། “The Jhokhang has just been opened.”

14.4 Exercises དུས་པར།

14.4.1 Translate into English:

ཨི་ཱ་ན་གྱི་ཐོན་པ་ཡོད་པར་བཤད་པས། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ བགས་པོ་ན། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ བགས་པོ་ན། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ བགས་པོ་ན། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ བགས་པོ་ན། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ བགས་པོ་ན། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ བགས་པོ་ན། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ བགས་པོ་ན། བགས་པོ་ན། སྤྱི་བྱུང་བསྐལ་ལས་པ་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་ི་
14.4.2 Learn the “conjugations” of the three basic verbalizers སུན་ངོང་, ནོན་ཆེ་ and སེ་མདོ བཀྲ་ཤིང་ (see section 14.3.1). Conjugate the verbs སུན་ངོང་ “to study”, སེ་མདོ “to close”, རང་ལྡན་བུ་“to marry” and སེ་མདོ་“to ponder” in all the tense-aspects and moods that have been covered so far.

14.4.3 Rewrite the following sentences in the honorific:

7) རྙིང་བཞི་བཟས་ཐལ་བ་བཞི་བཟོག་པ་རེད།
8) རྙིང་བཞི་བཟས་ཐལ་བ་ནོས།
9) རྙིང་བཞི་བཟོག་པ་ནོས།
10) རེ་ཁུངས་བཞི་བཟོག་པ་ལྡན་པ་ནོས།
11) རེ་ཁུངས་བཞི་བཟོག་པ་ལྡན་པ་དེ་ལ་ནོས།
12) རེ་ཁུངས་བཞི་བཟོག་པ་དེ་ལ་ནོས།

14.4.4 Translate into Tibetan:

1. She is going to study Tibetan at the university from May to September.
2. Drölkar got married in February.
3. Lobzang photographed the monastery.
4. Trashi came on the 11th of June.
5. Do you work on Sundays?
6. He will be in Peking from April to October.
7. They went to China to take photos.
8. He met Dorje in Delhi in November.
9. She’ll come back to Lhasa in July.

14.5 Civilization གི་ཐོམ་ཕུག་

Tibetan astrology and the lunar calendar.

In Tibet, astrology and divination are still an important part of everyday life. Tibetans often prefer to mention their natal sign rather than their year of birth according to the international calendar, and traditional festivals are situated in terms of the lunar calendar. Astrologers are still frequently consulted for weddings and for the appropriate form of funerals (see Lesson 35.5). Almanacs, or loto (lo-tho), containing correspondences between the international and native calendars, are regularly used.
Tibetan astrology involves five elements and twelve animals:

ིབ་ཞིང་ “wood”, རྒྱ་མེད “fire”, ལྷིན་ “earth”, གཞན་ཟེ་ “iron”, རྒྱ་ཞུང་ “water”.

Each of these elements may be associated with a masculine རྒྱི་ཕོ་ or feminine རྒྱི་མོ gender. The twelve animals are:


For the calendar, Tibetans use a cycle of twelve years corresponding to the list of twelve animals. In association with each of the five elements they constitute a major cycle of sixty years.

For example: རྒྱེ་པོ་ཟེ་ “fire hare year”, རྣམ་ཞིུ། གཞན་ “earth dragon year”, ལྷིན་ཌམ་ “iron monkey year”, རྒྱི་ཕོ ཕྱི་ “earth dragon year”, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>Fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Rat</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Ox</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Tiger</td>
<td>Iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Hare</td>
<td>Iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Tibetan month usually contains thirty lunar days. The first day of the month corresponds to the new moon, and the fifteenth day to the full moon. The Tibetan New Year (see Lesson 36) shifts between the beginning of February and the beginning of March depending on the year.

ིབ་ཞིང་ རྒྱེ་པོ་ གཞན་ རྣམ་ཞིུ། སྲ་ དོག ཞུང་-ki ལོ་ལོ་ “What is your (animal) birth sign?”

128. Tibet has two astrological systems: naktsi (nag-rtsis), also called Jungtsi ('byung-rtsis), which is of Chinese origin and used mainly for divination, and kartsi (dkar-rtsis), also spelled skar-rtsis, which comes from India and is used for calendrical computation. The influence of divination and rituals in the Bön religion has also undoubtedly played an important part in the development of Tibetan astrology.
“Lobzang’s house”

Lesson 15

Grammar aims

- Reported speech.
- The experiential auxiliary ཡོང་ nyong.

15.1 Dialogue

CD I • Tr. 41-42
Pronunciation

- löpsang-ki khángpa khapar yo:rá'
- lhäsá: kyücu phão-ki thröngsep-la yo:re'
- thröp-la yo:re'-pá'
- la' re'
- thröp-la mitsang khatsö' yo:rá'
- mitsang thömpa nyishu lhakts yo:re'-sa
- pháká: tshöngkang yo:re'-pá'
- chüngcung dö' yo:re'
- löpra yo:re'-pá'
- la' yo:re' mängtsu' löpra dö' yo:re'
- kmöpa yo:re'-pá'
- yo:re' tséco'ling kompa sér-kire'
- khyérang phép-nyong-ngá'
- tro-nyong

Home of a well-to-do Tibetan family
Translation

Dawa — Where’s Lobsang’s house?
Nyima — It’s in a village on the other side of the Lhasa River.
Dawa — Is it in Dhip?
Nyima — Yes.
Dawa — How many families are there in Dhip?
Nyima — There are said to be more than twenty households.
Dawa — Is there a shop over there?
Nyima — There’s a small one.
Dawa — Is there a school?
Nyima — Yes, there’s a community school.
Dawa — Is there a monastery?
Nyima — Yes, there’s Tshecholing Monastery.
Dawa — Have you ever been (lit. gone) there?
Nyima — Yes, I’ve been there.

15.2 Vocabulary

 lhākts  lhāktsam (L)  (adv.) a little more
 mitsang  (n.) family
 thēmpa  (n.) household
 khyīmtsa’  (n.) family
 tshōngpa  (n.) shopkeeper, businessman
 tshūr  (n.) towards oneself, this way, hither
 phār  (n.) away, thither
 chö’  (n.) neighbour
 throngsep  (n.) direction, side
 māngtsu’ laptra  (n.) village
 chū  (n.) community school
 tsāngpo  (n.) river, stream
 ser (L)  (n.) river
 s  (aux.) it is said, hearsay, end of quotation
 nying  (part.) end of quotation
 nyang’  (v.) [vol. EA] to taste, try
 serkisa  (aux.) experiential

Proper nouns

 Dhip (name of a village)
 Kyichu, “Happy River”
 Tshecholing (name of a monastery)
15.3 Remarks

15.3.1 Reported speech.

Reported speech is indicated by the marker द¢/‘s/ which corresponds to closing quotation marks. This marker ‘s/, derived from the verb द¢/‘ser/ “to say”, is used for both direct and indirect speech.129 There is a special form द¢/‘sa/ to convey hearsay. The distinguishing feature of reported speech in Tibetan is that it is inserted between the author of the quotation and the verb of speech. When Tibetans read or quote a text, they often conclude the citation with an ‘s/ to make it clear that these were not their own words.

- Direct speech

Reported speech begins by first mentioning the source (the speaker) and then, where applicable, the intended recipient (the addressee), respectively in the ergative and dative cases. The quotation is concluded by the sound ‘s/, which corresponds to closing quotation marks, followed immediately by a verb of speech. Direct speech reproduces a statement in the original words. Note that quotation marks are actually used in certain modern writings, whereas traditional Tibetan literature uses no punctuation at all.

```
source + द¢/‘ + [+goal + द¢/‘]: “citation” + द¢/‘ + verb of speech
```

Ex.:
काला-किमंद्रा-त्रोग नग लसां त्शुर्ण-र्यों-क्युंग-सुंग-सौंग
The teacher said to the students, “I’ll come back immediately.”

कंग-किम नग अंती मंद्रा-नग चुंग-सौंग
He said, “I’m a doctor.”

कंग-किमंद्रा-कंम-किमंद्रा-कंम-किमंद्रा-नग चुंग-सौंग
He said, “Pandun is a doctor.” or He said that Pandun was a doctor.130

कंग-किमंद्रा-नग अंती खे-कंग-कंम-किमंद्रा-नग चुंग-सौंग
He said to me, “You’re not a doctor!”

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129. These categories are not always relevant. For certain statements there is only one type of discourse, and they may therefore be translated into European languages by either direct or reported speech. However, as we shall see below, it is sometimes possible to distinguish between direct and “hybrid” indirect speech.

130. In this case only one form of reported speech is possible.
thönyi ng-la yike cør macung-s lap-pare'
Dhödrup said, “I didn’t receive the letter.”

tshering-ki’ nga’ yike tang-payin-s län kyap-song.
Tshering replied, “I sent the letter.”

• “Hybrid” reported speech.

If it happens that the source of a quotation is the same person as someone who is mentioned in it, or else is the actual speaker, Tibetans prefer to substitute “hybrid” reported speech for direct speech. For example, in the statement “He said ‘I’m a doctor’”, the two pronouns “he” and “I” refer to the same person (and are therefore “coreferential”). The same is true of the statement “He said to me, ‘You’re not a doctor!’” in which the pronouns “me” and “you” are coreferential. In such cases, Tibetan generally uses a particular form of reported speech that has the following features:

—— A. The pronouns\textsuperscript{131} of the original quotation and the register (honorable, humble or ordinary) are reformulated to suit the speaker’s current situation. This is similar to the reported speech of European languages.

—— B. By contrast, when the first person pronoun “I”, “me”, etc. appears in the original citation, the egophoric auxiliary (yin, byung, etc.) that is associated with it is preserved in the “hybrid” reported speech.

—— C. Once a sentence has been transformed into reported speech, if it contains coreferential nouns or pronouns one of the two forms is dropped.

\[
\text{“quotation + AUX (ego)”} + \text{இ+ verb of speech}
\]

For example, the sentence “He said, ‘I’m a doctor’” is transformed into the hypothetical stage A): \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{zhön-thang-lam-lam-lam-lam-lam}}} khön-ki’ khön âmcì yin-s lap-song. Following the rule set out in B), the sentence preserves the egophoric auxiliary yin, and as a result of eliminating the first pronoun, we end up with: \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{zhön-thang-lam-lam-lam-lam-lam}}} khön âmcì yin-s lap-song “He said he was a doctor.”

Here are some other examples of indirect reported speech:

\[\text{Ex. : } \text{zhön-thang-lam-lam-lam-lam-lam} \text{ khön-ki’ nga âmcì māre’-s sūng-cung}

“He told me I wasn’t a doctor.”

\textsuperscript{131} The pronouns “I” and “you” and, more generally, the “deictics”, that is, words connected to the statement like the adverbs “here” and “now”, as well as demonstratives such as “that” which can only be interpreted in relation to the context of the dialogue.
“Dhöndrup said he hadn’t received a letter.”

**Note:** In this case, the subject could also be in the dative.

**Ex.:**  

**khang ánci re’-sa**  
“They say he’s a doctor.”

**khang ánci re’-sa pho’-la sér mangpo yo’re’-sa**  
“There’s said to be a lot of gold in Tibet.”

**tráshi’-la’ kyang-la pho’-pare serkisa**  
“Apparently he said that Trashi had gone to India.”

15.3.2 The experiential auxiliary  

This signifies that the subject has already, at least once, experienced the action to which **nyong** refers. The verb preceding the auxiliary **nyong** must be in the present tense. When **nyong** isn’t followed by anything, the implication is egophoric. In this case, it is used with the first person, which may be either the subject or the direct or indirect object. In other cases, **nyong** again becomes a full verb and must be followed by an assertive past auxiliary: **kho’ ngá, kho’ re’ pare**. In English it may be translated by “has/have ever…”

**Ex.:**  

**khang ngá la ré-nëng**  
“Have you (lit. gone) to Bhutan.”

**khang ngá la ré-nëng**  
“He has (previously) hit me.”

**khang ngá la ré-nëng**  
“He’s been (lit. come) to my place.”

**khang ngá la ré-nëng**  
“He has been (lit. gone) to Bhutan.”
15.4 Exercises རྒྱུད་ཚོར།

15.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. He’s never eaten momos.
2. She has drunk Tibetan tea.
3. I have been (lit. gone) to India.
4. I’ve never done anything like that.
5. This nomad has never been in (lit. got into) a car.
6. He has travelled by aeroplane.
7. Dorje said there was no problem.
8. They say the road isn’t good.

15.4.2 Change the following sentences into indirect speech.

1) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་མི་བཤད་པས་བྱུགས་པར་འགན་པའི་ཐུབ་པ་བེན་པ་
2) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པའི་བྱུགས་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་བེན་པ་
3) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་བེན་པ་
4) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་བེན་པ་

15.4.3 Translate into English:

1) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
2) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
3) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
4) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
5) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
6) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
7) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
8) སྐྱེ་ཐུབ་པོ་བཤད་པ་བེན་པ་
“Lobzang’s house”
(continued)

stiallo’nsda’ny a
bala’a’ldzam

Grammar aims
• The modal verb གོ་འདི་ “to have to”.
• The interrogative pronoun "why”.

“it’s not the fortune that makes the man, but the man that makes the fortune.” (proverb)

16.1 Dialogue འབྲག་པོ་གནས།

CD I • Tr. 43-44
**Pronunciation**

- trāshi-la’ si’-ta phy-tang chikyā: d′ yong-ki’
- āa’
- trāshi tele’ pāla’ khöṅg ngā: throkpo mishe: rē’
- chāpe’ nāṅg-cung shyu’-ta phōkā’ khyēn-kiyō’-pā’
- la’ shēn-kiyō’
- ngā: mīṅg-la trāshi’ ser-kiyō’’. tī ngā: tawo yin, mīṅg-la trō:kar sa. tī ngā: phy chūṅwa yin khyērāng khanā’ yin-pa
- pāris-nā’ yin
- pāris kyā’sa rē’-wa
- la’ rē’ phāranṣi: kyā’sa rē’
- tīnā’ lhāsa thā’ rîngpo rē’-pā’
- ma’rē’ kāṅtang-la chūtsō’ cī’-ts re’ āni lhāsa-nā’ pāris phartu khatsō’ tro kōrā’
- chūtsō’ cūnyī’ tro kōre’
- ātī thā’ rīngpo shepoc’ rē’. tī ngatsō: khāngpa rē’, phāransir khāngpa tīntra’ yō’-kimare’

**Translation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drölkar</th>
<th>Look Trashi, our son and a foreigner are coming!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trashi</td>
<td>Aha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobzang</td>
<td>Hello Dad. This is my friend Michel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trashi</td>
<td>Welcome. Have a seat. Do you speak Tibetan?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel</td>
<td>Yes, I do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trashi</td>
<td>My name’s Trashi. This is my wife. She’s called Drölkar. He’s my youngest son. Where are you from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel</td>
<td>I come from Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trashi</td>
<td>It’s a capital city, isn’t it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel</td>
<td>Yes, it’s the capital of France. Is Lhasa far from here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trashi</td>
<td>No, ten minutes on foot. How long does it take (lit. does one have to go) by plane from Lhasa to Paris?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel</td>
<td>It takes (lit. one has to go) twelve hours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trashi</td>
<td>Wow! That’s really far! Here’s our house. There can’t be any houses like this in France!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[16.2 Vocabulary]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chikyā:</th>
<th>(n.) foreigner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāngtang</td>
<td>(n.) on foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyā’sa</td>
<td>(n.) capital</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson 16 - གཤེགས་པ་

Proper nouns

Paris

The human body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan Word</th>
<th>English Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>སློ་</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྲི།</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཕྱུར</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྟ་བ།</td>
<td>forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྟོལ་</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བློ་</td>
<td>lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བློ་ལྟ་</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རླུ་</td>
<td>mouth</td>
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<tr>
<td>སློ་</td>
<td>tongue</td>
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<td>རྟད་</td>
<td>face</td>
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<td>རྟོལ་</td>
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<td>throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སློ་</td>
<td>breast</td>
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<td>བློ་</td>
<td>hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>རྟོལ་</td>
<td>finger</td>
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<tr>
<td>བློ་</td>
<td>heart</td>
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<tr>
<td>རྟོལ་</td>
<td>lung</td>
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<tr>
<td>རྟོལ་</td>
<td>liver</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Résumé

221
16.3 Remarks

16.3.1 The modal verb བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂

The verb བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂ ‘to need, to have to’ is used both as either the main verb of a sentence or as modal verb. Finally, it is also used as an auxiliary in future tense constructions (see Lesson 23.3.2).

Like many other languages, Tibetan has certain defective (or irregular) modal verbs. This is the case with verb བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂’, insofar as there are certain restrictions about how it can be combined with auxiliaries. As a main verb it means “to need” or “to want”, and occurs only with the following auxiliaries.132

Egophoric བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-’yö’ ‘I need’

neg.: བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-me’

’k₂-’yö’ ‘I want’

neg.: བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-mu-k₂’

Testimonial བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-tu’ ‘you, he need(s)”

neg.: བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-mintu’

assertive བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-re’ ‘you, he need(s)”

neg.: བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-mare’

The suffix ki may be inserted between the modal and the auxiliary: བོད་ཀྱི་ (ki) བོད་ཀྱི་ (ki) བོད་ཀྱི་ (ki) , but it is usually dropped in conversation. As shown above, the verb may occur alone without auxiliary བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂-’k₂-mu-k₂’133 and may then be best translated as “I (do not) want”, while with the auxiliary it may be translated as “need”.

The subject of བོད་ཀྱི་ k₂’ used as a main verb must be in the dative and the object in the absolutive.134

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132. The various tenses (future, present, past) have to be deduced from the context.
133. The negation is not pronounced tr as expected but mu.
134. In terms of grammatical roles, the beneficiary comes first and the patient second.
Ex.: མ་བོད་ལྡན་ལམ་སོགས་“I need offering-scarves.”
ེ་ཐུད་མེད་ལོ་“I don’t want any tea.”
ཨ་ལུགས་པ་ནི་ཐབས་འགན་“He needs/wants water (H).”

See also the modal verb ཡེ་ལྡན་“to want, desire” in 26.3.2.

As a modal verb it means “to have to, need” or even “must”,\(^{135}\) and goes with the following auxiliaries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future:</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>མ་བོད་ལྡན་ལུགས་“I need offering-scarves.”</td>
<td>ན་ལུགས་པ་ནི་ཐབས་“He needs/wants water (H).”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{135}\) In Tibetan, unlike European languages, modal verbs such as thub “can”, dgos “need, must”, chog “may” do not have an epistemic function and may not indicate probability or certainty (as in “he may be there, he must be there, etc.”). There is a special set of auxiliaries devoted to this function (see 11.3.1) as well as the modal epistemic verb srid “may”.

16.3.2 The interrogative pronoun “why”.

Tibetan has several expressions that mean “why”: མ་བོད་ལྡན་ལུགས་“why?”.

Ex.: ལེགས་པས་དཔག་པ་དཔག་“(We) have to take binoculars.”

See also the modal verb ཡེ་ལྡན་“to want, desire” in 26.3.2.

Ex.: མ་བོད་ལྡན་ལུགས་“He’s afraid; why?”

See also the modal verb ཡེ་ལྡན་“to want, desire” in 26.3.2.

Ex.: མ་བོད་ལྡན་ལུགས་“Why are you crying?”

See also the modal verb ཡེ་ལྡན་“to want, desire” in 26.3.2.

Ex.: མ་བོད་ལྡན་ལུགས་“Why did you throw stones?”
There is also the formulation: V+་མ་ར་་པ་ -nā khare che'-ka or V+་མ་ར་་བ་ -cā khare che'-ka. It may be translated as “What do you mean by + gerundive”. It often figures in reproaches:

Ex.: སྤྱི་ཁག་མཐོང་། བྱ་འི་བས་ - “Why did you break the cup?”
ཝ ཐོབ་འཇིག་ བྱ་འི་བས་ - “Why did you throw stones?”
ཝ དེ་བྱ་མཐོང་ - “Why didn’t you do any work?”

16.4 Exercises མཐོང་།

16.4.1 Translate into English:

2) མདོ་དོན། བོ་དྲུང་འབྲིང་སོགས་རིངས།
3) ཀུན་བོད་པ་ལེ་འབྲིང་སོགས་རིངས།
4) ཀྱི་བདེ་འཛིན་བོ་དྲུང་སོགས་རིངས།
5) གི་བདེ་འཛིན་བོ་དྲུང་སོགས་རིངས།
6) གི་བདེ་འཛིན་བོ་དྲུང་སོགས་རིངས།
7) གི་བདེ་འཛིན་བོ་དྲུང་སོགས་རིངས།
8) གི་བདེ་འཛིན་བོ་དྲུང་སོགས་རིངས།
9) གི་བདེ་འཛིན་བོ་དྲུང་སོགས་རིངས།
10) གི་བདེ་འཛིན་བོ་དྲུང་སོགས་རིངས།

16.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. “Why do you have to go the bank?” “Because I need a lot of money.”
2. Why did he go to India?
3. They need horses.
4. “Do you know Nyima?” “Yes, I know him well.”
5. There are a lot of foreigners in the capital.
“In the kitchen”

Grammar aims

- Adjectival suffixes.
- The present continuous V₁+་འབོད་བཞི་or དེ་བཞི་

"If you strike a monastery dog, you’ll hurt the lama’s heart.” (proverb)

136. The moral of the proverb is that we should look after our friends’ friends.
Pronunciation

- yar chkipkyur nangko
- la'-so sjmkang tropo shetra' ty'-a
- ōts yō'
- tī khare rā'
- tī thāptsang re' khōŋ ngāi kyēmān re'
- trāshi tele'
- trāshi tele' thāptsang yākpo cī ty' khōŋ khare nāng-kiyo:ra'
- khōŋ soːca so-kiyo:re'
- tī khare rā'
- tī moktru re'
- phymo chungcung the sū rā'
- the ngan-yi'-ki phymo yin
- o thāp-ki thī'-la khyi chungcung cī ty'.

Traditional Tibetan kitchen
Translation
Trashi — Please come in.
Michel — Oh, this room is very nice!
Trashi — It's not bad.
Michel — What is it?
Trashi — It's the kitchen. This is my wife.
The wife — Hello.
Michel — Hello. The kitchen is lovely. What is she making?
Trashi — She's making tea.
Michel — What's this?
Trashi — This is a momo steamer.
Michel — Who's that little girl?
Trashi — That's our daughter.
Michel — Oh, there's a little dog next to the stove!

17.2 Vocabulary

kyêmân (n.) woman, wife
khyôka (n.) husband
thâptsang sôr (H) (n.) kitchen
moktru (n.) steamer
chatam (n.) thermos
tongmo sôr (H) (n.) tea churn
shê: tam (n.) bottle
khângpa simkang (H) (n.) room
thâp (n.) stove, oven
lôktap (n.) electric oven, heater
nyêwô ki thâp (n.) solar heater
hâyang (n.) aluminium pan
tshâ: lang (n.) frying pan
khôkma (n.) pot
thûrma (n.) spoon
thrû (n.) knife
kântra (n.) fork
kyô' (n.) ladle
khôtse (n.) chopsticks
khôktir (n.) teapot, kettle
khyî (n.) dog
shîmi chîla (L) (n.) cat
chàla' sô (v.) [vol., E] to prepare food
sâ: po (adj.) bright, clear
### Tibetan Wildlife

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>ཤིགས་</td>
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<td>རྒྱི་</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>རྡུག་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 17.3 Remarks

#### 17.3.1 Adjectival suffixes

Generally speaking, Tibetan adjectives strongly resemble verbs and may even be “conjugated” with certain auxiliary verbs. Adjectives usually consist of a radical and a suffix, or else a reduplicated radical.

There are a number of suffixes that specify the degree of the adjective: བོ་-po positive, སྲེ།-pa comparative, གོ་-shö’ superlative (see Lessons 21 and 22) and intensive, ཆི།-pala admirative, སྲི།-tra’ excessive, གཡོ་-tṣam attenuative, ལྡན་thagcö’ or སྲེ།-sä’: intensives, as well as interrogative suffixes: ཤེས་-lo’ and expressive suffixes (see Lesson 31).
• The long or “positive” form of adjectives

The positive form of adjectives is formed by using བྱུང་, རྡུང་, རྡུ་ and ཞྭ་ or by doubling up the radical, which represents a long form of the adjective.

The short form is the monosyllabic root of the adjective. In the case of double forms, the short form is the first, unrepeated, syllable, while in the case of adjectives consisting of a radical and a suffix, the latter is simply dropped. An important exception to this rule is the adjective བློ་, རོ་, ཁོ་, ཕོ་, བོ“big”, of which the short form is བློ་ རོ་ ཁོ་ བོ and not བློ་, རོ་, ཁོ་, བོ“big”.


Certain adjectives are formed by means of an expression comprising a substantive followed by an adjective such as བྲེལ་, བྲེལ་ “hot” (often pejorative), བྲེལ་ “chênpo “big”, བྲེལ་ “tep o “well”, བྲེལ་ “thöpo “shape, appearance”, etc.

Ex.: སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “kind”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “lakpa thampo “greedy”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “chüto “tshäpo “curious”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “yökyü “tshäpo “hypocritical”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “hämpta tshäpo “arrogant, brutal”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “shenang tshäpo “scary, terrible”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “thä “nyeypo “close, near”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “ngonsa: thöpo “manifest, obvious”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “töso thöpo “superb”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “tsängtra thöpo “impeccable”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “lóko “chênpo “brave”, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་, སིཤ་ “täp tęp o “convenient”.

• Short forms of adjectives

All adjectival suffixes are attached to the short form of the adjective, which hardly ever appears alone.


• Excessive: རྡུ་ “too”

This suffix is placed directly after the short form of the adjective, and can be translated by “too”.

Ex.: རྡུ་, རྡུ་ “cipo “heavy” > རྡུ་ “cipo “heavy”, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་ “nyungnyung “few” > རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་ “nyungtra “too few” རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་ “chênpo “big” > རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་, རྡུ་ “chëtra “too big”
The interrogative: མཆེད་ལོ་ “how...”

This suffix is used to ask quantitative questions like “how big?”, “how heavy?”, etc.

Ex.: རེི་ེ་ རེི་ “heavy” > རེི་ རེི་ “how heavy?”
རྒྱ་ རེི་ རེི་ “grand” > རེི་ རེི་ “how big?”
རྒྱ་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ “far” > རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ “how far?”

17.3.2. The present continuous V+ འསང་བོད་ པ་ རེི་

The continuous is more restricted than the English progressive, and signifies that the subject is actually in the process of carrying out an activity. (In English, by contrast, we might say “I’m writing a letter” even when we have taken a break from doing so.) The present continuous is formed by taking the past tense form of the main verb and adding འསང་ (lit. “on”) followed by the appropriate auxiliary.

Ex.: རེི་ རེི་ “I’m (in the process of) writing a letter.”
རེི་ རེི་ “He’s (in the middle of) working.”

17.4 Exercises རྒྱ་རྒྱ་

17.4.1 Translate into English:

1) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
2) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
3) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
4) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
5) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
6) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
7) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
8) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
9) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
10) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
11) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
12) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
13) རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་ རེི་
17.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. The kitchen is very clean.
2. The tea is too hot.
3. The children are very dirty.
4. The car is too small.
5. That mountain over there is very high.
6. This sentence is very clear.
7. How far away is the monastery? You have to walk for four hours.
8. This lesson is too easy. It isn’t very difficult to learn Tibetan.
9. The knife is too big.
10. It’s a very good school.
“How many rooms are there?”

Grammar aims

- The nominalizer ལོག་ sā.
- The auxiliaries of probability:
  - བཤིན་པའི་ māntro བཤིན་པར་ yintro.
- Adverbial constructions with ཕོ་བོ་ སྐབས་.

18.1 Dialogue

Lesson 18

CD I • Tr. 47-48
Pronunciation
- tā: khāre ṛā’, nyā:kang mān-tro
- la’ thūkce nāng threl la shetra’ me’; nyāma nyī’ sūm tā’-kiyin. tī tshōmcen re’-pā’
- la’ re’
- tomphā’ khāngmi’ khatsö’ yo:ṛā’
- khāngmi’ thry’ ṛō’, thā phār phēp sō:ca chō’; lhōlō’-chā’ shu’-to.

Translation
Michel — What’s this? Maybe it’s a bedroom.
Trashi — It’s our bedroom. That’s the room where the children sleep. That’s the bathroom. That’s the shrine room. Then there’s an empty room. You can sleep here tonight. If you’re not in a hurry, stay a few days.
Michel — Yes, thank you. I’m not in a great hurry. I’ll stay for two or three days. Is this the living room?
Trashi — Yes.
Michel — How many rooms are there altogether?
Trashi — There are six rooms. Come in. Have some tea. Let’s sit here quietly.

18.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tā: khāre ṛā’</td>
<td>Tā: khāre ṛā’</td>
<td>Bedroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyā:kang mān-tro</td>
<td>Nyā:kang mān-tro</td>
<td>Sleeping place, bedroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyā:sa re’</td>
<td>Nyā:sa re’</td>
<td>Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrūkang re’</td>
<td>Thrūkang re’</td>
<td>Throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōkang re’</td>
<td>Chōkang re’</td>
<td>Sheet, bedclothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simkang (H)</td>
<td>Simkang (H)</td>
<td>Big woollen blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simsa (H)</td>
<td>Simsa (H)</td>
<td>Pillow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simtri (H)</td>
<td>Simtri (H)</td>
<td>Bathroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shuktri (H)</td>
<td>Shuktri (H)</td>
<td>Toilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simru (H)</td>
<td>Simru (H)</td>
<td>Room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngāko</td>
<td>Ngāko</td>
<td>Living room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrukang</td>
<td>Thrukang</td>
<td>Room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāngcō’</td>
<td>Sāngcō’</td>
<td>Altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simcō’ (H)</td>
<td>Simcō’ (H)</td>
<td>Shrine room, chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khāngmi’</td>
<td>Khāngmi’</td>
<td>Morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshōmcen</td>
<td>Tshōmcen</td>
<td>Evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōshom</td>
<td>Chōshom</td>
<td>This evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōkang</td>
<td>Chōkang</td>
<td>Last evening</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson 18 - ཡོན་ཏན་ ༢

སུ་ཁོ་ཁསང་ ལུར་ཁོས་ (L)
སངསོང་ སངསྒོང
སངོསོ་ སངསྒོ་’
ཁེད་ཡིན། དགེ་གཉིས།
དངོས་བཞི་ བཞི་པས།
ཨོང་ལོན། དོན།
ཐཡསང་ གཉིས་
ཨོང་ལོན། ཐབོ་
ཐག་ཐི། སཏི་
naning (L)
ཨང་ལོན། དོག
དོང་ མཐོ་
མོ་ ལོ་
ཨོང་ལོན། ཐོ་
tho
thur (1)/ ཐུ་་ (2,3)
ཕྱུན་ བྱུ་
ཕྱུན་ བྱུ་
kus’i (H)

(n.) a few days ago
(n.) tomorrow evening
(n.) tomorrow morning
(n.) the day before yesterday
(n.) the day after tomorrow
(n.) in three days
(n.) this year
(n.) next year
(n.) last year
(adj.) empty
(adj.) full
(adj.) tight
(adj.) relaxed, calm
(adj.) altogether, in total
(v.) [vol., EA] wash
(v.) [vol., E] to have a wash
(v.) [vol., E] to have a wash

18.3 Remarks སོགས་དཔོད་

18.3.1 The nominalizer སེ་མ།

Lesson 11 introduced nominalizers that transform a verb (or an entire clause) into a noun phrase. Like other nominalizers, this one can form nominal clauses as well as relative clauses (see Lesson 26).

The verb to which the suffix -sa is attached appears in the present-future stem form, but it may be used in the context of the past, present or future.

Ex.: སྒྲོ། སྒྲོ། སྒྲོ། sa but not * སྒྲོ། སྒྲོ། shu’-sa
ཐུ་ ཐུ་ ཐུ་ sa but not * ཐུ་ ཐུ་ ཐུ་-sa
ཁྲོ་ ཐུ་-sa but not * ཐུ་ ཐུ་ ཐུ་-sa

The nominalizer -sa relates to the location or the goal of the verbal action.137

Ex.: བོད་པ། “the place where one writes, or upon which one writes”, སྟོད་པ། “the place where one makes an offering, the person to whom one makes an offering”, སྟོད་ “the person to whom one speaks, the place where one speaks”, སྟོད་ “the place where one sleeps”, སྟོད་ “the place towards which one goes, the trail”.

137. In other words, the suffix indicates locative adverbials and indirect objects.
Formulations with -sa are very common in Tibetan, and may sometimes be translated by nouns in European languages.

Ex.: བོད་ལྡན་(བོད་ལྡན་) ཐེའ་བ་ དེ་གི་ ཐི་ཁག་ བེའ་ "Is there a room here?"
        བོད་ལྡན་(བོད་ལྡན་) འགྲོ་བཞི་ དེ་གི་ དེ་ཁག་ བེའ་ "Where’s the gas station?"
        བོད་ལྡན་(བོད་ལྡན་) དོར་བཞི་ ཡུལ་བས་ དེ་གི་ "The ticket office is over there."
        བོད་ལྡན་(བོད་ལྡན་) མི་ཁུང་བུ་ ན་པ་ "Is that a teashop?" or "Is that a teacup?"

In these examples, the four substantives “room”, “gas station”, “ticket office” and “teacup” would be translated literally as “sitting place”, “gasoline pouring place”, “ticket buying place” and “tea drinking place”.

The nominalizer -sa provides no clues about the tense-aspect of the event, which has to be deduced from the context.

### 18.3.2 Auxiliaries of probability

We have already met some epistemic auxiliaries in Lesson 11. They imply that the speaker regards his or her assertion as a probability, not a certainty.

The auxiliaries རོལ་ ཝུ་ ཤུ་ རོལ་, རོལ་ ཝུ་ ཤུ་ རོལ་, are based on the verbs རོལ་ ཝུ་ and རོལ་ ཝུ་ ཤུ་, which correspond respectively to essential and existential formulations. They are used either as copulas (linking verbs) or as auxiliaries and occur in the same position as རོལ་ ཝུ་ and རོལ་ ཝུ་ ཤུ་, (see Table 6 in Appendix 6).

They may be translated in English by the adverb “probably”. Their negative counterpart རོལ་ ཝུ་ ལྟ་, རོལ་ ཝུ་ ལྟ་, express a similar meaning with a slightly weaker probability, but they occur more frequently than the positive auxiliaries.

Ex.: རོལ་ ཝུ་ བོད་ལྡན་ (བོད་ལྡན་) མི་ཁུང་ བུ་ (བོད་ལྡན་)

 nyäs khang manyro

 "That’s maybe the bedroom."

 nyäs khang yintro

 "That’s probably the bedroom. It must be the bedroom."

 ოིགས་ ཝུ་ རོལ་ (བོད་ལྡན་)

 "There’s probably a place to buy mutton."

 sőmar nyung-tra'-pa metro

 "Maybe there isn’t enough butter."

 khoṅg chakang-la phęp-pa manyro

 "He may have gone to the teashop."

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138. With a rising intonation.

139. In English it corresponds rather to “maybe” than to “probably”, but the meaning also depends on the intonation.
Lesson 18 - ཁྲེད་བརྙན་

chā'pe ti kämla'-la metro
“The teacher may have this book (pecha)”

Note: The negative forms ཀྱི་ལྷུ། metro and ཀྱི་ལྷུ་མོ་མ། māntro are usually used in a positive sense, as the above examples indicate. However, exceptionally, with a falling intonation, they may also express a negative judgement corresponding to “probably not”, in which case they are similar to ཁི་ལོའི་མེ-པྲ་ and ཁི་ལོའི་མ་པྲ་ are (see Lesson 11).
Ex.: ཁི་ལོའི་མེ-པྲ་ ཁྲེད་པ་མ།
chā'pe ti kämla'-la metro
“The teacher probably doesn’t have this book (pecha).”

18.3.3 Adverbs with ཁ་བ" Adjectives can be transformed into adverbs by the addition of the suffix chā', which is derived from the verb “to do”, as the following example shows:

ི་བ་ཁྱེ་ “pleasant” > ཁ་བ་བ་ཁྱེ་-ལྷ ཁྱེ་ “pleasantly”.
Ex.: ཁ་བ་བ་ཁྱེ་“Let’s sit here quietly.”

18.4 Exercises ཁྲེད་ཆེན།

18.4.1 Insert the appropriate nominalizer ཁ་, ཉུ་ or བཏ ཨ་

7) ཁ་བ་བ་ཁྱེ་བོ་( )
8) ཁ་བ་བ་ཁྱེ་བོ་( )
9) ཁ་བ་ཕྱེ་གུ་མོ་( )
10) ཁ་བ་ལྷུ་( )
11) ཁ་བ་ལྷུ་( )

18.4.2 Insert the appropriate auxiliary རི་རིལ་ or རི་རིལ་

7) རི་རིལ་བོ་( )
8) རི་རིལ་བོ་( )
9) རི་རིལ་བོ་( )
10) རི་རིལ་བོ་( )
18.4.3 Translate into English:

2) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་རིག་པར་ཆིག་གི་ལམ་འབའ
3) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ་འབའ
4) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་པོད་པའི་ལམ
5) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ
6) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ
7) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་པོད་པའི་ལམ
8) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ
9) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ
10) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ
11) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ
12) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ
13) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ
14) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ
15) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ
16) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ
17) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ
18) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ
19) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་བོད་པའི་ལམ
20) རོ་གྲགས་བོད་པའི་སི་ལམ

18.5 Civilization རིག་པོང་སུ་བུ།

Tibetan carpets

In Tibetan cultural areas, as in most Central Asia, carpets are one of the first items of furniture a family would try to get after settling in. Bed carpets, called རོ་གྲགས་བོད་ khabdān, cover the beds where Tibetans sleep or sit (often cross-legged) during the day. Often there is also a carpet-covered cushion as a back-rest.141 Floor rugs called རོ་གྲགས་བོད་ sabdān, though rarer, may still be found. Besides the ubiquitous bed-carpets, Tibetans traditionally weave specially shaped saddle-carpets; pillar carpets (very good examples in some palaces of the Norbulingkha, in Samding Monastery, Nagartse, Lhokha); monastery assembly-hall carpets called རོ་གྲགས་བོད་ tshogdān, long and narrow to accommodate a row of monks; and རོ་གྲགས་ thridān, throne-fitting seat-and-back carpets for the highest lamas.

The history of Tibetan rugs is very patchy, because very few antique items have made it to modern times. During the period of the Empire, between the eighth and ninth centuries, Tibetans controlled the Silk Road and were thus exposed to Turkish, Persian, and Chinese cultures.

Despite these influences, Tibetan carpets have retained their distinctive features. First the Tibetan knot (referred to as the Senna loop), is different from the two most widely-used knots, the Turkish and Persian. Patterns and colours are also very different and have a characteristic and unmistakable Tibetan personality. There is usually no border on Tibetan carpets, and the central design is simple compared to the complex motifs of Persian carpets. Patterns are much less

140. The commonest size is 175 cm x 85 cm (approximately 6 x 3 ft.).
141. These measure approximately 67 cm x 45 cm, 2 x 1.5 ft.
stylish and include motifs that are indigenous (the eight auspicious signs, the dorje, snow lions, clouds, etc.), Chinese-inspired (dragons, phoenixes, bats, peonies) or Turkmeni-inspired ("gul" or stylized flower). "Tiger carpets" are very specific to Tibet; once probably power symbols, they imitate tiger skins, either displaying head and limbs or else merely reproducing the stripes.

Tibetan carpet weaving has undergone several innovations since the 1960's, when it became one of the main occupations for Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Tibetans had never woven carpets for export markets, and they had now to adapt to Western tastes. In the mid-1980s, the authorities of the Tibet Autonomous Region and Prefectures started to promote carpet weaving as one of the rare industries that did not require energy or major investment, and for which raw material was locally available. The main production centers are in Lhasa, Gyantse, and Zhikatse. Tibetan wool is valued as one of the best in the world for its high lanoline content. Weaving was primarily an activity of women and a cottage industry, but large factories of more than twenty looms now occupy a major share of the market.

Don’t step on a carpet depicting a religious character, or even the Potala, a very common motif on tourist souvenirs – Tibetans would not appreciate it! Use it as a wall hanging or buy flowery carpets instead.
“The post office”

Grammar aims

- Imperative markers.
- The modal verb མོ། རེ། "to be allowed; may".

19.1 Dialogue

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སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་གནང་བ།

རང་ཁུང་རོལ་བོན།

འཕྲི་སྲུང་བསང་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་གནང་བ།

ཐོན་ིར་བ་ ངུ་བྱུས་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

རྗེས་དེ་ཕྱེད།

དེ་ཁྲིབ་དེ་ཁྲིབ་ཁྲིབ་དེ་ཁྲིབ་

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་གནང་བ།

ད་པར་བཞིན།

འཕྲི་སྲུང་བསང་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

འཕྲི་སྲུང་བསང་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།

སོ་མོས། འབྲག་ བཤེར་(བཤེར་)བླ་མ་ཐོན་ིར་བ་ སྨིན་པ་མི་རེ་བ།
Pronunciation

- löpsang la' tā: trākang yo:re'-pā' nga yike khāshā' tāng kā-yō'
- tā: trākang yo:re' nganyi' thānta lhānkyā' phēp-to trantsin čar nāng-yō'-pā'
- trantsin čar-yō'. yiko' nang-la pār lū'-na trī'-kīre'-pā'.
- trī'-kīre'
- the: shor-la chö:kang-tang thrōm-la phēp-na
- o yong-nga
- chö:kang-la thā'-na khāta'-tang chōme' nām' kō-re'
- khāta' thrōm-nā' nyō' chō'-kīre'
- ona phēp-to
- khāta' re'er khātsō' rā'
- khāta' khe re sī'-ka
- āshi nyo-kiyin
- āshi re'er kormo shī re'

Translation

Michel — Lobzang, is there a post office here? I have to send some letters.
Lobzang — Yes, there is a post office. Let’s go together. Have you already stuck the stamps on?
Michel — Yes, I’ve stuck the stamps on. Can we put photos in the envelope?
Lobzang — Yes, it’s possible.
Michel — Yes, and what about making a round of the Jhokang and the market on the way?
Lobzang — All right.
Michel — If we go to the Jhokhang, we have to take offering scarves (khatak) and butter for the lamps.
Lobzang — We can buy the khatak in the market.
Michel — Fine, let’s go.
Lobzang — How much does each khatak cost?
The khatak vendor — Which khatak do you want to buy?
Lobzang — I’d like to buy a top-quality khatak (āshi).
The khatak vendor — Ashī khatak cost four gormo each.

19.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཆོས་དངོས། könnyer</td>
<td>(n.) temple caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཆོས། kosung</td>
<td>(n.) caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མིག་མིག་ trangtsin</td>
<td>(n.) stamp</td>
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<tr>
<td>སྐྱིད། yiko’</td>
<td>(n.) envelope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson 19 - Lesson 20

19.3 Remarks

19.3.1 Imperative markers

We have already seen (in Lesson 10) that some volitional verbs have an imperative form.

Ex.: མ་སྟོན། སྟོན། སྟོན། སྟོན། “Listen”  སྟོན། སྟོན། སྟོན། སྟོན། “Eat”

Ex.: བོད་ལོང་ བོད་ལོང་ བོད་ལོང་ “Get up”  བོད་ལོང་ བོད་ལོང་ “Come”

These forms are not used for the negative imperative, which instead takes the present-future form.

Ex.: རྒྱ་ཐོ་མ་སྟོན། “Don’t listen”, རྒྱ་ཐོ་མ་སྟོན། “Don’t eat”, རྒྱ་ཐོ་མ་ཡོང་ “Don’t come”.

However, there are many verbs that have no special form to denote the imperative. In such cases, the verb may be used by itself.

Ex.: སེམས་བསྡུས། སེམས་བསྡུས། སེམས་བསྡུས། “Have some tea”, སེམས་བསྡུས། སེམས་བསྡུས། “Go over there”.

In most cases, the imperative (command) and optative (wish) moods are formed by using particles.

The main particles are: དེ་-ཐོ་, དེ་-ཐོ་, ནི-་, རི-་, རི-་, རི-་, -sho’ and the construction རི-་-ro’hang.
• The particle ཤོ་

This particle is used to form the first person plural imperative: the exhortative.

Ex.: དེ་བཅོས་ཀྱི་ཕེབ་-to “Let’s go.”, དཔལ་ལྷ་shu’-to “Let’s sit down.”

Apart from -to, which is used to form the first person imperative, the other markers all indicate the second person singular or plural imperative, and differ from one another only in terms of nuance or register.

• The expression འཕུར་བཞི། ro’hang

This is the most polite form in which to phrase a command or a request. It is used only with honorifics, and takes the present-future (not the imperative) form of the verb.

Ex.: སཱོང་-ro’hang “Please go” or “Please come”
      དབུ་-ro’hang “Please stay”
      རྟོག་-ro’hang “Please eat”
      འིར་-ro’hang “Please stop” (the car, the dog, etc.)
      ཕྲྱི་-ro’hang “Please ask.”

Note: There is also the non-honorific version འཕུར་ བཞི། ro’ce’.

• The particles ཤོ་-tang and བཞི། -shi’

These very common particles have exactly the same meaning as the expressions described above, but are less formal. In conversation they are pronounced respectively -ta and -sh. They may be used with both honorific and non-honorific forms.


• The particle གླ་-a

This particle, too, is very common, and may also be used with both honorific and ordinary forms. It conveys a sense of urgency or danger, or implies a greater degree of coercion.

Ex.: བསྟོད་སྟེ། sêmrâ: ma che’-a “Don’t worry!”
      རྗེས་གསར་གཞི། sâpsap nang-a “Be careful!”
      རྗེས་སྐྱབ། ma lap-a “Just don’t talk!”
The particle དོ་ - sho'

This form, which is less common, is also used with both honorific and non-honorific formulations. It conveys immediacy, and implies that the person addressed is hesitant to do what he or she is being told. It may be translated by "Go on!"

Ex.: བོ་ལབ་ཐོ་ sün' -sho' “Go on, say it!”
ལེགས་མི་ phê'-sho’ “Come here, will you!”
ནོ་ཐོ་ nyö'-sho’ “Go on, buy it!”

The expression དོང་པོ་ -par che’

We have seen above (8.3) that non-volitional verbs cannot take an imperative. However, the verb may be followed by the expression -par che’ which means “to see to it that”.

Ex.: མ་མོ་ma ce'-par che'-a “Don’t forget!” (see to it that you don’t forget)
ཉི་མ་ཐོ་ma chö'-ma che'-ta “Don’t lose the child!”

19.3.2 The modal verb རོ་ chö’ "to be allowed, may, can"

Like other modal verbs, this one goes after the main verb and before the auxiliary. The tense of the main verb may be the present-future or the past – either will do. The verb རོ་ chö’ is used mainly in with the future auxiliaries: རོ་་སུ་ chö'-kire’ for future and present situations. However, other auxiliaries are sometimes used: རེ་སུ་དང་ chö’-ktu’ (testimonial present), རེ་སུ་སྟོད་ chö’-kyoi’re’ (assertive present). The combinations རེ་ལེ་ རོ་-pare’, རེ་ལེ་ རོ་-song, and རེ་ལེ་ རོ’-sha’ are sometimes used in the past, but of course the modal verb རོ་ chö’ never occurs with intentional egophonic auxiliaries གོ་་གི་ chö’-payin’ or གོ་་གི་ chö’-kiyin.

The verb རོ་ chö’ has two meanings: The first, and more usual meaning, is “to be allowed”, “may”; secondly, it can also have the meaning “to be able, can” in which case it can be replaced by བོད་སོགས་.

Ex.: ཕོ་thrö'-sö' nyö' chö’-kire’
khata’ thröm-nā’ nyö’ chö’-kire’
“We can buy khatak in the market.”

ལོ་ཁག་ངང་ལ་པར་བཤེས་པ་ chö’-pare’
lhakhang nang-la pär kyap chö’-pare’
“We are allowed to take photos inside the temple?”
19.4 Exercises གཞག་འཁྱིད

19.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Let’s go and eat in a Tibetan restaurant!
2. The post office is going to close soon.
3. That’s where we bought some thangka.
4. Don’t smoke in front of elderly people!
5. Are we allowed to go to that area?
6. Can I make a phone call? (lit. if I telephone will that be all right?)
7. It is not permitted to read this book.

19.4.2 Complete the sentences with the appropriate modal verb: བོད་ or སྤྱེ་

7) དབྱེ་འབྲིན་བཏབ་བརྒྱུབ་འབུམ་( )སེམ་རེ་
8) རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྲིན་( )སེམ་རེ་
9) རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྲིན་( )སེམ་རེ་
10) བཅོད་དང་བཤད་ཐར་པ་བྱུང་གནས་( )སེམ་རེ་
11) དབྱ་དང་བཤད་ཐར་པ་བྱུང་གནས་( )སེམ་རེ་

19.4.3 Translate into English:

2) དབྱེ་འབྲིན་བཏབ་ཀྱི་རེ་
3) རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྲིན་ཀྱི་རེ་
4) རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྲིན་ཀྱི་རེ་
5) བཅོད་དང་བཤད་ཀྱི་རེ་
6) བཅོད་དང་བཤད་ཀྱི་རེ་
7) དབྱ་ལྡེ་དོན་ཚེ་ཀྱི་རེ་
"Asking the way"

Grammar aims

- The nominalizer ཡོད་པ་

20.1 Dialogue

Pronunciation

- ང་བོས་ལ་Occurred-la tsülkhang-la trogsa khānā' rā' ?
- ར་ར་ར་ར་པ་shāryka phēp, makir lamka shámtoka-la lēp-song-na changngö'-la phēp ko-re' thenā' rī-lā
- སྲིན་ནང་na mi' lamka tān-kirē'
- lase thūkce nāng, kānla' tsülkhang-la trogsa ti-nā' re'-pā' ?
- re'-re' ti-nā' yar shāryka phēp-ta, phārkor nang-la lēp-kirē', phārkor nang-la lēp-na tsülkhang khapar
- re'-s tīnang-ta. mi' tān-kirē'
- thūkce chē.
- kūsho', tsülkhang khapar rā' ?
- phāts thākar re'. nga yā: tro-ngān yin nyāmpo phēp-to
Translation

Tändzin — Excuse me Madam, which is the way to the Jhokhang?
A woman — This way, straight! When you reach the crossroads, you have to go north. Then if you ask the way, people will show you.
Tändzin — Fine, thank you.
Tändzin — Sir, the Jhokhang Temple, is it this way?
A man — Yes, yes. Go straight along here. You’ll get to the Bharkor (the circumambulation route around the great temple). When you get to the Bharkor, ask where the great temple is. People will show you.
Tändzin — Thank you.
Tändzin — Your reverence, where is the great temple?
A monk — It’s just over there. I’m going there too. Let’s go together.

### 20.2 Vocabulary

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<td>shärkya’ (adj., adv.) direct, straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རིག་</td>
<td>yagā, yakir (L)</td>
</tr>
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<td>རིག་</td>
<td>makā, makir (L)</td>
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<td>khān, -ngān</td>
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<td>+ སྲིད་</td>
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</table>
Lesson 20 - བོད་ཀླིང་༢༠

(v.) [vol., EDA] to say

Proper nouns

Jhokhang (other name of the great temple of Lhasa)
Bharkor (section of Lhasa around the Jhokhang)

20.3 Remarks སྦྱེས་ཁར་

20.3.1 The nominalizer མཁན། མཁན་ /-ngän

In a more formal register, this nominalizer is pronounced -(n)khân, 142 whereas in conversation it is usually pronounced as མཁན།-ngän, and even མཁན།-nyän. The verb to which it is attached takes the present-future.

Ex.: མཁན། shu-ngän, but not ཕེས་བསུ་ shu'-ngän
མཁན། sa-ngän, but not ཕེས་ཟད་ sg'-ngän
མཁན། tā-ngän, but not ཕེས་ཟད་ tā'-ngän

Like other nominalizers, it can form nominal clauses as well as relative clauses (see Lesson 26). This nominalizer prototypically indicates the agent of the verbal action, but also extends to the subject of transitive verbs and even (in most cases) to the subject of intransitive verbs.

Ex.: མཁན། trī-ngän “the person who writes, the writer”, མཁན། shu-ngän “the person who is speaking, the speaker”, མཁན། sa-ngän “the person who is eating”, མཁན། tshöng-ngän “the person who is selling, the vendor”, མཁན། རི་མི རྡོ་པོ གཞི་གནད་ རི་མི རྡོ་པོ གཞི་གནད་ mlim tāng-ngän “the dreamer”, མཁན། nyāi-ngän “the person who is sleeping, the sleeper”.

Formulations with -ngän may sometimes be translated by terms for agents in European languages. In English, the suffix -er or the name of a profession often best conveys the sense of this nominalizer.

Ex.: བོད་ཀླིང་༣༠ - ngän རེ’

“He’s a baker.” (lit. he’s a bread-maker)

142. The nasal that is noted here, “(n)” (see Appendix 1, section 1), is a velar nasal (a homorganic nasal of the following consonant). It is the one that appears most frequently, except when the verb ends in the consonant p. This nasal, which is preserved in Tibetan spelling, is the source of two current pronunciations: ngän (a velar nasal) and nyän (a palatal nasal). As far as the written form is concerned, the traditional spelling mkhan will be retained, since nyän and ngän never appear in writing.
ngarangtso: throkpo kyi mi the loknyan so-ngan re’
“Our Chinese friend is a film-maker.”

thamsa’ the’n-ngan tu su’ rä’
“Who’s the person who’s smoking?” or “Who’s the smoker?”

mo’ra nakpo yö’-ngan the tsongpon ci’ re’
“The person who has the black car is the mayor of a district”, or “The owner of the black car is…”

In certain cases, verbs that are nominalized with -ngan are practically the same as conjugated verbs. For example, the sentence: སྲིད་(ལྷའི)བོད་གཞལ། nga yä: tro-ngan yin “I’m also going”, which literally means: “I’m also a goer” is similar to: སྲིད་(ལྷའི)བོད་གཞལ། nga yä: tro-kiyin idem.

• Remarks on the tense of nominalized verbs.

The nominalizer -ngan, as we have seen, marks the subject of both transitive and intransitive verbs. In the former case, the tense-aspect of the verb is unspecified, and must be deduced from the context. Thus the sentence “Who is the person who is smoking (or who smokes)” could just as well be translated by the imperfective past as “Who is the person who was smoking? (or who used to smoke?)” or the past perfective, “Who is the person who (has) smoked.”

By contrast, when the nominalizer is used with an intransitive verb, it indicates the present or the future (or else the imperfective past). To indicate the past (perfective) corresponding to the English perfect or preterite, Tibetan uses another nominalizer: སྦུ་-pa.

Ex.: སྦུ་-ngan “the person who is going, goes, will go, was going”

ཐ་-ngan “the person who is staying, who stays, will stay, was staying”

ཞུ་-pa “the person who went, has gone”

ཐ་-pa “the person who stayed, has stayed”
20.4 Exercises

20.4.1 Translate into English:

7) འཇིག་གི་དགོངས་འབུབ་དང་། ། ཡུལ་སོགས་བཞིག་པ་དེ་རེད། ། — རེད་རོགས། བཞིག་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་སོགས་བཞིག་པ་དེ་རེད།

8) དེ་ཐོབ་ཞིག་དུས་ཆེན་པོ་འཁོར་བྲེལ། — དེ་ཁྲིམས་བཀྲ་ཤིང་བཟོ་དྲུག་ཅ་ཅིག་དང་། ཁྲིམས་བཀྲ་ཤིང་དང་། དེ་ཁྲིམས་བཀྲ་ཤིང་ཡུལ་སོགས་བཞིག་པ་དེ་རེད།

9) རེད་པོ་དེབ་པོ་བཟོ་དྲུག་ཅེས་ཐོབ། — རེད་རོགས། བཞིག་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་སོགས་བཞིག་པ་དེ་རེད།

10) དེ་ཁྲིམས་བཀྲ་ཤིང་ལྷུན་པོ་བཟོ་དྲུག་ཅེས་ཐོབ།

11) ལེགས་པ་བཟོ་དྲུག་ཅེས་ཐོབ།

20.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Who is the person who’s talking to Tsherling?
2. In Tibet, there are not many people who drive cars.
3. I know the person who works in the library.
4. Are there people whom we can ask?
5. This is the place where books are kept.

20.4.3 Complete the following sentences with the appropriate nominalizer: བྱུགས་བསྟན།

7) བྱུགས་བསྟན། ( ) བཙན་ནི།
8) བྱུགས་བསྟན། ( ) རིས་དེབ།
9) བྱུགས་བསྟན། ( ) རིས་དེབ།
10) བྱུགས་བསྟན། ( ) རིས་དེབ།
11) བྱུགས་བསྟན། ( ) རིས་དེབ།
12) བྱུགས་བསྟན། ( ) རིས་དེབ།
"Tibetan tea or sweet tea?"

Grammar aims

- Superlative constructions.
- Comparative constructions of equality.
- The construction བོད་པར་་མ་"except", "unless".

21.1 Dialogue

CD 1 • Tr. 52
Translation

Lobzang — Michel, let’s go to the Jhokhang first. After that would you like to go to the market?
Michel — Would you like to have some tea first?
Lobzang — Sure. There’s a restaurant down there. They have both Tibetan tea and sweet tea there.
Michel — The tea’s delicious!
Lobzang — Let’s go! The temple doors have been opened. If we don’t go there quickly there’ll be a lot of people (lit. a lot of people will come).
Michel — Fine. Which way is it?
Lobzang — The shortest route is through here. Let’s go that way.
Michel — Oh! The Jhokhang really isn’t as high as the Potala.
Lobzang — The doors have just opened. Let’s go first and pray in front of the Lord (lit. meet the Lord). After that, if we climb up onto the roof, we’ll see a part of the area of Lhasa city.
Michel — What should we offer inside the chapels?
Lobzang — Butter for the lamps, and khatak.

21.2 Vocabulary

chá ngármo (n.) sweet milk tea
phöca (n.) Tibetan tea
chá súprma / súma (n.) Tibetan tea (lit. “churned tea”)
chatang (n.) black tea
oca (n.) salted milk tea
oma (n.) milk
chápsho (H) (n.) salt
całtsa (n.) alcohol
(ch.) shu’-la (n.) beer
(ce-)la (n.) a little, once
(mato) (post., co.) after
(n.) except, unless
nyika (n.) both
nyica (n.) like
rang (adv.) really
rangshin (n.) sort, kind
khā’ (n.) to left and right, around
yölön (n.) roof
thökkha (idiom.) to go to the temple
chönčä-la phe’ (co.) or
yangna (L)
### 21.3 Remarks

#### 21.3.1 Superlative constructions

These are formed with the superlative form of the adjective. Remember that the latter consists of adding the suffix `shö` to the short form of the adjective. In the case of relative superlative constructions, the comparison must be introduced by means of the adverb `nangnä` "among, out of", preceded by the genitive.

**Ex.**

- གཞི་ཉན་དང་ཕྱིན་པོ་གཞན་གེས་པ།
  
  "Jhomolungma is the highest mountain in the world."

- ཡིགས་ཤིན་ཉན་དཔོན་པོ་གཞན་གེས་པ།
  
  "Drăpung is the biggest of the monasteries."

- སྐྲེ་བོད་ཞེས་ཅིང་རེ་མ།
  
  "This book is the best."

- རྡོ་རྗེས་སྤྲིིས་ཉན་དཔོན་པོ་གཞན་གེས་པ།
  
  "The Brahmaputra is the longest river in Tibet."

- སྨྲི་ཐེ་སྐྲོང་སྐྲོང་དཔོན་པོ་གཞན་གེས་པ།
  
  "Samyā is the oldest monastery in Tibet."

- རྩོ་ཁོང་ཤིན་ཉན་དཔོན་པོ་གཞན་གེས་པ།
  
  "Today is the finest day of my life."

- སྨི་ཐེ་སྤྲིིས་ཐོ་ནོར་ཞེས་ཅིང་རེ་མ།
  
  "This is the most beautiful of these flowers."

#### 21.3.2 Comparative constructions of equality

These constructions require the use of `nangshin` "like", "as much as", "as", which goes after the term being compared.

**Ex.**

- གཞལ་ཁང་དམིགས་པར་ཆོས་་ཆོས་པ།
  
  "The Jhokhang isn’t as high as the Potala."

- བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ནོར་ཆོས་པོ་གཞན་གེས་པ།
  
  "This girl is as beautiful as her mother."
21.3.3 Constructions with བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་“except”, “unless”, “apart from”, “only”.

The expression བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ may be used after a noun. In conversation, the expression བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ also occurs with a similar meaning.

Ex.: ཕབས་ལ་ལག་པ་ལ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་རིགས་ཐོས་ལེན། “There’s nothing else to eat apart from tsampa.”
གཡུ་ལྟར་ཐོས་ལེན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན། “There are only some nomads in this region.”
གཡུ་ལྟར་ཐོས་ལེན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན། “There’s only one place.”
ཨི་ཨི་ལེན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན། “There’s nobody but you in my heart.”

The expression བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ may also be used after a verb, to produce the following construction:

V(past) + བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ na mato'

Ex.: བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན། དོན་དུ་ལེན། “If you don’t hurry, you won’t catch the plane.”
བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན། རུང་འཐད་དུ་ལེན། “Be careful or you’ll lose your things.”
བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན། རུང་འཐད་དུ་ལེན། “They’ll only be able to go if they have permits.”

1 ༡༢ ༣ ༤ ༥ ༦ ༧ ༨ ༩ ༨ ༧ ༦ ༥ ༤ ༡ ༢ ༣ ༤ ༥ ༦ ༧ ༨ ༩ ༨ ༧ ༦ ༥ ༤ ༡ ༢ ༣ ༤ ༥ ༦ ༧ ༨ ༩ ༨ ༧ ༦ ༤ ༡ ༢ ༣

21.4 Exercises གླེང་ངོ་

21.4.1 Translate into English:
1) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
2) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
3) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
4) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
5) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
6) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
7) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
8) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
9) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
10) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
11) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
12) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
13) བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིς་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
14) བཀྲ་ཤིς་ཀ་མ་བུ་ཤིས་ཀ་མ་ལེན།
21.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Are there many people who offer butter and khatak?
2. Which way does one go to get to Nepal?
3. Tibetans are the greatest consumers of butter in the world!
4. The horses of Kham are the finest.
5. Lhasa is Tibet’s biggest city.
6. Where’s the nearest hospital?
7. In the countryside, they drink only Tibetan tea.
8. We ought to hurry or it will be closed.

21.5 Civilization ཞེས་གནོད།

Tibetan tea
The first step in making Tibetan tea (also called butter tea or churned tea) is to prepare plain green tea. There are two ways of doing this. In towns, people usually boil the tea-leaves three times. After each occasion the tea is strained and stored in a container. The concentrate may be kept for several days, and when required a ladleful of it is poured into boiling water. The other method, which is more typical of rural areas, consists of making a fresh brew on each occasion. In either case, the next step consists of pouring the tea into a churn, adding some salt, a large quantity of butter and perhaps some milk. The mixture is churned briskly and the final product served hot. Contrary to common supposition, Tibetans prefer not to use rancid butter to make the tea, and will only use it in the absence of fresh butter.

For anyone who is unfamiliar with it, this beverage is more like soup than tea. The drink is ideal on the high Tibetan plateau and in the Himalaya, because it is both very warming and has a high nutritional content.

Other kinds of tea are also to be found in Tibet: sweet milk tea, of Indian provenance, is drunk mainly in cities, while salted milk tea is drunk principally by herdsmen in Amdo. Finally, it may be noted that Tibetans don’t drink only tea! They also appreciate chang, a mildly (and sometimes very) alcoholic barley-based beer. The commonest variety is mild, whitish-coloured and quite thick, with a taste and alcohol content somewhat reminiscent of cider. Fermented barley is also sometimes distilled to make the stronger arak.
“The Bharkor”

Grammar aims
- Comparative constructions of superiority.
- The enumerative connective རིག་ཆེ་.

“The old lady of Lhasa never goes to see the Lhasa Buddha.” (proverb)

22.1a Dialogue གྲུབ་དབང་།

CD I • Tr. 53
Translation

Michel — Are there this many worshippers every day?
Lobzang — Certainly! On holy days there are even more than this! Among the worshippers there are many pilgrims from all over – Ngari, Tsang, Lhokha, the Mön region, Kongpo, Dhapo, Kham, Amdo, Nagchu and so on.
Michel — What if we make a circuit of the Bharkor?
Lobzang — Good idea (quite so). It’s after midday. Let’s have lunch.
Michel — The sun’s very hot! I’m going to buy a hat. How much is this white hat? (lit. what is the price).
Hat seller — Twenty gormo.
Michel — Oh, thanks!
Lobzang — Madam, we’ll have something simple today.
Waitress — We’ve got momos, meat stew (with rice and potatoes), noodle soup, and I can make you whatever vegetables you’d like to order.
Lobzang — Fine, so [we’d like] momos and sour pink radish; then please give us some sweet milk tea.
Waitress — Very good.
Lobzang — This is just the right amount of food today.
Michel — It’s half past two. What about taking a walk along the River of Happiness?
Lobzang — We ought to settle up (do the accounts). How much was the food?
Waitress — Thirty gormo.
Michel — That’s very cheap!

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22.1b Text Ḫuṅgšaṅжа
"The hero of the grassland"

[Once upon a time] on the grasslands, there was a beetle. He would always ask, “On these grasslands, is there anybody stronger than me?” One day, an ant told him, “Oh, big boy, there is an animal called the yak who is stronger than you.” The beetle then asked, “Where is the one called the yak? I am going to fight a little with him!” So he went with the ant to the place where the yak was staying. The ant said, “The yak is over there. That big black thing is the yak.” The beetle raised his head and asked, “isn’t it a mountain?” A little while later, the yak came toward them and slightly crushed the beetle. He got extremely scared and came back home. Since the yak had stepped on him, the carapace on his body was a little torn, and he exuded a bad smell. The other bugs asked him “Hey, big boy, what happened to you?” He answered, “Today, I went to fight with the yak and my pagtsak (sheepskin coat) got a bit torn. And what’s more, I’m emitting the odor of sanctity.”

22.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>གྲྭ་མིན་</td>
<td>stroll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱུང་པ་</td>
<td>tour, circuit</td>
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<tr>
<td>མིན་</td>
<td>pilgrim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གཅུ་</td>
<td>price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཞྭ་</td>
<td>quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སི་</td>
<td>every day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སི་</td>
<td>every day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སི་</td>
<td>every year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>weather, climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>“sentient beings”, animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>hero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>by, edge, bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>vegetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>sour pink radish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>beetle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>grassland</td>
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<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྦ་</td>
<td>sheepskin clothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Proper nouns : Regions of Tibet

Kham
Amdo
Ngari
Tsang
Lhokha

Mön
Dhagpo
Kongpo
Nagchu

22.3 Remarks

22.3.1 Comparative constructions of superiority

Comparative constructions are formed by taking the comparative (short) form of an adjective and adding the suffix ḍa. The standard of comparison is followed by ḍa. The markers ḍa and ḍa are the two forms of the ablative that are used in Literary Tibetan, but in the spoken
language it is only -nã' that denotes the ablative, whereas -lã' is reserved for comparative constructions.

Ex.: नान गोर जल में आई “There is more than that.”
      नान गोर जल में आई “Chang is better than beer.”
      नान गोर जल में आई “That book is better than this one.”
      नान गोर जल में आई “Are yaks bigger than dzo?”
      नान गोर जल में आई “Yaks are bigger than dzo!”

The auxiliary े नान is optional in declarative comparative sentences, whereas it is obligatory in negative and interrogative sentences.

Note that the position of the item being compared is not fixed; it may also come first: नान गोर जल में आई “Compared with beer, chang is better.”

When the adjective is an attribute of the subject, another construction is also commonly used: the short form of the adjective is followed by the auxiliary नान गोर -kire’.

Ex.: नान गोर जल में आई “There is more than this.”
      नान गोर जल में आई “Chang is better than beer.”
      नान गोर जल में आई “Yaks are bigger than dzo.”
      नान गोर जल में आई “It’s colder in Lhasa than in Peking.”
      नान गोर जल में आई “It’s better to ride a nalo (gentle, hornless yak).”
      नान गोर जल में आई “Won’t it cost more to send it by air?”

- Tibetan has no special constructions for marking comparatives of inferiority. “Less than” is expressed simply reversing the order of comparison or by using an opposite adjective.

For example, to translate the expression “He is less poor than I am”, Tibetan would say:

नान गोर जल में आई “I’m poorer than him.”

or

नान गोर जल में आई “He’s richer than me.”

or according to the context

नान गोर जल में आई “He isn’t poorer than me.”
The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཁྱིབ་ “new”</td>
<td>ཕྱིབ་ ཕྱིབ་ (L)</td>
<td>ཕྱིབ་ ཕྱིབ་</td>
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<td>ངྱོན་ “bad”</td>
<td>ངྱོན་ ངྱོན་ (L)</td>
<td>ངྱོན་ ངྱོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཤིས་ “many”</td>
<td>བཤིས་ བཤིས་ (L)</td>
<td>བཤིས་ བཤིས་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ནོབ་ “few”</td>
<td>ནོབ་ ནོབ་ (L)</td>
<td>ནོབ་ ནོབ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤིག་ “long”</td>
<td>ཤིག་ ཤིག་ (L)</td>
<td>ཤིག་ ཤིག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུད་ “small”</td>
<td>རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་ (L)</td>
<td>རྒྱུད་ རྒྱུད་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤྱོད་ “big”</td>
<td>སྤྱོད་ སྤྱོད་ (L)</td>
<td>སྤྱོད་ སྤྱོད་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་ “pleasant”</td>
<td>རྒྱལ་ རྒྱལ་ (L)</td>
<td>རྒྱལ་ རྒྱལ་ (L)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུན་ “clear”</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་ (L)</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུན་ “elderly”</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་ (L)</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུན་ “sweet”</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་ (L)</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུན་ “cool”</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་ (L)</td>
<td>རྒྱུན་ རྒྱུན་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• The construction གེ་མི་ + V: “more than”

The marker གེ་ may also precede a verb, in which case it is translated as “more than”.

Ex.: གོ་མི་ བོད་ལྟར་བོད་ཀྱང་ནི།

“That won’t take more than twenty minutes.”

“ཐ་ན་ ཟོ་མི་ སྐེ་བོད་ཀྱང་ནི།

“At that time he wasn’t more than eight years old.”

22.3.2 The enumerative connective ཉོ་ དམི

When objects are being enumerated, the connective ཉོ་ དམི, derived from the verb “to do”, is commonly interposed between the items in the series.

Ex.: ཉོ་ བོད་ སྔགས་ འས་ སྤེལ་ སྐྱེལ་ འོ་ རྒྱུན་ ཕྱིག་ རྗུམ་ བོད་ཀྱང་ན།

“Kneaded tsampa, boiled mutton; then with some yogurt, that should be enough.”

“ཐ་ན་ ཟོ་ སྐེ་ རྐྱ་ གཞི་ བོད་ སྔགས་ འས་ སྤེལ་ སྐྱེལ་ འོ་ རྒྱུན་ ཕྱིག་ རྗུམ་ བོད་ཀྱང་ན།

“Please give us one stew, one soup, and some momo.”

143. The rule concerning changes in the pronunciation of the suffix in the spoken language is explained in section 1.1 of Appendix 1.
22.4 Exercises

22.4.1 Translate into English:

1) མཐོང་ཛིིང་བཤིིི་ཐིིི་བིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
2) གསོ་ཀྲིིིས་ཀྱིིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི་ཐིིི་བིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
3) བོད་ཞིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
4) རོ་ཟིིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
5) འིང་ལྗེིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
6) ཁྲིིི་ལོང་ཐིིི་ཞིིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
7) འིང་ལྗེིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
8) བོད་ཞིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
9) རོ་ཟིིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི
10) འིང་ལྗེིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི

22.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. He’s made a trip around the world.
2. Have you ever made the circumambulation of Kailash?
3. We’d like some stew, some momo and one soup.
4. The black hat is nicer than the green hat.
5. This car is bigger than Lobzang’s.
6. Tändzin is stronger than Nyima.
7. These pilgrims come from all over Tibet.
8. Sheep are cheaper than yaks.
9. Cars are very expensive in China.

22.4.3 Conjugate the verbs བོད་ཞིིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི་ཐིིི་ཞིི in all the tense-aspects and moods that you know (same as Exercise 14.4.2, but adding the experiential auxiliary: རྒྱལ་མོ་ བོད་ཞིིི་ བོད་ཞིིི་ བོད་ཞིིི་).
"Shopping"

Grammar aims

- The suffix བོར་-tsam.
- The allocentric future with ཕོད། ko, ཕོད་‘chö’ or རྣམ་yong.

“There are things like these in Lhasa market!”
(proverb)

23.1 Dialogue

CD I • Tr. 55
Translation

Lobzang — Madam, how much do apples cost?
Vendor — Four gormo a pound. How many will you buy?
Lobzang — I’ll buy a pound.
Vendor — If you buy two pounds, I’ll give them to you for three gormo a pound.
Lobzang — Fine, I’ll take two pounds.
Vendor — Well then, here’s exactly (lit. I have [the scale] upright on) two pounds.
Lobzang — Here’s six gormo precisely.
Vendor — Aren’t you going to buy something else? Buy some peaches; I have some very nice ones.
Lobzang — How much?
Vendor — If you buy quite a few I’ll give you a better price.
Lobzang — How much?
Vendor — Four gormo a pound.
Lobzang — If you make it three gormo a pound I’ll buy two pounds.
Vendor — All right, I’ll give them to you [for that].

23.2 Vocabulary

སྐྱི ་ kūshu ་ ོེ་ཐེ་ ་ sheshu (H)
ལྷ་་ ་ khampu ་ ོེ་ཐེ་ ་ shekam (H)
དབང་ལྷ་ ་ ngāri khampu
སྲུང་ ་ küntrum
སློ་ ་ tärkha
དེ་ ་ kēra
ཚོལ་ ་ tshāluma
སྤྲིན་ ་ sënlru
སྲོང་ ་ shingto’
ཚོལ་ ་ trömatro
ཤེ་ ་ thröma
ཤེ་ ་ shoko’ ་ ོེ་ཐེ་ ་ shesho’ (H)
སློ་ ་ sölo ngönpo
འབུ་ ་ lapu’
ཚོལ་ ་ tshāksha
ལྷ་ ་ lyksha
དེ་ ་ lāngsha
དྲེ་ ་ chāsha
ལྷ་ ་ phāksha
དཔེ་ ་ nyāsha
ནད་ ་ thuklo’ ་ ོེ་ཐེ་ ་ namsa
ཤེ་ ་ khöngtung
ཤེ་ ་ chūpa

(n.) apple
(n.) peach
(n.) apricot
(n.) grape
(n.) nut
(n.) banana
(n.) orange
(n.) rose-hips; pomegranate
(n.) fruit
(n.) tomato
(n.) potentilla tubers
(n.) potato
(n.) capsicum, green pepper
(n.) radish
(n.) yak meat
(n.) mutton
(n.) beef
(n.) chicken (meat)
(n.) pork
(n.) fish (to eat)
(n.) clothing
(n.) trousers, pants
(n.) traditional robe
23.3 Remarks

23.3.1 The suffix -tsam

This suffix, which we have already encountered, may be used with adjectives (in their short form) as well as with substantives, numbers and verbs. In the conversational register, the suffix -tsam is usually pronounced -ts. Its meaning varies according to context:

• After an adjective, it means “a little”, or “a little more”.

Ex.: འས་རྟོམས “a little more”, རྣམ་པོ་ “a little cheaper”, བཙན་རོང་ “a little faster”, གནས་རྟོམས “a little red”, སྲུང་པོ་ “a few more”, བུ་ཐོ། གྲོ་ “a little earlier (or early)”.

• After a number, it means “about”.

Ex.: བི་བོད། བསྡུས “about 100 people”, བི་བོད། བོད་ལྟེ་ “about two hundred thousand gormo (yuan)”, བི་བོད་ཀྱི་ “about a quarter of an hour”.

• After a noun, a verb or a nominalized verb, depending on context this suffix may mean “only”, “simply”, “mere”, “just”, “almost”.

Ex.: རྫོ་ཁྲད། “only the name, purely nominal”

• The suffix also appears in certain adverbial formulations such as: མ་བོད། སྲིད “quite, not bad”, འཕྲག་ཐག་ “just there”.

Ex. བཟོ་བཤོད་ “The mere fact that he came created problems.”
མ་བཤོད་ “Just touching it with my hand makes it hurt.”
སྲིད་ “He was beaten almost to death.”
ཕྲག་ཐག་ “Almost from head to foot.”
23.3.2 The allocentric future: ཀོ, མ་ རྒྱུད་ or འིང་ ཡོང་

The “allocentric” future implies that the speaker intends to perform the action on behalf of his interlocutor. It can be used only in the first person singular (and occasionally plural) with volitional verbs. In this context the verbs ཀོ and མ་ རྒྱུད་ have practically the same meaning. The form རྒྱུད་ is used in a rather more formal register.

• With this type of future, the verb stem must be in the past tense.

Ex.: ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད། “I’ll tell him (for you).”  
     ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད། “I’ll make it (for you).”  
     ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ བུལ། “I’ll buy some tsampa (for you).”  
     ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ ཁྱུང་པོ། “I’ll post this letter (for you) straight away.”  
     ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད། “I’ll give it to you” = ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ idem.

• If the subject is stated, it must be in the ergative even if it is used with intransitive volitional verbs:

Ex.: ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད། “I’ll go there (for you).”  
     ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད། “I’ll come (for you).”  
     ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད། “I’ll stay (for you).”

• The auxiliary ཡོང་ is used when the action implies movement: ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ ཡོང་ “I’ll go and buy it” is therefore equivalent to ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ ཡོང་ རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ། རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ།.

[[PAGE]]

23.4 Exercises དཔེ་བཟོ།

23.4.1 Translate into English:

2) ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ། རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ།
3) ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ། རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ།
4) ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ། རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ།
5) ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ། རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ།
6) ཉན་ལོག རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ། རྒྱུད་ རྡོད་ སྟེག་ དེ།
23.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Sit down, I'll do it!
2. How many pounds do you want?
3. I'd like a pound of peaches.
4. There are many kinds of apples in Tibet.
5. The Tibetans number about six million.
6. Can you drive a little faster?
7. You have to walk about a quarter of an hour from here.
"The picnic"

On the other side of the hill there’s no yak dung, on this side, there’s no basket.”
(proverb)

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24.1a

Text

Dialogue

CD I • Tr. 57
Translation

When the spring comes, a lot of Lhasans go to the banks of the River of Happiness. Some wash clothes, other picnic. According to Tibetan custom, people play games, sing opera songs, play dice, eat tsampa dough and dried meat, bread with meat stuffing, momos or bhaktshamarkhu, and so on. This is how people spend their time pleasantly.

Drölkar — Lobzang, what a pity, we could surely have had lunch here.
Lobzang — Tomorrow the weather will be fine. Let’s come and eat here!
Drölkar — But what would you like to eat?
Lobzang — Tsampa dough and boiled mutton. And with some yogurt, that should be enough.
Drölkar — Absolutely. There must be a place where we can buy some mutton near the bridge.

Translation

“The story of the little monk and the water pot”

Once, there was a little monk. One day, while he was fetching water, he was not careful and slipped on the road, breaking the water jug. He thought that if he were to return to his cell, since he had no more jug, the master would scold him. He was very worried and thought about what he should do. Then he remembered a way and returned to the cell. He asked the master: is a vase an object [an impermanent compound form] or is it permanent? The master answered: it is an object. Then the little monk asked if the vase could be destroyed. The master answered “Completely stupid! Since the vase is an object, it can certainly be destroyed. The little monk said, “Master, this morning I broke our water jug (lit.: our water jug was broken).” The master had no answer to that.
24.2 Vocabulary

(ЛА) lhasa
threka/threkpa
thrangtru/threktru (L)
cka
yarka
kunka
tonka
namtú'
thagang
pa'
sho šo sātho (H)
luktso:
shā kampo
phgatsamarku

nyinjung
sampa
phyma
chupan
shā
namtar

c̄a so (L)
sēra
charpa
khang'
incung
chā
thu'
āb rgyal + kyi thrangtru kyi
kam

ta
šā šā tāng
khyi + kyi kyippo tāng
shār

(n.) Lhasan, inhabitant of Lhasa
(n.) dirt
(n.) washing (clothes)
(n.) spring
(n.) summer
(n.) winter
(n.) autumn
(n.) season
(n.) this morning
(n.) tsampa dough
(n.) yogurt
(n.) tradition, custom
(n.) dried meat
(n.) bhaktsamarku, food made of flour, cheese, melted butter and molasses
(n.) midday
(n.) bridge
(n.) vase
(n.) pan, pot, water vessel
(n.) cell (monk)
(n.) biography, hagiography, operatic libretto
(n.) et cetera
(n.) hail
(n.) rain
(n.) snow
(n.) young monk
(co) punctuates a series
(co) when
(v.) [vol., E] to wash clothes
(v.) [vol., EA] to eat powdered food (tsampa, etc.)
(v.) [vol., EA] to lick; to eat (yogurt)
(v.) [vol., E] to sing
(v.) [vol., E] to have a pleasant time
(v.) [inv., A] to rise, to appear
24.3 Remarks

24.3.1 Temporal connectives

“Subordinating conjunctions” or “temporal connectives” are usually attached directly to the verb or to its nominalized form. Each connective takes the present-future or past form of the verb.

- The connectives ཞི་ཏེ་ "when, while", དུ་རིང་ལ་ - དུ་རིང་ལ་ “during”.

These connectives go directly after the verb. They are always associated with the present-future form.

Ex.: དུ་རིང་ལ་ (དུ་རིང་ལ་) དུ་རིང་ལ་ དུ་རིང་ལ་ དུ་རིང་ལ་

“When they picnic, they have fun.”

“While he was living in China, he ate dog-meat.”

“While he was living in Peking, Thubtän studied Chinese medicine.”

“They talked a lot while they were making momos.”

“Our bicycle was stolen while we were buying fruit.”

- The connectives རྡེ་ལ་ “at the time, when, while”, བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ བོད་ “at the time, when, while”, 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་ བོedium”.

shor-la “on the occasion of, by/on the way”.
These are always associated with the past form of the verb. The verb that precedes these connectives must be nominalized by the suffix -pa and followed by the genitive case.

Ex.:

While I was in India I went on a lot of pilgrimages.

“When I bought the camera, I asked about its quality.”

“He passed through Nepal on his way to Tibet.”

“We shouldn’t have the radio on too loudly while he’s working.”

24.3.2 The auxiliary of general or habitual truth: བོད་རིག —kire’

Tibetan very commonly uses the future to indicate a habitual action or process. It is only from the context that we can determine whether it signifies the future or the generic present (also called ‘gnomic’).

Ex.: “Rice is grown (lit. will be grown) in India and China.”

“In Tibet, most people practise (lit. will practise) sky burial.”

“Some people have (lit. will have) picnics.”

“When the spring comes, a lot of people go (lit. will go) to the banks of the Kyichu River.”

24.4 Exercises བོད་རིག

24.4.1 Translate the following recipe for bhagtshamarkhu:
24.4.2 Tell the story in 24.1b in your own words and answer the following questions:

2) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

3) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

4) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

5) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

6) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

24.4.3 Translate into English:

2) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

3) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

4) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

5) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

6) བོད་སྲིད་སྦྲེལ་བོད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དེ་བསྐོོར་

24.4.4 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Tibetans like to picnic in spring and summer.
2. The weather’s very nice today; let’s go to the river-bank.
3. When they play, they drink a lot of chang.
4. It’s going to snow tomorrow.
5. When it rains, the roads are not good.
6. It isn’t cold in Lhasa in autumn.
“The picnic”
(continued)

Grammar aims

• The nominalizer **'pa.
• The topicalizer **-ni.

25.1 Text

Dialogue

CD I • Tr. 59

CD I • Tr. 60
Translation
The following day, they bought some meat and yogurt, and then crossed the bridge to the opposite bank of the River of Happiness.

Lobzang — Because there was a festival yesterday, a lot of new prayer-flags of different colours have been hung up. That’s why it’s as if there were a rainbow. A lot of fumigation (with aromatic plants) has been performed – the leftovers are all over the place.
Drölkar — It’s good that we came here today.
Lobzang — Put one rug here, and if you put one on the other side, there’ll be plenty of room to sit down.
Drölkar — Oh, we haven’t got a table!
Lobzang — That doesn’t matter. There’s a nice square stone over there – what if we use that as a table?
Drölkar — Good idea. Let me go and fetch it.
Lobzang — Since we have a thermos, we don’t need to light a fire. Now, let’s relax.

25.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་ ལྷ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>et cetera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མེ་</td>
<td>མེ་</td>
<td>the following day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མིན་</td>
<td>མིན་</td>
<td>festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གོ་</td>
<td>གོ་</td>
<td>prayer flag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ན་</td>
<td>ན་</td>
<td>“wind horse”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>rug, carpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>remains, leftovers, traces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>stone, rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>topicalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>wide, spacious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>everywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>to perform fumigations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>to light a fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>to be attached, planted (Here used metaphorically about the rainbow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>བོད་ལྔོ་</td>
<td>to pull, draw, drag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson 25 - 拍不受 故

25.3 Remarks で

25.3.1 The nominalizer دراج -pa

Historically speaking, of the nominalizing suffixes (see 11.4, 18.4 and 20.4), the suffix -pa occupies an essential place to the extent that it is the basic marker of nominalization in Literary Tibetan. In Standard Spoken Tibetan, however, it has far fewer functions.

In Literary Tibetan, the suffix دراج -pa sometime appears in the variant form: 144 درگ -wa.

- After the consonants درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ - درگ
- After vowels and the consonants درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ درگ - درگ

In the spoken language, this rule is not followed, and the form -pa is used in all contexts. 145

In colloquial speech, the suffix *دراج -nkyo' sometimes replaces -pa, but this suffix is never written, and has no known spelling.

The suffix -pa is associated only with the past tense form of the verb, and refers to a past perfective action.

Ex.: درگ but not *دراج، درگ but not *دراج.

A nominalized verb may be followed by a demonstrative, an indefinite article or other determinants such as any substantive.

Ex.: درگ "Those that [you] mentioned."

The suffix درگ pa has two essential functions 146:

- It denotes prototypically the grammatical patient of the verbal action in the perfective past. That is, it refers to the direct object when it is used with a transitive verb or the subject when it is used with an intransitive verb. 147 It may be translated in English by using a relative clause or a past participle (for more details about the relative clause, see Lesson 26).

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144. But be careful! This modification applies only to verb suffixes, and not to suffixes with other functions such as noun or adjective suffixes. Thus Standard Tibetan says khang-pa “house” and stong-pa “empty”, not khang-ba and stong-ba.

145. Some speakers do, however, follow the rule. In this case, they apply the phonological rule of omitting the bilabial /w/ described in section 1.1 of Appendix 1: nang-wa > nang-nga, phül-wa > phül-la, tshar-wa > tshar-ra.

146. In the same way as the nominalizer درگ 'ya’, see Lesson 11.

147. From a syntactic point of view, the nominalized verb functions here as a head noun or as a modifier of the head noun.
Ex.: མི་ཡི་ ་“that which has been built”
དགུ་གསར་པར་ ་“that which has been washed”
ཆོས་ལམ་ ་“[the person] who came”
གཤེང་པོ་ ་“[the person] who went to bed”
སྔགས་པར་ ་“that which has been written”
དགུ་གསར་པར་ ་“[the person] who lived, sat”
དགུ་གསར་པར་ ་“[the person] who cried”

However, it also extends to the subject of transitive benefactive verbs: ཟོས་པར་ ་“[the person] who has”, བེན་པོ་ ་“[the person] who has obtained”.

- The suffix -pa may also be neutral and nominalize the entire clause.

In this case, the suffix is not oriented towards any grammatical role and nominalizes the entire clause. From a syntactic point of view, the nominalized verb functions as a head noun and may be translated in English by a verb in the infinitive, an -ing clause, a that clause or even by a noun.

Ex.: སྐེལ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཅིང་བྱུང་ནས།
“The fact that she took first place made me happy.”
སྐེལ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཅིང་བྱུང་ནས།
“It’s very important to know Tibetan.” or “Knowledge of Tibetan is very important.”
སྐེལ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཅིང་བྱུང་ནས།
“To be able to plant hair on the head is incredible!”

It is only from the context that we can distinguish between the two functions described above, as the following examples show:

Ex.: ཕྱག་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཅིང་བྱུང་ནས།
“Who’s the person who came a short while ago?”
སྐེལ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཅིང་བྱུང་ནས།
“It was a good thing/idea [for us] to come here today!”

What is being nominalized in the first case is the verb “to come” modifying the head noun “this one”, and in the second the clause “we came here today”.

25.3.2 The topicalizer ཤཾ -ni

This particle is very common in Literary Tibetan, but less so in the spoken language. It is used to emphasize a group of words preceding it, or else it “thematizes” something – that is, it introduces the topic that is about to be developed. In English, when the thematization concerns the object, the marker ཤཾ -ni may be rendered by moving the object to the beginning of the sentence and emphasizing it with some expression such as “as for” or “regarding”. Sometimes it may even be left untranslated.

Ex.: སྐེལ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཅིང་བྱུང་ནས།
“As for aprons, all women wear them.”
སྐེལ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཅིང་བྱུང་ནས།
“As for a fire, we don’t need to light one.”
25.4 Exercises ዓོད་ཁར།

25.4.1 Choose the appropriate nominalizer རི་-pa or རེ་-ya:

1. རོ་བོ་མཛོད། (་) རི་བོ་མཛོད།
2. སྐད་དགའམ་ (་) རེ་མི་དགའམ་
3. རང་གིས (་) རི་འདེ་རེ།
4. སྐོད་ལ་ (་) རེ་ཐུབ་བཞེན་
5. སྐོད་ལ་ (་) རེ་ཐུབ་བཞེན་
6. སྐོད་ལ་ (་) རེ་ཐུབ་བཞེན་

25.4.2 Translate into English:

1. སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ།
2. སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ།
3. སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ།
4. སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ། སྐྱེ་ཁྲི་ལོ་བོན་ཁྲི་ཁུལ།

25.4.3 Translate into Tibetan:

1. The song he sang is very lovely.
2. Did you read the letter that she wrote?
3. It was a mistake to have spoken about it.
4. There are prayer flags on the houses.
5. Where are they going to picnic?
6. Many fumigation rituals (lit. much fumigation) are performed during festivals.

25.5 Civilization རོལ་འཁྲུངས།

• Picnics

Picnics practically have the status of a national sport in Tibet. As soon as the weather begins to warm up in the first few days of spring, Tibetans like to go picnicking or camping – perhaps returning to the lifestyle of their nomadic ancestors. Picnics may last several days. For such
occasions people take food supplies and flasks of tea, rugs, a stove, a table and a tent – not forgetting, of course, various games and musical instruments. Favorite picnic spots are grassy stream-banks under willow trees. In Lhasa, during the summer Zhotön festival, the offices are closed and many civil servants join the crowds to picnic in the gardens of the Norbu Lingkha, the summer residence of the Dalai Lamas.

*Fumigation offerings*

Tibetans often perform fumigation rituals to divinities and to the Buddhas. This involves burning branches of juniper or other aromatic plants. Censers for this purpose are located on rooftops, near monasteries and on mountain passes.
"Pilgrimage in Lhoka"

Grammar aims:
- Relative clauses.
- The modal verb "རོ། ༄ to want".

26.1 Dialogue

CD 1 • Tr. 61
Translation

A Tibetan and two Americans are discussing pilgrimage in Tibet.

Lobzang — Do you want to go to Tibet?
Jim — Yes, I want very much to go to Tibet.
Eric — I also want to go, but it’s difficult to get permission.
Lobzang — If you are able to go to Tibet one day, you should do the Lhokha pilgrimages.
Jim — Are there lots of pilgrimage places to visit in Lhokha?
Lobzang — There are very many indeed. There’s the first castle of Tibet, Yumbulagang. Tibet’s oldest monastery, Samyā, is also in Lhokha.
Eric — How long is it since they were built?
Lobzang — In the case of Samyā, for example, over 1,200 years. As for Yumbulagang castle, more than two thousand years.
Jim — What else is there?
Lobzang — In addition to those, in Chonggya there are the tombs of the Tibetan kings, as well as the great monastery called “Riwodechen”. In Dhrachi, there’s also a big monastery called “Mindroling”. Apart from that, there are plenty of monasteries everywhere, but I don’t know them all.

26.2 Vocabulary

(aka) mūpa  ཚུ་ཐོ་ thū’ntö’ (H)
(aka) chokcān
(aka) thēngma
(aka) thokma
(aka) phangso
(aka) khar
(aka) kā’po
(aka) the minpa
(aka) nyīngtö’  ཚུ་ཐོ་ thū’ntö’ (H)
(aka) tō’
(aka) ra’
(aka la cha sha’-na

(n.) desire, wish
(n.) permit, permission
(n.) time, occasion
(n.) first
(n.) tomb
(n.) castle
(n.) king
(adv.) apart from that
(v.) [mod] to wish, want
(v.) [mod] to want
(v.) [inv., DA] to get, obtain
(idiom.) for example

Proper nouns

Dhrachi
Mindroling
Riwodechen
Chonggya
Samyā
Yumbulagang
26.3 Grammar remarks

26.3.1 Relative clauses

As a general rule, we can agree with the observation by the linguist Émile Benveniste that “however [a relative clause] may be attached to its head noun […] it acts like a ‘determinate syntactic adjective’”.

Tibetan forms relative clauses by nominalizing the verb. Thus, instead of relative pronouns such as we use in English, Tibetan uses nominalizers (see Lessons 11, 18, 20 and 25) that follow the verb of the relative clause. Relative clauses are formed by using the following nominalizers:

\( \text{chö' } \) pa\(^{148} \) ya\(^{149} \), \( \text{khyu}, \text{khan}, \text{sa} \).

\(^{148}\) According to Tibetan, Bön was the pre-Buddhist religion of the country. In Western writings it is still sometimes erroneously identified with shamanism.

\(^{149}\) Remember that the marker rkyo’ is also used instead of pa in colloquial language.
The construction of relative clauses is a rather complicated matter in Standard Tibetan grammar, insofar as the nominalizer that is used depends not only on the function of the head noun with respect to the verb of the relative clause (subject, object, indirect object, instrument, etc.), but also on the tense and, in some cases, even the class of the verb.

The following table offers a summary of the uses of nominalizers that operate as “relative pronouns.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions of the head noun</th>
<th>Nominalizers (“relative pronouns”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Subject of an intransitive verb: “who, which” | རྒྱལ་ (present, future)  
འབད་ (past)  
འབད་ ང་ (future) |
| Subject of a transitive verb: “who, which” | རྒྱལ་ (all tenses)  
འབད་ ང་ |
| Direct object: “that, whom”  
or adverbial complement of tense: “when” | རི་ (present, future)  
འབད་ (past)  
འབད་ ང་ (future) |
| Indirect object: “to whom, to which”  
or place “where” | རི་ (all tenses)  
འབད་ ང་ (past) |
| Adverbial: instrument, cause or manner: “with which, whom” | རི་ (all tenses)  
འབད་ ང་ |

*N.B.:* The triangle in this case denotes forms that occur only rarely.

In Standard Tibetan, relative clauses usually go before the head noun. Thus the nominalizer is generally (though not always) followed by the genitive, which connects the relative clause to its head noun. This being said, it does sometimes happen that relative clauses go after the head noun, as in the case of European languages, and in such cases the genitive is not used. The demonstrative adjective ཁེ་ the often follows the noun phrase, consisting of the head noun plus the relative.

Structure of preceding relative clause:

\[
[ \text{SN} + \text{SV} + \text{nominalizer} + \text{genitive}] + \text{“head noun”} + \text{dem.}
\]

150. That is, both tense and aspect. Remember that the term “present” actually refers to the imperfective present and past, and that the term “past” denotes the perfective past (see Lesson 10).

151. This nominalizer, which is used only in the future, is often also used to indicate a necessity or an obligation.

152. For this function, the nominalizer is used only with benefactive verbs (see Lesson 10) in the past tense.

153. This nominalizer is used only with the perfective past when it denotes an adverb of place.
Structure of following relative clause:

\[
[\text{SN}] + \text{“head noun”} + [\text{SV+ nominalizer}] + \text{dem.}
\]

Examples of preceding relative clauses:

ジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ “Where’s the new shirt that you bought?”

ジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ “Those mountains that are famous are in Tibet.”

Examples of following relative clauses:

ジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ “Where’s the new shirt that you bought?”

ジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ “Those mountains that are famous are in Tibet.”

Following relative clauses are also referred to as “head-internal”, because the head noun appears inside the clause. If the verb comes after the head noun (in the example cited above,ジェンリン nyö’, “to buy”, comes after the head nounジェンリン tøung “shirt”), the latter can precede the subject of the relative clause, and the head noun is embedded within the relative clause (as in the exampleジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ whereジェンリン tøung “shirt” is preceded by the subjectジェンリン タンブン khyërang-ki “you”, which belongs to the relative, not the main, clause, “where is the new shirt?”).

It should be noted that in most cases the verb in the relative clause stands by itself, without an auxiliary, followed by the nominalizer. In certain rare instances, however, auxiliaries may be used to indicate the tense-aspect of the relative clause, in which case they must be followed by the nominalizer pa.

Ex.: \(V+\tilde{\text{shin}}\text{-pa}\) present progressive,
\(V+\tilde{\text{kin}}\text{-pa}\) present progressive, \(V+\tilde{\text{yö}}\text{-pa}\) perfect.

Below are some illustrations of the different functions of the head noun. The nominalizers have been selected in accordance with the rules laid out above in the table.

• Subject (intransitive): “who, which”

In this case the nominalizer depends on the tense-aspect. For the present, the future and the imperfective past, the nominalizerジェンリン -ngän is used, whereas for the perfective, it is the formジェンリン -pa that is used.

Ex.: ジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ

“Who is the teacher who is going abroad?”

ジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ

“Who is the teacher who went abroad?”

ジェンリン タンブン サンガ ト ベンペ

“Who is the teacher who went (or used to go) abroad at that time?”
“Those are carpets that have been produced in [lit. have come out of] Tibet.”

“Who is the teacher who will be going to Tibet?”

* Subject (transitive): “who, which”

The subject of a transitive verb can always be marked by the nominalizer -ŋān irrespective of the tense-aspect. However, in the case of benefactive verbs in the past tense, the nominalizer -pa is usually used.

Ex.: दिनण्ड देशात असून किनेक्रोरो सहक्रोरो क्रोरो

“Nomads who are literate are few.”

“Do you know the Khampa who played the lute yesterday?”

“व्यक्ति क्रोरो देशात असे हा क्रोरो इतरा असून किनारे क्रोरो

“The student who took first place in the competition is from the same village as I am.”

* Direct object: “whom, that, which”

In this case the nominalizer depends on the tense-aspect. For the present, the future and the imperfective, the nominalizer ya’ is used, whereas the perfective past uses the nominalizer pa.

Ex.: श्रवण देशात असून अनेकानेक विकाराने क्रोरो

“The food that you have made is very good.”

“क्रोरो श्रवण देशात असून अनेकानेक विकाराने क्रोरो

“The horse that he is riding is very fast.”

“क्रोरो श्रवण देशात असे हा क्रोरो

“The book that I’m reading now is very interesting.”

* Adverbial complement of tense “when”

Ex.: श्रवण देशात असून जेणेक्रोरो क्रोरो

“I remember the day when he came.”

“क्रोरो श्रवण देशात असा हा क्रोरो

“The time at which he is to come hasn’t been confirmed.”

* Indirect object (in the dative) and adverbials of place: “to whom”, “to which”, “that”, “where”.
With adverbs of place, the tense-aspect of the relative clause may be specified. Sa is used to indicate the present, future and imperfective past (the “imperfect”), whereas pa is used for the perfective past. On the other hand, this distinction is not usually made with indirect objects or goals, and only the nominalizer sa is used, irrespective of the tense-aspect.

Ex.: 

་ན་སེམས་གྱི་ཐོག་པར་བན་
“Where is the trunk where the clothes are kept?”

་ན་སེམས་གྱི་ཐོག་པར་བབ
“Where is the trunk where the clothes were put?”

ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བན་ལོ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ
“Bring the table on which the television was placed.”

ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བན་ལོ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ
“Bring the table on which the television is kept.”

མི་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་འཕགས་པའི་ཐོག་པར་བབ
“The restaurant where we used to go before doesn’t exist any more.”

ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ
“The girl he loved is already married.”

- Instrument, cause and purpose: “with which”, “for which”.

In order to situate a head noun in an instrumental, causal or purpose clause, the nominalizer ya’ is used irrespective of the tense-aspect. It should be noted that the head noun is marked in the same way whether it is a direct object or an instrument (or cause, etc.). The head noun may be taken as an instrument only if the verb is preceded by the direct object. Compare the following:

ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ “Who bought the meat that I’m cutting?”
ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ “The knife for cutting meat isn’t sharp.”

The following examples illustrate the instrumental and causal functions:

ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ་“Where’s the cloth for wiping the blackboard?”
ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ་“This is the reason why we’re holding a meeting.”

When the head noun of the relative clause denotes the substance of which the object is made, ya’ may be replaced by the nominalizer kyu: “with, of which”, “for.”

Ex.: 

ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ
“The wood for making the lute [of which the lute is made] is dry.”

ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ “Where can we get the cloth for making the chuba?”
ལོ་བུ་བུ་ཞི་ཐོག་པར་བབ “This meat for making momos is excellent.”
26.3.2 The modal verb གི་འོ་’

This verb, which means “to want”, requires the main verb to be in the present-future.

It appears only as a modal verb (and not as a main verb), and may be combined with the following auxiliaries. It functions in a similar way to the verb ཐོན་“need.”

- in the present: གི་འོ་ རིན (ego.), གི་འོ་ལུང་ or གི་འོ་ལུང་རིན
- in the past: གི་འོ་ རིན (ego.), གི་འོ་ལུང་ or གི་འོ་ལུང་རིན
- in the future: གི་འོ་ རིན

The perfective past auxiliaries རིན་, རུས་, རིས་ may not directly follow the verb གི་འོ་

Example: དེ་བསུ་ནི་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་“I want to go to Kailash.”

Example: དེ་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་ལེན་འོག་“Would you like to go to Tibet?”

However, the verb གི་འོ་ and its honorific form ཐོན་པར་ have a regular conjugation.

26.4 Exercises དེ་ཤེས་རི་འོག

26.4.1 Translate into English:

1. ཀར་བཤད་ལ་ཐོན་པར་བ་ཅིང་བའི་དོན་བཞིན།
2. ཕུ་འབུའི་བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
3. དབུ་བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
4. དབུ་བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
5. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
6. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
7. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
8. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
9. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
10. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
11. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
12. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
13. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
14. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
15. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
16. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
17. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
18. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
19. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
20. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
21. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
22. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
23. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
24. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
25. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
26. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
27. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
28. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
29. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
30. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
31. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
32. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
33. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
34. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
35. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
36. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
37. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
38. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
39. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
40. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
41. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
42. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
43. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
44. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
45. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
46. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
47. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
48. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
49. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།
50. བཤད་པར་ཤེས་རི་ཐོན་བཞིན།

26.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. How many monasteries were destroyed?
2. Where is the first fortress of Tibet?
3. Have you visited the tombs of the Tibetan kings?
4. How long is it since Samyā was built?
5. Where are the books you bought?
6. I know the Khampa to whom he sold his car.
7. The momos you’ve made are excellent.

6.4.3 Create relative clauses according to the following example:
“Visiting the temple”

Grammar aims

- The modal auxiliaries of past and present:
  past: སྐྱེད་ kyu chung, སྐྱེབས་ kyu chungsong,
  སྐྱེད་ ya’ chung, སྐྱེབས་ ya’ chungsong.
  present: སྐྱེད་ kyu yo’ mare, སྐྱེབས་ ‘kyu mintu’.

Mantra of Avalokiteśvara

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Translation

Lobzang — When I came back you weren’t there. Where did you go?
Drölma — This morning I went to the temple.
Lobzang — Did you make liquid butter offerings (in the butter lamps)?
Drölma — I made liquid butter offerings in the butter lamps of all the temples. In front of the Lord Jhowo I filled (lit. changed) a golden vessel.
Lobzang — You must have had an opportunity to make a chang offering.
Drölma — In front of the image of Pāṇḍān Lhamo, I made a chang offering.
Lobzang — Did you take some khatak?
Drölma — I forgot to take khatak. But I bought some in front of the great temple, and after offering a silk scarf I did indeed pray in front of the Lord.

The “five kinds of offerings” to the Triple Gem

27.2 Vocabulary

nyānshā: (H) (n.) khatak (for statues)

sērkyem’ cā’kyem’ (H) (n.) alcohol offering
gē’ kung sērkung (n.) golden butter lamp
Lesson 27 - གཉིས་པ་ འས།

Required vocabulary:

ngakpa (n.) tantric priest
lhapsowa (n.) sculptor
lha Ripa (n.) thangka painter
tömtän (n.) corpse-cutter
cinta' (n.) patron, benefactor
kuntün (H) (n.) presence, title of the Dalai Lama
lhā (n.) god, divinity
lhāmo (n.) goddess
daka (male celestial being) (n.)
dākinī (female celestial being) (n.)
mo'nyun kya' (v.) to change
tso' chi' kya' (v.) to pray
chōti' kya' (v.) to make liquid butter offerings
cā' (co.) connective similar to མ། See Lesson 34

Proper nouns:

chowo The Lord, Buddha image in the Jhokhang
chö:kang, chokang (L) The Jhokhang, the main temple in Lhasa
pāntan lhāmo where the Lord Buddha’s statue is found
The goddess Pāndān Lhamo

Names of commonly represented buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods and saints:

shākya thūppa The Buddha Śākyamuni
torce chāng Vajradhara
kuntu sangpo Samantabhada
sānggyā' manla Bhaiṣajyaguru (Medicine Buddha)
opame' Amitābha
champa Maitreya
torce sępā Vajrasattva
chā' na torce Vajrapāni
campā: yāṅ' Maṇjuśrī
cānrai' Avalokiteśvara
trö:kar White Tara
kyu rinpoche Padmasambhava
milarāpa Milarāpa
chowo atisha Atiśa
ce tsongkapa Tsongkhapa
nakpo chênpo Mahākāla
Names of Tibetan Buddhist sects

Nyêngma
Kagyupa
Sakya
Gelugpa

27.3 Remarks

The past and present modal auxiliaries.

The suffixes ཤ’-ku and ཤ’-ya’ are combined with the auxiliaries ས་ and ས་-རེན་ to make the following auxiliaries:

• Past: ས་ ས་-ku chung, ས་ ས་-ku chungsong,
  ས་ ས་-ya’ chung, ས་ ས་-ya’ chungsong.
  ས་ ས་-ku yang, ས་ ས་-ku yang, ས་ ས་-ku yang, ས་ ས་-ku yang.

• Present: ས་ ས་-ku yong, ས་ ས་-ku yong, ས་ ས་-ku yong, ས་ ས་-ku yong.

As we shall see below (Lesson 28), they may also be combined with the copulas ས་ and ས་-རེན་ to form future modal auxiliaries.

All these auxiliaries have a modal sense, and may be translated in English by the modal verbs “to be able to”, “to have to.”

27.3.1 The auxiliaries ས་-ku chung and ས་-ya’ chung

These mean, “to have had the opportunity to”, and “to have been able to.” The preceding verb must be in the present-future.

Ex.:

སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཁ་ལྡན་པ་ན།
“我没有得到机会提供一条哈达。”

སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་བས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཁ་ལྡན་པ་ན།
“I was not able to speak to her.”

སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་བས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཁ་ལྡན་པ་ན།
“I was able to do some sightseeing.”

སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་བས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཁ་ལྡན་པ་ན།
“Have you been able to make a pilgrimage?”

སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་བས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཁ་ལྡན་པ་ན།
“I was unable to go to sleep.”

27.3 The auxiliary ས་-ku yong, ས་-ku yong, ས་-ku yong, ས་-ku yong.

This auxiliary, which is always in the negative, means “to ought not.” The preceding verb goes in the present-future.
27.4 Exercises ཞུན་ཐོབ།

27.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Have you had a chance to go to Bhutan?
2. Because I went to Lhasa, I had an opportunity to see the Potala.
3. He had the opportunity to go to the USA.
4. One should not sit on a book.
5. One should not kill insects.
6. One should not drink a lot of tea.

27.4.2 Translate into English

2) གྲུ་རིམ་ཏང་གགས་བཤད་པ་བཤད་པ།
3) ཕྱིག་སྟེད་པར་རྣམ་པ་སྟེད་པར་གྲུ་ཆུབ་སྟེད་པ།
4) རྡོ་རྗེ་ཞིབ་ཨི་བཟོ་འོི་ལེ་བཞི་བཟོ་མ་སྟེ།
5) རྡོ་རྗེ་དེ་ཟིང་དང་བཤིས་པར་ཀློག་ཞེས་སྐྱེས་པ།
6) རྡོ་རྗེ་ཞིབ་ཚོགས་པ་སྟེ།

27.5 Civilization རིགས་ལྷུན་

The religions of Tibet

Although religion occupies an important place in Tibetan life, it should not be thought that all Tibetans are religious. Some people, influenced by Western thought or Communism, are either agnostics or atheists. Nevertheless, to understand certain aspects of Tibetan culture and society some knowledge of Bön¹⁵ (bon) and Buddhism is essential.

154. The term Bön is pronounced བོན།. When the word occurs in an English text, according to our roman transcription, it should thus be rendered as Bhön, however, the traditional form Bön is retained here. see Appendix 7).
The Bön religion.

According to the Bön tradition, Mt. Tise (gangs-ti-se), called Kailash in the Hindu tradition, is regarded as the center of the world or the “navel of the earth” (sa'i lte-ba). This sacred mountain is situated in western Tibet, in the region of Ngari (mnga'-ris). The kingdom of Zhangzhung (zhang-zhung), which was annexed at the beginning of the seventh century by the emperor Songtsän Gampo (srong-btsan sgam-po), had its main center in the area of Tise, like the mythical land of Ōlmo Lungring ('ol-mo lung-ring). This was the birthplace of Tönpa Shenrap Miwo (ston-pa gshen-rab mi-bo), “the Excellent Shen, the Teacher, the Leader of Men”, the founder of the Bön religion. It remains an open question whether this figure is historical or mythic, but in any event his name appears in numerous hagiographical texts and recitations, the oldest of which date back to the eleventh century. Bönpo teachings are concerned mainly with the origin of the world, as well as the appearance of living beings. They also deal with rituals of everyday life and the transition to the next life. The Bönpo teachings offer a vision of a purely Tibetan world and genuinely indigenous concepts, and are in this respect distinct from Tibetan Buddhism, which is of Indian origin. In the course of its evolution, the Bön religion adopted the concepts of karma and rebirth, which it borrowed from Buddhism, and organized its teachings according to a model known as “the nine ways of Bön” (bon theg pa rim dgu). From the time of its introduction into Tibet in the middle of the eighth century, Buddhism took pains to suppress Bönpo beliefs. Gradually but inexorably, the Tibetan people were converted to Buddhism. However, the process of conversion was not complete. In many parts of the country, including Central Tibet\(^\text{155}\), there are still Bönpo temples and monasteries. Most of these were destroyed before and during the Cultural Revolution, but some have been restored since 1980.

In the Bönpo communities that are scattered throughout Tibet, particular importance is accorded to rituals for mountain gods, whose origins go back to the myth of the first king, the founder of the Tibetan nation.

The Bön religion has undergone many influences, and has adopted numerous ideas from Tibetan Buddhism, to the extent that the great Gelugpa scholar Thuukän Chökyi Nyima (thu'u bkwan chos-kyi nyi-ma, 1723-1802) declared that it was not possible to make a clear distinction between the two religions. By contrast, the eminent British scholar David Snellgrove maintains that the Bön religion is the true religion of Tibet, since it has rejected nothing but has enriched itself through the acquisition of new elements.

- **Buddhism**

In its tantric form (“Vajrayāna”), Buddhism is a non-theistic religious philosophy (denying the existence of a creator God) that stresses the impermanence of the world and advocates belief in the law of cause and effect (karma) as well as reincarnation or rebirth. The purpose of the

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\(^{155}\text{It is often claimed that Bönpo monasteries are to be found only in the border areas of Tibet.}\)
Buddha’s teaching, his “Dharma”, is the recognition of the ultimate nature of the mind, and liberation from negative passions and emotions that constantly obscure our mental state. The methods used include reflection, introspection, meditation, prayer, the use of mantra (sacred formulae), ritual objects and mudra (symbolic gestures), as well as the practice of various yogas and psycho-physiological exercises.

There are four main schools of Tibetan Buddhism: the Nyingmapa (rnying-ma-pa), the Kagyupa (bka’-brgyud-pa), the Sakya (sa-skya-pa) and the Gelugpa (dge-legs-pa). These four differ from one another largely with respect to the rituals they perform and the emphasis they place on certain practices, but they all subscribe to the same fundamental tenets.

The Tibetan form of the Dharma has certainly been influenced by Bönpo thought and ritual, something that explains its originality and uniqueness.

The monasteries of these different schools are populated by monks and nuns who have taken a range of vows, including those of chastity and abstinence from alcohol and other intoxicants. All the schools with the exception of the Gelugpa have a tradition of married priests. Revered teachers, whether married or celibate, who teach the Dharma are classified as lamas.

The successive lives of a great master constitute a lineage of the transmission of teachings. All the sects of Tibetan Buddhism have such lineages. Traditionally, following the death of such a teacher, qualified lamas search for the reincarnation of the master in the form of a young child. These reincarnations are known as trülku (sprul-sku), “emanation body”. Venerated high masters of a lineage are given the title of rinpoche, which literally means “precious”.

Daily religious practices, pilgrimages, circumambulation of sacred mountains and religious festivals constantly illustrate the remarkable religious conviction of ordinary Tibetans. Some practitioners even go so far as to prostrate themselves over the course of thousands of kilometers to visit the statue of the Buddha Sakyamuni located in the great temple of Lhasa.

Most of the six thousand monasteries and temples that existed before 1959 were destroyed either before or during the Cultural Revolution. However, since the beginning of the 1980s, many of the ruined buildings have been restored.

Apart from Buddhists and Bönpo, mention should be made of a small minority of Tibetan Muslims, comprising two quite distinct communities: the Khache (kha-che), originally from Kashmir, and the Horpaling (hor-pa-ling), who are of Chinese origin. The introduction of Islam dates to the eighteenth century, and there are two mosques in the old sector of Lhasa.
"The car has broken down"

Grammar aims

- The future modal auxiliaries: གཉེན་ kyun, གཉེན་ kyure', སི་ ཉིན་ -yin, སི་ ཉིན་ yare'.
- The auxiliaries of probability: ཤིང་ patu', རིང་ payo'.
- The factitive construction: V+ཤ+བེ་ས.
- The construction: Adj (short form) +ཤ+རུ trp/་པོ་ རུ tān.

“There is no suffering like anger, no happiness like patience.” (proverb)

28.1a Dialogue
Translation

Dorje — What’s happening? (What has happened?)
Lobzang — The car has broken down.
Dorje — What should we do now?
Lobzang — I’ll take a look first.
Dorje — Where’s the problem?
Lobzang — I don’t know.
Dorje — Perhaps we’ve run out of petrol.
Lobzang — No, there’s plenty of petrol.
Dorje — Are we going to be able to fix it?
Lobzang — If we can’t find the problem, we can’t fix it.
Dorje — What a drag!
Lobzang — It doesn’t matter. If we can’t fix it this evening, we can stay with the nomads.

Translation

“The story of Nyichö Zangpo”

[Once upon a time] there was an evil king called the King of Nedong. He had a clever minister called Nyichö Zangpo. Once, when they were about to celebrate the new year, he told the other ministers that he would be able to make the king bark on New Year’s Eve. The ministers answered that it was impossible that the King would bark. On the first day of the new year, in the morning, Nyichö Zangpo [went to the king] and said, “Your Majesty [Precious King], at the doors of the palace somebody is selling a watchdog. This dog has an extraordinary bark, tsik, tsik, tsik. If we purchased it and chained it to the doors of the palace, it would be most impressive.” The king answered, “Stupid! Such a bark is not impressive!” Then kneeling on the throne and placing his hands on the table, the king said: “Boong, boong, boong — now that is what an impressive bark should be like.”
28.2 Vocabulary

(1) kyön
(2) núm  ཐོས་ཁྲིམས། sjmnum (H)
sonum
nang
lönpo
thi'
lgsar
ngänpa
kukpa
tskpo
cangpo
rikpacăn
ngamsi: chênpo
khangtra'
che’ (1) སྐྱེ་ སྐྱེ། (2)
nyamso che'
natsang yâr
kâ' kya'
pâsí näng (H)
nyê'
tsêː:
tso'
hâ kho  གྲོ་ཁྲན་ khyên (H)
shör

(n.) breakdown, problem fault
(n.) oil, petrol
(n.) petrol, gasoline
(n.) lodging, hospitality
(n.) minister
(n.) throne
(n.) new year
(adj.) wicked
(adj.) dumb, stupid
(adj.) rich, impressive
(adj.) intelligent, clever
(adj.) intelligent
(adj.) splendid, magnificent
(idiom.) what a shame! what a drag!
(v.) [inv., A] to happen
(v.) [vol., EA] to repair, restore
(v.) [vol., E] to find lodging
(v.) [vol., E] to shout
(v.) [vol., E] to obtain, buy
(v.) [inv., DA] to find
(v.) [vol., EA] to look for
(v.) [inv., A] to be finished, to run out
(v.) [inv., EA] to understand
(v.) [inv., (E)A] – to escape, let go
— verbalizer
(v.) [vol., EA] to tie, fix
(v.) [inv., A] to be time
(v.) [vol., EA] to have done, to put
28.3 Remarks

28.3.1 The future modal auxiliaries:

ฤ་ฤི་ kyun, ར་ཞེ་ kyer, སཾ་ཱི་ yas, སཾ་རི་ -yas’re'

These indicate the future, and are practically the same as -kiyin, -kire', but with more of a sense of obligation. The forms -kyuin and -yas’in are egophoric, whereas -kyure' and -yas’re' are neutral. The verb that precedes the auxiliary should be in the present-future.

Ex.: ནས་པ་ སྣང་། སྤེལ་ཞིང་། སྤེལ་ཞིང་། སྤེལ་ཞིང་། སྤེལ་ཞིང་། སྤེལ་ཞིང་།

“Next year, we have to build a new school.”
“We have to find accommodation.”
“Do you have to leave immediately?”

In certain contexts, the forms ཌྷོ་ི་ kyun and ར་ཞེ་ kyer’ may also imply that something that ought to have been done already has yet to be accomplished. In this case, it may be translated by “hasn’t yet done X” or “has still to do X.” The verb preceding the auxiliary must be in the present-future.

Ex.: ཕོ་ལོ་ དྲུག་ རི་ རྟེན་ རི་ རིག་ རིག་ རི་ རིག་

“I haven’t eaten yet.” (I’m about to eat.)
“He has yet to go to the opera.”
“You still have to go to the post office.”
“I haven’t yet read today’s newspaper.”

Note: The suffixes ཌྷོ་ kyu and སཾ་ yas’ are usually interchangeable, but not in all cases. The differences between them may be summarized here. A distinction must be made between their function as nominalizing suffixes and as auxiliaries.

Nominalizing suffixes:

• the patient: ཌྷོ་ kyu (future) and སཾ་ yas’ (present or future)
• the instrument: སཾ་ yas’ but not * ཌྷོ་ kyu
• the substance: ཌྷོ་ kyu and སཾ་ yas’

The auxiliaries:

• “one should not” : ཐོ་ རི རི ཐོ་ kyu yomare’ but not * སཾ་ ཐོ་ རི ཐོ་ yas’ yomare’
• “not yet” : རི རི ཐོ་ kyer’ but not * སཾ་ ཐོ་ ཐོ་ yas’ re’
• the imminent future: ཐོ་ ཐོ་ kyer’ and སཾ་ ཐོ་ ཐོ་ yas’ re’
• “to have had the opportunity” : ཐོ་ ཐོ་ ཐོ་ kyu chungsong and སཾ་ ཐོ་ ཐོ་ yas’ chungsong156

156. In all four cases, the corresponding egophoric forms may also be used.
28.3.2 The auxiliaries of probability གཏའདོ་པ་ patu’, གཏའདོ་བཞེག་པའོ། payö’

These two auxiliaries express a high degree of certainty and relate to a future event.

The speaker makes an inference from available evidence or from previous knowledge.

These auxiliaries may be translated by “undoubtedly” or “surely”, or by some such expression as “I think that.” The form གཏའདོ་པ་ patu’ is neutral, whereas གཏའདོ་བཞེག་པའོ། payö’ is egophoric, and implies an event about which the speaker is privy to certain information. The auxiliary may be translated in English by “from what I know”, or “I know that in principle…”

Ex.: གཏའདོ་པ་ རྐྱེད་བཞིན་ལ་བྱང་བ།

“He’ll certainly arrive in time for his flight.”

སྐྱེད་བཞིན་ལ་བྱང་བ།

“It would surely be better to visit a doctor.”

ཐའདོ་པ་ རྐྱེད་བཞིན་ལ་བྱང་བ།

“Do you think it will rain this evening?”

རྐྱེད་བཞིན་ལ་བྱང་བ།

“It’s probably going to rain this evening.”

ཡི་གེ་བཞིན་ལ་བྱང་བ།

“I know he should be coming to the meeting tomorrow.”

28.3.3 The factitive construction

A verb is said to be “factitive” when its agent causes an action to be performed by another agent, or has the subject perform the action. In English, the factitive is often expressed by the auxiliary “to have” or “to make” (someone do something). The Tibetan factitive construction may also be translated by “to let” (someone do something).

The usual factitive construction is: $V + ན་ + གང་་ rgyu '.$

A factitive transformation is made by placing after the verb the suffix $rgyu$, which corresponds to one of the (literary) forms of the oblique, followed by the verb $དོན་་ c'u$', the past tense of which is དོན་་ c'u'. In Literary Tibetan, the form of the oblique is modified according to the last letter of the preceding verb. In the spoken language, however, the particle may often be omitted altogether in the construction.

Ex.: བཏེ་ ཁ་ [ད] ད་ན་ “to make shout”, བཏེ་ ཁ་ ཁ་ [ད] ད་ན་ “to make shout” (L)

སུ་དེ་རུ་ཉག་ ད་ན་ [ད] ད་ན་ “She doesn’t let me work.”

སུ་དེ་རུ་ཉག་ [ད] ད་ན་ “I made him write a letter.”
28.3.4 The construction: Adj (short form) + ་སྒྲོལ་ -ru tro / ལོགས། -ru tang
This construction is used to form verbs from adjectives as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chenpo</td>
<td>chē-ru tro</td>
<td>chē-ru tang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;big&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to grow, get bigger&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to make bigger&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yagpo</td>
<td>ya'-ru tro</td>
<td>ya'-ru tang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;good&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to get better&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to improve, make better&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The past form of ་སྒྲོལ་ -ru tro is ལོགས། -ru chün.

In Literary Tibetan, the form that the oblique follows the usual rules.

Ex.: མི་ལྡན་ yag-tu tang (L)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rinpo</td>
<td>rinru tang &quot;to lengthen&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;long&quot;</td>
<td>rin-tu tang (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;short&quot;</td>
<td>thung-tu tang (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyöpo</td>
<td>kyöru tang &quot;to accelerate&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;fast&quot;</td>
<td>kyöksu tang (L)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thöpo</td>
<td>thöru tang &quot;to make higher&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28.4 Exercises ཞེས་སྟེ།

28.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. He made me work a lot.
2. I have yet to send the letter.
3. We’re going to build a school.
4. He hasn’t yet repaired the car.
5. We’ll soon be crossing the pass.
6. We shouldn’t make them wait too long.
28.4.2 Tell the story in 28.1b in your own words and answer the following questions:

1. བོད་ལྟར་ཆོས་ཐོན་པས་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
2. བོད་འིག་ཆོས་་བརྩོན་པས་ཤེས་འིག་ཡོད་པས།
3. བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་བཤད་པས་ཤེས་འིག་ཡོད་པས།

28.4.3 Translate into English:

1. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
2. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
3. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
4. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
5. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
6. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
7. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
8. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
9. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས།
10. བོད་ལྟར་ལོ་བོད་ལྟར་བཤད་པས་ཤེས་འིག་ཡོད་པས།
"The car has broken down"
(continued)

Grammar aims

- The present gerundive:
  - $V$(past) + ཕེ་ར་
  - $V$(pres.) + རེ་ཁིམ + $V$(pres.) + རེ་ཁིམ
- The auxiliaries of probability: བོད་པ་, བོད་པ་, བོད་པ་, བོད་པ་ བོད་པ་.
Translation

Dorje — I doubt that there are any nomads near here.
Lobzang — Yes there are. There’s a shepherdess over there. Ask her.
Dorje — How do you do, Miss?
Shepherdess — Fine, thank you Sir. What’s happened? [Nomad dialect]
Dorje — The car has broken down. Is there a place nearby where we can spend the night?
Shepherdess — Yes, behind this hill there are several nomad tents (lit. hearths). If you go there and ask for lodging they’ll put you up.
Dorje — How long will it take on foot?
Shepherdess — It’s very close. If you walk quickly it won’t take you more than twenty minutes.
Lobzang — So, this evening we’re going to have to stay with (lit. go to) the nomads.
Dorje — Lock the car door properly, otherwise…!
Lobzang — It doesn’t matter. There are only nomads in this area.
Dorje — But there are people who come through here in cars.
Lobzang — Ah, right!
Dorje — Let’s go!

29.2 Vocabulary

"tsa-la" (post.) at (the house of), near
"nā'" (co.) gerundive
"āpo" (n.) nomad man
"rinpur" (n.) hill
"pangri" (n.) alpine pasture
"thrakri" (n.) rocky mountain
"khangri" (n.) snow mountain
"tsari" (n.) slate mountain
"la" (n.) pass
"thūtsang" (n.) household, family
"sāmatro" (n.) semi-cultivator, semi-pastoralist
"lyktsi" (n.) shepherd, shepherdess
"khomp a kyā'" (v.) [vol., E] to walk
"kor" (v.) [inv., A] to last, take (time)
"la kyā'" (v.) [vol., E] to cross a pass
"ā yo'" (aux.) dubitative
"c'i re'-te" (idiom., dial.) what’s up?, what happened?
"khāmsang" (idiom.) [nomad greeting] (lit. is your health good?)

157. In this Hor dialect as well as in most Kham dialects, the verb red /
re'/ has a lexical meaning: “to happen”. It might be the origin of the auxiliary red used in Standard Tibetan.
29.3 Remarks ཆོས་པར་འགྲོཞི།

29.3.1 The present gerundive V+ རབ་-ན་’
As we have already seen, the particle -ན་’ has several functions with respect to case and conjunction. It is also used in forming the present gerundive of verbs (of whatever class), especially verbs of motion and stative verbs.

Ex.: གོང་མོ་འཕྲིན་འབུལ་བྱེད། “I came on foot (came walking).”
བོད་ཆེ་བྲིས་ཞེས། “He went by horse (went riding a horse).”
ལོ་གྲུ་དབྱངས་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ། “You have to shoot as you gallop.”

The construction of the present gerundive with རབ་-ན་’ is ambiguous, insofar as it can also be understood as a past gerundive, implying that the two actions are consecutive. Thus the last example may also be translated as “You have to shoot after you’ve galloped.” Only the context will reveal whether the tense is past or present.

29.3.2 The construction V + རི་་-kin + V + རི་་-kin
The construction V + རི་་-kin + V + རི་་-kin conveys the sense of a present gerundive, that is, two actions that are taking place simultaneously.

Ex.: ང་བསྒྲིས་བོད་སི་ཉི་(རྡོ་རྗེ་སི་ཉི་)ནི་གི་བྲིན་འབུལ་བྱེད། “They’ll go back home singing.”
ལོ་གྲུ་དབྱངས་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ། “It isn’t good to eat while you’re walking.”

29.3.3 The auxiliaries of probability རྡུ་ཡོག, རྡུ་ཡི་, རྡུ་ཡོང་
These commonly-used auxiliaries (and copulas) indicate that the speaker has serious doubts about what he or she is asserting. These three auxiliaries consist of the interrogative particle རྡ་ (or དེ་ in Literary Tibetan) and the copulas དོག, རྡུ་, or རོག (cf. the examples below).

Ex.: ལས་དེ་བསྒྲིས་བོད་སིའི་ “I doubt that there are nomads near here.”
ཚེ་འཕྲིན་འབུལ་བྱེད། “I doubt if there’ll be time to make tea.”
ལོ་གྲུ་དབྱངས་བཅུ་བཅུ་བཅུ་ “I doubt that we’ll find a doctor.”
29.4 Exercises རྩེ་བཞིན།

29.4.1 Translate into English:

1) རྡེ་བཞིན་འབིན།
2) རྡེ་བཞིན་མཐོང་བ་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
3) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་བ་བཞིན།
4) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
5) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།

29.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. A lot of people smoke while they eat.
2. I doubt if there’s a solution.
3. They recite prayers as they go around the temple.
5. I doubt if he’s at home.

29.4.3 Modify the following sentences using the construction with དེ་ཁུན།:

1) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
2) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
3) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
4) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
5) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
6) རྡེ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་བཞིན།
"Approaching the tents"

Grammar aims

- The adverbializer རི:  
  - ཤ་པར་ khantrā' and ཤ་བ་ khanträs “how.”
  - ཤི་ཐྭ་ tîntrā' and ཤི་བོད་ tînträs “thus.”
  - ཤ་པར་ thāka “the very” and ཤ་པར་ thākas “just like that.”

- The modal expression: “to have no choice.”
  - རོ་ma + V + རང་ ræw+ V.
  - རོ་ma + V + ལོ་མོ་ kāme' + V.

Song ཁིག་ “Mount Kailash”

30.1 Dialogue ཁིག་

Song: "Mount Kailash"
Translation

Dorje — Be careful, if we go straight from here without calling out, the dogs will bite us!

Lobzang — Hello, Shepherd! Tie up (lit. stop) your dogs, please!

A nomad woman comes out of the tent...

The nomad — I’ve tied up the dogs, sir. Come in!

Dorje — How do you do, ama and apo?

The nomad — How do you do, gentlemen? Come into the tent.

Dorje and Lobzang — Thanks.

The nomad — Have some milk.

Dorje — Thanks.

The nomad — Where do you come from? (lit. where have you come from?)

Dorje — We’ve come from Lhasa.

The nomad — Where are you headed?

Lobzang — We’re going to Nagchu, but the car broke down and we couldn’t fix it. We came to ask if you could put us up for the night.

The nomad — Of course we can. That’s fine.

158. The auxiliaries gda’ as well as le-red and ’od-le-red, which appear below, are used in the Nagchu area. These variants give some idea of the reality of communication in the Tibetan region, which comprises many dialects and varieties. However, these dialectal expressions don’t hamper communication, because the nomad woman otherwise uses Standard Tibetan to express herself. In Tibetan, changes in verb auxiliaries are the most obvious indicator of dialectal differences (see Tournadre, 2001).
Lesson 30 - རྐྱེན་འབུང་ ༣

Dorje  — Thank you. How is the dairy production this year?
The nomad — It’s good.
Lobzang — How many yaks and dri [yak-cows] have you got?
The nomad — Eighty yaks and fifty dri.
Dorje — Do all the dri give good milk?
The nomad — Yes, most of them give good milk.
Dorje — Have you got goats and sheep?
The nomad — I’ve got ninety goats and about eighty sheep.
Lobzang — This is a bellows, isn’t it? How do you use it?

The nomad’s son suddenly appears…
The nomad — Ah, he’s arrived. This is my son. These are Mr. Lobzang and Mr. Dorje.
            They’ve come from Lhasa.
Lobzang — Hello.
The son — Hello gentlemen.
Lobzang — Where did you go?
The son — I went to the top of the valley to collect mushrooms.
Lobzang — Could you sell me a few mushrooms?
The son — Certainly!

| བོད་ཡི་ཐར་ | 30.2 Vocabulary འབུལ་བསྟོན་

| སེརོ་ | sērsha  
| ཁོ་ | shāmo  
| ལོ་ | pipa  ལོ་པ་པ་ (L)  
| ནགུ་ | parkur  ནགུ་ན་ (L)  
| ཊ་ | tra (L)  
| ཈ོ་ | tri  
| གོ་ | kārcu  

| དབུ་ | lungpā: phū  
| དབུ་ཐེ | lungpā: ta  
| ལྷུ་ | phū  
| བོད་ | བོད་ གོ་ སྐྱེལ་ གོ་ | གོ་ སྐྱེལ་ གོ་ (L)  
| བོད་ | urto  
| སྐོར་ | melong  

| ཀོ་ | chāpke’  
| ཀོ་ | lösung  

| སིབྲིས་ | shiṅki:  

(n.) yellow mushroom  
  (armillaria luteovirens)
(n.) mushroom
(n.) bellows
(n.) nomad black tent
(n.) nomad black tent
(n.) female yak
(n.) the three dairy products (milk, yogurt and butter)
(n.) upper end of a valley
(n.) lower end of a valley
(n.) breath
(n.) pocket of a chuba
(n.) slingshot
(n.) mirror. Also denotes a silver or bronze disk bearing astrological signs
(n.) belt decorated with carved silver motifs
(n.) metal ornament of double-diamond shape, hung from the belt
(n.) ornament shaped like in inverted “Y” (used for hanging the milk pot)
30.3 Remarks

30.3.1 The adverbs ཀ་ཁྲུ་ཅེས khantras and ཁྲུ་ཅེས khantrâ' "how."

- The literary form of ཁྲུ་ཅེས khantrâ' is གཙང་.

The suffix གཙང་ of the words སེང་གོ་ khantras, སེང་གོ་ thakas, སེང་གོ་ tintras is sometimes also spelled གཙང་ སེང་གོ་, སེང་གོ་, སེང་གོ་.

- The form khantrâ' is associated with nouns and adjectives.

Ex.: པར་བོད་ས་སོ། །རང་གི་ལོ་ ་་ཚེ་ “How’s your health these days?”

བོད་ཡིག་ ་་ཚེ་ “How’s the dairy production this year?”

“Look! How quickly he’s walking!”

- The form khantras is associated with verbs. This adverbial form makes it possible to ask about the way in which an action is performed.

Ex.: དགོས་ལ་ ་་ཚེ་ “How should it be done?”

དགོས་ལ་ ་་ཚེ་ “How did he come from Tibet?”

159. The first spelling is preferred for etymological reasons: the “s” is in fact derived from the verb zer, “to say”.
30.3.2 འའི་ལུགས་ཉིད་and འའི་ལུགས་ཉིད་སྤྱིན་

The forms ཉིན་and ཉིན་སྤྱིན་may both be translated by “like this” or “thus.” They differ in the same way as the pronouns ཀན་སྤྱིན་and ཀན་སྤྱིན་’. The form ཡི་ཏུས་is sometimes used instead of ཉིན་སྤྱིན་.

Ex.: རྣ་ཤེས་མས་ཐོབ་མ་རེ་བཞི།
རྣ་ཤེས་མས་ཐོབ་མ་རེ་བཞི།

“Curly hair like that is nice, isn’t it?”
“It should be done like this.”
“He writes like this.”

30.3.3 གཟག་, གཟུགས་འཛིན་པ་, གཟུགས་འཛིན་མཚོན།

The forms གཟུགས་“the very, just” and གཟུགས་“the very same” are spelled respectively གཟུགས་, གཟུགས་and གཟུགས་and གཟུགས་răng in Literary Tibetan. The difference between these and གཟུགས་“just like that” is the same as that between the sets discussed above.

Ex.: གཟུགས་བདེན་པ་མ་དེ་ཐེན།

“That’s just what I say.”
“I’ll drop by your place just to have a chat.”

30.3.4 The modal expression: “to have no choice”

The constructions རྣ་ཤེས་+ V + དཔང་ + V and རྣ་ཤེས་+ V བྱིན་ཀར་མ་ mean that the subject has to perform an action and has no choice in the matter (deontic modality). They are commonly used in Spoken Tibetan. Both may be followed by the verb རྣ་ཤེས་.

Ex.: རྣ་ཤེས་མཆུ་བ་ལེན་མཐུན་པའི་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་པ་མི་ཐེན།

“Since I’m not well, I have no option but to leave.”

རྣ་ཤེས་མཆུ་བ་ལེན་མཐུན་པའི་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་པ་མི་ཐེན།

“Since the car broke down, we had no choice but to visit the nomads.”

30.4 Exercises རྣ་ཤེས་

30.4.1 Translate into English:

1) རྣ་ཤེས་མཆུ་བ་ལེན་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་པ་མི་ཐེན།
2) རྣ་ཤེས་མཆུ་བ་ལེན་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་པ་མི་ཐེན།
3) རྣ་ཤེས་མཆུ་བ་ལེན་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་པ་མི་ཐེན།
4) རྣ་ཤེས་མཆུ་བ་ལེན་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་པ་མི་ཐེན།
5) རྣ་ཤེས་མཆུ་བ་ལེན་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་པ་མི་ཐེན།
30.4.2 Rewrite the sentences according to the example provided:

1) འི་ཐོ་ ག་ཟླ་བར་བོར་ < ཆོས་དབེན་པར་བོར་

2) མཛོད་ཐེག་པ་ཆོས་ < རྒྱ་པོ་ཐེག་པ་

3) སྐད་པ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོས་ < འབབ་བཏགས་པ་

4) སྒྲིཊ་ རྒྱ་པོ་ དབང་པོ་ < རྒྱ་པོ་ དབང་པོ་

5) འཚོད་ རྒྱ་པོ་ < བྱང་ཆུབ་

30.4.3 Translate into Tibetan:

1. We have to do this work.
2. We have to go to this kind of meeting.
3. I have to stay at home all day.
4. Dorje couldn’t fix the car, and they had to lodge with nomads.
5. They produce diary items and hides.
6. In your place, who takes care of milking the dri?
7. Is this how you work the bellows?
“The Nomad Way of Life”

Grammar aims

- The constructions V+ངག་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཐོབ་་ and V+ངག་ཉིད་“of course”.
- The echo question: ཛུང་མ་.
- Expressive adjectives.

31.1 Dialogue

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Translation

Drölma — Welcome! Are you tired?
Lobzang — Yes, fairly.
Drölma — This time it took you several days. What happened?
Lobzang — The car broke down. Were you worried?
Drölma — Of course I was. And so?
Lobzang — One night we had to stay with some nomads.
Drölma — In a tent?
Lobzang — Of course! The tent was really big! As we went in there was a churn, with hoops of brass, tied to the tentpole. In the middle of the tent there was a big stove, with a nice fire blazing inside. As soon as we arrived inside the tent, there was a pleasant warmth. Inside the rim of the tent there were metal trunks and piled-up sacks of grain. At the far end of the tent there was an altar. At the foot of the altar were two pairs of mattresses, and on top they’d put a couple of rugs with designs of birds and dragons. That’s where they put Dorje and me (for the night). The nomad woman looked really impressive. From head to foot she was covered in silver, turquoise, coral and that sort of thing. When she walked, she went jingle jingle. The hems of her sheepskin chuba and her sleeves were edged with green and red silk borders – as lovely as a rainbow.

Drölma — So, it looks as if you’ve fallen in love with a nomad!
Lobzang — And it looks as if you’re jealous!
Drölma — Ha, ha, ha!

31.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ དུ། (n.) innermost part</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དཔོན་ དོན་ (n.) winter camp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོན་ མཛོན (n.) summer camp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ (n.) living</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོག་ བོད་ (n.) below, further down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (part.) questions that echo what’s just been said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) heel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) garment edge, hem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) of course</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) pair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) this time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) brass-hooped churn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) edge, rim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིལ་ སྐྲིལ་ (n.) metal trunk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
31.3 Remarks

31.3.1 The construction V+ རིག་ལེགས་ཀོབ་དུང་“of course”

There are two main ways of conveying the idea of “of course”. We’ve already seen the very common construction བིན་ནི་ཡིན་- ཇི་ན་ཡིན. Sometimes a verb other than ཁིན may be used in the same construction: V+ ta + V. The same idea may be conveyed by using སྲེལ་ in association with a verb in the present-future.

Ex.: རིག་ལེགས་ཀོབ་དུང་“of course”

“May I use this pen?”
“Sure, go ahead.”

“My, you study very enthusiastically!”

“Studying is certainly very important.”

“If I make a mistake, please correct me.”

“Certainly I will.”

“Don’t you need 70 pounds of tsampa for that?”

“Of course you do!”

### 31.3.2 The echo question ང་ར་ གན

When someone hasn’t heard what the speaker has said, or wishes to make him repeat it, he can use the particle གན, which raises a question about the preceding word. In a similar situation English would use interrogative pronouns.

**Ex.**

| ང་ར་བོད་པའམ། | གན། | “In the tent?”
|-------------------|------|-----------------|
| གན། དུན།       |      | — “Sure!”
| ང་ར་བོད་པའམ། | གན། | “There’s a phone call, come!”
| ཡུལ་དབུམ།      |      | — “Who? Me?”

### 31.3.3 Expressive adjectives and adverbs

A) Trisyllabic expressions

The short form of certain adjectives is associated with repeated syllables with an expressive meaning. This formulation is used especially with adjectives of colour.160

**Ex.**

| མཚན་ོངས་པའི། | བོད་ཅིང་། | “quite calm”,
|-------------------|------------|-----------------
| ཆ་ོངས་པའི།    | ཆིག་ོངས་པའི། | “bright blue or green” (the grassland, the sky),
| མིན་ོངས་པའི། | བོད་ོངས་པའི། | “bright red” (blood),

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160. In Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan, most adjectives are formed on this pattern.
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There is another commonly-used adjectival construction:

Adj (long) + Adj (short) + རིང་ kyāng, which is used to form expressive constructions implying “completely” or “entirely”.

Ex.: རེ་སྲིད་སྲིས་ sārpa sārkyang “completely new”,

 Kensington tshāpo tshākyang “really hot”,

 Kensington kārpo kārkyang “pure white”,

 Kensington kūkpa kūkkyang “utterly stupid”.

B) Quadrisyllabic expressions

Tibetan contains a number of adjectival and adverbial expressions consisting of four syllables.161 The general pattern is that the first syllable is phonologically associated with the third, whereas the second is linked to the fourth, according to the pattern: XYX’Y.

Here are a few very common expressions:

སྲིད་མངྲིལ་ khangcung mangcung “anyhow”

ཐེ་ཤེར་ thāre thöre “scatty, piecemeal”

ཚེ་ནོག་ tshāke tshike “nervous, shaky”

ཚེ་འི་ tshāppe tshüppé “hastily”

ཐེ་ནོག་ tshare thöre “messy”

31.4 Exercises རུས་རིགས།

31.4.1 Translate into English:

2) ང་གཉིས་ཐེ་ནོག་

3) དབྱ་ཆེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་

3) བོད་རིང་ལོང་

4) རིས་ཐེ་ནོག་

5) རི་སྲིད་སྲིས་སྡོམས་

161. As a general rule, idiomatic expressions of four syllables are very common (see Sangye T. Naga and Tsepak Rigsin, *Tibetan Quadrisyllabics, Phrases and Idioms*, New Delhi, LTWA, 1994).
31.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. Nyima must have fallen in love.
2. Don’t worry, I shan’t come back too late.
3. Pema always wears an old sheepskin coat.
4. Tibetans often don’t wear (take off) the right sleeve.
5. Where’s Trashi’s tent? — Trashi’s tent? It’s over there.
6. Do drogpa get up early? — They certainly do get up early!
7. In cities, people wear Western clothing.

31.4.3 Translate the expression “of course” in the mini-dialogues below according to the example given:

1. མཉམ་ནས་བན་པ་གི་ཞིག་ལྡན། (མི་འདྲ་བ་དྲུག) མཉམ་ནས་བན་པ་གི་ཞིག་ལྡན།
2. ཚིག་གི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་བ་དག་( ) རྡེ་ལྡན།
3. ལྡེ་གོ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་བ་དག་མཐོང་དེ་མཐའ་( ) ལྡེ་གོ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་བ་དག་མཐོང་དེ་མཐའ་
4. ོག་དཔལ་ཐོན་འི་འཇིག་ཤེས་རབ་ོ་ོ་ོ་( ) ོག་དཔལ་ཐོན་འི་འཇིག་ཤེས་རབ་ོ་ོ་
5. སྐབས་གཏོང་ཐོན་འི་འཇིག་ཤེས་རབ་ོ་ོ་( ) སྐབས་གཏོང་ཐོན་འི་འཇིག་ཤེས་རབ་ོ་ོ་

31.5 Civilization མི་བོད་

The drogpa.

Nomadic herdors or drogpa traditionally live in big, black yak-hair tents called “ba”. Although they are transhumant, they usually remain within a well-defined territory. Every drogpa family has a fixed abode, corresponding to a winter camp. This camp, usually situated at the lower end of a valley, is usually home to the older family members who no longer follow the young people on the annual circuit. In spring, the nomads move up to higher altitudes and set up summer camps.

The main activity consists of rearing yaks, sheep and goats. Wealthier nomads may also have several horses. They produce butter, cream, cheese and yogurt, and sell hides and wool. Certain drogpa families, the tshapa, organize caravans to collect salt from the great salt lakes in
the north and west of the country. The salt is then carried on the backs of sheep or yaks to farming communities, where it is sold or bartered for tsampa or other commodities. Since the late 1980s, the drogpa have become increasingly sedentarised, and are tending more to live in stone or mud-brick houses, which have the advantage of being relatively warmer, more weatherproof and less smoky. In many parts of Tibet, however, tents are still the year-round accommodation for nomads.

A group of herders
"City life"

Our way of eating, sitting and behaving is the education we receive from our loving parents.

(proverb)

32.1 Dialogue
Translation

Son — Mother.
Mother — School’s over?
Son — Yes. Is there some orange juice?
Mother — Yes. Look in the fridge. Don’t leave your dirty shirt here. Put it in the washing machine.
Son — Father, there’s the tennis world cup on television at six o’clock.
Father — Is it live?
Son — Yes, it’s being broadcast live by satellite.
Father — Is it the final?
Son — Yes. Today we’re going to know who the champion is.
Father — But I haven’t got time to watch. I have to go to a meeting. Drölma, have you got my car keys?
Drölma — They’re on the tape recorder.

32.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tshiwa kyê-tang</td>
<td>(n.) lifestyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>täng’</td>
<td>(n.) way of, nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trapap khorlo</td>
<td>(n.) tape recorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshöntu</td>
<td>(n.) meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshökpa</td>
<td>(n.) group, party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyäntrin</td>
<td>(n.) television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lüngtrin</td>
<td>(n.) radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khūwa</td>
<td>(n.) juice, clear soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyäkkam</td>
<td>(n.) refrigerator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trántur</td>
<td>(n.) competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thamä: trántur</td>
<td>(n.) final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súngkar</td>
<td>(n.) satellite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thükkam</td>
<td>(n.) washing machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrwa: pölö</td>
<td>(n.) tennis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfingpang pölö</td>
<td>(n.) table tennis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siträ: pölö</td>
<td>(n.) basketball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrwa</td>
<td>(n.) net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thäkar</td>
<td>(n.) direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äng thangpo</td>
<td>(n.) number one, champion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrünkhor</td>
<td>(n.) machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lökä’ thrünkhor</td>
<td>(n.) computer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cäkpar</td>
<td>(n.) typewriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâmlo’</td>
<td>(n.) generator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyangshe’</td>
<td>(n.) binoculars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
32.3 Remarks dbName

32.3.1 The nominalizer ་ / -tang
Like other nominalizers, this one is directly suffixed to the verb, which goes in the present-future.

Ex.: ་ “way of speaking”, ་ “way of writing”, ་ “way of eating”, ་ “way of looking, considering”.

The following forms, in which the verb is in the past, are incorrect:

This nominalizer shows the way in which the action designated by the verb is performed.

Ex.: དེ་ཚགས་ཚགས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོན་ཏིང་མེད་ལ་ཝ་རིགས་པ་རི།
“The way they build houses in Tibet today is not as it was in the past.”

དེ་ཚགས་ཚགས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཝ་རིགས་པ་རི།
“The way men and women wear the chuba is different.”

The nominalizer may also be translated by a noun.

Ex.: དེ་ཚགས་དོན་ the lifestyle (lit.: the way of leading one’s life),
དེ་ཚགས་ལྡེ་བ་ the production of tormas.
32.3.2 Indirect questions.

In order to form nominal interrogative clauses, one uses alternative constructions made of positive and negative copulas: བོད་ཡིན་བསྡུད་ཐེག་པའི་ལྷན་བུ་ལྷན་ལེན་་ལྷན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན

And after the main verb, the following auxiliaries:

- Future: V+ ཈ི་བོད་ཡིན་-ki-yinmin,
- Present: V+ ཞིང་གྲོ་མི་ki-yomme'
- Past: V+ འབྲོ་བོད་ཡིན་yomme'.

These constructions are translated by clauses formed with “if” or “whether” or by interrogative pronouns “what”, “who”, etc.

Ex.: མི་བིམ་བོད་ཡིན་བསྡུད་ཐེག་པའི་ལྷན་བུ་ལྷན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན་ལེན
“Today we’ll know who the champion is.”
“I don’t know if he has a radio.”
“Do you know whether they’re coming?”
“Ask him if they’ve gone to India.”
“I don’t know what’s in the box.”
“I don’t know if he is Tibetan.”

32.3.3 The secondary verbs བོད་ལོང་“to have time”, and མ་རོ་“to be time”

The verbs long and ron are “secondary verbs” (see Lesson 11) that take the same place as modal verbs. The main verb, which precedes them, should be in the present-future and not the past. In the present, the verb long is followed by the egophoric auxiliary ཕྱེ་ or the constative auxiliary སྣད་. In the past, the verb long is followed by the auxiliary དེ་ (egophoric) or དེ་བོད་ (constative), in the future by the auxiliary ཏྱོད་.

The verb མ་རོ is generally used in the past with the following past auxiliaries: སྣད་ or བོད་དེ་ and ཡོང་དེ་ and sometimes in the present: ཕྱེ་ལྷན་

Ex.: དབྱེ་བོད་ལོང་ལྷན་ལེན་ལེན
“I haven’t got time to drink tea.”
“Have you got time to read this letter?”
“You probably haven’t got time to make tea.”
“It’s time I went to the office.”

162. The perfective form V + pa-yin + min is not used.
32.4 Exercises

32.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. I don’t know if they have TV.
2. Do you know if they’ve gone to Peking?
3. They asked us if a lot of yaks had died.
4. I asked him if he’d ever been on a pilgrimage.
5. They don’t like the way you talk.
6. Generally, they haven’t got the same way of working as we have.
7. Could you look in the fridge to see if there’s any orange juice?

32.4.2 Translate into English:

2) རུ་དམིགས་འཁོར་བྱུང་མི་ཐེག་ཆེན་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཕྲིན་བཏང་།
3) དེ་ཞི་ཞིང་འཐོ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་ནི་ཤེས་ཏེ། དེ་ཞི་ཞིང་འཐོ་ཟླང་སྐེལ་བྱུང་
4) ཡང་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འོ་
5) སྔོོན་ཐོ་ནུས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་འོ་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་འོ
6) ཚོས་ཁྱེར་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་གང་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་འོ
7) སྨུན་པོ་ལྡན་པོ་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་འོ
8) སྨུན་པོ་ལྡན་པོ་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་འོ
9) བོད་དྲུག་བཤད་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་གི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་
10) སྤེལ་དུས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་གི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་
11) སྤེལ་དུས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་གི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་
12) སྤེལ་དུས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་གི་ཐོ་ཐོ་དེ་སྐེལ་བྱུང་
“The harvest festival”

“If the stallion is strong, the whole Northern Plateau is empty.”
(proverb)

33.1 Dialogue

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Translation

Pänjor — Oh! Lobzang, you haven’t been around recently. Where did you go?
Lobzang — I went to the Chushur harvest festival.
Pänjor — The Chushur harvest festival must be lively!
Lobzang — It’s amazing!
Pänjor — Are there horse races?
Lobzang — Yes, and what’s more, to the left of the racecourse they’d set up three targets in a row. At a full gallop the riders have to stick a spear in the first, shoot an arrow into the second and fire at the third with a gun!
Pänjor — Are there many people who manage all three?
Lobzang — Yes, plenty!
Pänjor — Apparently they walk around the fields carrying religious books on their backs. Is that true?
Lobzang — Yes, they bring (lit. invite) a lot of supports of [the Buddha’s] body, speech and mind and circumambulate the cultivated area.

33.2 Vocabulary ཀ་ས་

ངོ་ཁུར་ ongkor
ངོ་ཁ་ ongka
ཐྲུ་ཁོ་ thugpo
ཐ་ཁཡ་ t(gp)kyu’

(n.) ongkor. harvest festival
(n.) village fields
(n.) lively, animated
(n.) horse race
Lesson 33 - ངོས་ལེགས།

Proper nouns

Chushur (village near Lhasa)
Pānkor
Jhangthang (Northern Plateau)

33.3 Remarks དཔེ་དགུགས།

33.3.1 Omitting the verbal auxiliary

As a general rule, the verb in the main clause requires an auxiliary. However, as we have already seen, the verb in subordinate clauses is usually followed directly by the subordinator or connective. Moreover, auxiliaries are not used in cases where a series of actions is being enumerated. An example of this is given in the dialogue for this lesson.

Ex.: མི་ཐལ་བ་བྱ། ཀུན་ཏེ། འབྲུག་པ་བྱ། ཁྱི་ཐོག་ལེན་མི་ཐལ་བ་བྱ་ཡིན།

“(The riders) have to stick a spear into the first target, shoot an arrow into the second, and fire a gun at the third!”

In this example, the verbs མི་ཐལ་བ་ ཀུན་ཏེ། to shoot an arrow” and འབྲུག་པ་ ཁྱི་ཐོག་ལེན་ “to plant a spear” are not followed by auxiliaries. Only the last verb in the list has an auxiliary.
33.3.2 Expressive particles

We have already encountered a number of expressive particles. These are common in both Standard and Literary Tibetan. Some go at the beginning of a sentence and some at the end, after the verb.

Of those that go at the beginning, the commonest are: བོ་ཐོ་“Oh!” གཤོ་ཁོ་ཨ་: “Well, well”, གཤོ་ལྷ་“Rats! Darn! Bugger!” ང་ཁོ་ལྷ། ངོ་“Owl!”, ཆུ་ལྷ། ངུ་“Oo, that’s cold!”, ང་ཁུ་ཐོ་“Ouch, that’s hot!”, ང་ཁུ་ཐོ་ང་“What a shame!”, ང་ཁུ་ཐོ་ཞུ་“Oh Lordly (lit. O mother)!”

The particles that appear most frequently at the end of a sentence are: ཀ་-ta and ག་pa (and their variants དཀ་-ka, ཆ་-nga).

• ཀ་-ta often implies that the speaker is not in agreement with the person to whom he’s speaking, or is emphasizing the surprising or threatening nature of the situation in question.

Ex.: ག་ལོ་ཐོ་ཐོ་ འོ་ “It’s pretty amazing, huh?”
尕ོ་ལོ་ཐོ་ཐོ་ “But you’ll be robbed!”
ཀུ་ལོ་ཐོ་ཐོ་ “But there is some danger!”
ཀུ་ཐོ་ཐོ་ཐོཐོ་ “Watch out, the horse has escaped!”

• ག་pa and its variants དཀ་-ka, ཆ་-nga are subject to the same modifications as the interrogative particles ང་་-pā’, ང་-kā’, ང་-ngā’ (see Lesson 2). Using these implies that the speaker is trying to elicit agreement with what he is saying, and they correspond to tag questions. The may therefore be translated in English by “isn’t that so?” or “don’t you think?” or conveyed by the intonation.

Ex.: ང་་ཐོ་ཐོ་ “My God, how your child has grown!”
尕ོ་་ཐོ་ཐོ་ “It’s late now, isn’t it?”
ཀུ་་ཐོ་ཐོ་ “It was very pleasant! Eh?”
ཀུ་ཐོ་ “I told you, didn’t I?”
ཀུ་ཐོ་ “You study really hard, don’t you?”

33.3.3 The “self-corrective” auxiliaries གཅིག་པ་རི་, གངས་པ་རི་and ཡི་ལྷ་ཕྱོགས་པ་རི

Lesson 6 introduced auxiliaries (or copulas) corresponding to the English verbs “to be” and “to have”. Apart from these, there are so-called “self-corrective” auxiliaries (or copulas) that are used much more rarely. They imply that the speaker has just realized that he was mistaken or that he was hitherto unaware of what he is asserting. Statements using these auxiliaries often begin with ང་ཁུ་ཐོ་ཨ། ཨ།།: “Well, well! Oh, I see!”

As in the case of other mediatary auxiliaries and copulas, a distinction may be made between “essential” and “existential”.

• The “self-corrective” essential verb གཅིག་པ་རི་ yinpare’.

163. However in the allegro speech, they are all pronounced /wa/.
This is used instead of the auxiliary (or copula) re’.

Ex.: ཉི་ོད་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ་ thuptan yinpare’ “Ah, it’s Thubtän!” [I hadn’t realized]
ནོར་པ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ་ trokpa yinpare’ “Oh, it’s a nomad.” [I hadn’t thought so]
མོང་གོང་ལྷ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ་ ཆཱ་ nyönpa yinpare’ “So, he’s crazy!” [I didn’t know that]

• The “self-corrective” existential verbs: ཨེད་པས་རེ་ yigpare’164, ཨེད་པས་རེ་ yigpayinpare’.

These are used instead of the coplas ty’ and yore’. There is a subtle difference between the two. The verb yigpayinpare’ is generally used following a modification or rectification made by the speaker’s interlocutor, whereas yigpare’ is used after the speaker has just corrected himself or herself.

Ex.: རོ་པོ་ཐོན་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། རོ་པོ་ཀ་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། རོ་པོ་ཀ་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། རོ་པོ་ཀ་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། རོ་པོ་ཀ་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། “Ah, I didn’t know he was in China!”
“So, Drölkar has two children!”
“Well, so Tshering has a car!”

33.3.4 The “mnemonic” auxiliary ཨིན་པོ་ yinpo’
Using this auxiliary implies that the speaker has only a vague recollection of what he is saying. It may be translated by “I seem to remember that…” or “I vaguely remember that…”.

Ex.: དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ དི་ཉིད་པས་ཅིང་རེ། “[I seem to remember that] the harvest festival takes place in August.”
“[I vaguely recall that] the university summer vacation lasts seven weeks.”

33.4 Exercises ༡༤༨

33.4.1 Translate into English:
1) དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ བཀྲ་ཤིས་དུན་་བཟོ་ མིང་སོག་པོ་ ཚིག་པ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ།
2) དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ བཀྲ་ཤིས་དུན་་བཟོ་ མིང་སོག་པོ་ ཚིག་པ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ།
3) དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ བཀྲ་ཤིས་དུན་་བཟོ་ མིང་སོག་པོ་ ཚིག་པ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ།
4) དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ བཀྲ་ཤིས་དུན་་བཟོ་ མིང་སོག་པོ་ ཚིག་པ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ།
5) དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ བཀྲ་ཤིས་དུན་་བཟོ་ མིང་སོག་པོ་ ཚིག་པ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ།
6) དོ་མོན་ཐོན་མོ བཀྲ་ཤིས་དུན་་བཟོ་ མིང་སོག་པོ་ ཚིག་པ་དི་ཉིད་པས་རེ།

164. This form should not be confused with its literary homonym, which has the same meaning as yore’.
33.4.2 Translate into Tibetan:

1. I seem to remember that New Year is on February 20th this year.
2. Ah, so there was a harvest festival at Chushur!
3. Fancy that, he’s a government official!
4. When is the horse race?
5. During the harvest festival, people have fun and drink chang.

33.4.3 Answer the following questions:

1) རྒྱལ་དོན་གཞན་འབྲི་བཞི་གཞན་དེ་ནི་གཉིས་
2) ུ་དྲ་བཟང་ལྷ་དེ་བཞི་གཞན་དེ་ནི་གཉིས་
3) ཤེས་དཔེར་སྒྲིག་གཞན་འབྲི་བཞི་གཞན་དེ་ནི་གཉིས་
4) གཞན་དཔེར་སྒྲིག་གཞན་འབྲི་བཞི་གཞན་དེ་ནི་གཉིས་
5) ཤེས་དཔེར་སྒྲིག་གཞན་འབྲི་བཞི་གཞན་དེ་ནི་གཉིས་

33.5 Civilization རོག་སྤྲུལ།

Traditional festivals.

Traditionally, there are a number of festivals in the course of the Tibetan year. Their dates are fixed according to the lunar calendar. Some of these occasions are purely local, and may be specific to a particular monastery, valley or region.

Broadly speaking, there are two main types of celebration: folk-festivals, that follow the rhythm of the agricultural or nomadic cycle, and Buddhist or Bönpo religious ceremonies. In actual fact the distinction between the two is not always very clear, to the extent that popular celebrations often have a religious component.

Folk festivals include the New Year རྒྱལ་ལྡན་ལྡན་ losar. There are in fact different celebrations depending on the areas:

“The Kongpo New Year” རྒྱལ་ལྡན་ལྡན་ kongpo losar on the first day of the tenth month of the lunar calendar in the Kongpo area (usually in November). The Impatient’s New Year” རྒྱལ་ལྡན་ལྡན་ དེ་ལྡན་ töla losar on the first day of the eleventh month (usually in December) is known to exist in Tsang. The “Agrarian New Year” རྒྱལ་ལྡན་ལྡན་ sōnam losar falls on the first day of the twelfth month (usually in January).
“The Royal New Year Festival” རྒྱུ་རིང་བོ་དགེ་བཀོད་kyab-po: losar falls on the first day of the first month, which usually takes place in February. The occasion is celebrated by nearly all Tibetans.

The harvest festival, called རྙིང་ཤུར་ོང་ཉོར། ongkor, which is held around the end of August or the beginning of September, as well as the དཀྱིལ་ཏུ་“horse races” of the droga.

These ongkor festivals provide an occasion for a range of activities: horse races, yak races, archery, target shooting, wrestling, singing, music, folk dancing as well as a variety of games. The national drink, chang, inevitably flows freely on these occasions.

As for Lhasa, mention should be made of the “great ablation”, ལས་ལྷག་བཟོ་བས་karma töpa (festival of the sdol-pa constellation) which takes place in September.

— The following are the main Buddhist festivals and commemorations:

- “The Great Prayer” or རྣམ་ལྡེན་ཆེན་མོ། mōnlam chēnmo, which is held on the fourth day of the first month (usually in February).

- “The Full Moon Offering” or བློས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་པ། chönga chöpa, which is held on the fifteenth day (the full moon) of the first month. Huge statues of buddhas, bodhisattvas and various effigies made of butter used to be presented on the Bharkor.

- “The Great Offering” or རྣམ་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་མོ། tshōkco' chēnmo, which is held on the twenty-first day of the second month of the lunar calendar (usually in March). It commemorates the death of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama. Its founder was the regent Sanggyä Gyaltsa.

- “The Buddha’s Parinirvana”, corresponding to the བི་ཕྲ་ཤི་པ་ sāka tawa festival, which falls on the full moon of the fourth month.

- “The General Fumigation for the World” or ཚོས་མིང་ཆིང་མོ། tsa'mling cṣang at the full moon of the fifth month.

- “The Fourth Day of the Sixth Month” or རྣམ་སྐྱེས་པལ་ thryka tsha' shi, which commemorates the day on which the Buddha first taught the Four Noble Truths.

- “The Yogurt Festival” or སྒྲུལ་སྐྱོན་ shotön, on the thirtieth day of the sixth month at Drāhpun, and then at the Norbu lingka on the first day of the seventh month.

- The commemoration of the “Descent from Paradise”, or བཞེག་པ་ལྟེ་ཆེན་ lhāpap tṣchen, on the twenty-second day of the ninth month.

- The festival of the goddess Pāṇḍān Lhamo རྣམ་མཁྲི་འགྲོ་གསུམ། pālā: rjü'ro', on the full moon of the tenth month.

- The festival of the Gandān Ngamchö (commemoration of Lord Tsongkhapa’s death) ཕྲོ་བོ་དགེ་བཀོད་(བེས་བྲིས་པ་ལྡེབས་བཀོད་) kantān ngāmchö, on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month. On this occasion butter lamps are place on the roofs and in the windows of houses and monasteries. In pastoralists’ areas, people make a special soup called སྨི་གབུད་ Ngamthuk and offer butter lamps in memory of the cattle that have been slaughtered.
• In addition to the above, within the Tibetan lunar calendar the days of the new moon (the first day of each month), the first quarter (the eighth) and full moon (the fifteenth) are regarded as being particularly auspicious and are marked by special and more intensive religious performances.

In Bhutan and Tibet, so-called བཟེ་ཐོ་ tshê' cu ("Tenth Day") rituals are held in dzong and monasteries on different days. In Bhutan, the most important are those of Paro and Thimpu.
“A visit to the doctor”

གིས་གཅིག་ལྔ་ཐོར

Grammar aims

- The connective “before”: ར་ + V + གཉེར་ / ma + V(past) + khong-la.
- The connective “after”: V + དཔེད་ནི་པའི་ V(past) + pā: ce'-la.
- The connective “after”: V + བཏགས་ལ། V(past) + pā: shu'-la.
- The connective དེ་’་ “after”.

“When you cross the river, you forget the bridge; and when you get better, you forget the doctor.”
(proverb)

34.1 Dialogue

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སྡེའི་རྩ་

་ལེགས་ཏེ། རྡོར་བཀྲིག་སྦྱེ་ཐོས་

་ལེགས་ཏེ། གཟུན་ཟུན་ངོ་ཐོག་ལྔ་ཐེག་ཆེས་(དཔེན་པོ་)

་ལེགས་ཏེ། ཐུབ་བཞི་མི་འདུ་དྲུག་ཁང་པོ་དབང་པྱྲེང་

་ལེགས་ཏེ། བོད་ཉིད་བོད་མི་བདེ་སྒོ་སྐྲུང་ དེ་དབང་(བན་ཐང་) རྷེས་ཀྱི་བཀག་པར་བཟོ་ཚེ་མཆི་

་ལེགས་ཏེ། བོད་པོ་ཝ་(ད་) གསར་བརྟན་ཧྲུ་མ་ ཡན་ཡུལ་བཀག་འདི་དེ་བཞི་

་ལེགས་ཏེ། དྲུང་ཐུབ་ཟོན་བབྱ་རྒྱས་ ཟོད་ཡུལ་་དྲུག་མི་ཞི་ སྲིད་སེམས་ཀྱི་བཅོས་པ་དེ་དེ་ 

་ལེགས་ཏེ། སློབ་ཐོབ་ཟློབ་ཟློབ་པ་ ཟོད་ཡུལ་་དྲུག་པ་གཉི་ སྲིད་སེམས་ཀྱི་བཅོས་པ་དེ་དེ་ 

་ལེགས་ཏེ། སློབ་ཐོབ་ཟློབ་ཟློབ་པ་ ཟོད་ཡུལ་་དྲུག་པ་གཉི་ སྲིད་སེམས་ཀྱི་བཅོས་པ་དེ་དེ་ 

་ལེགས་ཏེ། སློབ་ཐོབ་ཟློབ་ཟློབ་པ་ ཟོད་ཡུལ་་དྲུག་པ་གཉི་ སྲིད་སེམས་ཀྱི་བཅོས་པ་དེ་དེ་

་ལེགས་ཏེ། རྩ་ལེགས་ཏེ། སློབ་ཐོབ་ཟློབ་ཟློབ་པ་ ཟོད་ཡུལ་་དྲུག་པ་གཉི་ སྲིད་སེམས་ཀྱི་བཅོས་པ་དེ་དེ་

་ལེགས་ཏེ། སློབ་ཐོབ་ཟློབ་ཟློབ་པ་ ཟོད་ཡུལ་་དྲུག་པ་གཉི་ སྲིད་སེམས་ཀྱི་བཅོས་པ་དེ་དེ་
Translation

Doctor — What seems to be the problem? (lit. with what are you ill?)
Patient — My head and the joints of all my limbs are hurting.
Doctor — Does your food taste as it usually does?
Patient — No, food has no taste. Right after I eat, I feel sick.
Doctor — Open your mouth and put out your tongue. Is your throat sore?
Patient — When I swallow anything, my throat hurts a little.
Doctor — Show me your arm. I’m just going to take your pulse. You’ve caught a cold. Here’s some medicine for three days. If you take it, you’ll certainly get better.
Patient — How should I take these medicines, doctor?
Doctor — You should take three of these red pills after breakfast in lukewarm boiled water. In the evening, before going to bed, you should make a decoction with this pill. Then after you’ve gone to bed, you should cover yourself with a warm blanket in order to sweat.
Patient — Thank you, goodbye.
Doctor — Goodbye.

34.2 Vocabulary

(१) nāpa
(२) namkyün, ngarkyun
(३) tśo(p)cā
(४) kāngla
(५) tshikshi
(६) thāṅ
(७) ngūna
(८) ri:pu
(९) tsāmān
(१०) sōwa rjipa
(११) chāktṣa (H)
(१२) sērkap
(१३) mgtsa
(१४) mānpa
(१५) tāntān
(१६) shinā
(१७) thröncam
(१८) nyūṅg (H)
(१९) kyūkmer lāṅg
(२०) kyūkpa shōr
(२१) kā tang
(२२) shā:tang nāng (H)

(n.) patient
(n.) usual, customary
(n.) food
(n.) limb
(n.) joint
(n.) pill for decoctions
(n.) sweat
(n.) pill
(n.) medicinal herb
(n.) medicine
(n.) pulse, vein, nerve
(n.) “golden needle”, a type of acupuncture
(n.) moxibustion
(n.) doctor, physician
(adv.) certainly, surely
(adv.) only now, from now on
(adj.) warm
(v.) [inv., A] ill (to be)
(v.) [inv., A] to feel ill
(v.) [inv., A] to vomit
(v.) [vol., E] to open one’s mouth
(v.) [vol., E] to open one’s mouth
34.3 Remarks

34.3.1 The connective chongs-la “before”
This connective is associated with the verb in the past tense form. The verb itself must be preceded by a negation.\(^\text{165}\)

Ex.: ང་དཔལ་ཁོང་ན་ཁམས་ལ་འདྲ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་བཞིན་དེ།
“I really must finish this work before going.”

ཁོངས་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོངས་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་བཞིན་དེ།
“You should take three pills before sleeping.”

34.3.2 The connectives ce'-la “after” and shu'-la “after”
These connectives accompany the verb in the past tense. Moreover, the verb is nominalized with the suffix -pa and takes the genitive case.

Ex.: དེ་ཡ་ཁོང་ན་ལ་འདྲ་འབོད་ཡེང་གི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་བཞིན་དེ།
“After holding a discussion, they reached a decision.”

ལོག་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་ལ་འདྲ་འབོད་ཡེང་གི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་བཞིན་དེ།
“After reading this book, he understood the situation.”

34.3.3 The connective chä’
This has the same meaning as the ablative rä’ in its connective function (that is, when rä’ is used after a verb). This usage exists only in the spoken language.

Ex.: ང་དཔལ་ཁོང་ན་ཁམས་ལ་འདྲ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་བཞིན་དེ།
“After you go to bed, you have to sweat.”

ཁོང་ན་ཁམས་ལ་འདྲ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་ལ་འདྲ་འབོད་ཡེང་གི་དུ་སྦྱོར་ཁོང་ན་བཞིན་དེ།
“When they’ve eaten well, they sit and sing Tibetan operatic songs.”

\(^{165}\) The connective “before” is associated with the negation in various languages. This is the case for example in Literary French: “avant que + negation.”
34.4 Exercises

34.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. How long have you been ill?
2. I often have headaches.
3. After taking the medicine, he sweated heavily.
4. May I take (lit. look at) your pulse?
5. How should these pills be taken?
6. When she sees raw meat, she feels ill.
7. One should not drink tea before going to bed.

34.4.2 Translate into English:

2) དེ་ཁྲིམས་བཅོད་པ་ཐོབ་ལ་ཉེས་པ་ནི།
3) དེ་ད་ང་ད་ང་ན་ནག་ཟླ་བ་དོན་དེ་ནི།
4) སྐད་ལས་ཕོ་བོ་ཐོབ་པའི་དྲུ་དའི་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ནི།
5) དེ་ཁྲིམས་ཐོབ་སྐྱེས་ལྟ་ཆོག་འབད་པའི་ཐོབ་པ་དེ་ནི།
6) དེ་ཁྲིམས་ཐོབ་པའི་དྲུ་དའི་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ནི།
7) དེ་ཁྲིམས་ཐོབ་པའི་དྲུ་དའི་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ནི།
8) དེ་ཁྲིམས་ཐོབ་པའི་དྲུ་དའི་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ནི།

34.4.3 Answer the following questions:

2) དེ་ཁྲིམས་ཐོབ་པའི་དྲུ་དའི་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ནི།
3) དེ་ཁྲིམས་ཐོབ་པའི་དྲུ་དའི་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ནི།
4) དེ་ཁྲིམས་ཐོབ་པའི་དྲུ་དའི་ཕྱིན་པ་དེ་ནི།
34.5 Civilization

Tibetan medicine.

This is a traditional medical system based on plants, minerals and certain animal products. Diagnosis is performed by examining the patient’s pulse and, less commonly, his or her urine. Before and during the examination the doctor asks the patient questions that reveal aspects of temperament, daily habits, and living conditions. Medicinal herbs (tsamân བོད་སྲོང་) are gathered at specific times of year, and are subjected to meticulous processing. The compound treatments are in the form of pills, decoctions and powders. Tibetan doctors also practice moxibustion (metsa གཟེན་བོད་), a form of acupuncture (serkhap དཀྲིས་བོད་), as well as massage.

The essentials of Tibetan medicine are contained in a treatise entitled “Gyûzhi” (དགུ་གཞི) and its numerous commentaries. Tibetan medicine works slowly, but is reputed to be particularly effective in the treatment of certain conditions such as hepatitis, ulcers, chest complaints and cerebral congestion.

Medical diagram for treating goiters
“Illness”

Grammar aims

• Causative and resultative verb pairs.

35.1a Dialogue

CD II • Tr. 1
Translation

Dorje — I went to the hot springs, and that gave me another bout of rheumatism. It seems to be getting better now. Still, I’d better see a doctor, although there isn’t likely to be one in this part of Dhagpo. Even if there isn’t one here, there’s bound to be one in Tsethang.

Lobzang — Oh, for sure. Tsethang has both a public and a private hospital. Perhaps we should wait for a car.

Lobzang — Good idea. Let’s cross the bridge and sit under that tree. We can make some tea before a car comes.

Lobzang — Oh, I doubt that there’ll be time to make tea!

Dorje — Hey, there’s a car coming this way.

Lobzang — Excuse me Miss, could you give us a lift to Tsethang? My friend isn’t very well.

The driver — Sure. If you’re not feeling well, come on into the car. We’ll be in Tsethang this evening.

35.1b Text རྣམ་ལེགས་

གསུམ་བོད་འབྲིང་།

CD II • Tr. 2
Translation

“A story of Akhu Tönpa”

In Akhu Tönpa’s valley there was a rich family. The father of this family was bald. Akhu Tönpa thought of a way to fool him. Every day he would pass in front of this family’s door on his way to the lower end of the valley. One day the rich man asked him, “Hey, Akhu, why do you go to the lower end of the valley every day?” Akhu answered, “There are a lot of bald people in the lower end of the valley. I have been planting hair on their heads for a few days, but I haven’t finished yet.” The rich man thought, “Until today, I’ve never heard about planting hair on heads. Akhu Tönpa is really clever. It is extraordinary to be able to plant hair. Well that is great!” Then, he asked: “Akhu, please could you plant hair on my head too?” Akhu answered, “Sure I will! I’ll come the day after tomorrow.” Two days later, Akhu went to their house and the family served him an excellent meal. After he had eaten, Akhu told the father, “Father, please wash your head while I sharpen the awl.” Then he pulled out a big awl and began to grind it. The father asked Akhu, “Why are you sharpening the awl?” “I plant one hair in each of the spots where I stick the awl in,” he replied. The father got terribly frightened and asked, “If you stick the awl in like that, don’t people die?” “Well some die, some recover and some abandon the idea and offer me (as compensation) a pat of butter.” The father of this family said, “I am also going to offer you a pat of butter.” He gave a pat of butter to Akhu, who took it back home with him.

35.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khālopa</td>
<td>(n.) driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimang</td>
<td>(n., adj.) people, public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ker</td>
<td>(n.) private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shung</td>
<td>(n.) government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sishung</td>
<td>(n.) government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipar</td>
<td>(n.) over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipar (L)</td>
<td>(n.) hot spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chūsān</td>
<td>(n.) blood pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrākshe’</td>
<td>(n.) illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natsa</td>
<td>(n.) tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyūngshi (H)</td>
<td>(n.) awl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shingtong</td>
<td>(n.) bald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyūngku</td>
<td>(n.) pat of butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyūngpu (L)</td>
<td>(n.) rheumatism, arthritis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāmarra</td>
<td>(n.) heart disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cifer (L)</td>
<td>(n.) lung disease, pneumonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar trō’</td>
<td>(n.) liver disease, hepatitis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrumpū: natsa</td>
<td>(n.) leprosy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyīng-ki natsa</td>
<td>(n.) cerebral stroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lönä’</td>
<td>(n.) chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chīnpā: natsa</td>
<td>(n.) nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tsenä’</td>
<td>(n.) throat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
35.3 Remarks ༣༥༣།

35.3.1 Causative and resultative verbs

There is an ancient morphological verb opposition in Tibetan which corresponds to a causative derivation. This morphological opposition has generated verb pairs: a causative verb, both transitive and volitional, is derived\(^{166}\) from a basic verb which is usually both intransitive and non-volitional. This basic verb stem is referred to here as the resultative form.

The two verbs that comprise each pair are phonetically very close, and in most cases their pronunciation differs only in terms of tone or aspiration.

The causative derivation is essential in many Tibet-Burman languages as well as in Classical Tibetan (with over 200 verb pairs) and in some archaic dialects of Amdo, but in Central Tibetan and in the Standard Spoken language, it applies only to a few dozen verbs.

Ex.: ཕེ་བོ་ “to break” (caus.), ཕེ་བོ་ སྐད་ “to break” (res.); མ་རྒྱ་ “to lay” (caus.), མ་རྒྱས་ “to lie” (res.); བ་པོ་ “to stop” (caus.), བ་པོ་ བ་པོ་ “to stop” (res.); ཞེས་རབ་ “to raise” (caus.), ཞེས་ སྐད་ “to rise” (res.); མ་རོ་ “to scatter” (caus.), མ་རོ་ བོར་ “to scatter, be scattered” (res.); མ་རོ་ བོར་ “to boil” (caus.), མ་རོ་ སྐབས་ “to boil” (res.); མ་རོ་ བོར་ “to stir,

\(^{166}\) Many of the causative verbs were formed by a morpheme “s” attached to the verb. This is still visible in the Tibetan orthography: ‘khol (resultative) > skol (causative), nyal (res.) > snyal (caus.), lang (res.) > slang (caus.), ’khor (res.) > skor (caus.), etc.
turn” (caus.), པོ་ཐོར་ “to stir, turn” (res.); བོད་ཐོན་ “to take out” (caus.), མོཉ་ དོ་ཁུ “to go out” (res.); རོ་བོ་ཕུང་ “to bring down, take down” (caus.), རེ་བོ་བུ “to descend, get down” (res.); ཀེ་བ མོ་: “to free” (caus.), ཀེ་བ མོ་: “to be freed” (res.); གུང་ ར་: “to tear” (caus.), གུང་ ར་: “to tear” (res.); གྲགས་ ལ་: “to cut” (caus.), གྲགས་ ལ་: “to be cut” (res.), etc.

Compared to the basic resultative stem, the causative always has an additional argument corresponding to an **intentional agent** performing the action.

If the resultative is intransitive, the causative is transitive.

If the resultative is transitive, the causative is ditransitive (see the examples below)

It emerges from the above that all the **causative verbs are transitive and volitional** since they imply an agent is intentionally performing an action on an object or a patient. Resultative verbs are usually intransitive and non-volitional.

**Ex.**: འལ་ཁུང་ཞེས་ [resultative: “The rope broke.”

[the rope got cut by itself, without any intentional cause]

ཁོ་ལོ་མི་མང་ཐོན་ [causative: “He cut the rope.”

[an agent cut the rope intentionally]

ཞེས་ཐོག་ [resultative: “The pane broke.”

[ the pane broke by itself, without any intentional cause]

སོ་ནུབ་སེམས་རི་བོན་རོང་ [causative: “The children broke the pane.”

[ the children intentionally broke the pane]

ངོ་འཕོ་མེད་པོ་ [resultative: “The prayer wheel is still spinning.”

[ Nobody is now making it spin, it spins by itself]

སོ་ཐོག་གསུམ་ལེ་མོ་ [resultative: “The old lady has turned the prayer wheel.”

[ An agent has intentionally turned the wheel]

ཐོ། རེ་ན་ [resultative: “The letter is torn.”

[causative: “He tore the letter (intentionally).”]

Certain resultative intransitive verbs may, in some cases, allow the use of an unintentional agent.

**Ex.**: འཐོ་མི་མང་ཐོན་ “He tore [res.] the letter (unintentionally).”

སོ་ནུབ་སེམས་རི་བོན་ [resultative: “The children broke [res.] the pane (unintentionally).”

However, this construction is rather rare in Standard Spoken Tibetan. Some speakers prefer to use other constructions such as the sentence below which has a similar meaning:
“Because the children were not careful, the pane broke.”

The resultative verbs include a few intransitive volitional and transitive volitional forms. In such cases, the corresponding causative verbs have a supplementary actant that itself acts on another agent.

*Ex.:*

 puesto dgyab 'od gnam 

“The child herself put on [res.] her chuba.”

 gyang shes 'od gnam

“The mother put the chuba on [caus.] the child.”

 ditransitive

 "The old lady can’t get up [res.]”

 rdo rje bsdus las "I helped the old lady to get up [caus.]”

 Causative and resultative verbs can appear in the same sentence. The causative puts emphasis on the **cause of the process and the effort of the agent** in performing the action, while the resultative verb is concerned only with the **result or the consequence** of that action. Such constructions may therefore be translated by using the verbs “to succeed”, “to manage”, “can” or other modal expressions.

 These constructions which frequently occur in the literary language also appear in the spoken language.

*Ex.:*

 pha ston dga' nas sugs grub ga' vis po

 “After the ngapka had (performed a ritual to) make rain fall, rain did indeed fall!”

 dbyar kum shing 'od gnam thugs yul  

 “This cloth is very strong, I can’t tear it!” (lit. however much I [try to] tear it it won’t tear)

 The following examples are taken from literary texts:

 gnyen lcags sogs ma 'thag na zhes pa bsdus 'od

 “Even if one rubs, one cannot rub out the undrawn lines on the heart.” [caus.: rgya res.: chos]

 dag chos yang sogs ma 'thag na zhes pa bstan'i sems

 “If you try to control your own mind inside and you don’t succeed, then what’s the use of catching somebody else’s body outside.” [caus.: skor res.: bsdus]

 167. The verb *skor* belongs to the literary or formal register. In the conversational language, the verb *g.yogs* is used instead.
"[Once], he [saw] a mouse trying to move a turquoise that was on his mandala. But the mouse could not lift the jewel on its own, so..." [caus.: དགུལ། res.: མིག]
35.5 Civilization

Sky burials

Several types of funeral are practiced in the Land of Snows. The preservation of remains (mardung མརདུང་) was traditionally practiced in the case of kings and high lamas. A thousand years ago interment seems to have been quite widespread, and archaeological research in various parts of Tibet has indeed revealed many burial sites and stone tombs.

In modern times, burial is still performed in certain rare cases, especially if the cause of death is a contagious disease, or in the case of possession by “demonic powers” before death, or in the case of infants. Dead bodies may even sometimes be cast into rivers (chusham ལྷ་ཐམས་) and “offered” to the fish. Cremation (jinsek བོད་རྩེན་) is practiced in areas where wood is abundant. When it is not the case, cremation is practiced only for high lamas and officials. The type of funeral that is selected frequently depends on astrological calculations.

The commonest form of funeral throughout Central Tibet, however, is sky burial or jhator (ལྷ་དཔལ་), literally “scattering to the birds”. The dead body is hacked up by a corpse-cutter or tomdän (ཐོད་དན) who summons the vultures to feast on the remains when he has done his work. The dismemberment is usually attended by a lama or monk, who recites prayers for the deceased. Close relatives generally do not attend the occasion, since the process can obviously be quite an ordeal to watch. Sky burial is well adapted to both the environment and culture of Tibet. The dearth of wood and the fact that the ground is frozen hard for much of the year present difficulties for cremation and interment. Another advantage of dismemberment is that the body disappears quickly – in about half an hour – into the Tibetan sky, whereas burial involves slow decomposition and being eaten by worms and insects. Traditionally, bodies should be disposed of as soon as possible after death to prevent the namshe (ལྷ་ཤེ), the consciousness, of the deceased from returning and trying to reinvest its mortal remains.
"The Tibetan New Year"

Grammar aims
- The nominalizer བོད་གྲགས་དཔེ་བོད་བཞི་བོད་ཀྱི་
- The aspectual auxiliary གཏན་ཐོན་“to finish”.
- The purposive connective གཏན་ཐོན་ཆེ་ཏུ་“in order to”.

“Best wishes for good fortune, may Mother have good health and happiness.”
(New Year’s greeting)
36.1b Dialogue བོག་པོའི་གིས།

ལུགས་ལོ། ལོག་པོ་ལྡེབས་སི་བཅས་པའི་སྐུ་
ལེགས་ལོ། འཐམས་ཅད་མང་འེལ་བཞི་ལྡེབས་སི་བཅས་པའི་སྐུ།
ལུགས་ལོ། དབུག་གི་ལྡེབས་སི་བཅས་པའི་སྐུ།
ལེགས་ལོ། ལོག་པོ་ལྡེབས་སི་བཅས་པའི་སྐུ།
ལུགས་ལོ། འཐམས་ཅད་མང་འེལ་བཞི་ལྡེབས་སི་བཅས་པའི་སྐུ།
ལེགས་ལོ། ལོག་པོ་ལྡེབས་སི་བཅས་པའི་སྐུ།
ལུགས་ལོ། འཐམས་ཅད་མང་འེལ་བཞི་ལྡེབས་སི་བཅས་པའི་སྐུ།

Auspicious Offering
Translation

In the past, in Tibet, there used to be a festival, [just] before the New Year. It was called Gutor. This festival was celebrated on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month. Throughout the day cham [monastic dance] was performed and torma were burned. The destruction of the torma was aimed at neutralizing the negative karma and the obstacles of the old year. Within families [on the occasion of the Gutor], people always drink “soup of nine ingredients”. In the soup, they put [inside the dumplings] peas, pebbles, wool, peaches and chili, among other things. It is traditionally said that if you find a chili in the soup, it’s a sign that you have a sharp tongue. If you find a peach, it shows that you will enjoy good health in the coming year.

In the past, early in the morning on the first day of the year, the character called dräkar would come to the doors of houses and say things about his mask and staff. This was considered to be auspicious. Dräkar is a feature of Tibetan dramatic art.

Early on [New Year’s] morning, people drink hot chang, then make offerings of tsampa-and-butter dough and fried pastry. On the second or third day of the New Year they raise prayer flags on the roof and make fumigation offerings [by burning juniper].

Daughter — Best wishes for the New Year and good health!
Father — Did your mother bring you hot köndän in bed?
Daughter — She brought me a nice hot köndän. What’s more, this year she put plenty of cheese and molasses in the köndän.
Father — Did you wash before putting on your nice clothes?
Daughter — Yes, I had a wash!
Father — So are you ready to go?
Daughter — Yes.
Father — Well then, let’s go and sit in the living room [for the ceremony].

36.2 Vocabulary ཀྱུན་གསར

kyutor (n.) ceremony of the last day of the year
kyûsä: (n.) art
throso chëmar (n.) arrangement of flour and butter for the New Year
torma (n.) model, of varying size and complexity, usually made of dough decorated with coloured butter, used in several propitiatory or exorcistic rituals
träsi: (n.) dish of sweetened rice with potentilla tubers
témtre: (n.) karmic interdependence; propitious concatenation of events; ceremony related to this
ta’ (n.) sign, mark, symbol
lu’anko (n.) sheep head, New Year’s dish
chäm’ (n.) monastic ritual dance
khe’wang (n.) calamity, obstacle
36.3 Remarks

36.3.1 The nominalizer ་མེད SN:

Like other nominalizers, this one is attached directly to the verb, which takes the present-future form.

Ex.: ་འཛིན་པ་མེད་རིགས་

“This is what we usually say.”

དང་བརྟེན་པ་མེད་པར་འཕོག་པའི་ཐེག་མར་

“When we make a chang offering, this is how we usually sing.”

འི་ལྟོང་པོའི་ På་ཁྲོད་པའི་གི་ཐེག་མར་

“As they say, ‘to exchange a horse for a donkey’.” (i.e., to make a bad deal)
36.3.2 The secondary verb རྒྱུད་ཐོར་ “to finish”

The verb རྒྱུད་ཐོར་ belongs to the category of secondary verbs, which occupy the same syntactic position as the modal verbs (after the main verb and before the auxiliary). Apart from its usual meaning of “to finish”, it may also have the adverbial meaning of “already” or “completely”, according to context. When it is used in the first person, the verb may be used without an auxiliary.

Ex.: རྒྱུད་ཐོར་བོད། “(I’ve) already washed.”
    རྒྱུད་ཐོར་བོད་ཏོས། “(He’s) already washed.”
    རྒྱུད་ཐོར་བོད་དགེ་བོད། “Then (he) was completely cured.”
    རྒྱུད་ཐོར་བོད་དགེ་ལམ། “Have you really gone completely crazy?”

*Note:* Depending on the context, the adverb “already” may be translated by the auxiliary བོད་ (“to have experienced”) or by the auxiliary ཐོར་ (“to finish”):

Ex.: རྒྱུད་ཐོར། “I’ve already been there” (just a while ago, so I don’t need to go again).
    རྒྱུད་ཐོར། “I’ve already been there” (to India – it’s something I’ve experienced).

36.3.3 The connective གཞན་ཅེ་ “in order to”

This connective is used after nominalized verbs to form purpose clauses. It is an elegant construction that also occurs in Literary Tibetan.

Ex.: ཁེ་རྒྱུད་བོད་མི་ཞེས་པའི་བོད་ལྷག་པ་ཟུང་ཞེས་རུ་ལས། “In order to go to Tibet, you should learn Tibetan properly.”
    ཁེ་རྒྱུད་བོད་མི་ཞེས་པའི་བོད་ལྷག་པ་ཟུང་ཞེས་རུ་ལས། “In order to be in good health, you should do take regular exercise and keep clean.”

### 36.4 Exercises རྒྱུད་ཐོར་།

#### 36.4.1 Translate into Tibetan:

1. He’s already gone to the office.
2. The rains have already come this year.
3. Lobzang has already gone to America.
4. Thubtän has finished writing his book.
5. Have you ever drunk kündän?
6. We’re about to finish working.

---

168. See 15.3.2.
36.4.2 Translate into English:

1) རྣམ་རྩེ་ཤིང་ཕྱི་ལུགས་བྱུང་བ་བྱོས་པས།

2) རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་

3) འཇིག་ཟིང་བ་བཞི་བཞིས་བུ་རྒྱུ་དབྱེ་བ་བཞི་བཞིས།

4) རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་ཞུ་བོར། རྟིང་སིད་པུ་བུ་བུ་ཐོན་མོ།

5) རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་ཞུ་བོར་བུ་བུ་ཐོན་མོ།

6) འཇིག་ཟིང་བ་བཞི་བཞི་ལུགས་བྱུང་ན། རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་ཞུ་བོར་བུ་བུ་ཐོན་མོ།

36.4.3 Answer the following questions:

1) རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་

2) རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་

3) རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་

4) རྟེན་པའིས་བཞི་བཞི་
“The Great Prayer and the Full Moon Offering”

Grammar aims

- The construction V+ এমন অর্থে “not only”, “but”

37.1 Text

CD II • Tr. 5

Lesson 37
Translation

The Great Prayer Festival of Lhasa was established in 1409 by Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dhragpa. It is celebrated each year from the fourth to the eighteenth of the first month. Until 1959, more than twenty thousand monks used to assemble. During this period, not only did the government offer soup and tea, but many well-to-do devotees also offered the monks soup, tea or money. In the course of the Great Prayer Festival, all the judicial powers of the City of Lhasa were handed over to the proctor who presided over the general assembly of Drüpung monastery. It was during the Great Prayer Festival that the monks who had studied the five basic subjects [in Lhasa] at [one of the] three monastic seats, Drüpung, Sera or Gandan, would take their doctorates in Buddhist sciences. This was an exam that assessed the study of texts. After their defence, they would obtain the title of geshe lharampa. This was instituted by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

In the past, at the full moon of the first Tibetan month, “offerings of the fifteenth” day were presented on the Bharkor. These offerings were made entirely of colored butter. They represented the buddhas, bodhisattvas, the eight auspicious signs, the “four harmonious siblings” [the bird, the hare, the monkey and the elephant], the seven emblems of royalty, etc. These various effigies all had different expressions. Some could be controlled by means of hidden threads, and thus made to move. So it was really a particularly refined art that caused general surprise and amazement.

Philosophical debate
### 37.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>མོན་ལམ་ཆེན་མོ་</td>
<td>(n.) the Great Prayer [Festival]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤང་ཆོས་པ་</td>
<td>(n.) fifteenth-day offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲིག་པ་</td>
<td>(n.) image, reflection, effigy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལུ་ལོག་</td>
<td>(adv.) only, solely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལྟོང་</td>
<td>(n.) sangha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྡོ་རྗེ་</td>
<td>(n.) statue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྣམ་</td>
<td>(n.) the four harmonious siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱུར་</td>
<td>(n.) the seven royal emblems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྡོ་དྨེ་</td>
<td>(n.) the eight auspicious signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱུས་</td>
<td>(co.) furthermore, not only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐལ་</td>
<td>(n.) food or money offered to monks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>འཛིན་ལྕེ་</td>
<td>(n.) especially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྟིལ་</td>
<td>(n.) noble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲ་</td>
<td>(n.) thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>(n.) expression, appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྐན་</td>
<td>(n.) varied, of different kinds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>(n.) Tibetan government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐྲ་</td>
<td>(n.) well-off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྐང་</td>
<td>(n.) faithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྟིལ་</td>
<td>(n.) multicolored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱེ་བཙན་པ་</td>
<td>(n.) doctoral title, the most prestigious obtained during the Mönlam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(n.) doctor of Buddhist science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བྱེ་བཙན་</td>
<td>(n.) power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྗེ་</td>
<td>(n.) lineage of incarnations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(n.) the fifth member of an incarnation lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱས་</td>
<td>(n.) legislative, judiciary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(n.) general assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(n.) proctor, disciplinarian; also, lay title in the pre-1959 administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(n.) title of the Fifth Dalai Lama and certain high lamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(n.) five basic studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(adj.) whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(adj.) secret, hidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(adv.) during</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱལ་</td>
<td>(v.) [vol., E] to take an exam (oral)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
37.3 Remarks ﭘ་སེ་སོགས

37.3.1 The construction \( V+པར་སི་\) 'not only', "but"

The formulation прама,'# is connected directly to the verb. It consists of the nominalizer pa and the expression ма.'.

Ex.: ཕལ་མཁན་གནོད་ཀྱི་མཐའ་ཚོ་བ་ བཏགས་པའི་ས་ལེགས་གཞན་

“He knows not only (written) Tibetan and Chinese, but also English.”

དབང་རྗེ་བཙན་བཟང་གི་བརྲེའི་མཐའ་ཚོ་རྒྱ་གཞན་ལེགས་པའི་ལེགས་སུ་བཏགས་པའི་ལེགས་གཞན

“Not only is Pänjor diligent in his own studies, but he also helps others.”
37.4 Exercises

37.4.1 Answer the following questions:

7) ཐུན་བོུ་ ཡུལ་ཚིད་བུ་ ལོ་ན་བོགས་པོ་ སར་བ་ གཞན།
8) དུས་བོུ་ སེམས་པར་བོགས་པོ་ སྦྱེད།
9) གཞན་བོུ་ ཁྱེད་རིན་གྱིས་ རེ་བོ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེན་བོད་ བྱེད།
10) ཁྱེད་ རིན་ རེ་བོ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེན་ བོད་ བྱེད།
11) གཞན་ རིན་ རེ་བོ་ རིན་པོ་ཆེན་ བོད་ བྱེད།

37.4.2 Translate into English:

37.4.3 Rewrite the sentences according to the example given:

7) གཞན་ སངས་ བོད་ བྱེད།
8) གཞན་ སངས་ བོད་ བྱེད།
9) གཞན་ སངས་ བོད་ བྱེད།
10) གཞན་ སངས་ བོད་ བྱེད།
11) གཞན་ སངས་ བོད་ བྱེད།
“The Great Offering”

38.1a Text

Grammatical aims
- The connective རྡེ་- “but”.
- Rhetorical questions.

38.1b Dialogue
Translation

Until 1959, during the second Tibetan month the Great Offering was held in Lhasa. The purpose was to commemorate the death of the (Great) Fifth Dalai Lama. Its founder was the regent Sanggyi Gyatsho. When was the Great Offering created? It was instituted after the regent Sanggyi Gyatsho had rebuilt the Potala Palace. This ceremony was broadly similar to that of the Great Prayer Festival, but the most important thing was the great procession.

During the latter, [one could see] people lining up, dressed in precious robes as well as many monks carrying a variety of offerings, the eight auspicious signs, the royal emblems and so forth. Then came the wish-fulfilling cow and the character of the monk Nyima Ringpo [who moves extremely slowly].

Chömpel  —  Have you ever taken part in the Great Offering?
Dekyi  —  I’ve never taken part. What is there to see apart from the procession?
Chömpel  —  The immolation of torma, for which the scapegoat (lûgong) appears.
Dekyi  —  Oh yes, what’s he like?
Chömpel  —  Very strange. His right cheek is painted white and his left cheek black.
Dekyi  —  Well, well! I wonder what that means?

38.2 Vocabulary  "kṣṇā ṭuṣṭa"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tshökcö’ chênmo</td>
<td>(n.) Great Offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lûkong kyâ’po</td>
<td>(n.) King lûgong, a character who acts as the scapegoat during the ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kongtso’</td>
<td>(n.) ransom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyü’</td>
<td>(n.) death, death anniversary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thönta’</td>
<td>(n.) goal, aim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khongsa</td>
<td>(n.) meaning, significance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khönma</td>
<td>(n.) superior position, sovereign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tes’i’</td>
<td>(n.) emperor; title of certain hierarchs in traditional Tibet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsāko</td>
<td>(adj.) superior, preceding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sârpa</td>
<td>(n.) regent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêrtreng (L.)</td>
<td>(n.) ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trampa</td>
<td>(n.) procession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chösa’</td>
<td>(n.) cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêrka’ya</td>
<td>(n.) items of offering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khare khare</td>
<td>(n.) clergy and laity (lit. yellow and grey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyâ’na</td>
<td>(n.) what sort (of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khâ’ chênpo</td>
<td>(n.) ornaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyântarpo</td>
<td>(adj.) important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khâ’ chênpo</td>
<td>(adj.) strange</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lesson 38 - བོད་ཡིག ༣༨

Proper nouns

kelong nyima ringpo
Sanggyä Gyatsho
“Wish-fulfilling cow”

38.3 Remarks

38.3.1 The connective བོད་ཡིག ཚི/ -te.

In Literary Tibetan, the adversative connective ཚི/ -te “but” has several variants according to the last letter of the preceding syllable.

- after རེ་ རེ་ འི་ མ་ བོད་ཡིག ཚི/ and vowels > ཚི/ ཚི
- after རེ། > ཚི/ ལེ།
- after རེ་ རེ་ འི་ མ་ བོད་ཡིག ཚི/ > ཚི/ ཚི

In speech, the three are all pronounced -te. This particle has a range of functions in Literary Tibetan. In the spoken language, by contrast, it is used only to introduce an opposition between two clauses or a concession, and may be translated by “but” or “although”.

The particle -te is used after only certain auxiliaries. It usually appears in the following combinations: འགྲེལ་, འགྲེལ་ རེ་ -te, བཏེན་, བཏེན་ རེ་ -te, བཏེན་ རེ་ -te, བཏེན་ རེ་ -te.

Ex.: འགྲེལ་ རེ་ བཏེན་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ། “Even though they’re similar, they’re not quite identical.”

“Because he has money but he doesn’t use it.”

“Although she has a nice voice, she doesn’t sing.”
38.3.2 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are very commonly used in both Spoken and Literary Tibetan. They entail the speaker asking a question and immediately replying to it himself.

ས་རིས་ཤིང་པ་*khare' re' ser-na* “If you ask why” = because.

ས་སུ་སེ་ཤིང་པ་*khatu' re' ser-na* “If you ask when” = when.

Ex.: བན་གཤེགས་པ་དེ་བཙོ་ནཱ་ི་ཨོ་ན་བཏང་ན་མ་སྟེང་ནི་བསྟོན་འཛིན་མེད་པར་གཅིག་པ་དག་བོད་ལུགས་པ་དེ།
“When was it instituted? It was after the regent had renovated the Potala Palace”
[i.e., it was instituted when the regent had rebuilt the palace]

ལོ་བོད་པ་ཡང་བེད་ཅིང་། ཆུང་མཛོད་ལོ་བོད་པ་ཡང་བེད་ཅིང་།
“What was its aim? It was to commemorate the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama”
[i.e., its aim was to commemorate the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama]

38.4 Exercises མཐེ་ཧར

38.4.1 Translate into English:

2) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

3) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

6) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

38.4.2 Answer the following questions:

2) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

4) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

7) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

38.4.3 Choose the appropriate form of the connective ན་, ste, ride, or བཞི te:

2) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

4) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

6) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

9) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་

12) སྒྲུབ་སེམས་སློབ་མཐོང་བོའི་ིས་སྡེ་སྐྱིི་རེ་ཞེ་
"The three monastic seats"

Grammar aims

- The nominalizer བོད་ཐོབ་
- Modal constructions of the type བོད་ཐོབ་ ང་མེ་

39.1 Text

39.1 Text

CD II • Tr. 8
Translation

Of the three monastic seats, one is named Sera. It is located at the foot of a hill to the north of Lhasa. If you travel by car from the Bharkor to Sera, it will take you about fifteen minutes. The founder of this monastery was called Jamchen Chöje Shakya Yeshe. It’s generally said that the number of monks was five thousand five hundred, but in the 1950s there were up to seven thousand.

The monastery of Gandan, to the east of Lhasa, stands on the side of a hill called Wangpuri, which belongs to Tagtse. It is one of the largest Gelugpa monasteries. It was founded in 1409 by Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dhragpa. Although it is only thirty-odd kilometers from Lhasa, since the road is in poor condition it takes about an hour and a half. According to oral tradition, there used to be three thousand three hundred monks at Gandan, but in the 1950s there were more than five thousand.

Drápung Monastery is also one of the principal Gelugpa monasteries, and it is moreover the largest monastery in Tibet. It was founded in 1416 by Jamyang Chöje Trashi Pandan. It is located on the slopes of Gempel Utse hill to the west of Lhasa. From the Bharkor to Drápung takes no more than twenty minutes by car. It is said that this monastery had seven thousand seven hundred monks, but in the 1950s it actually had around ten thousand.

39.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>མཁྲན་ tânsa</td>
<td>(n.) monastic seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྣམ་ tson</td>
<td>(n.) fortress, district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དེབ་ tep</td>
<td>(n.) side, flank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཀྲལ་ khârtrang</td>
<td>(n.) number (of people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐུན་ thrangka</td>
<td>(n.) number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ངོ་རྣམ་ mirap</td>
<td>(n.) generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབུ་ thûrap</td>
<td>(n.) century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དྲེ་ དི་ ཀྲུང་ tshû, sô</td>
<td>(n.) kilometer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཀྲལ་ thrá’</td>
<td>(n.) way, manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དོ་རོ་ nangnâ’</td>
<td>(n.) tradition, custom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཀྲལ་ thrá’</td>
<td>(n.) kind, sort, class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྐུན་ châktap näng</td>
<td>(n.) among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཀྲལ་ + དུ་ སྐུན་ + ཆུ་ châktap näng (H)</td>
<td>(v.) [vol., EA] to found (a monastery or institution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཀྲལ་ khângto’</td>
<td>(v.) [inv., AD] to belong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བཀྲལ་ + དུ་ thrangka kya’</td>
<td>(v.) [vol., EA] to count</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proper Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཁྱིའི་ taktse</td>
<td>Tagtse village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤོང་ཐོས་པོ་ kepe: Utse</td>
<td>Gempel Utse hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རོ་པོ་ + ལྟ་ + རྣམ་ châmchen chöce shâkya yeshe’</td>
<td>Jhamchen Chöje Shakya Yeshe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
39.3 Remarks

39.3.1 The nominalizer ཕོག་ཏུ།: The nominalizer ཕོག་ཏུ།, derived from a noun “method, way”, has a first meaning similar to ཕོག་ཏུ། tang (see Lesson 32), but occurs mainly in Literary Tibetan or in a formal spoken language. It expresses the way or the manner the verbal action is performed.

Ex.: བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་།
“He explained how Tibetan paper is made”.

The nominalizer ཕོག་ཏུ།, and its literary homologue ཤོག་ཏུ། “manner”, has a second meaning when used with reported speech. It indicates that the speaker is not necessarily subscribing to what he or she is reporting. It may be translated by “they say that” or “apparently”.

Ex.: རྒྱལ་ཏུ། དེ་ལ་། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། དེ་ལ་། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་།
“They say that there used to be seven thousand seven hundred monks in this monastery.”

ལམ་ཐོབ་སོགས་པ་དང་། ལམ་ཐོབ་སོགས་པ་དང་།
“He claimed to be a lama.”

39.3.2 Modal constructions of the type རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རྒྱལ་ཏུ། རིགས་གྱི་བཀུར་བཞིན་བཞིན་བཞིན་བཞིན་བཞིན་བཞིན
“He’s pretending he hasn’t seen me”.

Ex.: བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་།
“I’ll make out that I’ve gone up there.”

Ex.: བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་།
“He’s claiming to be ill.”

Ex.: བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་།
“If you haven’t understood, don’t pretend you have.”

Ex.: བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་ગསུམ་དང་།
“He wanted to write fast, but he made a lot of mistakes.”

Ex.: བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་། བོད་ལ་ས་སོགས་བཞིན་གསུམ་དང་།
“He wanted to eat some chilli and his stomach ache got worse.”
39.4 Exercises

39.4.1 Translate into English:

2) ཐད་ལེགས་པའི་དངོས་རྒྱ་གྱི་འཇིག་པར་བཤད་པའི་གསུང་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་དབང་པོ་

3) ཡིག་ཤིང་བོད་སེམས་འཇིག་པར་བཤད་པའི་དངོས་རྒྱ་གྱི་འཇིག་པར་བཤད་པའི་གསུང་

3) འཇིག་པར་བཤད་པའི་དངོས་རྒྱ་གྱི་འཇིག་པར་བཤད་པའི་དངོས་རྒྱ་གྱི་འཇིག་པར་བཤད་པའི་

39.4.2 Answer the following questions:

2) མཐོང་བ་ཐོབ་བྱུང་བོ་ལྡོ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

3) རྡེ་བཟོ་ཐོག་པ་དོན་དོན་དྲུ་

39.5 Civilization

Proverbs

In Tibet, as in many traditional societies, proverbs play an important part in communication, and people cite them whenever the situation is appropriate. Nomads and farmers are especially inclined to use them. In all languages, proverbs generally correspond to an ancient, and even archaic, phase of linguistic usage. In Tibet, proverbs are usually phrased in a register close to that of the literary language. Several collections of proverbs have been published both in Tibet and in the diaspora. Here are some well-known proverbs.
“To treat a wound, even dog-fat will do.”

“When you’re giving birth, you don’t think about sex; when you’re having sex, you don’t think about giving birth.”

“You don’t see the wild yak moving across your own face, but you see the louse crawling on someone else’s.”

“If you don’t take care of your own happiness, others will ensure your misery.”

“To acquire beauty, you have to suffer.”

“Hold on and your hand will burn, let go and the pot will break.”

“Words from the mouth are bubbles, deeds of the hand are drops of gold.”

“The man with the clever words is the leader, the man with clever hands is a slave.”

“The tiger’s stripes are outside, but a man’s stripes are inside.”
“You get angry with the yak, but it’s the calf you kick.”

“Thirty people makes thirty minds, thirty dzo makes sixty horns.”

“When a louse crosses the pass, it’s only gone to the other side of the lapel.”

“All peaks are eyes, and all recesses are ears.”

“When the cat’s away, it is New Year for the mice.”
“Some summer festivals”

Grammar aims

- The aspectual auxiliary "ta" “to stay”.

40.1 Text

CD II • Tr. 12-14
Translation

The month of Saka

The full moon (the fifteenth day of the month) of the fourth month is the festival of the illumination of the (teacher) Buddha (the bhagavan). On that day, Tibetans go to the monasteries of their respective regions to pray. They perform circumambulations around temples and stupas. Many Tibetans abstain from eating meat until the fifteenth day of the month. On the morning of the fifteenth, the inhabitants of Lhasa go to the great temple of the Jhokang and then set off on the Lingkor (the circumambulatory route around Lhasa). Eventually, in the evening, in the Lukhang park, behind the Potala, they spend a nice time playing the piwang (the two-stringed Tibetan viola) and the drapnyän (Tibetan lute), as well as dancing and singing, and taking coracle trips on the Lukhang lake.

The world fumigation

On the fifteenth day of the fifth month, the inhabitants of Lhasa perform the ceremony for the propitiation of the gods known as the “general world fumigation”. On that day, people dress in their finest clothing and perform fumigations (by burning juniper). After pitching their tents in the parks, they drink chang, eat heartily and sing operatic songs.

The fourth day of the sixth month

Because the fourth day of the sixth month is the day on which the Buddha turned the wheel of the Dharma of the Four [Noble] Truths, in all parts of Tibet people put on their finest clothing and go to monasteries, sanctuaries, holy mountains and so forth to make offerings and perform circumambulations. For example, the people of Lhasa go to the Great Temple as well as to the monasteries of Sera, Gandân and Drâpung to make offerings and perform circumambulations.

40.2 Vocabulary

| བོད་ཀྱི་དོན་པ་ | (n.) teacher, guide |
| བོད་ཀྱིས་སྟོང་པ་ | (n.) Tibetan lute |
| བོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་ | (n.) Tibetan viola |
| བོད་ཀྱིས་སྟོབས་ | (n.) yak-hide, yak-hide boat, coracle |
| བོད་ཀྱིས་སྟོབས་ | (n.) stupa |
| བོད་ཀྱིས་སྟོབས་པ་ | (n.) fourth Tibetan month; name of the ceremony held on the fifteenth day of this month |
| བོད་ཀྱིས་སྟོབས་པ་ | (n.) truth |
| བོད་ཀྱིས་སྟོབས་པ་ | (n.) The Four [Noble] Truths |
| བོད་ཀྱི་ལོང་ | (n.) offering |
| བོད་ཀྱི་ལོང་ | (n.) day |
| བོད་ཀྱི་ཕུག་པ་ | (adj.) abundant, plentiful |
| བོད་ཀྱིས་སྟོབས་པ་ | (v.) [vol., EA] to make offerings |
40.3 Remarks

40.3.1 The aspectual function of ཁྱབ་ཏེ། "to stay"

The secondary verb ཁྱབ་ཏེ། "to stay" has an aspectual sense. The main verb, which is followed by ཁྱབ་ཏེ།, must take the past tense. The connective རྣ་ may optionally be placed between the main verb and the secondary verb: ཉ + (རྣ་) ཁྱབ་ + AUX.

The secondary verb ཁྱབ་ཏེ། indicates that an action that was begun in the past is in the process of happening either in the present or from a past point of reference, or that the state of affairs resulting from this action is still present. The secondary verb may be followed by:

a) perfective auxiliaries ཉིགས་པའི། ཁྱབ་-payin (egophoric), ཉིགས་འདེགས་ཀྱི། ཁྱབ་-pare' (assertive), ཉིགས་ཀྱི། ཁྱབ་-song (testimonial).

b) perfect auxiliaries: ཉིགས་ལོ། ཁྱབ་-yoo' (egophoric), ཉིགས་ལོ། ཁྱབ་-yo:re' (assertive), ཉིགས་ལོ། ཁྱབ་-sha' (inferential).

The former constructions (a) may be translated by the perfective, and the latter (b) by the imperfective or the present perfect continuous according to the context. The use of adverbs such as "still" may help to convey the meaning of these constructions.

Ex.: དོར་ལྗོངས་བསྡུ་གཞོན་པའི་བཤིས་བུདོའི་དཔག་ བསྡུ་གཞོན་པའི་དཔག

"When Dorje got back home, Nyima was still reading a book."
“Yesterday, when I met her in the market, she was buying butter.”

“She’s been crying constantly.”

“He’s been talking all the time in class.”

The construction may also indicate a resulting state.

“He’s still unwell.”

“She’s up.” (lit. she got up and she’s stayed up)

(Compare this with the sentence: “she got up”)

40.4 Exercises

40.4.1 Translate into English:

2) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས

3) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས

4) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས

5) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས

40.4.2 Answer the following questions:

7) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས

8) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས

9) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས

10) སྨྭ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་བཀོད་པས་འཚལ་བར་ནས
40.5 Civilization

The art of the riddle: an educational game of the Tibetans.

The art of the riddle (deu, also called khet in Amdo) is an important social and cultural phenomenon in Tibetan society, particularly among the drogpa. The Tibetans like to practice riddles, especially in the evening before sleeping or early in the morning. In one traditional version of the game, the participants first perform a divination (mo) or choose the smallest straw or play “rock-paper-scissors”. The winner symbolically becomes the lord of the earth and all that is in it, while the loser becomes the owner of the sky and all it contains. Then the players ask each other riddles, and the loser in each round has to give the winner an object or an animal from his domain.

Usually the riddles are composed in verse and sound like oral poetry. A lot of them concern parts of the body, animals or objects from everyday life in Tibet.

Here are some examples of deu:

What is an immobile wild yak with moving innards?”

Answer: a nomad tent

“What is yogurt fermenting under a bush of penpa grass?”

Answer: the brain

“What is a glittering monastery with a small red monk in it?”

Answer: the mouth (the teeth and the tongue)
40.5 Civilization ཡི་གཞི་བོད།

The art of the riddle: an educational game of the Tibetans.

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Usually the riddles are composed in verse and sound like oral poetry. A lot of them concern parts of the body, animals or objects from everyday life in Tibet.

Here are some examples of deu:

ལོངས་ཀྱི་བཤུགས་བུམ་པའི་སྐུ་སྐྱུར། རིང་བཤེད་པ་ཅེས་

ལེན། རྡུས།

“What is an immobile wild yak with moving innards?”

Answer: a nomad tent

སྐྱུར་བོད་ཆེན་པོ་སི་བུམ་པ་སྐུ་སྐྱུར། རིང་བཤེད་པ་ཅེས།

ལེན། རྡུས།

“What is yogurt fermenting under a bush of penpa grass?”

Answer: the brain

དབང་ལྡན་བོད་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྡེ་མིན་སྐུ་སྐྱུར། རིང་བཤེད་པ་ཅེས།

ལེན། རྡུས།

“What is a glittering monastery with a small red monk in it?”

Answer: the mouth (the teeth and the tongue)
"The Yogurt Festival and the Ceremony of Pāndān Lhamo"

Grammar aims

- The directional auxiliaries ག་ yong and དུ་ tro.
- Nominal clauses.
- The construction དཔོན་ khang + Adj / V / doubled Adv.

Traditional music in the Norbu lingkha gardens
(recorded during the Yogurt Festival in 1996)
Translation

The Yogurt Festival

The Yogurt Festival begins on the thirtieth day of the sixth month in Dräpung Monastery, where the opera troupes of Kyormolungwa, Chungbawa and Gyangkara hold performances throughout the day. This goes on from the first to the fourth of the seventh month in the Norbu lingkha gardens, where opera troupes every day take turns to present an item from the Tibetan opera for a full day. In the past, in the evening when the operatic excerpt was over, the battalions of certain army regiments would hold a parade, and for several days beginning on the fifth, the opera troupes would perform in the houses of certain high noble families. The Zhotön Festival was first cerebrated at Dräpung, where there used to be a yogurt banquet. During the festival, the majority of Lhasa’s inhabitants would dress in their finest and go to watch the operatic performances, taking with them food, tea and chang. At sunset, they would return home singing operatic songs.

The Ceremony of Pândän Lhamo

In the past, at the time of the full moon (the fifteenth) of the tenth Tibetan month, there was the ceremony of the goddess Pândän Lhamo. On that day in Lhasa, the goddess was brought (lit. invited) to the passage of Rabsäl, south of the Bharkor, and from there, facing south, she went to meet the tsän (a local divinity) of Dhribsdzong. On that day, the inhabitants of the center of Lhasa would prepare an elaborate meal and host the inhabitants of the Zhöl area [at the foot of the Potala] who came to see Pândän Lhamo.

Similarly, on the evening of the [ceremony of] Gandän Ngamchö, the inhabitants of the Zhöl sector would hold a lavish reception for the inhabitants of the central quarter. It is because of this [association between an area and a ceremony] that there are the customary sayings, “Lhasa and Pählenitrö (name of the ceremony of Pândän Lhamo)” and “Zhöl inhabitants and Gandän Ngamchö”. From the beginning of the tenth month up to the fifteenth day, children are traditionally given money for buying sweets by their relatives and others close to them. This is why children eagerly look forward to this day.

41.2 Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>གཞི་བཞིར།</th>
<th>ཉི་ཞི་བཞིར།</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>སྤོད་པའི་ལོས་བོད།</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་དང་གོང་(n.) operatic performer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྲིལ་བོད།</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) all day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མདོ་དང་གོང་དང་གོང་(n.) classical operatic piece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གཞི་ལས།</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) army camp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) military parade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གཞི་ལས།</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) aristocrat, noble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) street, alley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུ་གཞོན་དང་གོང་(n.) tsän (local warrior-god)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Kyormolungwa (opera troupe)
Chungbawa (opera troupe)
Gyangkharwa (opera troupe)

area of Lhasa, at the foot of the Potala
Balcony in front of a window, name of a Lhasa street: Rabsal Street

Ceremony of Pândan Lhamo
Ceremony of Pândan Lhamo (alternative name)
Ceremony of Gandan Ngamcho, commemoration of Lord Tsongkhapa’s death, on the 25th of the tenth month

Zhoton, Yogurt Festival

41.3 Remarks

41.3.1 The directional and aspectual auxiliaries

Verbs of movement are often formed by using directional auxiliaries that specify whether an action is coming towards or going away from the speaker (or the point of reference).

Ex.:  

"He’s coming jumping." (he’s jumping this way)
"He’s going jumping." (he’s jumping away)

"I’m going back home (away from the interlocutor)."
"I’m coming back home (towards the interlocutor)."

The two auxiliaries may also be used with non-volitional verbs to indicate the beginning of a process (inchoative sense). The auxiliary гонг is used with the first person (singular or plural), whereas тро is used with the second and third persons (singular or plural).

Ex.:  

"I’m starting to fall asleep."
"He’s starting to fall asleep."
41.3.2 Nominal clauses

Like relative clauses, nominal clauses (whether as subject, object or complement) are formed with the use of a nominalizer, but it is important to distinguish between the two types. For this purpose the nominalizers ཉ་-pa, ལ་-ya’ and ར་-kyu are used (see Lessons 11, 25). They may be followed by the genitive or oblique case (when the function of the clause requires it). The syntactic position of the nominal clause in the sentence depends on its function as subject, object or complement.

Ex.: བོར་བ་བོད་དེ་བོད་དེ་རེ་བ་
“I hope you’ll be able to come.” (nominal clause = complement of the noun རེ་བ་)
ཞེས་ཤིང་ཤིང་དེ་དུ་ཅན་བུ་བུ་དོན་མཚམས་པའི་ནི་ཐོབ་ཤིང་བཟུང་ལས་ཟེར་ཆི།
“I pray that you should be in good health and that you study well.” (nominal clause = object of the verb སྤུ་ཤུ་ཏུ་སུ་)
ང་ི་ཐོས་བོད་དེ་བོད་དེ་རེ་བ་
“She realized that the girl was her own sister.” (nominal clause = object of the verb རེ་བ་)
ཁོད་ཆེས་རྒྱུན་དང་ཐོ་ཐོ་བཉེར་བའི་བོད་དེ་ཐེམ་པས།
“Did he think all Tibetans were poor?” (nominal clause = object of the verb འཁོར་) 
སྤུ་ཤུ་ཏུ་སུ་ནོར་མཐུན་མཐུན་ཧོ་ཐེམ་པས་
*idem.*

41.3.3 The construction ལ་སོ་khang + Adj / V / doubled Adv

This construction appears in several expressions consisting of the pronoun khang “what”, “as much” followed by an adjective or, sometimes, a verb or an adverb, usually doubled.

Ex.: དབཤངས་བཅོམ་བོད་སྟེ་“as quickly as possible”, སངས་ཐུལ་ཡིས་“as well as possible”, ར་མ་མཚན་“as many as possible”, སངས་ཐུལ་ཡིས་“as carefully as possible”, ར་མ་མཚན་“as much as possible”.

We also find khang in several constructions such as: སངས་ཐུལ་ཡིས་“as much as possible”, ར་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་“anyhow, indiscriminately”, སངས་ཐུལ་ཡིས་“as appropriate, as convenient,”, etc.
41.4 Exercises

41.4.1 Translate into English:

2) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
3) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
4) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
5) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
6) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
7) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
8) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
9) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
10) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།

41.4.2 Answer the following questions:

7) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
8) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
9) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
10) རྗེ་ཐུབ་པར་ཐུབ་པར་བུ་ོ་འཆང་མི་བེ་བོའི་འཇིག་གི་འཇིག་དུས་པ་ནི།
41.5 Civilization ཀུན་ལུགས།

From Classical to Modern Tibetan literature: a long living tradition.

Literary Tibetan has been around for over a thousand years. The earliest texts go back to the seventh century. In terms of its quality, originality, diversity and sheer volume, the classical literature of the Land of Snows ranks among the great literary traditions of Asia. The Sayings of Sakya Pandita (thirteenth century), the songs of Milarāpa (twelfth century) the poems of the Sixth Dalai Lama and the Epic of Gesar of Ling are already a part of the world’s literary heritage. Whether written in prose or verse, traditional Tibetan literature covers a wide range of domains, including Buddhism, history, medicine, astrology, grammar and poetry.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Tibet has seen the gradual development of a modern literature that follows on directly from this tradition. The landmark figure of Gendün Chömpel, who died in 1950, provides the link between the classical style and the emergence of modern genres. However, it was only at the beginning of the 1980s that Tibet witnessed a real explosion of this new literature. Innovative genres, such as the short story, free verse and even the novel began to appear, while some thirty new literary magazines made a significant contribution to the development of the field.

Contemporary Tibetan writing has been influenced by several currents: classics in Chinese and in European languages, as well as canonical and Classical Tibetan literature, not to mention the oral traditions of the nomads.

Tibetan authors write in Modern Literary Tibetan, a superb language that has remained very close to the classical style, even though it has evolved gradually and been enriched by the adoption of many neologisms.

The last thirty years have seen the publication, in this modern style, of numerous works covering an extraordinary diversity of subjects such as science, politics, economics, astrology, history, Buddhism, medicine, education and literary criticism.

The preferred literary genres are, understandably enough, poetry and short stories, which give the authors an opportunity to deal with Tibetan thought and culture. Fiction is the ideal medium through which to describe the people and the landscape of the high plateau, and to evoke both ancient traditions as well as the upheavals that the society has experienced. The perspectives of these writers on the Tibetan world are entirely new and original.

It will be evident, from a comparison of the following four poems, that Modern Literary Tibetan doesn’t represent a break from the classical language. The first poem was written by Sakya Pandita in the thirteenth century; the second and third are attributed to the Sixth Dalai Lama (early seventeenth century), while the last was written in the late twentieth century by Sangda Dorje, one of the authors of this Manual.
"Those who achieve something
Without reflecting on it cannot be deemed wise;
Though woodworms may leave traces like letters,
They aren't scribes."

“O white crane,
Lend me your wings!
I shan't go far,
I shall visit Lithang and come back.”

“Little black letters set down in writing
Are washed away by raindrops;
Unwritten lines on the heart
Can never be erased.”
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“Song of Separation”

Künkör by Sangda Dorje (1992)

In the vastness of the night sky, the full moon rises,
White and beautiful, a splendid jewel in cloudless space,
A hundred pale cool beams in the sheltering night.
Seeing this nocturnal companion, as beautiful as my beloved,
Brings her to my mind.

When the white clouds are set like jewels in the brightness of the day's sky,
As beautiful as the unrivalled ornaments of heaven,
Your form arises in the vault of my mind.
The enduring memory of your wide eyes, beloved, saddens me.

Ah, beautiful face like the full moon,
Ornament of the eyes, in the splendour of your youth,
Though your dear face shines with love,
I am your wretched companion.

169. Künkör, or “magic squares”, originally devised by the Fifth Dalai Lama, may be read in any direction. This poem, for example, has to be read along both diagonals and then across, as one would normally read.
Outlines of the Differences between Literary and Spoken Tibetan

The differences between Literary (Modern and Classical) and Spoken Tibetan lie in the lexicon (vocabulary), grammatical words and, to a lesser extent, syntax and pronunciation.

The classical language is characterized by its conciseness and by the corresponding importance of context and cultural background.

A text in the classical style would be shorter than a Standard Tibetan rendering of the same material. The classical, literary language owes its concentrated, terse character to a number of factors:

— Nouns, adjectives and verbs tend to be monosyllabic, whereas the oral language tends to use polysyllabic forms.

— Verbs can function autonomously, whereas oral Tibetan requires the systematic use of auxiliaries.

— Case markers, nominalizers and conjunctions may be left out when the semantic context is clear enough for them to be redundant. Ellipses of this sort are especially common in poetry, to satisfy the demands of the metre.

— Literary Tibetan often foreshortens compound words by omitting syllables.

— Coreferential pronouns and nouns are generally avoided. When there is no ambiguity, the “subject” is introduced only once, and may not reappear in a given passage.

And finally, from a syntactic point of view, the written language is often more flexible than the oral. For example, adjectives and relative constructions may be placed either before or after the noun, whereas in oral Tibetan they almost always follow and precede them respectively.
Anyone who knows colloquial Tibetan can quite easily learn the literary language, and vice versa. The following pages, containing a systematic survey of the main points of difference, are intended to serve as a bridge between the two registers. The lists presented here are by no means exhaustive, but at least they illustrate some of the fundamental differences. For further details about the literary language we would highly recommend *The Classical Tibetan Language* (Beyer, 1992) and, in French, *le Clair Miroir* (Kesang Gyurné, 1994).

1. Current and literary pronunciation

Litery Tibetan is used by Tibetans of all regions, however different their spoken dialects may be, as well as in Bhutan, Ladakh and the dozen or so ethnically Tibetan enclaves of Nepal such as Khumbu (the Sherpas), Mustang and Dolpo, as well as by speakers of languages other than Tibetan such as the Mongols, Kalmyks, Buryats and, more recently, Western practitioners of Vajrayana Buddhism. Obviously, the pronunciation of Literary Tibetan will vary according to the reader’s regional provenance, so that a native of Kham or Amdo, for example, will read a text in a very different accent from a Central Tibetan.

In the following pages, examples of Literary Tibetan will be presented in a transcription that corresponds to the reading pronunciation by a speaker of Standard (or Central) Tibetan.

As a general rule, conversational pronunciation of Standard Tibetan is identical with that of Literary Tibetan\(^{170}\), and follows the conventions for spelling and pronunciation (see Table 10 in Appendix 6). Certain words, however, are pronounced differently in colloquial usage (this pronunciation will be unmarked) and according to literary convention (marked with an L below), as when someone is reading aloud or quoting.

For example, न्र ‘bri, “the yak cow”, is pronounced /hri/ in literary language and /pi/ in colloquial usage. Similarly, in the case of the following words: फ्ल्र ‘sbra-nag “nomad tent” /trana/ (L), /pãna/; ज्ञन्त ‘Zhengs “to get up” (H), “to construct” /sheng/ (L), /shang/; एम्न ‘dzags “to climb” /tse/ (H), /tsh/; नग्न ‘togs-tsam “a little” /kotzam/ (L), /kʰ(ɨ)s/; ब्र ‘brin “to be sellable, to be sold” /thrɪn/ (L), /phɨm/; र्न्र ‘nmas+ kyi-yod “I know” /shê+ kiyo/ (L), /shên+ kiyo/; र्न ‘rnga-mong “camel” /ṅmong/ (L), /āmong/; ध्र ‘sprang-po “beggar” /t̪r̥ingpo/ (L), /pāngko/; न्र ‘mi dgos “I don’t need” /mɪ kʊ/ (L), /mʊ kʊ/.

These differences may be explained in terms of the simple rules that will be set out below. The rules will make it possible to account for the majority of cases in which colloquial pronunciation differs markedly from the literary form. Colloquial pronunciation is not accommodated by special spelling, except in the case of certain modern writings that try to reproduce vernacular speech.

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170. There are some minor discrepancies that occur in a very careful literary or reading pronunciation (and in some cases of hypercorrection): The final suffixed letters g, l, r are then respectively pronounced as /h/, /l/, /r/ (while in normal reading k yields a glottal stop; I and r a lengthening of the preceding vowel.). Initial aspirate consonants in second syllables usually keep their aspiration in careful reading while the aspiration is lost otherwise.
Features of colloquial pronunciation

- "Floating nasals".
- The disappearance of the subscript \( r \) of a labial. Thus a labial \(/p/) is pronounced instead of the usual retroflex affricate \(/tr/) .
- The disappearance of the semi-vowel \(/w/) in the nominal suffixes \(/wa/) and \(/wo/) .
- The transformation of the labial \(/p/) into a \(/k/) when it is preceded by a velar in the nominal and adjectival suffixes \(/po/) , \(/pa/) , \(/pu/) .

The following unusual phenomena may be added to these basic rules:

- The transformation of vowels within certain words.
- The pronunciation of certain consonants that are usually silent.

1.1 The appearance of "floating nasals" within a word

"Floating nasals" do exist in the literary register, but are more characteristic of the spoken language. They are produced when the following letters (and groups of letters) appear at the beginning of the second syllable:

The prefixes ‘a ⁼ (a chung) and m ṝ and the majority of combinations involving an l: zl ṝ, ld ṝ, lt ṝ, lj ṝ.

Furthermore, when the letter l ṝ appears at the end of the first syllable it may also produce a nasal.

The prefixes ‘a and m, as well as the combinations that can produce a nasal, are called "nasalizers" (marked as n in the transcription). The resulting nasal is the dental n, the labial m or the velar ng, depending on the case. It is generally articulated in the same place (homorganic articulation) as the final consonant of the first syllable (S1) or the first consonant of the second (S2). The following configurations may be encountered:

- /p/ before the nasalizer is pronounced as /m/.

Ex.: སྣ་བྱིབ་ zhab 'degs > shap+ng' > shamtse 'service'
      སྣ་བྱིབ་ zhib 'jug > ship+ncu' > shimcu 'research'

- /k/ before the nasalizer is pronounced as /ng/.

Ex.: སྣ་བྱིབ་ mig-'khrul > mik+ntu: > mäntru: "illusion"

- a nasal consonant before the nasalizer remains unchanged.

Ex.: སྣོན་ sgon 'gro > ngöntro, སྣོན་ smon 'dun > möntün
• If the nasalizer is preceded by a vowel or a lengthening (due to an r or an l), a nasal consonant is produced in the place of articulation of the following consonant, that is, the first consonant of the second syllable (S2). The following configurations may be encountered:

  — Before /p/, the nasalizer is pronounced /n/.

  _Ex.:_ དཔལ་པར > _pā:_+mar > _pām_ (personal name)
  དམ་ལེབས > _mān_ (Contempt)

  Sometimes, the labial is present in the spelling only in the form of a b:

  _Ex.:_ ཞབས་bras > _shām_tā ‘meat stew (with rice and potatoes)’

  — Before /l/, /s/ or /c/, the nasalizer is pronounced /nl/:

  _Ex.:_ སྒྲི་དུན > _k_ (H)
  མི་_dug > _dm_ (H)
  _bod-ljongs phöncong_ ‘Land of_ Tibet’ (i.e., Tibet)

  — Before /k/ or /ky/, the nasalizer is pronounced /ng/:

  _Ex.:_ དུས_ མ་རོ > _thungkor_ ‘wheel of time’
  གསར་_gyur > _sngkyur_ ‘news’

  However, in cases where the nasal is due to the prefix m, it is this sound that is often heard, whatever the following consonant might be: རྒྱུ_ /ruutsan/.

  These nasals are described as “floating” inasmuch as they are not entirely obligatory, especially during “precise” reading. By contrast, they are almost always used in the spoken language.

  Thus རྒྱ་ /rug_ ‘ocean’ is pronounced /kymtsol/ as well as /kyatsol/, རྒྱ_ རྒྱ_ /rug-mtsan/ “reason” as either /kyutsan/ or /kymtsan/. But རྒྱ་ /rug_ ‘spouse’ (H) is always pronounced /k_ / and not _k_/ (H). Similarly, རྒྱལ /rugal_ ‘Gyangtse town’ is pronounced /kynts_ but never _/kyats_/; ཚུ་ /b_/ _d_ ‘sangha’ as /k_ / but not _/k_/ (H). It may be mentioned in passing that literate Tibetans are not usually aware of the fact that they are pronouncing floating nasals, which are described neither in traditional grammars nor in more recent works.

  _Ex. with zl, ld, lt lj or l,:_ བོད་ /phön/ “Tibetan month”, འ_ /thanta/ “now”, དཔལ- /dpal_/ ‘Pändan (personal name)”, སོ_ /stobs_/ “dismemberer” (of corpses), དབུ་ /d_ / “landscape”, བ་ /bran/ “Sikkim”, ལུག /yal_ / ‘branch’, དག_ /d_ / “Gandān (name of a major monastery near Lhasa)”.


Ex. with the prefix m: རྒྱ་ལྷ་ rgyal-mtshan /khyentsän/ “banner”, རྒྱ་ལྷ་ sku-mdun /kün tün/ “the presence, (title of the Dalai Lama); རྒྱ་ལྷ་ phyag-mdzod /changtsö/ “treasurer”, རྒྱ་ལྷ་ lha-mdzès /lhan tse/ “beautiful goddess (personal name)”, རྒྱ་ལྷ་ lo-mchod /lomkö/ “first year commemoration of the death of a person”.

1.2 Disappearance of the subscript ‘r’ of the labial ‘p’ or ‘b’.

Fortunately, the number of words that have this double pronunciation is rather limited. The colloquial pronunciation can be deduced by dropping the subscript r of the labial. There is no systematic rule for dropping the subscript r, and the optional pronunciation will therefore be flagged on each occasion.

Other examples:

བྲ་ལྷ་ lhak g.yu-brag lhak g.yu-brag-brag-lha lu-phug /thralalupu/ (L), phalalupu’ Bhalaluphuk (name of a temple in Lhasa)

སྨུག brin thrin (L), phrum “to be sellable”

འབྲ་ལྷ་ bsrang-sgrig trangtri (L), pangtri “to form a queue”

སྲ་ནག sbra-nag trana (L), pana “nomad tent”

སྲ་ནག་ sbra-nag-zhol /trnakaXc/ (L), panakö The Banagzhöl section of Lhasa.

སྲ་ནག sbrang-bu /trngpu/ (L), pangu “bee”

དུག་པ་ dag-strang /thukrang/ (L), thukpang “mosquito”

སྲ་ནག sbrang-nag /trnga/ (L), pangna “fly” (But note that སྲ་ནག sbrang-rtsi “honey” trnatsi is not pronounced * pangtsi.)

སུ་ sprit’u tru (L), piu “monkey”

སྲེལ་མཚོ srel-lad bsad trëla’ shã (L), pëlal’ shã “to lick someone’s boots” (lit. to imitate a monkey)

སྲེལ་ bregs the’ (L) pha’ “to cut with scissors.”

1.3 The modification of the suffixes /wa, wo, pa, po, pu/

The phonetic rules and transformations that will be described here concern only words that have the nominal or adjectival suffixes /wa, wo, pa, po, pu/. The modifications occur only in a
conversational or familiar register. They are determined by the last phoneme of the preceding syllable.

— The /w/ of the suffix /wa/ disappears after the consonants /t/, /l/ and /ng/ which are then doubled:171

Ex.: ཟ་་་་ ར་ "blacksmith" ར་ (L), ར་
ཞ་ཞ་ "circuit", "to go around" ར་ (L), ར་
ཁ་ཁ་ "dust" ར་ (L), ར་
ཞ་ཁ་ "be busy" ར་ (L), ར་
ན་ན་ "cleaner" ར་ (L), ར་
ན་ན་ "fortune, lot" ར་ (L), ར་
ཞ་ན་ "hell" ར་ (L), ར་
ཁ་ཁ་ "majority" ར་ (L), ར་
ཁ་ཁ་ "all right" ར་ (L), ར་
ཁ་ཁ་ "charcoal" ར་ (L), ར་

Colloquial pronunciation is sometimes reproduced by the spellings used in letter-writing (though never in literary texts): ར་, ར་ and ར་ are accordingly written: ར་ "skor-ru", ར་ and ར་ yong-nga.

— The suffixes /wa/ and /wo/ take the form of a lengthening after /a/ and /o/:

Ex.: ར་ "inhabitant of Lhasa" ར་ (L), ར་:
ཞ་ཁ་ "student" ར་ (L), ར་:
ཞ་ "vision, theory" ར་ (L), ར:
ཞ་ "essence" ར་ (L), ར:
ཞ་ "principal, main" ར་ (L), ར:

— The suffixes /pa/, /po/, /pu/ are pronounced respectively172 /ka/, /ko/, /ku/:

Ex.: ར་ "paper" ར་ (L), ར་:
ཞ་ "donkey" ར་ (L), ར་:
ཞ་ "bee" ར་ (L), ར་:
ཞ་ "good" ར་ (L), ར་:
ཞ་ "better" ར་ (L), ར:
ཞ་ "Kongpo" (a region in Tibet) ར་ (L), ར:
ཞ་ "sprang-po" ར་ (L), ར:
ཞ་ "mgyogs-po" ར་ (L), ར:

171. From a strictly phonetic point of view, these doubled consonants are pronounced like simple consonants (like the /l/ in "wallow").

172. This may be seen as a case of assimilation: when the labial is preceded by a velar (plosive k or nasal ng), the locus of its articulation changes and it becomes a velar.

173. Remember that geminate consonants (kk, pp, etc.) are pronounced as if there were only one consonant. Only the tone is affected.
Colloquial pronunciation may be reflected in informal spelling: thus འབོད་ and ཨེལ་ are sometimes written as འབོད་šhog-gu and ཨེལ་yag-ga.

Note: This pronunciation is not systematic: thus བོད་ ‘brel ba “relationship” is pronounced /treːwa/ and never *trella. Furthermore, it applies only in the case of the suffixes pa, po, pu and not the combinations of /k+p/ in general. For example, བོད་ ཇི་མ་ /mākpong/ “army” never becomes *mākkung, and likewise བོད་ནམས་ /mākpong/ “general” is never pronounced *mākön. Similarly, སྟེ། /thāka/ “rope” never becomes *thākka.

1.4 Modification of the pronunciation of vowels in certain words

In most cases, vowel changes occur in polysyllabic words, and are caused by the influence of other vowels in the same word. There is a sort of vowel harmony at work. The variations are generally restricted to closely-related vowels: e / i, o / u, ü / i.

Changes may also occur within monosyllabic words, in which case it is no longer a question of vowel harmony. There is no way of predicting this sort of pronunciation, but fortunately there are very few examples. Remember that the examples given here do not apply to literary pronunciation.

— The vowel e is sometimes pronounced /al/.

Ex.: བྲེས་ “to climb” tse (L), tsa, བྲས་ “intersyllabic mark” tshê (L), tshê, སྨིན་ bseng “to build” (H), sheng (L), shang, སྨིན་ bshegs “to die” (H) shê (L), shê.

— The vowel u (normally pronounced /ū/ in the combinations ud, un, us) becomes /l/ in certain words.

Ex.: སྲིག་ skyag-rdzun “lie” kyaktsün (L), kyäktsin, སྲིག་ phud “to take off” phū (L), phû, སྲིག་ bsug-rus “resistance” tykru (L), tykri.

— The vowel o is sometimes pronounced /ʊ/ in certain words:

Ex.: བོད་ མི་ shing-bzo “carpentry” shing-su, བོད་ šhog-gu “paper” shûkku, བོད་ bong-bu “donkey” phûngku

On the other hand, it sometimes happens that the vowel u is pronounced /o/. Very exceptionally, the variations that are caused by vowel harmony are formalized in the spelling. Thus ཪོ་ bcu “ten” is usually pronounced /cû/ both when it stands alone as well as in the compounds ཪོ་ bcu-gegig “eleven” /cûg/; ཁ་ bcu-gnyis “twelve” /cûnyi/, འབོད་ bcu-gsum “thirteen” /cûksum/, but is pronounced /cû/ or /cû/ and is actually written with an o in the compounds གོ་ bco-nga “fifteen” /cûng/ and གོ་ bco-brgyad “eighteen” /cûkpyâ/, since the vowel of the second syllable is more open (a, ã).

174. This phenomenon can also be described as an assimilation of the vowel aperture.
— the vowel e is pronounced as /i/ in certain words:

`Ex.`: སེ་ཞི་ `shes-rig` “culture” shi

And finally, there are occasional exceptions such as: ནི་ `lci-ba` “dung” cwa (L), cwa.

### 1.5 Special pronunciation of the rhyme ‘ab(s)’

In certain colloquial words, the suffixes *ab* and *abs* are pronounced /o/ (sometimes followed by a lengthening). Here are some examples:

`Ex.`: འབ་ `dga’-rab` karap (L), karo “quite a few”, འབོ་ `sku-zhabs` kushap (L), kusho “sir”, འབོ་ `grabs` thrap (L), trg: “to be about to”

### 1.6 Special pronunciation of certain consonants

In certain rare cases, the consonant /p/ figures in a word even when its presence isn’t justified by the spelling.


On the other hand, the consonants /ng/ and /n/ are sometimes pronounced /m/ at the end of certain words: ཕྱི། `sgrung` trung (L), trum “story, tale”, རོ་ `zin` sin (L), sin “to seize, grasp”, ལྷི། `brin` trim (L), phim “to be sold”, དི། `mchong` chong (L), chom “to jump”, ལྷི་ `shong` shong (L), shum “to fit”, བོད། `mnan` nan (L), nam (or even lām) “to press down”.

### 2. The lexicon

#### 2.1 Differences in the vocabulary

The lexicon is one of the fields in which there are major discernable differences between Literary and Spoken Tibetan, even if the basic vocabulary is the same in both registers.

It should not be supposed, however, that there is a clear distinction between the two: some literate Tibetans may use in their daily language words that are more characteristic of the literary register, while certain journals and texts may use colloquial terminology.

In the lists of examples, the words marked with an (L) appear only in literary language. In the subsequent examples, words to the left of the “equals” sign (=) correspond to Literary Tibetan, while those to the right belong to the colloquial register. The few words that are not used in the literary language are marked with the sign (*L).

— **Verbs**

`Ex.`: རི་ = རི་། “to arrive” (H), རི་ = རི་ “to see”, རི་ = རི་ = རི་ = རི་ “to do” (H), རི་ / རི་ / རི་ = རི་ “to speak”, རི་ = རི་ “to jump” / རི་ = རི་ “to commit suicide”,
Appendix 1

“to go”, “to give” (H), “to think”, “to be, to exist”, “to be hungry”, “to be satisfied”, “to be happy, to rejoice”, “to be afraid”, “to desire”, “to age, grow old”, “to be born” (H), “to pray”, etc.

— Nouns:


— Adjectives:

Ex.: ཆུ་ = སྐད་ “good”, སྤྱི་ = སྤེས་ “quick”, སྤེལ་ = སྤེལ་ “beautiful”, ཁྲུལ་ / ཟུལ་ = ཇོ་ “excellent, extraordinary”

— Adverbs:

Ex.: འབྲུག་ = འབྲུག་ “very”, རྡོ་ / ཤིང་ / ལོང་ / འབྲུག་ = རྡོ་ / ཤིང་ / ལོང་ “all”, སེམས་ སེམས་ “many”, སྐྱེ་ = སྐྱེ་ / སྐྱེ་ སྐྱེ་ / སྐྱེ་ “some”, སྒོ་ / སྐྱེ་ = སྒོ་ / སྐྱེ་ “only, solely”, སོ་ / སྐྱེ་ = སོ་ “immediately”, སྲུལ་ / རུལ་ = སྲུལ་ “a little”, འབྲུན་ = འབྲུན་ “tomorrow”

2.2 Verbalizers

In the spoken language, many verbs consist of a noun followed by a verbalizer (see Lesson 14.). The most frequently encountered verbalizers are སྔགས་ “to make”, རྣམ་ “to do”, མི་ “to send”. The noun that precedes the verbalizer is often disyllabic, and is sometimes made up of verb roots that function as autonomous verbs in the written language. In the spoken language, verbs can be monosyllabic, disyllabic or trisyllabic.

In Literary Tibetan, verbalizers are not used and verbs are usually monosyllabic or sometimes disyllabic:

Ex.: བོད་ / སྤྱེ་ / སྤ་ = བོད་ / སྤྱེ་ / སྤ་ “to study”
“to examine” (L), སྤྱེ་ / སྤ་ “to research” (L) = སྤྱེ་ / སྤ་ “to examine”
“to rest” (L) = སྤེལ་ “to rest”
“to trick” (L) = སྤྱེ་ / སྤ་ “to trick”
“to be tricked” (L) = སྤེལ་ / སྤ་ “to be tricked”
“to get angry” (L) = སྤེལ་ / སྤ་ “to get angry”
2.3 Nominal and adjectival suffixes

In Literary Tibetan, substantives and adjectives are usually made up of a monosyllabic root without a suffix, whereas the spoken language uses suffixes such as pa, po, ma, etc. But the reverse is also true: in a few cases literary words have a suffix that is absent in the spoken language.

— Nouns:


— Adjectives:


2.4 Semantic evolution

There are some words that have the same form in Literary and Spoken Tibetan, but have acquired a different meaning. Many of the words listed below are derived from the vocabulary of the Dharma, but have lost their meaning in the spoken language.

— Verbs:

Ex.: གཞི་ (gshi) trup “to realize, achieve (L), to sell”, for example གཞི་ (gshi) lhā trup: “to realize or invoke a god” (L), བཞི་ (bsha) cāla’ trup “to sell things”.

— Adjectives:

Ex.: གཞི་ (gshi) changcup “bodhi= enlightenment (L)”, གཞི་ (gshi) changcuppa “expert”.

— Nouns:

Ex.: གཞི་ (gshi) thamsi’i “samaya, initiatic bond” (L), “happy coincidence”.

— Nouns:

Ex.: གཞི་ (gshi) sōna “merit and happiness derived from virtue” (L), “luck”.

— Nouns:

Ex.: གཞི་ (gshi) semcān “sentient being (human or animal)” (L), “animal”. In Labrang, in Amdo, this word has come to mean “all”.

— Nouns:

Ex.: གཞི་ (gshi) ngar’kyā: “pride” (L), “aggressivity, pride”.

2.5 Abbreviations

Abbreviations are very common in Literary Tibetan. They are of two kinds: phonic and graphic. The former usually occur only in the case of quadrissyllabic expressions, and consist of omitting the second and fourth syllables.

Ex.: གཞི་ (gshi) changsem = གཞི་ (gshi) ṭhogs sambu “bodhisattva”, གཞི་ (gshi) ṭheshe’ = གཞི་ (gshi) ṭheshin shekpa “Tathagata”, གཞི་ (gshi) ṭekcen = གཞི་ (gshi) ṭenkpa chengo “Mahayana”, གཞི་ (gshi) chaktor Chakdor = གཞི་ (gshi) chakna tser “the bodhisattva Vajrapani (or Chaknadorje)”, གཞི་ (gshi) keklo = གཞི་ (gshi) kek-tang lompma “master
and disciple(s)”, སིང་གིས་པ་ shingtrok = སིང་པ་ དཔར་ Shingpa-tang trokpa “farmers and nomads”.

The same principle applies in the spoken language for abridging personal names of four syllables:

Ex.: ཡེ་ེད་ tshedor Tshedor = ཡེ་ེད་ tshering torce Tsering Dorje, བྱུང་ གསར་ trapa: Trapäl = བྱུང་ གསར་ ཐྲ་ trashi’ p pendant Trashi Pändän, དཔལ་ གྲུལ་’ chökyam Chögyam = དཔལ་ གྲུལ་ གྲུལ་ དཔལ་ གྲུལ་ chö-kyi kya(m)tsho Chökyi Gyatsho (or Gyamtsho), བོད་ ངོ་ sörön Södrön = བོད་ ངོ་ ངོ་ ངོ་ sönam tröma Sönam Drölma.

Note: In some cases, a resyllabification occurs whereby the prefixed or the superscribed letter of the following syllable is interpreted as the final of the preceding syllable. The written orthography records this phenomenon. For example, the last letter in Chögyam, or Tshedor belongs in fact to the fourth syllable (that has been omitted), respectively mtsho and rje.

Graphic abbreviations consist of using special signs to replace a group of letters. The following are the commonest:

— The circle ø, written above a letter, replaces the suffix m.

Ex.: ཡེ = ཡེ།

— The སྩི་ Ta (reversed t) substitutes for the suffix ལྷ་ gs.

Ex.: ལོ = ལྷ་, ལོེ = ལྷ།

— There are also abbreviations in which two syllables are graphically compacted into a single syllable,

Ex.: དེ་ = དེ་ སྐྱ སྐྱ “girl”; དེ་མ། = དེ་ སྐྱ སྐྱ “hour”; བོད་ ཆོས་ བོད་ ཆོས་ ནི་ ཿན = བོད་ རེ་ སྐྲ སྐྱ སྐྱ སྐྱ སྐྱ སྐྱ སྐྱ སྐྱ སྐྱ “best wishes”.

2.6 Punctuation

Literary Tibetan has no punctuation in the European sense of the term: there are no syntactic signs to mark off groups of words, clauses, enumerations, etc. However, there are a number of signs to indicate breathers and pauses in the text, although their use is neither systematic or obligatory.

Of all the symbols used in Tibetan, the closest to the European notion of punctuation is the simple bar । called རྒྱུང་ སྐད་ rgyung-shad or རྒྱུང་ སྐབ་ tshag-ring. It goes directly after the last letter of a word, in the place of the intersyllabic dot. There are two exceptions to this rule: the simple bar is not used after the letter ག g, when the latter carries no subscript or superscript: ག; and after
the letter དང་nga, an intersyllabic dot is placed before the rkyang-shad to avoid confusion with the letter ཁ་।

This punctuation bar may be used to mark the end of a clause, to make it easier to break up a sentence and to emphasize the rhythm of the statements by marking pauses. It may also occur after individual words, especially in the case of lists. It may also go after case markers (Θ, gis, nas, la, du, las, etc.), conjunctions (zing, dang, nas, ste, la, etc.) and verbs, as well as after the final particle དང་(‘o). The rkyang-shad may be represented in European languages by a comma, a semicolon, an colon, or a question mark or a period. Note that the simple bar is used at the end of each line in poetic verse.

In Literary Tibetan, many of the tasks that European languages assign to punctuation are fulfilled by grammatical particles. Thus དང་‘o (and its variants) signify a period or the end of reported speech, ཀྱུ་bcas concludes a list and ཀྱུ་ces closes reported speech. One meaning of the particle ཀྱུ་ste is comparable to the function of the semicolon. And finally, depending on the context, the particle ཀྱུ་‘am may correspond to a question mark, a colon or a comma.

Apart from the single bar | (rkyang-shad), Tibetan literature also uses the following symbols:

- The sign གཟིན་ནད། yig-mgo or གཟིན་ནྱུ་dbu-khyud, which marks the beginning of a text or of a page. However, other indicators of new chapters may appear on the top left-hand corner of a page. The swasti precedes texts concerned with ethics, the stem and the lotus denote official correspondence, while the jewel introduces chapters that deal with religion.

- The double bar || called ངེ་ཉི་ nyis-shad usually marks the end of a section, and may be rendered by a full stop. In verse texts, the double bar is always written at the end of each verse.

- Two double bars |||| called གསྟིའིbzhi-shad mark the end of a chapter or an entire work.

- The “serpentine”  ་ called གསྟིའི brul-shad marks a separation between two chapters.

- The bar | called གསྟིའི rin-chensungs-shad which is surmounted by one, two or three small dots, appears on the left of a folio when the line begins with a single syllable, to signify the end of the preceding sentence.

- The sign ཐ་ gter-shad takes the form of two circles placed one on top of the other, and separated by a horizontal line. This sign is used instead of the simple bar in terma or “treasure-texts” which are traditionally held to have been concealed by Padmasambhava (guru rin-po-che) and subsequently brought to light by “treasure-revealers” སྐེེ་དྲེན་པ་ gter-ston.

- A sequence of intersyllabic dots, signifying that the scribe has made a mistake (the dots fill the space occupied by the erased letters) or that there was no room to write the syllables before the end of a line.

175. For examples, see the poems quoted in Lesson 41, section 5).
A few other punctuation marks may be added to this list:

— The ཆ་པ་ ku-ru-kha or X (cross), which stands for omitted material that is frequently repeated within the text (in the case of prayers, for example).

— A little circle written beneath a syllable, which is intended to attract the reader’s attention to the word in question. It corresponds to underlining in European languages.

— Sentences written in letters smaller than those of the main text, corresponding to notes on the original work that have been added by the author or a later commentator.

— Inverted commas and, more rarely, question marks, which are sometimes used in modern writings.

3. Grammatical words and syntax

Certain grammatical words have a completely different form in oral and written Tibetan, although they perform identical functions. In certain cases, however, there are significant syntactic differences. The main differences are summarized below, in relation to the following: nouns, particles, cases, syntax of adjectives, the noun clause, verbal inflection, auxiliaries, reported speech markers and nominalizers.

3.1 Pronouns

Classical Tibetan contains numerous pronominal forms that are not used in the spoken language. In the following lists, the forms that are followed by "L" are literary, whereas the unmarked forms are used in both the spoken and literary registers.

• Personal pronouns

The plural of these pronouns is formed by adding one of the following markers: ཤུ་-tso, ཕུ་ nam, ཤུ་-ca', རང་ བོད་ca'nam. In some cases, the reflexive རང་rang, “same”, may be added to the pronoun without changing its meaning.

— First person singular (I):

་ nga, ཤུ་ nga' (L, el.), ཤུ་ ngö' (L, el.), ཤུ་ thran (L, h), ཤུ་ khupa (L, h, masc.), ཤུ་ khemo (L, h, fem.), ཤུ་ khöw (L, masc.), ཤུ་ khömo (L, fem.), རང་rangnyi', ཤུ་ uku. (L, arch.).

— First person plural (we):

་ ngatso, ཤུ་ nga' t'a' (L), ཤུ་ nga' (L, el.), ཤུ་ nga' ngö' (L, el.), ཤུ་ thran (L, h), ཤུ་ khupa (L, h, masc.), ཤུ་ ngeca'nam (L), ཤུ་ nga' ngöca' (L), ཤུ་ thran (L, h), རང་rangca' (L, incl.), ཤུ་ khöw (L, excl.), རང་rangre (L), ཤུ་ uca' (L, arch.).
— Second person singular (you):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Standard Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ sū</td>
<td>ཉི་ sū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khang</td>
<td>ཉི་ khang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ སྐྱེ</td>
<td>ཉི་ སྐྱེ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khangki</td>
<td>ཉི་ khangki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khangtra</td>
<td>ཉི་ khangtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khangtra shik</td>
<td>ཉི་ khangtra shik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ chintra</td>
<td>ཉི་ chintra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ chitar</td>
<td>ཉི་ chitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ chishi'</td>
<td>ཉི་ chishi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ chitsam</td>
<td>ཉི་ chitsam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ thy</td>
<td>ཉི་ thy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ nam</td>
<td>ཉི་ nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khangtu</td>
<td>ཉི་ khangtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khangna</td>
<td>ཉི་ khangna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ སྐྱོད་</td>
<td>ཉི་ སྐྱོད་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khangnā'</td>
<td>ཉི་ khangnā'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ dödr</td>
<td>ཉི་ dödr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khang-ki thön-tu</td>
<td>ཉི་ khang-ki thön-tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khang yin nam</td>
<td>ཉི་ khang yin nam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

— Second person plural (you):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Standard Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khyötsó</td>
<td>ཉི་ khyötsó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khyörangtsó</td>
<td>ཉི་ khyörangtsó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khyönamtsó</td>
<td>ཉི་ khyönamtsó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

— Third person singular (he, she):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Standard Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khön</td>
<td>ཉི་ khön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ ནང་</td>
<td>ཉི་ ནང་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khöra</td>
<td>ཉི་ khöra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khöpa</td>
<td>ཉི་ khöpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ mö</td>
<td>ཉི་ mö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

— Third person plural (they):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Standard Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khön tso</td>
<td>ཉི་ khön tso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khötsó</td>
<td>ཉི་ khötsó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཉི་ khöng nam tso</td>
<td>ཉི་ khöng nam tso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Interrogative pronouns*

The main difference between the two registers lies in the modification, in Spoken Tibetan, of ཉི་ khang to ཉི་ kha. Moreover, the morpheme ཉི་ has replaced other classical pronouns such as as ཉི་ dö, ཉི་ chö, ཉི་ thy and ཉི་ nam.
• Indefinite pronouns

- *sū’-kyang*  
- *sūyang + NEG*  
- *sūshī’*  
- *nāmyang*  
- *nāmyang + NEG*  
- *chitsam yang*  
- *khangyang*  
- *khangyang*  
- *khangshī’*  
- *khangyang + NEG*  
- *cīyang*  
- *cīyang + NEG*  
- *khangtuyang*  
- *khang*  
- *khangtuyang*  

- *(sū) [\(\text{\textit{sū}}\)] + V + nā:*  
- *sū khang + NEG*  
- *sū yignā:*  
- *khatū’ + V + nā:*  
- *khatū + V + nā: + NEG*  
- *khatso’ + V + nā:*  
- *kha + V + nā:*  
- *khā: (*L)*  
- *kha + V:*  
- *khā + NEG (*L)*  
- *khare + V + nā:*  
- *cā: + NEG*  
- *khar + V + nā:*  
- *khaša kha:*  
- *khaša kha:*  

“whoever”  
“nobody”  
“someone, anyone”  
“at any time, always”  
“never”  
“however many”  
“whatever”  
“something”  
“something (in particular)”  
“nothing”  
“anything”  
“nothing”  
“anywhere, everywhere”  
“everywhere”  
“everywhere”

- Remember that *yang* is pronounced *yā* in speech. The same rule applies in compounds containing this adverb: *naang = nā: (*L), layang = lā: (*L), cīyang = cā: cīā: (*L), etc.*

3.2 Particles, connectives and postpositions

• Interrogative particles

The interrogative particles *kā*, *pā*, *ngā* are not used in Literary Tibetan. Instead, we find the morpheme *am* and its variants (see Table 9, in Appendix 6), or the morphemic *e*-e. Note that the interrogative particle *e* is placed before the verb, unlike the other interrogative particles, which go afterwards. In the spoken language, *a* which is related to *e* has a distinct meaning indicating doubt (not a question).

• Articles and number markers

The marker of the definite plural *tshō* is used in both Spoken and Literary Tibetan. There are, however, two other markers, *tha’* and *nām*, that occur in the Literary language (and in some dialects) are hardly ever used in Standard Spoken Tibetan. The indefinite singular marker *ci’,* is used in both registers, but is spelled in three ways in the literary language: *shi’, shi*, *shī’, ci’, depending on the last letter of the preceding word (see Lesson 6).
• The postpositions

While some postpositions are specific to the literary language, most occur in both registers.

\[ \text{on top of}: \text{ཊ་} \text{ཊ་} \text{(L)} = \text{ཊ་} \text{ཊ་} \text{“on”,} \text{་} \text{ཊ་} \text{་} \text{(L)} = \text{ཊ་} \text{ཊ་} \text{“after”,} \text{་} \text{ཉ་} \text{ཉ་} \text{་} \text{ཊ་} \text{ཊ་} \text{“among”,} \text{་} \text{ཊ་} \text{ཊ་} \text{་} \text{ཉ་} \text{ཉ་} \text{“in the middle”,} \text{་} \text{ཊ་} \text{ཊ་} \text{་} \text{ཉ་} \text{ཉ་} \text{“in the centre”, etc.} \]

Postpositions are used in the same way in both registers:

\[
\text{Noun + (gen.) + Post + (obl./abl.)}
\]

The syntax of postpositions is more varied in literary than in Spoken Tibetan. For example, the use of the genitive before the proposition and the case marker after it are both optional in Literary Tibetan. Thus there are four possible structures, as the following examples illustrate.

- མདོར་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན
- “There are four styles of writing in Tibet.”
- idem
- idem
- idem

- མདོར་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན་དོན
- “to carve a mani on a rock”
- idem
- idem
- idem

• Connectives

Connectives (coordinating and subordinating conjunctions) constitute a category in which there are major divergences from the spoken language. In the following table, the left-hand column corresponds to the literary language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོད་པར་/ བོད་/ བོད་</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>“and”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་པར་</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>“because, as, since”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་པར་བོད་/ བོད་/ བོད་</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>“because, as, since”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་པར་/ བོད་</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>“to, in order to”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>“then, and, after”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>“as soon as”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>བོད་/ བོད་</td>
<td>“when”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Forms and functions of case markers in Literary Tibetan

The case system in Literary Tibetan is more complex than that of the spoken language. All the cases used in Spoken Tibetan also occur in the literary register, but their forms and functions
are more numerous in the latter. The aim here is not to provide a detailed description of cases in Literary Tibetan, only to set out the main differences from the case system of the spoken language. Apart from their case functions when they are associated with nouns, all case markers have a connective function when they are linked to verbs. Literary Tibetan has the following six cases (see Lesson 4):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>དོན་ མ་</td>
<td>agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད། མ་</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད། ཚ་། རི།</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད། ཞེ་ལཱ་</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད། ཞེ་ཞོམ།</td>
<td>associative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>མ་</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Agentive:*

The form that this case takes depends on the last letter of the preceding syllable: སོ་ (gis) ཝི།, སོ འི། (gyis) ཝི།, སོ (ṣ) ཝི།, སོ འི། (vyis) ཝི། and the archaic form ཐུ (thu) - (see Lesson 8.4). The case functions of this marker are practically identical in the two registers. The agentive indicates the agent, the instrument, the cause and the manner, and forms adverbs.

The applications listed below are limited to the literary language.

The marker མ་ is sometimes used as a connective by being directly appended to a verb. The translation will vary according to context: “and”, “after”, “because”...

Ex.: གཅོད་དྲི་སྤྱིར་མི་འི་གླུ་སྤྱོད་ཅི་སྤོང་ཆོད་ལྷག་ཡོང་

“The two of them went back and returned an hour later.”

In Literary Tibetan, the agentive marker is often associated with the nominalizer སོ་ (or its variant -ལྷེ). This marker also operates as a connective, and depending on the context may be translated as “and”, “after”, “because, since”. It generally introduces comparative clauses (rather like the ablative las).

Ex.: གཅོད་དྲི་སྤྱིར་མི་འི་གླུ་སྤྱོད་ཅི་སྤོང་ཆོད་ལྷག་ཡོང་

“Because the sense of sight has been impaired, far-off and small shapes are not seen.”

176. Most case markers have the same spelling and pronunciation as certain nouns and verbs, a fact that beginners especially may find confusing. Here is a list of homonyms that that the reader would do well to be aware of:

- gyis: ergative-instrumental case or imperative of the classical verb “to do”, la: oblique case and also “mountain pass”, su: oblique case (L) and “who?”; ru: oblique case (L) and “brigade, section”, du: oblique case (L) and contracted form of du-ma “many” (L), las: ablative case and “karma, action”, nas: ablative case (variant) and “barley”, na: locative case (L) and conjunction “if” and “to be ill”.

177. When they are unstressed, these case markers are pronounced respectively: མ་, མ་, མ་, མ་, མ་, མ་, མ་. Remember that when the case markers are unstressed, they carry no tone and are unaspirated.
“He went before the Bhagavana and (the latter) said (to him), ‘Have you seen the divine realm?’”

“Because of their desire for bait, fish are immediately killed.”

“Because your body is a bag of pus, blood and lymph, don’t become attached to it.”

“Whether you see her from behind or from in front, she is lovelier than anyone.”

“Rather than reading, (it would be better to) practice samadhi meditation.”

• **The genitive**

  The form of this case, too, varies according to the last letter of the preceding syllable: རི (gi) དཀྱི (gyi) བཀོ (kyi) གླི (yi) མྱི (‘i) (see Lesson 5.4). The case functions of this marker are the same in both registers. The genitive marks the complement of the noun, and forms relative and nominal clauses. In Literary Tibetan, however, the marker gi may also serve as a connective meaning “but”, “while” or “whereas” when it comes directly after a verb.

  **Ex.:** འཁྲ་བོ་རང-ཀྱི་ཅན་ིས་གཏོན་བ་མེ་སུ་བྲོག་

  “The wise know (the truth) by examining themselves, while fools follow rumour.”

  འགྲོ་མཐུམ་པ་དར་ལེགས་སྲིད་པའི་ཐེམ་ཡིད་

  “An action that is beneficial for one person may be harmful for another; when the moon rises the water lily opens, whereas the lotus closes.”

• **The oblique**

  Of the various cases, it is the oblique that exhibits the greatest differences across the two registers. It has more forms in Literary Tibetan, and the way in which it functions is more complex than in the spoken language. Traditionally referred to as la-don “meaning of la”th, the
oblique actually subsumes three distinct markers: the markers \( ^{wa} \) la (and its variant \( ^{r} -r \)), \( ^{bu} \) thu (and its variants \( ^{ru} \), \( ^{tu} \), \( ^{su} \)) and finally \( ^{na} \); a total of seven forms that are used as follows:

- after any ending (vowel or consonant): \( > ^{wa} \) la la
- after any ending (vowel or consonant): \( > ^{bu} \) na na
- after vowels and \( ^{a} \) ‘a’: \( > ^{bu} \) r \( ^{179} \) r
- after \( ^{nga} \), \( ^{da} \), \( ^{na} \), \( ^{ma} \), \( ^{ra} \), \( ^{la} \): \( > ^{bu} \) du thu
- after \( ^{sa} \): \( > ^{bu} \) su su
- after \( ^{ta} \) sa \( ^{ba} \) (and after the second suffix \( da \)): \( > ^{bu} \) tu tu

All these particles may function as the locative (without movement).

Thus any word that ends in a consonant may be followed by one of three possible particles
signifying the locative.

Ex.: \( ^{pho} \)-tu = \( ^{pho} \)-la = \( ^{pho} \)-na = “in Tibet”, \( ^{sern} \)-su = \( ^{sern} \)-na = “in the mind”, \( ^{pho} \)-dr = \( ^{pho} \)-dr = “in the (monastic) cell”.

When a word ends in a vowel, there is the additional possibility of using the marker \( r \) instead of \( la \).

Ex.: \( ^{tho} \)-dr = \( ^{tho} \)-dr = \( ^{tho} \)-dr = “in Lhasa”
\( ^{pho} \)-dr = \( ^{pho} \)-dr = \( ^{pho} \)-dr = “in the sky”

However, each of the three markers has other specific functions that may be summarized briefly:

The marker \( la \) (and its variant \( ^{r} -r \)) take on the case functions of the locative (with or without
movement) and dative. It also functions as adverbial suffix and marker of object incorporation.
The latter serves to express the outcome or the effect of a transformation produced by the verbal
action\(^ {180} \). All these different meanings may be translated into English by “to”, “in” or “at”, or may
remain untranslated as the examples below illustrate.

Ex. of locative:
\( ^{pho} \)-dr kyakar-la tro “to go to India”
\( ^{pho} \)-dr pho “to live in Darjeeling”

notably the agentive and the ablative, in formulations such as: \( ^{de} -ba+sa \) na and \( ^{nas} -su \).

\(^{179}\). In the case of a final ‘a’, the latter is replaced by the case marker \( r \).

\(^{180}\). From a syntactic point of view, the case marker usually integrates or incorporates the object into the verb and thus
creates a compound verb. This function of object incorporation is called de-nyid in traditional grammars.
Ex. of dative:

 Spells \textit{chipa-ta’-la trung shā} “to tell a story to the children”

 Spells \textit{zhin-a ste’-la re} “The children like the game” (lit. they have pleasure in the game)

Ex. of object incorporation:

 Spells \textit{sölwar tön} “to turn into charcoal, to carbonize”

Ex. of adverb:

 Spells \textit{khyokpor} “quickly, at speed”

The marker \textit{t} also has connective functions, and may serve as a connective. It can therefore be translated by “and” or “at the time”. It may also be used to form purpose clauses.

In the latter case, the marker \textit{t} is often associated with the nominalizer \textit{pā} (or its variant -\textit{wa}), \textit{par}, in which case it attaches directly to the verb.

Ex.: \textit{shing-sal tā shi} “Come and look”, \textit{pho-sal dge-gser-pa} “the bright [and] round moon”, \textit{pho-sal sngu-byor} “to send [someone] to study Tibetan medicine”, \textit{khyo-par} “to go to buy chang”.

And finally, the marker \textit{t} serves as an expressive particle when it is placed after an adjective at the end of a phrase.

Ex.: \textit{pho-sal} “How pleasant!”, \textit{pho-sal} “How pretty!”

— The marker \textit{phu} (and its variants \textit{su}, \textit{ru}, \textit{tu}) has locative (with or without movement) case functions. It also functions as adverbial suffix and marker of object incorporation.

Ex. of locative:

 Spells \textit{yên-tu} “on/ to the left”

 Spells \textit{yā-su} “on/ to the right”

 Spells \textit{kyakar-tu trope} “to go to India”

 Spells \textit{sngi lugs-tu} “to live in Darjeeling”

 Spells \textit{bya-tu} “at the time”

 Spells \textit{ma-byo} “a rosary in the hand”

 Spells \textit{bya-ba ‘bstan} “to leave one’s native land behind”

Ex. of object incorporation:

 Spells \textit{bya-ba ‘bstan} “to be resplendent” (lit. to blaze in glory)

 Spells \textit{bya-ba ‘bstan} “to shorten” (lit. “to send to short”)

Ex. of adverb:

 Spells \textit{pho} “particularly”

 Spells \textit{bya} “absolutely”
Note that the marker ḭu (and its variants), as well as the marker -la are associated with the adverb སྣ་ “even more” which is used only in the literary language. In the spoken language, the oblique case བ (or rather its variant ག, see Lesson 28.3.4) alone conveys this meaning.

**Ex.:** ག་བཀོད་སྐྱེ་ “to increase even more”

“Selfishness, negative emotions, discursive thought and so on decrease even further.”

The marker ḭu has connective functions when it is followed by a verb. It is also used to form purpose clauses.

**Ex.:** གཞི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ནང་པོའི་མནས་ཀྱིས་བཟོད་ཀྱི་བོད་ “to send [someone] to learn Tibetan medicine”

—The marker na has locative (without movement) case functions.

**Ex.:** བ་བ་ na “in the hand”, སྐྱིད་པེ་ na “at the border”

And finally, apart from its meaning of “if”¹⁸¹ (as in Spoken Tibetan), it may also mean “when”.

**Ex.:** གཞི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ནང་པོའི་མནས་ཀྱིས་བཟོད་ པ་བྱེ་ གྱེ་-na thuwa gyung “If there’s fire, there’s smoke.”

“if you plant a seed, a fruit will grow.”

“The there’s no illness, why consult a doctor?”

kyatso thongwa-na thrönpa: pāṇa khyä- na’ ko kha’- te shi kā’

“It is said that, when it saw the ocean, the frog in the well fainted, its head burst and it died.”

**• The ablative**

Apart from the particle བ་-nā’, Literary Tibetan also uses the marker བ་-lā’ to express spatial provenance. The difference between the two is so subtle as to be nonexistent in certain cases. At an abstract level, -lā’ may be said to signify a consubstantial origin whereas nā’ implies that an object and its source are ontologically different. Another way of expressing the difference would be to say that for -nā’ the original space is closed or delimited, whereas for -lā’ the space is conceived as open and unbounded.¹⁸²

Concretely, -lā’ is used in principle to denote the material that something is made of, or consubstantial provenance, or the source of a quotation, whereas -nā’ refers to spatial or temporal origin.

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¹⁸¹ The marker na is almost always associated with the past form of the verb (when there is such a form) or the auxiliary. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule, especially in the case of negation.

¹⁸² As suggested by Beyer (1992).
Ex.: ལོ་འབབ་ལས་ལྕགས་སེ་ར་ལ་’ཕུམ་པ་’ཕབ་ “to make a vase out of gold”, རྣ་བྱུང་དབུ་བོ་ “to build a house out of wood”, རྩེ་བ་བཤེས་ཚུལ་ “to make a vajra out of silver”, རྩེ་བ་བཤེས་ཚུལ་ “to make butter from milk”, རྣ་བྱུང་དབུ་བོ་ “light emitted by the sun”, ལྷ་སྲོིང་སྐད་ལྕགས་ “according to the Padma bka’-thang”, རྣ་དབྱུང་གཙུག་ “to come down from the mountain-top”, རྡོ་རྩོང་དཀོན་ “come from the east”, རྲུལ་དུས་ “beginning in the tenth month”, རྣ་བྱུང་དབུ་བོ་ “escaped from enemy hands”.

*The associative*

Whereas this case\(^{183}\) is not used much in Spoken Tibetan, it is very common in the literary language. The associative རྟོག་བཞི་-tang goes with a small class of verbs and adjectives, some of which occur quite frequently:

Ex.: རྟོག་བཞི་ བཤིས་ “to possess”, རིན་པོ་བཤིས་ “to possess”, རྡོ་རྩོང་ རྩུལ་ “to infringe, to go against”, རིན་པོ་ཤུང་ “comparable with”, རྡོ་རྩོང་ རྩུལ་ “to meet”(H), རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to meet”, རྡོ་རྩོང་ རྩུལ་ “to be in agreement (with)”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to agree, harmonize”, རྡོ་རྩོང་ རྩུལ་ “to fight with”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ ’ ’རྩུལ་ “to be close (to)”, རྡོ་རྩོང་ རྩུལ་ “to be associated with, accompanied by”, རྡོ་རྩོང་ རྩུལ་ “to tie”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to stick”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to be together”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to be (with)”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to mingle (with)”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to connect, attach”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to join”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to make war (on/against)”, རིན་པོ་ རྩུལ་ “to be separated (from), deprived (of)”

Ex.: རྟོག་བཞི་-tang ཐུབ་ སྤྱན་པོ་ “A time will come when there will be a philosophical position hostile to Buddhism.”

Ex.: རྟོག་བཞི་-tang རླུ་ “to meet an excellent person”

Ex.: རྟོག་བཞི་-tang རླུ་ “to break the law”

Ex.: རྟོག་བཞི་-tang རླུ་ “I shall meet my mother (if only) for an instant.”

Ex.: རྟོག་བཞི་-tang རླུ་ “The titans are going to make war on the gods.”

As in Spoken Tibetan, the marker may also function as a coordinating conjunction, “and” (see 9.3). It also acts as an imperative marker (see 19.3). In Literary Tibetan, it is also used to introduce temporal clauses: “as soon as, when”.

Ex.: རྟོག་བཞི་-tang རླུ་ “They set off as soon as the sun rose.”

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183. S. Beyer (1992) has proposed that dang be treated as a case, but he provides no arguments for his analysis, which is not supported by Tibetan grammars. However, the suggestion is a good one, and a number of arguments may be cited in support. Dang cannot be preceded or followed by any other case markers. In other dialects, such as Ladakhi, dang marks the instrumental and the associative. In Central Tibetan, dang may be replaced by other cases such as the oblique or the absolutive. Like all the other case markers, the absolutive, the genitive, the agentive, the ablative and the oblique, the associative marker has two kinds of functions: case-related and connective. It should also be noted that in Amdo, the usual marker that corresponds to the Central Tibetan dang is la, which is also a case marker.

This being said, there are two features that give the associative a special character: first, contrary to other case markers, dang usually goes before the main verb, with which it has a close relation; and secondly, there are relatively few verbs that can take this marker, so that the case function of dang is rather rare.
3.4 The predicative function of adjectives

In Spoken Tibetan, when adjectives take on a “verbal” (or predicative) function and appear at the end of the sentence, they must be followed by a copula or an auxiliary (except in certain comparative constructions, see Lesson 17.3). In Literary Tibetan, however, adjectives that function as predicates are often treated autonomously, with neither copula nor auxiliary.

Ex.: བོད་བོད་དོན་ལེགས་པར་ “This is really lovely!”

“Throuch human body is hard to get.”

“Those with few qualities are full of pride.”

“Anyone can easily take revenge.”

3.5 Nominal sentences and the concluding particle.

In Literary Tibetan we sometimes find nominal sentences, that is, sentences with no verb (and no adjective with a verb function). These sentences usually end in a noun, but they may also end in some formulation other than a verb (such as a pronoun or an adverb). In most cases, these nominal sentences end in the concluding particle ‘o or one of its variants (see Table 9 in Appendix 6).

Ex.: ཤེས་རབ་ཞིག་ལེགས་པར། ཐེ་པར་ “(It was) by the lamas.”

“Sad, sad, my heart is so sad.”

“This (is) suffering.”

3.6 Verb inflection

In Literary Tibetan, verb stems are often inflected according to the three tenses and the imperative mood: a maximum of four forms. These are traditionally referred to as བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་ “present”, བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་པ་ “future”, བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་པ་ “past” and བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་བཞིན་ “imperative”. In Literary Tibetan, not all verbs have four forms; some are either invariable or have only two or three forms.

This Manual has retained the traditional terminology for the three tenses: past, present and future. However it is more accurate to speak of aspects (or tense-aspect). The present “tense” is an imperfective aspect, since it may in fact be used not only in the present but also in the imperfective past. For example, in the following sentence:

“Though Nanda became a monk, he wouldn’t learn the precepts.” [literally: he does not learn the precepts]

Although the verb stem བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་ is in the “present” (and not the past བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་), it conveys the meaning of the imperfective past. Note also the use of the imperfective negation བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་ (and not the “past” བོད་ལ་སེམས་དཔོན་).
The traditional designation “past” is technically speaking as inappropriate as “present”. What we are actually dealing with is the perfective aspect: this “past” tense is in fact also used for the perfective future. For example in the sentence:

“Nanda will be born in paradise and will enjoy happiness, [then] when his merit runs out, he will be reborn here.” [literally: once he has been born in the divine realms and has enjoyed happiness]

In the first clause, the verb གཟུར་ is in the “past” (and not the future ཞུར་) but it denotes a perfective future.

It should be remembered that the number of distinct verb stems has been considerably reduced in the spoken language, and the role of inflection has been largely supplanted by auxiliary verbs. Furthermore, the majority of verbs in the spoken language consist of an invariable noun and a verbalizer.

There are two main reasons for the reduction in the number of inflections in Spoken Tibetan:

a) Certain forms have either become outmoded or completely obsolete.

b) There is a high degree of homophony. In the course of the phonological evolution of Central Tibetan, many verbs with different prefixes (or suffixes, etc.) have come to be pronounced identically. The distinctions that have been retained in writing have disappeared in the spoken language.

The table below provides several examples of comparisons between written and colloquial forms. The first line (in italics) below the Tibetan presents the spelling (and therefore the archaic pronunciation), while the second shows the Standard Tibetan pronunciation. There are also some examples (in brackets) of the literary pronunciation, but these have generally lost their currency in the spoken language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present-future</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>གཟའ/བསྟའ</td>
<td>གཟའ</td>
<td>གཟའ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skor / bskor</td>
<td>bskor</td>
<td>skor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör</td>
<td>kör</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གཏོང/གྲོང</td>
<td>གཏོང</td>
<td>གེངས་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gtong / gtang</td>
<td>btang</td>
<td>thongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tọ̈n̩g)/tạ̈ng</td>
<td>tạ̈ng</td>
<td>(thọ̈ng) tạ̈ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གཉེག/གཉེག</td>
<td>གཉེག</td>
<td>གཉེག</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘gog / dgag</td>
<td>bkag</td>
<td>khog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kö’/ka’) kā’</td>
<td>kā’</td>
<td>(khō’) kā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྒོས་</td>
<td>སྒོས་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘chor</td>
<td>shör</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(chor)shör</td>
<td>shör</td>
<td>“to escape”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The disappearance of certain verb forms in the oral register and the fact that there are so many homophones present certain problems when writing in a conversational or vernacular -- rather than a literary -- style. The tense of a given form may be radically different in oral and Literary Tibetan. Verb stems corresponding to the literary past tense are used for the present-future in the oral register (since this is the only form that is used in speech, e.g., bkag “to stop”). Correspondence between literary and oral forms is a complex matter. In the case of modern texts of this kind, readers should take care to identify the tense of the verb from the auxiliaries and not from the inflection of the main verb.

On the other hand, Literary Tibetan contains a large number of “causative/resultative” verb pairs. Compared to the basic resultative stem, the causative has always an additional argument corresponding to an intentional agent performing the action. All the causative verbs are transitive and volitional, while resultative verbs are usually intransitive and non-volitional. When occurring in the same sentence, the causative form points to the effort of the agent, whereas the resultative form essentially shows the result of the action (see Lesson 35.3). In written Tibetan, the causative verb often carries a superscript s. In the spoken language, causatives are often distinguishable from their resultative form by tone and aspiration, but in many cases this opposition, too, has disappeared.
Ex.: causative  
\( bskor \) /kør/  
resultative  
\( khor \) /kʰɔr/  

3.7 Forms and functions of copulas and auxiliaries

In the literary register, copulas are not indispensable (as they are in Spoken Tibetan), but they do occur quite frequently. For the verb “to be” we find the forms: རྩེ་ ཨིན, ཁྱུག་ཏུ་, and སྐེ་ རོ (especially in Modern Literary Tibetan), and for the verbs “to have” or “to exist” we find སྤྱན་ ང་, འོི་ ལྟ་, སྤྱན་ ལང, འཇིག་ ཚི, and སྤྱན་ སྐེ་ ཉྲེས་ (especially in Modern Literary Tibetan). The copulas རྩེ་ ཨིན and རྩེ་ རོ, which are also used in Spoken Tibetan, are not restricted to the first person (they are not egophoric).

Ex.: རྩེ་ ཨིན རྩེ་ རོ སྤྱན་ ལྟ་ སྤྱན་ ལང འཇིག་ ཚི དང་ སྤྱན་ སྐེ་ ཉྲེས་ “Two threes are six.”

In the sky there are three [celestial bodies], the sun, the moon and the stars.”

Final auxiliary verbs\(^{184}\) represent another area in which there are major differences between the two registers. It should be noted that final auxiliaries are not essential in Literary Tibetan, whereas they are in the spoken language. In the latter (as we have seen above), the auxiliaries provide supplementary information about tense, aspect and mood, but in Literary Tibetan they are also combined with inflection of the main verb.

While verbs may figure as autonomous entities in Classical Tibetan, auxiliaries are sometimes used – even in the most ancient texts, such as the Dunhuang manuscripts. Some auxiliaries are in fact composed of a suffix followed by the auxiliary verb proper, whereas others are directly attached to the verb. Suffixes include mainly the following particles and nominalizers: དྲ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ, (and its two variants དྷ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ), དྷ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ. All auxiliary verbs may also operate autonomously. Here is a list of the main auxiliaries, with the meanings they have as autonomous verbs: དྷ་ ཐ, དྷ་ ཐ “to do”, དྷ་ ཐ “to do”(H), དྷ་ ཐ “to do”(H), དྷ་ ཐ “to change”, དྷ་ ཐ “to go”, དྷ་ ཐ “to change”, དྷ་ ཐ “to stay”, དྷ་ ཐ “to exist, to have”, དྷ་ ཐ “to be [seated], to have”, དྷ་ ཐ “to exist”, དྷ་ ཐ “to appear”, དྷ་ ཐ “to be”, དྷ་ ཐ “to be”, དྷ་ ཐ “to finish”.

\(^{184}\) These auxiliaries appear only at the end of main clauses, and never after the verbs of subsidiary clauses.
The choice of auxiliary depends on the historical period of the literature in question, and varies also from one region and author to another, but they are of basically two kinds: those that are used in classical literature, and appear frequently in canonical texts translated from Sanskrit, and those that appear particularly in certain namthar (hagiographies). However, the two styles often occur together within a text.

- **Classical style:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense</th>
<th>causative auxiliaries</th>
<th>resultative auxiliaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>V (past) + བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ-par chā'</td>
<td>V (past) + བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ-par kyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present (imperfective)</td>
<td>V (pres.) + བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ-par chā'</td>
<td>V (pres.) + བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ-par kyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>V (pres. / fut.) + བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ-par chā</td>
<td>V (pres. / fut.) + བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ-par kyr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These auxiliaries, which occur frequently in Classical Tibetan, mark the tense and aspect of the verb; this feature is particularly useful in cases where the verb is invariable. They also specify whether we are dealing with a causative or resultative act (or process).

The causative auxiliaries generally emphasize the agent’s effort to perform an action (without anticipating the result). They may be used either with volitional (or “controllable”) or non-volitional (“non-controllable”) verbs.

- When they are associated with *volitional* verbs, causative auxiliaries indicate that the action is intentionally performed by the agent, and emphasize the process or, when they are combined with the future tense, the volition or obligation of the agent.

  Ex.: བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་རང་ལུང་བཞིན་པ་“The king rules with compassion.”
  བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་ཐུབ་ལྡན་པ་“One should make an effort to desist from sinful acts.”
  བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་དེ་བློ་པ་སོགས་པ་“The fisherman kills fish by attracting them with bait.”

- In association with *non-volitional* verbs, auxiliaries acquire a factitive or causative meaning. The agent is then the cause of, or the party responsible for, the transformation that something or someone undergoes. It may accordingly be translated by “to see to it that” or “to make sure that”.

  Ex.: བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་དེ་བློ་པ་བཞིན་པ་“One ought to see to it that children receive an education.”
  བཀྲ་ཤིས་པ་དེ་བློ་པ་བཞིན་པ་“We should make sure that we are aware of the negative karma of past deeds and endure (their consequences).”
Resultative auxiliaries generally emphasize the result of the action. They are usually used in connection with non-volitional verbs, but may also figure with volitional verbs.

- In association with non-volitional verbs, the resultative auxiliary confirms that the action or process is unintentional. Resultative auxiliaries are also useful to indicate the tense of the verb when it is invariable.

Ex.: ་དེ་བུ་བ་དུས་དོན་འས་བ་བོང། “I saw the king’s palace from there.”
ཐེ་ཙེ་བུ་བ་དུས་དོན་འས་བ་བོང། “[We]’ll die in the end.”
ག་དྲུང་བུ་བ་དུས་དོན་འས་བ་བོང། “A mother is especially saddened for a sick son.”

- When they are associated with volitional verbs, they specify that only the object or the result of the action, independent of the agent’s volition, are to be taken into account (the agent may be absent). In European languages, these formulations are often translated by the passive.¹⁸⁵

Ex.: འཇིག་དང་ཁས་ཀུན་ཐེ་ཙེ་བུ་བ་དུས་དོན་འས་བ་བོང། “It’s not certain that offerings will be made.”
ར་གཉང་གུ་རབ་ལུགས་ཁ་ཅུ་བུག་ཅུ་བོང། “The wealth we have accumulated will one day be enjoyed by others, like honey.”

- The namthar style and Modern Literary Tibetan both use auxiliaries that are formally identical to those of the spoken language, but they function differently from their oral homologues.

**Namthar style**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense</th>
<th>auxiliaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>V (past)+ བོད་བོད་དང་འཆེའི་བོད་(distancing), V (past)+ ལ་རྒྱུན་(nearing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (past)+ བོད་བོད་-པ་དོན་, V (past)+ བོད་ལྷའི་, V (past)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>V (pres.)+ བོད་བོད་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་', V (pres.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཏུ་',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>V (pres. / fut.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-ཀུན་, V (pres. / fut.)+ བོད་ལྷའི་-པ་དོན་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal system used in namthar will not be described in detail here (see le Clair Miroir, Kesang Gyurmé, 1994). It should, however, be pointed out that, unlike their homologues in the

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¹⁸⁵ In canonical literature, these auxiliaries translate the Sanskrit passive voice.
spoken language, these auxiliaries do not convey evidential moods\(^{186}\) (or “mediatory” moods): they provide only information relating to tense and aspect. Even in Modern Literary Tibetan, with the exception of writings that reproduce the spoken language, the distinction between the first person (egophoric) and the others is generally not relevant, nor is that between intentional and unintentional, as the following sentence shows:

\[\text{Ex.: } \text{thangs}sā: \text{sem’}-kyi \text{ melong tsāngma-la chīta’ kyā-po khālang phō’-pa yin} \]

“The pure mirror of the clear mind is touched by the breath of the Lord of the Dead.”

In this example, the auxiliary \textit{payin} is used with a non-volitional verb \textit{phōk} “to be touched” in the third person. In Spoken Tibetan, this auxiliary is always used in association with the first person of a volitional verb.

Finally, it should be noted that there is a difference with regard to negation. In Literary Tibetan, the use of the particles of negation \textit{mā} and \textit{mi} depends on tense-aspect and mood: \textit{mi} is used with the present (or the imperfective past, which is similar to the present), whereas \textit{mā} is used with the past (perfective) and the imperative (the negative form of the imperative is similar to the present). The rule may be summarized as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{み} & \text{mi} & \text{present or future} \\
\text{ま} & \text{mā} & \text{past or imperative} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{Ex.: } \text{tro mā thūp} \quad \text{“(He) could not go.”} \]

\[\text{tro mi thūp} \quad \text{“(He) can not go.”} \]

\[\text{manpa-tang moma-nam’-kyl’ kyāng mi tshō-war lung tān-shing phor} \]

“The physicians and the diviners prophesied that he would not survive, and abandoned him.”

Here the use of the negation \textit{mi} reveals that we are dealing with the future (from the point of view of the past).

This rule doesn’t apply in the spoken language, since \textit{ま} and \textit{み} don’t depend on tense but on the type of auxiliary that is used (cf. \textit{ダ(getClassif)} \textit{my} > \textit{ダ MyClassif} \textit{mi} \textit{tu’} and \textit{ダ MyClassif} \textit{yog’re} > \textit{ダ MyClassif} \textit{yog’ mare’}).

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186. It should be remembered that the originality of the system of final auxiliary verbs in Spoken Tibetan lies not only in the indications of tense and aspect that they provide, but also in various “mediatory” moods (see Lesson 5.4) that specify the source of information used by the speaker to characterize a statement: egophoric, assertive, testimonial and inferential.
3.8 Reported speech

In the classical language and in modern literary texts, reported speech is usually marked by the syllable ེི ’she’ at the end of a quotation, or by its variant form ེི་’ce’ (the variant ེི་’shē’ is archaic). It functions like its oral homologue ེི་’s and comes immediately before the verb of speech. Although this marker is usually used for direct speech, it may also be used to introduce reported speech. There is no structural (or syntactic) difference between the two types of speech. The ways in which reported speech is introduced vary in Classical Tibetan and, apart from she’, there are several other ways of ending a quotation, although these are used less frequently. The commonest are as follows:

Opening

- speaker + ེི་’ki’
- speaker + ེི་’nare
- title (of the cited text) + ེི་’-lā’
- (speaker +) ེི་’lā’ རེ་’ki  ’kā’-to, or ེི་’lā’ རེ་’ki  ’kā’ce’-so, speaker + ེི་’chos’ -ki shā’-nā’
(lit. from the mouth of)

The explicative conjunction ེི་’tē and the conclusive particle ེི་’-o and their variants (see Table 9 in Appendix 6) are often used to indicate the closing of a citation.

Closing

- ེི་’shi’ ེི་’she’ + sün 188
- (ཀ)ཀ་+ ེི་’(wa)r + sün
- ེི་’shi’ ེི་’lā’ + sün
- ེི་’shi’ tshū’ + sün

Sometimes the end of a reported statement is marked by the verb of speech alone.

There are also a number of forms signifying hearsay, such as: ེི་’kā’, ེི་’thra’ , etc.

Ex.: ེི་གཞི་སི་ཐུའ་ག sun
nag shi thurkung-nā’ tao she’ sün’
“‘I shall watch [you] from the hole in my tomb,’ he said.”

ཀྱ་ཁྲོ་སེམ་ལ་ཐུ་ལགོ་བུ་ཞེ་’gyong tshū’ cō’
“You say that you’ve come to Tibet to help [us].”

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187. Concerning the use of variants, see Table 9 in Appendix 6.
188. The verb gsung, “to say, speak, teach”, is used here as an example, and may be replaced by any verb signifying speech or thought.
3.9 Relative clauses and nominalization

There are major divergences between the literary and spoken registers in this domain. In either case, relative clauses are formed with the use of nominalizers, but the markers for nominalizing verbs have different forms and functions (for oral Tibetan, see Lesson 26).

The universal marker of nominalization in Tibetan is ཫཱ ཁཱ། / ཉི་གཞི. However, the following markers are also found: རོ་ ཁང་།, རོ་ ཁང་།, རོ་ བཤི།, རོ་ སྲིད་སྟེ།, རོ་ མི།. Apart from these common nominalizers, there are also markers that convey a complete meaning: གཤེ་ འོ། ཁང་། “custom, usage”, གཤེ་ བློ་ “way, manner”, ཁང་། ཁྟོ་ “sequel, continuation” and ཁང་། གཅོག་, ཁང་། ཆེུ།, ཁང་། རི་ ཁྟོ་, ཁང་། བཤི། which mean “all, altogether”.

The markers གཤེ་ འོ and ཁང་། འོ are also used to form relative clauses, but they differ from the others insofar as they function, by themselves, as nominalized possessive verbs.

As in the case of their oral homologues, all the nominalizers with the exception of -pa depend on the function of the head noun (antecedent) and, in certain cases, on the tense of the relative clause. Relative clauses usually go before the head noun, but occasionally appear after. In the former case, they are usually (though not always) linked to the noun that they modify by means of a genitive. Finally, in Classical Tibetan, we sometimes find (associated with the nomi-
nalizer) a true relative pronoun: གཉིས་ khang (see the example with pa). The following table summarizes the uses of the commonest forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalizing</th>
<th>Suffix function of the head noun</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
<th>Possible translations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བ་ pa / བ་ wa</td>
<td>subject, object, etc. (by default)</td>
<td>compatible with all tenses</td>
<td>“who”, “what”, “to whom”, “where”, “whose”, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རེ་ སྒྲུབ’ che’</td>
<td>instrument, cause or manner</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>“with which”, “which”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཐེ་ མིག་ kyu</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>“that”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཐེ་ མིག་ cha</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>“that”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ལེ་ ཐུ་ / བ་ sā</td>
<td>indirect object or place adverbial</td>
<td>future or present</td>
<td>“where”, “to whom”, “to which”, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ་ རྒྱ་ / བ་ རི་ མི། khan / རི་ རི་ mī</td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>“who”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominalizers may be briefly described and illustrated:

• བ་ pa / བ་ wa

The marker -pa or its variant -wa¹⁹⁰ is by far the commonest. It is much more widely used in Literary than in Spoken Tibetan. The function of the head noun must be determined by default. From the syntactic functions that feature in the relative clause, we can use a process of elimination to identify the head noun’s function, which may be: subject, object, adverbials indicating time, place, instrument or manner, or noun complement, etc.

Ex.: པོ་ གཉིས་ བ་ nam chülo’-ki’ khyer-wā: tsho
“The shepherd whose sheep were carried away by the current…”

པོ་ གཉིས་ བ་ nam cho’ thöp-pā: ma shingtu
“Like a mother whose only son has died…”

ཆོས་ གཉིས་ བ་ nam cho’ thöp-pā: ma lü’-shi’
“A human body that has received Dharma instruction…”

པོ་ གཉིས་ བ་ nam kyé-pā: nyima the
“The day when the boy was born…”

བོད་ གཉིས་ བ་ nam so’-war che’-pā: nyenpo
“The antidote that cures illnesses…”

ཁམ་ གཉིས་ བ་ nam khám’-la nö’-pā: sā’
“Food that injures the health…”

¹⁹⁰. See Table 9 in Appendix 6.
“That yogin who possesses remarkable courage...”

• གཞི་ ch'g

This marker, which is derived from the present of the verb “to do”, is used with a head noun that takes the function of an instrument of cause or manner.

Ex.: རྣ་ཆེ་ཁྱེ་ལི་ནག་ལ་“the stick that’s used for stirring”

• ལྣ་ s'o che'-ki nyênpa “the antidote that cures illnesses”

• ལྣ་ kyu

This particle, which is essentially a part of speech derived from the noun meaning “cause”, is used with a head noun that operates as an object or else as the subject of an intransitive verb. It often carries the modal meaning “to have to”.

Ex.: སྣ་བུ་དབང་ལོ་དབལ་གླེང་མ་པོ་མན་པ་པོ་“The lamas who are to come from India will reside at Drüpping.”

• ཞེ་ cha

This marker, which corresponds to the future of the verb “to do”, functions in a similar way to kyu but is used only in Literary Tibetan.

Ex.: རྣ་ལམ་འབུམ་བྲིས་་ཞི་དེ་བྲག་བརྟེན་པ་ཤེས་པས་“The lama whom we follow must certainly have all these qualities.”

• དེ་ yül, sä

Both these markers, which mean “place”, are used when the head noun assumes the function of an indirect object or a place adverbial. In the spoken language, only sä is used to form relative clauses.

Ex.: རྣ་ཁྲོ་བུ། རྣ་ཁྲོ་བུ། རྣ་ཁྲོ་བུ། རྣ་ཁྲོ་བུ། tshönpa-nam'-ki' thék'u' cha yü: sh'i kyâng yin

“He was also a man who was greatly revered by the merchants.”

• ཏེ་ 

“If there is no one against whom one feels anger, with whom should one practice patience?”
“Beggars to whom one should give alms…”

“He went to a place that sold oil.”

“From [the Buddhas] in whom we have taken refuge there came forth an immeasurable white stream of nectar in the form of rays of clear light.”

The use of khaṅ is much more limited than in the spoken language. It can only modify head nouns that correspond semantically to “agents”. The marker mī has a function similar to that of khaṅ, but it is used only in Literary Tibetan.

Ex.: གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཀྲིས་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་སྒྲུབ་པ། བ་ཉི་ཀྲུང་མོ་ཀྲིས་ཀྱི་ཐ་ག་
“Karma is like a draughtsman who can design anything.”

ཁྲི་ཐླ་ཞིང་ཁྲི་ཐླ་ཞིང་།  མི་འབྱུང་ཐོབ་སྒྲུབ་པ།
“The monk who’s playing the shawm.”

སྤྱད་པོི་ཡོངས་པའི་ཐོབ་རི།  སྤྱད་པོི་སོགས་པའི་ཡོངས་པའི་ཐོབ་
“The one who calls me an old friend is the crow.”

The markers cán and tān usually function like nominalized possessive verbs similar to yong-pa “who, endowed with”. Their meaning is very similar and they are often interchangeable.

Ex.: སྤྱད་པོི་བཤེད།  སྤྱད་པོི་བཤེད།  སྤྱད་པོི་བཤེད།  སྤྱད་པོི་བཤེད།
“one endowed with qualities”

ཙོ་ག་བཤེད།  སྤྱད་པོི་བཤེད།  སྤིི་པོི་བཤེད།  སྤིི་པོི་བཤེད།
“a dzo with horns”

སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།  སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།  སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།  སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།
“a newspaper with twelve pages”

སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།  སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།  སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།  སྤེན་ཐོབ་ཞིམ་བཤེད།
“the one with the golden lotus”

Conclusion

A brief examination of any Tibetan text is enough to reveal whether the work in question belongs to the classical or modern genre, or if it is intended to represent the standard, Central Tibetan spoken language. There are three main criteria that make it possible to make an immediate identification of the style or register:

- case markers,
- auxiliaries,
- the type of connectives.
Any sentence must necessarily contain at least one of these categories. A sound knowledge of the essential differences between the spoken and the literary languages will make it possible to shift from one to the other without any difficulty.
The Elements of Phonology

There are 28 consonantal phonemes (including the glottals, which tend sometimes to disappear and to be pronounced instead as a tone).

Table 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The consonants</th>
<th>Labials</th>
<th>Dentals</th>
<th>Retroflexes</th>
<th>Palatals</th>
<th>Velars</th>
<th>Glottals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>ky</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirates</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>thr</td>
<td>khy</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirates</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rh</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirates</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The standard syllable has the form Consonant-Vowel-Consonant (CVC), but it is also possible to find CV and, more rarely, VC and even V.

- **As initial consonants** in a syllable, any of the consonantal phonemes may appear: the plosives /p, t, tr, k/, and their corresponding aspirates /ph, th, thr, khy, kh/; the affricates /ts, c/ and their corresponding aspirates /tsh, ch/; the fricatives /s, sh, h/ and the retroflex or vibrant fricative /r/ and its aspirate homologue /rh/; the nasals /n, m, ny, ng/; the lateral /l/ and the corresponding aspirate /lh/, and the glides /y, w/.

- **As final consonants**, we find only the plosives /p, k/ and /l/ (the glottal stop), the nasals /n, m, ng/, the liquid /l/ (exclusively in elegant speech) and /r/.

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191. At the end of a word, k almost always takes the form of a glottal stop.
The relatively small number of final consonants relative to initial consonants is a common feature of the languages of this region.

We may also note that, in Standard Spoken Tibetan, consonant clusters such as *spr, skr, sk, lt, bsk*, etc. do not occur, contrary to the case of Old Tibetan. However, these clusters are preserved in modern spelling.

The description of sounds in polysyllabic words needs to be further refined by taking into consideration not only the initial consonants (Ci) and final consonants (Cf) of the word, but also the final consonant of the first syllable and the first consonant of the second syllable.

**Table 1.2**

Consonant distribution within a word

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial consonant of word</th>
<th>Final consonant of interior syllable</th>
<th>Initial consonant of interior syllable</th>
<th>Final consonant of word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k, kh, c, ch, ky, khv, t, th, tr, thr, p, ph</td>
<td>k, p, m, n, ng, (r), (l)</td>
<td>k, ky, c, t, tr, ts, p, m, n, ng, ny, r, l, sh, s, y, w</td>
<td>k, v, p, m, n, ng, (r), (l)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen from this table that the distribution of consonants isn’t the same in the four positions. The main difference is that whereas there are no aspirated consonants at the beginning of the internal syllable(s) of a word, they do occur at the beginning of the word itself. However, in order to explain the significant phonetic variations that are found in Tibetan, we also need to examine the intrasyllabic positions, i.e., the beginning and end of the internal syllable (see below for the various pronunciations of the phoneme k).

**Table 1.3**

The vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close (or high)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü [y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ö [ø]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>å [ɛ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open (or low)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are eight vowel phonemes: /a, å, e, ö, ü, û, ɪ/. 
In addition to the five alphabetical vowels, there are three others /ä, ö, ü/ (umlaut) that are produced by the addition, in the written language, of the consonants *l*, *s*, *d* and *n* which are themselves no longer pronounced. The three new vowels are a result of the evolution of the system.

One of the problems with Tibetan phonology is the number of variants for each sound according to the context. To produce the right sound it is therefore important to know if it occurs at the beginning, the interior or the end of a word. In addition to the transcription used in this book, presented between oblique strokes, the pronunciation will also be given, in square brackets, in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

One of the phonological features of Standard Tibetan is the absence of a clear opposition between voiced and voiceless consonants. *In a high tone,* all consonants are voiceless, whereas in a low tone we find slightly aspirated voiced consonants as well as partial or complete voicing. Sounds that are midway between being voiced and voiceless are rare in European languages, and therefore require special attention.

**The pronunciation of consonants**

Certain phonemes are pronounced differently according to context. Phonetic variations depend not only on preceding and following consonants, but also on vowels. The variants and the different contexts in which they occur need not be memorized, since the differences in pronunciation are minimal, and not distinctive. Moreover, they are most easily learned by progressive usage. We do, however, recommend that you make use of the CD, where all the following examples are recorded.

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192. That is, the coronals. The *n* and the *l* are still partially pronounced.
193. Phonetically, there are actually twelve oral (i.e., non-nasal) vowels with their respective nasal forms, but only the phonemes of the eight vowels listed above play a distinctive role. The vowels are dependent on the context in which they appear, and may not be used in creating oppositions.
194. The order in which these will be presented is as follows:
— Plosives (un aspiration and aspirated): velars, palatales, retroflexes, dentals and labials.
— Affricates (un aspiration and aspirated): palatales, dentals.
— Palatal fricatives, retroflexes and dentals.
— Laterals (un aspiration and aspirated).
— Glides *y* and *w*.
195. Ignoring the variants may result in a slight accent, but doesn’t impair communication. For example, the phoneme *k* (see below) may be pronounced *[k]* wherever it may appear within a word as long as tonal differences are observed.
196. In the recording, the examples often reflect a reading pronunciation. As a consequence, initial aspirate consonants in second syllables often keep their aspiration.
• /k/ may be pronounced in different ways according to the context: [k], [g], [ʔ] or [ŋ].\(^{197}\)

— The voiceless velar plosive [k] appears at the beginning of high-tone words:


similarly at the beginning of an internal syllable, notably after /p/:

Ex.: རྒྱས་/lōpkang/ “classroom”, རྒྱས་/phēpkor/ “car”

[k] appears at the end of internal syllables before the consonants /p, t, tr, ts, c, s/ and before the consonants /sh/, especially if, in the last two cases, it is preceded by a vowel (i, e).\(^{198}\)


— The partially voiced velar plosive [g] appears at the beginning of low-tone words (in this case, it is often pronounced as a clearly-voiced [g]):


It also appears at the beginning of an interior syllable after /k, ng, n, m, (r), (l)/ and vowels, as well as at the end of interior syllables, especially before /, v/.

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197. That is, the series of velars: voiceless velar plosive, voiced velar plosive, velar nasal and velar fricative, and the glottal.

198. In a more relaxed register, the sound k almost disappears. Thus one hears the pronunciations: /ya’po/ “good”; /sno/ “worry”.

— The velar spirant [y] (similarly pronounced to the French r) appears at the end of interior syllables before the consonants /l, m, ny, n, ng, sh/, especially if preceded by a posterior vowel /o, u, a/:


— The glottal stop [ʔ] appears at the end of a word:

In this book, the /k/ is marked by an apostrophe ‘/’99 when it is pronounced as a glottal stop or a tone to remind beginners that it shouldn’t be pronounced as a true k:


When the glottal stop appears at the end of a syllable before /k, ky, w, y/, it is barely audible.

Ex.: ཞེས་འཛིན/ tshug/ “permit”, རིག་/ma/ “ch’a’ wang/ “benediction with the hand”, རིག་/ma/ ‘/’ ng’a’wang/ Ngawang (personal name), བཞིན་པའི/ pha’yu/ “India, the exalted land” (compare with བཞིན/pha/ “native land”), རྟེན་/s/ “Mongolia”, རྟེན་/mi/ “sight” (compare with རྟེན་/mi/ “lineage”)

— /k/ is also pronounced as a velar nasal [ŋ] corresponding to the sound ng of the word king.

It appears at the end of internal syllables before the consonants /m, ny, n, ng/, especially after a preceding vowel /l, e/.  

Ex.: བོད་ལྷ/ bod/ “culture”, རིག་/ma/ “Mars”, Mikmar (personal name), རིག་/mi/ “eye-medicine”, རྟེན་/cmi/ “Jigme” (personal name)

199. Except when it precedes the consonant k, as in /lgyuer/ “permit”.
• /kh/ is an aspirated k [kh].

— The aspirated velar [kh] appears only at the beginning of a word.

The pronunciation of the k is accompanied by a marked exhalation in high-tone words. In the case of low tones, the exhalation is weaker:


• The apostrophe ‘ is pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ] or sometimes as a falling tone. Historically, this sound corresponds to the disappearance of the final s and d, which are still written but no longer pronounced. It appears only at the end of the word:


• /ky/ is pronounced differently according to context: [c] or [j]

— The voiceless palatal plosive [c] appears in writing in the form of a subscript yod (y) to k or to g.

It appears at the beginning of high-toned words:


It appears at the beginning of the interior syllable after p:

Ex.: ꜩ/gya/ “support”

— The corresponding voiced palatal plosive [j] is often pronounced between the voiceless [c] and the voiced [j].

This sound appears at the beginning of low-toned words (in this case, it is often clearly voiced).


It appears at the beginning of the interior syllable after vowels and the consonants /m, n, ng, k, r l/:


• */kʰy/* is pronounced like the palatal plosive, but aspirated [cʰ].

The pronunciation is accompanied by a marked aspiration in the case of high tones, but the aspiration is less marked with low tones.

— This sound appears only at the beginning of words:

Ex.: རྟེི/khyerang/ “you” (H), རསྟེ/khyā/ “to be cold”, རྟི/khyi/ “dog”, རྟིནྟེ/khyen/ “to know” (H), རྟི/khyong/ “loss”, རྟི/khyen/ “uphill”.

• */tr/* is pronounced differently according to the context: [t] or [d]:

— [t] is a retroflex plosive (slightly affricate), that is, a sound produced by the tip of the tongue being turned back and touching the upper gums. The voiceless retroflex plosive [t] appears at the beginning of high-tone words.

Ex.: འྲ/tr/ “hair”, འྲིབྲ/trinpa/ “cloud”, འྲ/tropo/ “pleasant, fun”, འྲི/trun/ “to construct”, འྲི/trukul/ “reincarnate lama”

It also appears at the beginning of internal syllables after /p, k/:

Ex.: བྲེ་/lptra/ “school”, བྲེ་/thuktra/ “anxiety” (H), བི/sapatra/ “map”

— The partially voiced retroflex plosive [d] appears at the beginning of low-toned words (in which case it may be a clearly-voiced [d]):


It also appears at the beginning of an internal syllable after vowels or the consonants /m, n, ng, r, l/:


• */thr/* is pronounced as a retroflex /tr/ but aspirated [tʰ]. The pronunciation of the retroflex is accompanied by a marked exhalation in the case of high tones. With low tones the exhalation is light or altogether absent.

The aspirated retroflex plosive appears only at the beginning of words:


• */h/ is pronounced differently according to the context: [t] or [d].
— The voiceless dental plosive [t] appears at the beginning of high-toned words:


At the beginning of an internal syllable after /k, p/:

Ex.: མོ་/thöptang/ “right, share”, ནག/ sōpta/ “shape”, ནག/ sōktang/ “to execute”, སྤེ་/sāpta/ “cheers! (down in one)”

— The partially-voiced dental plosive [d] appears at the beginning of low-toned words (in which case it is often pronounced as a clearly-voiced [d]):


— It appears at the beginning of internal syllables after /m, n, ng, r, l/:


• /th/ is pronounced like t but aspirated [th]. The pronunciation of the t is accompanied by marked exhalation in the case of high tones. With low tones the exhalation is light.

— [th] appears only at the beginning of a word:


• /p/ is also pronounced differently according to context: [p] or [b].

— The voiceless bilabial plosive [p] appears at the beginning of high-toned words:


— [p] also appears at the beginning of internal syllables after /k/:


It appears at the end of an internal syllable before the consonants /p, t, tr, ts, c, s, sh/:

— The semi-voiced bilabial plosive [b] appears at the beginning of words (in which case it may be fully voiced as [b]):

Ex.: ཡིག་/py/ “insect, bug”, བཤི་/paca/ “musical instrument”, ངོ་/pym/ “hundred thousand”, དབི་/palap/ “wave”, བ་/pama/ “nomad tent”

It appears at the beginning of internal syllables after the consonants /p, m, ng, n, r, l/ and vowels:


— Note that when people are speaking quickly, a b between two vowels may be pronounced as a labiodental spirant [β] similar to a Spanish v as in voz: [ŋaβa], [s arβa].

— And finally, the phoneme /p/ may also be pronounced as a glottal [ʔ] at the end of a word (see above). This is characteristic of rapid speech, but the [p] may reappear when people are speaking more carefully.

Ex.: ཤེ་/phê = phêp “come, go” (H), སེ་/lep = lep “to arrive”

• /ph/ is pronounced p but aspirated [ph]. The pronunciation of the p is accompanied by a marked exhalation. In the case of high tones the aspiration is strong, but is weak with low tones.

— [ph] appears only at the beginning of a word:

Ex.: ར་/phar/ “over there”, “thither”, ར་/pharma/ “parents”, དི་/phu/ “upper part of a valley”, དི་/phul/ “son”, ར་/phal/ “wool”, ར་/phacu/ “cow”

• /c/ is pronounced differently according to context: [t ɾ] or [d ʐ].

— The voiceless affricate palatal [t ɾ] appears at the beginning of high-toned words:

Ex.: མི་/cowa/ “dung”, ཞི་/cî/ “one”, མཐི་/cala/ “thing, item”, རི་/cû/ “ten”

It also appears at the beginning of an internal syllable after /p, k/:

Ex.: བཤི་/pca/ “advice”, བཤི་/sokca/ “creature, sentient being”, བཤི་/takca/ “analysis”, བཤི་/lqcang/ “study”, བཤི་/nycob/ “west”, བཤི་/nycang/ “northwest”

— The partially voiced affricate palatal [d ʐ] appears at the beginning of low-toned words (in which case it may be clearly voiced as [d ʒ]):

Ex.: སོརྡ/c дело “rainbow”, སོརྡ/cjtken/ “world”, སོརྡ/campo/ “gentle”, སོརྡ/ca/ “to meet” (H), སོརྡ/ce/ “to forget”
It also appears at the beginning of internal syllables after the consonants /m, n, ng, r, l/ and vowels:

Ex.: འོ་མལ/ལེག/ “elder sister”, གཤེགས་པའི/བོས་ལྡན/ “tea”, ལེགས་བྲེལ/ས་རྩེ/ “revolution”, བོད་ལྡན/ལོ་རི/ “towel”

• /ch/ is pronounced [ t ʃh ].

— This is an voiceless affricate palatal pronounced like a /c/ but aspirated. In the case of high-toned words the aspiration is strong, but is weaker or may even be absent altogether with low tones.

— This sound appears only at the beginning of words:


• /ts/ is pronounced differently according to the context: [ t s ] or [ d z ].

— The voiceless affricate dental [ t s ] appears at the beginning of high-toned words:

Ex.: བོད/ལྡན/ “peak”, ཕ/ལྡན/ “vein”, སྣན་/ལྡན/ “principal”, སྣན་/ལྡན/ “ground roasted barley”, སྣན་/ལྡན/ “prisoner”, སྣེ་/ལྡན/ “game”

It also appears at the beginning of internal syllables after the consonants [ p ] and [ k ]:

Ex.: བོད་/ནང་/ “tiger’s lair” (place name), བོད་/ནང་/ “taktsang” place name, སྣད་/ནང་/ “kitchen”, སྣད་/ནང་/ “ink”, སྣད་/ནང་/ “lesson”

— The partially-voiced affricate dental [ d z ] appears at the beginning of low-toned words (in which case it may be pronounced as a clearly voiced [ dz ]):

Ex.: བོད/ལྡན/ “to be finished, to run out”, བོད་/གྲེལ/ “world, earth”, སྣད་/ཀྲེལ/ “beautiful”, སྣད་/ཀྲོ་/ “class” (place name), སྣད/ “dzo, yak-cow crossbreed”

It also appears at the beginning of internal syllables after the /m, n, ng, r, l/ and vowels:

Ex.: སྣང་/ལྡན/ “independence”, སྣང་/ལྡན/ “sangtsar” “border”, སྣང་/ལྡན/ “honey”, སྣང་/ལྡན/ “tangtsin” “one who possesses teachings” (personal name)

• /tsh/ is pronounced [ t s h ]:

— This is an voiceless affricate palatal pronounced like /ts/ but aspirated. The aspiration is marked in the case of high-toned words, but light with low-toned words.

— This sound appears only at the beginning of words.

•/sh/ is pronounced [ʂ].

— The voiceless palatal fricative [ʂ] appears at the beginning of words (before both high and low tones) as well as at the beginning of internal syllables:


•/r/ is pronounced differently according to context: [ɾ], [ɾ] or a lengthening of the vowel [:].

— /r/ has two free variants: [ɾ] and [ɾ]. These two free variants appear at the beginning of words and of internal syllables:


— The lengthening of the preceding vowel [:] occurs only when the r is at the end of the word or syllable, rather as in the case of English (as opposed to American) pronunciation, in which the final r disappears.

Ex.: ར/mar/ “butter”, ར/mbar/ “population”, ར/mor/ “to her”, ར/sarpa/ “new”, ར/perna/ “for example”

Note that in fastidious pronunciation the final r may reappear – as indeed it sometimes does in English.

•/rth/ is pronounced [ʂ]:

— The sibilant retroflex fricative [ʂ] represents the voiceless and slightly aspirated equivalent of the /r/. This sound appears only at the beginning of high-toned words, and appears only in a few rare words and expressions.


•/s/ is pronounced as a dental fricative [ʂ]:

It is pronounced similarly to the English s in “sit” or “summer”.

It appears at the beginning of words and of internal syllables:
Ex.: \(\text{s}/\text{s}\)/ “earth, ground”, \(\text{s}/\text{s}/\) “tooth”, \(\text{s}/\text{s}/\) “to eat”, \(\text{s}/\text{s}/\) “to make”, \(\text{h}\)/\(\text{s}/\) “Lhasa”, \(\text{s}/\text{s}/\) “to say”, \(\text{h}/\text{tr/}\) “expenditure”, \(\text{h}/\text{th/}\) “these days”, \(\text{h}/\text{k/}\) “yesterday”

• /\(h/\) is pronounced in two different ways depending on the context: [1] or a lengthening of the vowel.

— The dental lateral [1] appears at the beginning of a word or of an internal syllable:
Ex.: \(\text{s}/\text{h}/\) “mountain pass”, \(\text{\text{\(p\)/}\text{\(l\)/}}\) “father” (H), \(\text{l}/\text{\(g\)/}\) “to arise”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(g\)/}}\) “year”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(s\)/}}\) “Milarapa”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(l\)/}}\) “earring”

— [:] corresponds to a lengthening of the preceding vowel when \(l\) figures at the end of a word or syllable. In a case of a more literary pronunciation, the \(l\) reappears. In this book the position is marked with a lengthening [:] rather than an /\(l/\) to remind beginners not to pronounce a true \(l\).
Ex.: \(\text{\(p\)/\text{h\}/}\) “wool”, \(\text{\(k\)/\text{\(h\)/}}\) “important”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(g\)/}}\) “Nepal” (lit. “Wool country”). These same words may also be pronounced respectively: \(\text{ph\}/\) “wool”, \(\text{k\}/\) “important”, \(\text{gh\}/\) “Nepal”

• /\(h/\) is pronounced as an aspirated voiceless lateral [1\(h\)].

— [1\(h\)] appears only at the beginning of words. The normal \(l\) is pronounced with a strong aspiration:
Ex.: \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(h\)/}}\) “divinity”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(h\)/}}\) “south”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(h\)/}}\) “relaxed”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(h\)/}}\) “clear (sound, etc.)”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(l\)/}}\) “to fall”

• /\(h/\) is pronounced as a voiceless glottal fricative [\(h\)] which usually appears only at the beginning of a high-tone word:
Ex.: \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(a\)/}}\) “brutal, insolent, barbarous”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(a\)/}}\) “to be amazed”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(a\)/}}\) “to understand”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(a\)/}}\) “to be astonished”, \(\text{\(h\)/\text{\(a\)/}}\) “excessively”.

• /\(m/\) is pronounced as a nasal bilabial [\(m\)].

— It occurs at the beginning and end of words and of internal syllables.

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200. In certain rare cases the aspirated voiceless form [\(\text{h\}/\)] also occurs, but this is very uncommon, and insofar as it is not opposed to the voiced form (except perhaps for three or four words in the dialects of some speakers), it is phonologically negligible. Examples are [\(\text{m\}/\) “negation” (when it precedes a high-tone aspirated consonant) and [\(\text{\(h\)/}\) “to be well fried”. By contrast, aspirated nasals are both common and relevant in other Tibetan dialects and in Burmese.

• /n/ is pronounced: [n].

— The dental nasal [n] appears at the beginning of words, at the beginning of syllables and also at the end of syllables before the dentals /t/ and /ṭ/.


— But /n/ is also pronounced [m], [ṅ] and [ŋ] within words, depending on the following consonant. The labial consonant [m] appears before the labial consonant [p], the velar nasal ng [ŋ] appears before the velar consonant /k/, and the nasal palatal ny [ṅ] appears before the palatal consonant /ky/. These fluctuations between nasals are similar to the negative prefix which is pronounced in before t and im before p (as in “interminable”, “impossible”, etc.). Contrary to the case of Tibetan, however, this difference is now represented in spelling.

Ex.: རྣམ་/tönpa/ “teacher, guide” is often pronounced: tömpa, རྣམ་/rjnop che'/: rjnop chē “precious one, term of address for high-ranking incarnate lamas”, རྣམ་/chīn-pare'/: chīn-pare 201 “(he) went” རྣམ་/phīnka'/: phīnka “sibling, relative”, རྣམ་/künka/: künka “winter”

— [-] corresponds to a nasalization of the preceding vowel, and appears only with an n at the end of a word, although this often remains barely audible.

Ex.: རྣལ/la/ “reply”, རྣང་/kān/ “cushion”, རྣླ/ṭen/ “support”, རྣ་/phōn/ “the Bön religion”, རྣལ/ṭun/ “seven”, རྣ/ṭen/ “I am”

• /ny/ is pronounced as a palatal nasal [ṅ]. It appears at the beginning of a word or a syllable.


• /ng/ is pronounced as [ŋ] or as a nasalization according to context:

201. The pronunciation of the phoneme n as [n] before a labial is very common, and may be illustrated by the following anecdote: kʰonpā is almost always pronounced [gompā], to the extent that certain Tibetans who are not particularly adept at spelling tend to write it as sgompā (sgom means “meditation”). The popular variant [gompā] is now so widely used that the word has come to acquire two pronunciations, a more “correct” kʰonpā and a vernacular kʰompa (with a loss of the umlaut on the ō). This phenomenon also applies to nasals in the case of conjugated verbs. For example, chīn-pare'/ is often pronounced chīnpa’re. In this case, too, the dental nasal reappears in more “refined” speech.
— The velar nasal [ŋ] corresponding to the sound *ng* in “king”, appears at the beginning of a word or of an internal syllable, or at the end of a word or syllable */ng/. It nasalizes the preceding syllable: V nasal + */ng/:


• */w/ is pronounced as a bilabial glide [w]. It appears at the beginning of words and at the beginning of internal syllables.

Ex.: བྲོ/wāng/ “power”, བྲོ་/nga/ “power of speech” (personal name), དབུ/tāwa/ “moon”, དོི/tā/ “question”, དབུ་/wāmo/ “fox”, ངྲི/āwa/ “child” (H)

• */y/ is pronounced as a palatal glide [j] or yod. It appears at the beginning of words and at the beginning of internal syllables:


**The pronunciation of vowels**

The 8 Tibetan vowels /a, e, ã, o, ò, u, ü, i/ do not pose any special problems for speakers of French or German. For English speakers, however, the oppositions /e, ē, /o, ò/, /u, ü/ require careful attention. The only rather surprising feature is the variability of certain vowels depending on the context in which they appear. The nasal consonants */n, ng/ produce nasal vowels, but these are not distinctive. Thus Tibetan is ill-equipped to distinguish between pairs such as the French “main” and “mêne”.

• */a/ is pronounced as an open central vowel [a] and sometimes as a schwa [ə].

— [ã] usually appears in all positions except atonal suffixes:


In an atonal position or as a closed syllable (before p), */a/ is pronounced [ã] or [ә].

Ex.: སེ/khāp/ “needle”, སེ/thāp/ “stove”
སའི་/yong-pa/ is pronounced [ j ò b o r e ?].

• */ã/ is pronounced as a half-open front vowel [ã] (corresponding to the ai of English pair)

• /e/ is pronounced as a half-close front vowel [e] (corresponding to ê of French é or the ee of German See):

Ex.: ས་/g/go/ “to be”, ས་/nyepo/ “near”, ས་/me/ “fire”, ས་/s/ “to clear, remove”

It is also pronounced [æ], or ay as a closed syllable:

Ex.: རིགས་/lip/ “to arrive”, རིགས་/phep/ “to go, to come” (H), རིགས་/thangsang/ “these days”

• /o/ is pronounced as a half-open front vowel [ɔ]:

Ex.: བོད/ “Tibet”, བོད/ “really”, བོད/ “söntep/ “prayer”

Finally, it should be noted that at the beginning of low-tone words, round vowels are often “labialized” and preceded by the sound [w]. Thus རོ/ “light” is pronounced རོ/ “light”.

• /o/ is pronounced as a half-closed back vowel [ɔ] corresponding to the o of English “go”:

Ex.: ས/ “year”, ས/ “stone”, ས/ “leaf”, ས/ “ivory”

When the syllable is closed, the sound is generally a more open [ɔ] as in the case of the English “got”:

Ex.: རོ/ “samsara, cyclic existence”, རོ/ “soft”

Finally, note that at the beginning of low-tone words, the vowel is often preceded by the sound [w]. Thus ས/ “milk” is pronounced ས/ “milk”. In the same way, ས/ “younger sibling” is pronounced ས/ “younger sibling”.

• /u/ is pronounced as a closed back vowel [u]:

Ex.: བོ/ “naga (serpent-spirit)”, བོ/ “body”, བོ/ “who”, བོ/ “breast”

At the beginning of low-toned words, the vowel is often preceded by the sound [w].

Ex.: བོ/ “owl”

• /û/ is pronounced as a rounded close front vowel [y]:

Ex.: ས/ “to give” (h), ས/ “time”, ས/ “region”

• /i/ is pronounced as a closed front vowel [i]:

Conclusions on pronunciation and phonological oppositions

As we have seen, some phonemes vary considerably according to their context. As a general rule, consonants are very clearly pronounced at the beginning of a word, but less so in other positions, especially at the end.

Thus /k/ is pronounced [k] at the beginning of a syllable, but in a final internal position within a word it is often weakened to [ɣ], similar to the French pronunciation of r, and at the very end of a word it may even disappear altogether or be transformed into a simple glottal stop [ʔ].

The same observations apply to /p/, which is pronounced [p] at the beginning of a word but often as [β] between vowels, and sometimes may become a glottal stop [ʔ] at the end of a word.

Finally, the phonemes /l/ are /ɾ/ pronounced respectively [l] and [ɾ] at the beginning of a syllable, whereas at the end they are transformed into a lengthening [:] of the vowel.

Remarks on stress

Stress is not particularly marked in Tibetan (see Introduction). It should be noted, however, that in the case of a certain number of words comprising suffixes, nouns and verbs may be distinguished by stress (and tone). Thus in the following examples, each of the two syllables carries equal stress, whereas in the case of the verb – whether in the infinitive or the past participle – the accent falls on the first syllable while the second syllable pa is an unstressed suffix. This feature is analogous to the distinction between nominal and verbal forms of homonyms that is made in English: contract (verb), contraction (noun); record (verb), record (noun); conflict (verb), conflict (noun).

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{ནོར་ལ་/tsIPA/} “astrologer, accountant”
\item \text{བོད་པ་/sampa/} “thought”
\item \text{ཟིག་/rikpa/} “knowledge”
\item \text{ལོ་པ་/łapa/} “teaching”
\item \text{དཔོལ་/kopa/} “arrangement, disposition”
\item \text{ཆོས་/chöpa/} “punishment”
\item \text{ཤིག་/töka/} “awareness, realization”
\item \text{ལེག་/cinpa/} “offering”
\item \text{ལུགས་/kyöka/} “vomit”
\end{itemize}

\text{ནོར་ལ་/tsIPA/} “to count”
\text{བོད་པ་/sampa/} “to think”
\text{ཟིག་/rikpa/} “to see, know”
\text{ལོ་པ་/łapa/} “to teach, learn”
\text{དཔོལ་/kopa/} “to arrange, dispose”
\text{ཆོས་/chöpa/} “to punish”
\text{ཤིག་/töka/} “to understand, realize”
\text{ལེག་/cinpa/} “to offer”
\text{ལུགས་/kyöka/} “to vomit”
The Honorific Register

As in other Asian languages such as Japanese and Korean, Tibetan has developed an honorific register that make it possible to express social relations through linguistic usage. The honorific should be understood as a sophisticated form of politeness expressed through personal pronouns, names, verbs, auxiliaries and even adjectives and adverbs. The honorific register, ཨི་ཐེ་ལས་, is used for people of superior and equal social standing, and even between friends and married couples. The ordinary register, ཁྲ་ལ་, is used for all others, that is, those younger than oneself (although the honorific is sometimes used with certain juniors) and social inferiors.

Students of Tibetan should certainly learn both registers, but if you were to learn only one, the ordinary register would be better for two reasons: some people without much education hardly use the honorific register; and secondly, even if you use honorifics to another person you should always use ordinary terms (in the absence of humilifics) for yourself. And finally the good news: quite a number of words have only one form.

Most nouns, adjectives and adverbs have only one type of honorific.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>ordinary</th>
<th>honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| tea     | དོ་བོ | དོ་བོ་མདོ་ཅ། |}
| water   | དོ་གུ། | དོ་གུ། |}
| book    | དོ་ཐོན། | དོ་ཐོན། དོ་ཆེས་པ། |}

For verbs, however, as well as for pronouns, there are several types of honorific.
- ཨི་འི་བུ། དོ་ཐོན། cirtang shesa the “general honorific” (H),
- ཨི་འི་བུ། དོ་ཐོན། shesa thöpo the “high honorific” (HH),
- ཨི་འི་བུ། དོ་ཐོན། ལེགས་སྟོང་ལྡེ། māsa sungwā: shesa the “humilific” (h),
- ཨི་འི་བུ། དོ་ཐོན། ལེགས་སྟོང་ལྡེ། མ་བོ་དུ་ཀུན་གས་ chö' nyi-ki shesa the “double honorific” (hH).
The general and high honorifics correspond to forms of politeness that indicate a respectful attitude towards the subject of an action. The high honorific conveys an even more polite and reverential attitude than the general honorific, and is used especially in the case of high lamas and State dignitaries. The humilific is systematically used for the first person as the subject, but more generally to indicate a respectful attitude on the part of the speaker towards the person to whom that action is directed (which, from a syntactic perspective, may comprise various complements: object, indirect object, etc.). It should be emphasized that the honorific is never used with reference to oneself, and for the first person the humilific is consequently needed.

Finally, the double honorific denotes that both the subject of the action and the person to whom it is directed are considered by the speaker to merit equal respect. Note that there are only a few high and double honorifics, and they are not often used.

Here is an illustration of the different levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>humilific (h)</th>
<th>ordinary</th>
<th>honorific (H)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>ཀན་ེ་ བུ་</td>
<td>ཞེ་་ཞུང་</td>
<td>རོ་་་ཞོ་་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to give</td>
<td>ས་་ དབུ་</td>
<td>ཨོ་་ེ་</td>
<td>ངཱ་་ རུང་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stay, sit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>བིག་་ ཆེ་</td>
<td>ངཱ་་་ རུ་་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go</td>
<td>རུ་་ ཞེ་</td>
<td>ཆེ་་ོ་</td>
<td>ངཱ་་་ རུ་་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>ར་་ཚེ་་ ཀམོ་ བུ་</td>
<td>ས་་་་ བིག་ ལ་</td>
<td>ར་་ཚེ་་་་ ཀམོ་་ བུ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Special cases of high and double honorifics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>high honorific (HH)</th>
<th>double honorific (hH)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to give</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ས་་་レー ཕུ་་ རང་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stay, sit</td>
<td>ར་་ཚེ་་་་ ག་ བིག་ ལ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go</td>
<td>ས་་་་ ཆེ་་ོ་</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ར་་ཚེ་་་་ ཁམོ་ བུ་་ རང་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perfect mastery of honorifics is not easy, but you need not worry too much about this because Tibetans themselves often make mistakes! There is a common expression, “lame honorif...

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202. This term was coined by S.Beyer (1992).
203. The use of honorific registers may entail true linguistic virtuosity, to the extent that not only pronouns, but also adjectives, adverbs, verbs and auxiliaries should be in honorific form, while the speaker should also diminish himself or herself by using the appropriate humilifics.
ifics" (zhe-sa rkang-chag), to signify the fact that some terms in a sentence are honorific whereas others belong to the ordinary level. The misuse of honorifics is a common source of amusement for Tibetans.

The basis for a mastery of the honorific language is a sound knowledge of the pronouns and a few of the main nouns, verbs (especially the main verbs of movement, speech and action) and auxiliaries. The shespa vocabulary will gradually increase with usage.

The honorific language is especially used in Standard Tibetan and the dialects of Central Tibet and Tsang, as well as certain outlying regions such as Mustang, in Nepal. It is also very important in Tibetan literature, where it may even play a grammatical role since it can substitute for the subject and other markers of person by establishing the relationship between characters, and hence identify them. Contrary to a widespread belief, the honorific is not altogether absent in the dialects of Kham and Amdo, even though it is much less frequently used than in Central Tibet.

Most honorifics are derivatives of ordinary terms, and relatively few are original. For the most part, nouns are formed by the use of honorific prefixes. There are perhaps just a dozen or so such prefixes, corresponding to honorific terms for body parts: ཕུ་ “body”, རྡོད་ “arm”, ཀྱེད་ “hand”, གཤེན་ “head”, ཞེས་ “eyes”, མཚན་ “mouth”, ཞབས་ “leg”, བུ་ “tongue”, རྡོན་ “mind”, རླུང་ “k’ak” “speech”, as well as a few prefixes derived from verbs: ཤིག་ “sö”, “to pray”, ཤིག་ “she” “to take”, རྒྱལ་ “sirn” “to sleep”, etc.

Each prefix is associated with a very wide semantic field related to its original meaning. Thus the prefix kū often appears in words denoting not only body parts but also physical activities, bodily representations, kinship ties, clothing, belongings, social ranks, certain illnesses and so on. For example: བྲི་སྦྱོར་ “blood”, གྲུ་ རུ་ “kutö” “shirt”, རྡོགས་ “kūcā” “possessions”, སྦེ་ རྡོན་ “kūnyān” “statue”, སྦེ་ རིས་ “küntrön” “guest”, etc.

Verbs fall into two categories:

— a) verbs consisting of a noun and a verbalizer (these constitute the majority).

— b) simple verbs.

In the first case, the honorific is obtained by putting the noun that precedes the verb in the honorific (according to the principle outlined above) and then replacing the verbalizer by its honorific (or humiliific) homologue. Here are some verbs with common honorific verbalizers:

གཡུང་ “nāng” honorific for རི་ “chê” “to do” (verbalizer) and བྱ། སྐྱ “to give”

གཡུང་ “kyön” honorific for རི་ “kyap” “to do, to make” (verbalizer)

གཡུང་ “tāng” nāng honorific for རི་ “tāng” “to send” (verbalizer)

གྲུ་ སྦེ་ “she” honorific for རི་ “len” to take, རྒྱ་ “to eat”, བྱ། སྐྱ “thungan” “to drink”

བྲི་ སྦེ་ “shê” humiliific for རི་ “sa” “to eat”, བྱ། སྐྱ “thungan” “to drink”, རི་ “len” “to take”, རྒྱལ་ “shê” “to say”
Appendix 3

हन्तू: humilific for हङ्ङे
trā “to give”

शाङ्ग' honorific for ऋतेलङ‘
to rise’ (verbalizer)

Ex.: मक्ले लङ्ङे का che’
to work” > मोङ्ङे लङ्ङे लङ्ङे

ीङ्गे “to drink tea”

शुङ्गे me tāng “to set fire”

पांक्षे पांक्षे “to photograph” > भुङ्गे को

In the case of certain simple verbs, the honorific entails a different lexical root.

Ex.: त्रो “to go” > खोङ्गे प्रिङ्गे (H), अङ्गे “to see” > भोङ्गे खोङ्गे (H)

Note that there are only a few adjectives and adverbs that have a true honorific form. In such cases, the honorific has a different root from the ordinary term.

Ex.: क्षेत्रे “happy, pleasant”, जिब्जो “delicious” > क्षेत्रे “trōpo (H)

याङ्गे न्याङ्गे “together” > भुङ्गे “हाङ्गे (H)

क्षेत्रे “kyo kposé” “fast, quickly” > भुङ्गे भोङ्गे (H, rare)

In a few rare cases, the honorific form of the adjective is formed by using a suffix भोङ्गे pronounced भोङ्गे nāngko.

Ex.: अङ्गे “soft”, अङ्गे “capable”

शाङ्गे “quiet, calm” शाङ्गे नाङ्गे

Finally, it should be emphasized that respect is shown not only by using terminology but through a wide repertoire of appropriate gestures. Even nowadays, in many rural areas, people greet visitors by protruding their tongues, joining their hands and bowing slightly. The guest of honor always goes first and takes the highest seat, usually located in the innermost part of the room. He always receives the choicest food, served with deferential gestures in a quiet voice, and so on.
Loans from Other Languages

For a long period of their history (from the 8th to the 13th centuries) the Tibetans were assiduously engaged in translation, mainly from Sanskrit, with the primary aim of acquiring and spreading Buddhist teachings.

The skill and precision of the Tibetan translators, or lotsawa, were such that Tibetan texts may reliably be used to retranslate into Sanskrit works that were lost at the time of the Muslim invasions of India. For several years now, a team of translators in Varanasi (Benares) has been working on the reproduction of Sanskrit works from Tibetan versions.

Over the course of time, Tibetan, like any other language, has enriched its vocabulary through lexical borrowings. The main sources have been Sanskrit, Mongolian, Uighur and Ancient Chinese, with more recent recourse to English, Hindi and Modern Chinese (putonghua).\textsuperscript{204} It is likely that other languages such as Zhangzhung (part of which later became the kingdom of Guge), Tangut (mi-nyag) and other Himalayan languages such as Kinnauri also contributed to Tibetan vocabulary.

Whatever the case, it is a striking fact that Tibetan actually contains very few pure loans (also called “transfers”),\textsuperscript{205} and has tended to prefer calques (loan translations). This process consists of coining neologisms using Tibetan roots conveying the semantic content of compound

\textsuperscript{204} For further details see Beyer (1992:138 -145)

\textsuperscript{205} Here is Beyer’s definition of “transfer” (1992:139): “One type of borrowing is the process we will call transfer, whereby a foreign word or phrase is simply incorporated wholesale into the lexicon, with more or less adaptation to native phonology and orthography.” Transfers are rare in Tibetan, except in technical domains such as medicine, which contain a relatively larger proportion of Sanskrit and Chinese words.
words from other languages, such as Sanskrit, Chinese and so on. The vocabulary that has been borrowed extends almost exclusively to nouns, and includes almost no verbs or adjectives.

Unlike the majority of other literary Asian languages (Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Burmese, etc.), Tibetan has calqued or translated, rather than borrowed, the essential vocabulary of Buddhism.

Ex.: Buddha = སིང་ལྟོའི་ sāṃkhyā; bodhisattva = རྡོ་རྨ་སེམས་དཔའ། chöngcu' sampa; karma = ཉེ་ི་, etc.

Even the names of Hindu divinities have been “translated”:

Ex.: “Indra” = གླིང་ཁྲིམས་ kyacān; “Brahma” = རྡོ་རྨ་ tshangpa; “Siva” = རིགས་པོ། wāngcū, etc.

The Tibetan lotsawa sometimes preferred to calque glosses or definitions of certain words, rather than the words themselves (see below). We refer to this type of loan as indirect calques.

Here are some examples of transfers, calques, and mixed forms.

**Transfers**

• From Sanskrit

 kamu (pad-ma) “lotus” < padma; sēngke “lion” < simha; chīla (byi-la) “cat” < bila (prakrit) < bidala; mani “jewel” < maNi; tsāntân “sandalwood” < candana⁰⁰; muktika; kury “master”, < guru; pōi “volume, book” < pustika; pōtal “Potala Palace” < pota “boat”, etc.

• From Ancient or Old Chinese

 cha “tea” < j h a⁰⁷; thongtse “money” (archaic) < dhung-tsi; cōktse “table” < coks i “table” (Mod. Ch. zhuozi)

• From Mongolian

 phatur ba-dur “warrior” < ba yatur; thāma “tobacco” < thama, etc.

• From Uighur

 thāmka “seal” < thāmya “mark, label”; thar “silk” < toryu; émrél “doctor” < eme i, etc.

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⁰⁰ One of the rare loan words borrowed by both European languages and Tibetan is the word sandal in sandalwood and the Tibetan word tsan-dan which have the same Sanskrit origin. See Beyer (1992:142).

⁰⁷ Which is also the origin of the Arabic āj (“shay”), Turkish čaj (“chay”), Russian čaj (“chay”), Portuguese cha, English tea, and French thé.

⁰⁸ As seen, for example, in the name Kar-ma pag-shi, which was the title of a master of the Karmapa school.
• From Persian

stdbool khyrkum “saffron” < kurkum; चविच्र थेpter “annals, document” < debter; नाखू nagta “God”, “Allah” for Tibetan Muslims < xoda.

• From Latin (via Persian)

शेषार khesar (hero of the Tibetan epic) 309 < Caesar, kaisar, tsar;

• From Arabic

उरचौ रउ चोय “alcohol” < 2arak “toddy, palm sap”; चविच्र चुपा “gown” < juba (Turkish) < jabba. 210

• From Modern Chinese (putonghua)

श्नेल्ट तैनी “television” < dianshi; चविच्र बुंगले “kilometer” < gongli; चविच्र लसेन “audio cassette” < caidan; चविच्र ट्रिंको “China” < zhongguo; चविच्र श्नेल्ट गुंणक “kungkung chière “bus” < gonggong qiche; चविच्र गिओ “postage stamp” < you piao, etc.

• From English

चविच्र पास “ticket” < pass; चविच्र लिलकै “postage stamp” < ticket; चविच्र लसेन “pēsekop “cinema” (obsolete) < bioscope; चविच्र ट्राल “train” < rail; चविच्र मोट्रा “car” < motor; चविच्र पास “bus” < bus, etc.

• From Hindi

चविच्र पुरा “all” < pura; चविच्र चीन “sugar” < cinii; चविच्र कारी “car” < ghari; चविच्र दोंग kāngkāri: “bicycle” < ghari “car, vehicle” and rkang (Tib. = foot, leg)

Calques (direct and indirect)

• From Sanskrit

चविच्र गुलाज “Buddha” ~ buddha “the awakened one” (< sungs “awakened” and rgyas “expanded”. Beyer (1992:143-144) gives the following commentary: “Tibetan sungs-rgyas [has been coined] on the basis of two different Sanskrit etymological glosses: [...] He is like a man who has awakened (prabuddha) because his sleep of delusion has vanished and […] He is Buddha because his mind (buddhi) has opened up like a lotus that has expanded (vibuddha)."

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209. The epic of Gesar is the great epic of Central Asia, considerably exceeding in length others such as Gilgamesh.
210. According to M. Fasmer’s etymological dictionary (Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka, Moskva 1986) the French word jupe “skirt” is also derived from the Arabic jaba. Thus the French word jupe and the Tibetan chuba share a common origin.
Appendix 4

chàngcup sëmpa “bodhisattva” (< byang “has purified faults”, chub “has assimilated [all] knowledge”, sms “mind” and dpa’ “hero” = hero of the mind who has purified his faults and has assimilated all knowledge).

karma “karma, action” ~ karma

töngpanyi “the void” ~ shunyata

lekar “Sanskrit” ~ sam-skrit “well-composed (language)” (<legs = “excellent” and shyar = “put together, composed”)

khorwa “transmigration, samsara” (<’khor = “to circle”, ‘khor-ba = “the round, the cycle [of existence]”)

nyangänlā’ tāpa “nirvana” (lit. “passed beyond suffering”) ~ nir-vana “blown out, extinguished”
	nyöṅmrong “negative emotions” ~ kleśa “torment”

thrubtop chêngpo “Mahasiddha” ~ maha-siddha “masters with great accomplishments” (<grub “accomplishment”, thob “to obtain”, chen-po “big”)

• From Classical Chinese

nyo’ “the world” (lit. that which is beneath the sun) ~ tian xia (nyi = tian “day” and ‘og = xia “under”)

seryi “golden letter, letter from a high dignitary” < jin-zi (gser = jin “gold” and yig = zi “character”)

• From Modern Chinese

mekor “train” ~ huo che (me = huo “fire” and khor = che “car”)

lön ‘nyän “cinema” ~ dianyin (glog = dian “electric”, brnyan = yin “image”)

lön ‘nyän dünkhor “computer” ~ dian nao (glog = dian “electric” and klad = nao “brain” + ’phrul khor “machine”)

tonum “petrol, gasoline” < shi you (rdo= shi “stone” and snum = you “oil”, cf. Latin petra+oleum > petrol)

Mixed forms

In the same way as certain English words are composed of a Greek root combined with a Latin root (e.g., “television”) Tibetan sometimes unites two different origins within a single word. Here are two examples:

tsampuling “the world” < jambu-dvipa (Skt.) “name of one of the seven continents around Mt Meru” and gling (Tib.) “island” (dvipa in Sanskrit).


Neologisms

Modern Tibetan has produced a large number of neologisms to translate scientific or technical terms. Dictionaries of university-level mathematics, physics and chemistry, as well as a large number of popular works have also been published. Unfortunately, since these books are not very widely distributed, the majority of Tibetans use loanwords (from Chinese or English) according to where they live.

In the case of certain neologisms, it may happen that there are three different terms for the same object: one Literary Tibetan term and two in the spoken language. Of the latter, one is likely to be a Chinese loanword used in the T.A.R. or the Tibetan-speaking Chinese provinces, and the other an English loan used in the diaspora.

We see this in the case of མི་ལེགས་ཁྲིམས་པར་ཁྲིམས་“stamp” (literary), which is also denoted by the words ཡུལ་ལེགས་ཁྲིམས་< English) and རིག་ལེགས་ (< Chinese). Similarly, རིག་ལེགས་ཁྲིམས་གཤེག་པོ་“bus” (literary) is also called གསུམ་ལྟར་ཀུན་ཀུན་གཤེག་(< Chinese) and རིག་ལེགས་པ་< English).

Native neologisms

Some old or new neologisms are purely Tibetan scientific or vernacular inventions. Here are a few examples:

ཆེད་ཁ་“bicycle” < “iron horse”; བོད་ཁ་“airplane” < “iron bird”;

སྤོ་བ་ལག་“radio” < “air message”; སྤོ་བ་ལག་སྤོ་བ་ལག་< 苏哈 lungtrin “television” <

Code switching

Some Tibetans, particularly among the urban young people, tend to make massive borrowings from the dominant surrounding languages (mainly Chinese or English, depending on where they live). This phenomenon has increased in the past two decades. There is also a tendency to switch from Tibetan to Chinese, back and forth within the same conversation. Both the massive borrowings and code switching are often referred to as གོ་བོ་གནས་“half-goat-half-sheep language”.

Compound Words

This appendix will take a brief look at the rich field of lexical compounds, but will not tackle the matter of inflectional morphology or lexical derivations. A great many Tibetan words are in fact compounds which for the most part have a clear enough etymology. The following pages will set out the main rules for the construction of words that are valuable for both the spoken and the written languages.

1. Nominal compounds

There are a number of processes relating to the formation of compound nouns, and these apply also to adjectives and verbs. There are basically four types of formation: synonym compounds, polar compounds, compounds with a determinant, and cumulative or sequential compounds.

1.1 Synonym compounds

- Compounds made up of two synonymous nouns:

  दुस-स्कब्स "period" (time-moment), लुग्स-स्रोल "tradition" (tradition-custom), रे-दुन "hope" (hope-wish), ग्लु-ग्जास "song" (song-song).

- Compounds consisting of two synonymous verbs:

  आदिन-बूङ्ग "capture" (seize – hold), भ्यल-फ्राड "encounter" (meet (H) – meet), ग्सुंग-भ्याट "speech, discourse" (say (H) – say), फेल-र्ग्यास "development" (increase – spread), ग्लां-ब्रिग "obstruction" (stop [past] – stop [present]), दुग्स्क्रुन "construction" (establish – construct).

1.2 Polar compounds

A common principle is to combine polar opposites, especially of adjectives.

- Polar compounds comprising adjectives:

  ग्गोङ्ग भ्यल-्र्गांग "temperature" (hot-cold), भ्यल-म्दां "height" (high-low), भ्यल-चे-चुङ "size" (big-small), ग्गोङ्ग भ्यल-म्ग्निं "quantity" (much-little), भ्यल-म्ग्निं

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211. These two domains are actually more relevant to a diachronic perspective or a study of Tibetan etymology, and are not directly useful for learning Modern Spoken Tibetan. For further information, see le Clair Miroir by Kesang Gyurme (1992) or, in English, Stephan Beyer (1992).

212. The terminology concerning compound nouns used in this Manual is based on Goldstein (1983).
yag nyes “quality” (good-bad), brtags-bo bzang-ngan “quality” (excellent-bad), gyi kyi ring-thung “length” (long-short), ngyi nye-ring “distance” (near-far), rgyal rgyal dkar-nag “opposites” (white-black), grol rgyi gsar-rnying “age” (new-old), skyid-sdag “living conditions” (happy-wretched), sras mthug “density” (thin-thick), skam rlon “humidity” (dry-wet), drag shan “power” (strong-weak)

- Polar compounds comprising nouns:
  གཏམ་ pha-ma “parents” (mother-father), byung btsan nyin-mtshan “day and night” (day-night), gzhung-sger “everyone” (government-private), lha ‘dre “gods and demons” (gods-demons), rgyu-bras “causality” (cause-result)

- Polar compounds comprising verbs:
  nyo tshong “commerce” (buy-sell), thob shor “gain and loss” (win-lose), gro sdod “movement” (go-stay), yin min “truth and falsehood” (be-not be)

1.3 Premodifying compounds
- Structure: noun (modifier) – noun (modified)
  gnam gru “airplane” (sky-vessel), lha khang “temple” (god-house), dus deb “journal” (time-book), khang bdag “owner” (house-owner), snying r gyi “endurance” (heart-bone), mig lpags “eyelid” (eye-skin), me mda “gun” (fire-arrow), me ro “embers” (fire-corpse), chu mig “spring” (water-eye), mig chu “tear” (eye-water)

Note: The spelling of a lexical morpheme remains the same whatever its position may be within a word, whether as the first or as the second syllable. There are, however, some rare exceptions to this rule. Thus the word for “skin, bark” is spelled བཟུགས་ /pākpa/, when it features as the first syllable, as in བཟུགས་ /pāksha/ “fur hat”, whereas it is written as བཟུགས་lpags when it occurs as the second syllable, as in བཟུགས་lug lpags /lākpa/ “sheepskin” or བཟུགས་stag lpags /tākpa/ “tiger-skin”.

- Structure: adjective (modifier) – noun (modified)
  dam tshig “sama, vow” (sacred-word), nye lam “shortcut” (near-road), dben gnas “hermitage” (lonely-place)

- Structure: adjective (modifier) – verb (modified)
  gsar brje “revolution” (new-change), gsar dzugs “construction” (new-establish), gong phel “development” (high-increase), yar rgyas “progress, improvement” (upward-spread)
• Structure: verb (modifier) – noun (modified)

गोर-लाम “path” (go-way), स्लोब-देब “manual” (learn-book), ठाङ-दुपोन “merchant” (sell-lord), स्लोद-क्हां “dwellings” (live-house), स्त्रुंग-स्कार “satellite” (protect-star)

• Structure: noun (modifier) – verb (modified)

ब्धाङ-द्झिन “selfishness” (self-hold), स्क्योन-ब्र्जोि “criticism” (fault-say), ग्डाङ-द्रेन “invitation” (carpet-draw), सेंम्स-ग्सो “consolation” (mind-repair), र्कुब-བ्क्याङ “chair” (backside-lift), चु-क्होि “boiled water” (water-boil), र्जांस-‘ग्युि “chemistry” (object-transform), स्कांड-ब्स्युि “interpreter” (language-transform)

1.4 Postmodifying compounds

• Structure: noun (modified) – adjective (modifier)

ग्लाङ-छें “elephant” (bull-big), र्दो-रिङ “stone pillar, standing stone, doring” (stone-long), न्गो-ट्स्हा “shame” (face-hot), ट्स्कोि-छें “great assembly” (gathering-big), ट्स्कोि-छें “path of the great perfection” (perfection-great), ब्या-र्गोि “vulture” (bird-wild), लाम-रिङ “graduated path” (path-progressive), ख्रोि-ब्साङ Lobsang (personal name: mind-excellent), ट्स्कीि-ट्स्कु-रिङ Tsering (personal name: life-long)

1.5 Conjunctive compounds

• Structure: noun – noun

This juxtaposed or paratactic structure involves the coordination of nouns without the use of connectives. ढिङ-ब्रोि “nomads and farmers”, ड्जी-स्लोब “teachers and students”, र्ग्यां-बोि “Chinese and Tibetans” or “China and Tibet” (but in a more ancient context, Indians and Tibetans or India and Tibet)

• Sequential verb structure: verb 1 – verb 2

न्यांग-ग्सो “restoration” (ruin-repair), ब्सिंग ‘ग्रोि liberation (bind-free)

2. Verb composition

Compound verbs are essentially of three types: compounds that are difficult to analyse in synchrony; verbs with internal objects, and verbs involving the use of a verbalizer.
2.1 Compounds that are difficult to analyse without a historical perspective

The construction of these verbs is difficult to understand at the present time. The meaning of one of the components taken by itself is no longer comprehensible, or has been partially lost.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{gyi} & \text{ yid ches “to have faith”, } \\
\text{ha} & \text{ las “to be surprised”, } \\
\text{gnyid} & \text{ khug “to fall asleep”, } \\
\text{hon} & \text{ thor “to be astonished”}
\end{align*} \]

2.2 Verbs with an internal object

These are made up of a verb and an “internal” object formed from the same root as the verb. They are similar to certain English expressions such as “to live life”, “to dream a dream”, etc. These verbs, which are mainly trisyllabic, are relatively uncommon.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{rtsed-mo} & \text{ rtse “to play”, } \\
\text{gad mo} & \text{ dgad “to laugh”, } \\
\text{ltas mo} & \text{ tla “to watch a show”, } \\
\text{rku-ma} & \text{ rku “to steal”, } \\
\text{skor ba skor “to circle, circumambulate”, } \\
\text{dri ba} & \text{ ’dri “to ask questions”, } \\
\text{rmi-lam} & \text{ rmi “to dream” (dial. or L), } \\
\text{za ma} & \text{ za “to eat” (dial. or L)}
\end{align*} \]

2.3 Compounds using verbalizers

These verbs, consisting of a “verbalizer” and a noun constitute the majority of verbs in Standard Spoken Tibetan. The noun may be replaced by an adjective, an adverb or an onomatopoeia. Remember that the three main verbalizers are: རེ་འཕྲ རེ “to do, to act”, རེ་ རྒྱ་ “to make, to do” and ལྷག་ བྲང་ “to send, to do” (and their honorific equivalents, see Lesson 11).

The verbalizer may be preceded by:

- a simple noun

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{mo-tra} & \text{ btang “to drive a car”, } \\
gzas & \text{ btang “to sing”, } \\
\text{skad} & \text{ btang “to call”, } \\
\text{me} & \text{ btang “to set fire”, } \\
\text{skad rgyag} & \text{“to shout”}
\end{align*} \]

- an adjective

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{skyid-po} & \text{ btang “to have fun”, } \\
sdug-po & \text{ btang “to abuse”, } \\
dga-po & \text{ byed “to like”, } \\
\text{chung ru} & \text{ btang “to reduce”, } \\
\text{che-ru} & \text{ btang “to enlarge”}
\end{align*} \]

- a noun compound (see section 1 above in this appendix)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{slob sbyong byed “to study”, } \\
\text{sgyur-bcos} & \text{ btang “to reform”, } \\
\text{yar rgyas} & \text{ btang “to improve”, } \\
\text{sems gso} & \text{ byed “to console”, } \\
gdan ′dren zhu & \text{“to invite”}
\end{align*} \]
• a doubled form (with a verb, an adverb, an adjective or an onomatopeia)

 kyom-kyom byed “to stir a liquid”, dkrug dkrug btang “to stir, shake”, gzab gzab byed “to be careful”, rug-rug byed “to gather”, phur-phur btang “to massage, stroke”, lhod lhod byed “to relax”
Review Tables

This appendix contains review tables of verb “conjugations”, “declensions” and the variant forms of grammatical morphemes.

*Table 1: The copulas and their meanings*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copulas</th>
<th>Mediatory moods</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>egophoric</td>
<td>existential, expresses possession situative attributive (evaluative)</td>
<td>“to have” (&quot;I have&quot;) “to be (somewhere)” (&quot;I am at...&quot;) “to be”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དབོ</td>
<td>testimonial</td>
<td>existential situative expresses possession attributive (evaluative)</td>
<td>“there is, are” “to be (somewhere)” “to have, possess” “to be”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ཤོ་</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>existential expresses possession situative attributive (evaluative)</td>
<td>“there is, are” “to have, possess” “to be (somewhere)” “to be”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ཤོ་</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>existential expresses possession situative attributive (evaluative)</td>
<td>“to be” (&quot;I am&quot;) “to be” (&quot;I am&quot;) “to be” (&quot;it’s according to me&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་</td>
<td>egophoric</td>
<td>essential attributive modal</td>
<td>“to be” (“Why, it’s...!”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2: Forms of copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronoun)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronoun)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>རིན</td>
<td>རིན་བོན</td>
<td>རིན་འབོན་པ</td>
<td>རིན</td>
<td>རིན་བོན་པ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>དྲིན</td>
<td>དྲིན་པདྨ</td>
<td>དྲིན་འདི་བོན་པ</td>
<td>དྲིན</td>
<td>དྲིན་འདི་བོན་པ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུ</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་བོན</td>
<td>རྒྱུ</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་བོན</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>རྒྱུ་པདྨ</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་འདི་བོན་པ</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་བོན</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3: The main auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>FUTURE</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>V(pres.) + ཞེས་རབ་ -kire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intentional egophoric</td>
<td>V(pres.) + སེམས་ -kiyin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allocentric intentional egophoric</td>
<td>V(past) + ཤེན་ -ko’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allocentric intentional egophoric or imminent danger</td>
<td>V(past) + སྣ་ -yong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>PRESENT</strong> (and imperfective past)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>V(pres.) + སེམས་རབ་ -kiyo:re’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testimonial</td>
<td>V(pres.) + སེམས་འབ་ -ktu’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intentional or habitual egophoric</td>
<td>V(pres.) + སེམས་ -kiyō’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual/ generic assertive</td>
<td>V(pres.) + ཞེས་རབ་ -kire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>PAST</strong> (perfective)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>simple perfective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>V(past) + ལྷེས་ -pare’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testimonial</td>
<td>V(past) + བྱེ་ -song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>receptive egophoric</td>
<td>V(past) + གུད་ -cung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intentional egophoric</td>
<td>V(past) + སེམས་ -payin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiential egophoric</td>
<td>V(pres.) + གུད་ -nyong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **perfect**                       |                                                        |            |
| assertive                         | V(past) + སྣང་རབ་ -yo:re’                             |            |
| inferential                       | V(past) སྣང་ -sha’                                    |            |
| intentional egophoric             | V(past) སྣང་ -yō’                                     |            |
Table 4: The different mediatory moods according to tense-aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense-aspect</th>
<th>egophoric</th>
<th>testimonial</th>
<th>inferential</th>
<th>assertive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>ཇིཤཱིན།  kiyin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ཇིཤཱིན།  kire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>དངེན།  ko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present (or imperfective past)</td>
<td>ཇིཤཱིན།  kiyö'</td>
<td>ཇིཤཱིན།  kitu'</td>
<td></td>
<td>ཇིཤཱིན།  kiyo:re'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past simple perfective</td>
<td>དབིན།  payin</td>
<td>དབིན།  song</td>
<td></td>
<td>དབིན།  pare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>དིམ།  cung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>དིམ།  nyong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfect</td>
<td>དིམ།  yö'</td>
<td></td>
<td>དིམ།  tu'</td>
<td>དིམ།  yo:re'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>དིམ།  sha'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5: Auxiliaries according to tense-aspect

**future**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronouns)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronouns)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་/ཀ་</td>
<td>བ ་</td>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་/ཀ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyin</td>
<td>kiyin-pä’ / kā’</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kimān</td>
<td>kiyin-pä’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kire’</td>
<td>kire’-pä’</td>
<td>kirā’</td>
<td>kimare’</td>
<td>kire’-pä’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**present (and imperfective past)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronouns)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronouns)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyō’</td>
<td>kiyō’-pä’</td>
<td>kiyō’</td>
<td>kime’</td>
<td>kiyō’-pä’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitu/ki’</td>
<td>kitu’-kā’</td>
<td>kita’</td>
<td>kimintu’</td>
<td>kitu’-kā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyor:re’</td>
<td>kiyor:re’-pä’</td>
<td>kiyor:ā’</td>
<td>kiyomare’</td>
<td>kiyor:re’-pä’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**past (perfective)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>interrogative (without pronouns)</th>
<th>interrogative (with pronouns)</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>negative interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བ ་</td>
<td>བ + ἐ + ἐ</td>
<td>བ + ἐ + ἐ</td>
<td>ma+V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payin</td>
<td>pā’</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ma+V</td>
<td>ma+V+pā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>cung-ngā’</td>
<td>cung</td>
<td>macung</td>
<td>macung-ngā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་/འབད</td>
<td>བོམ་/འབད</td>
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<td>song-ngā’</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>masong</td>
<td>masong-ngā’</td>
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<td>བོམ་</td>
<td>བོམ་/འབད</td>
<td>བོམ་/འབད</td>
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<td>pare’</td>
<td>pare’-pä’</td>
<td>parā’</td>
<td>ma+V+på’</td>
<td>ma+V+på’</td>
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<td>བོག་</td>
<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
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<td>yo’-pä’</td>
<td>yo’</td>
<td>me’</td>
<td>me’-pā’</td>
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<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
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<td>min tu’</td>
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<td>བོག་</td>
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<td>བོག་/འབད</td>
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<td>yo:rá’</td>
<td>yo:mare’</td>
<td>yo:mare’-pā’</td>
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### Table 6: Copulas and auxiliaries of probability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copulas (positive doubt)</th>
<th>Copulas (negative doubt)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>essential copulas</strong></td>
<td><strong>existential copulas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यिनपित्रा</td>
<td>योपित्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यिङ्किरेय</td>
<td>योकिरे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मेत्रो</td>
<td>मेत्रो</td>
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<td>यिङ्सारे</td>
<td>योसारे</td>
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<tr>
<td>न्तग्किपो रे'</td>
<td>न्तग्किपो तु'</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copulas (negative doubt)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>essential copulas</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>यिङ्ट्रो</td>
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<td>यियन</td>
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The main auxiliaries of probability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present-future</th>
<th>Past (perfective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V(pres.) +</td>
<td>शीशिय र्यित्रा</td>
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<td>V(pres.) +</td>
<td>शीशिय र्यिङ्किरे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(pres.) +</td>
<td>शीशिय मेत्रो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(pres.) +</td>
<td>शीशिय यिङ्सारे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V(pres.) +</td>
<td>शीशिय र्यित्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>གུང་།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agentive</td>
<td>གུང་ཀི།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>གུང་ལྟ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>གུང་ལ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>གུང་ཀ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associative</td>
<td>གུང་ཀང་།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>བོི་ཆཀ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>བོི་ཆཀ་ཀི།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>བོི་ཆཀ་ན།</td>
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<tr>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>བོི་ཆཀ་ལ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>བོི་ཆཀ་ཀ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associative</td>
<td>བོི་ཆཀ་ཀང་།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>ང་པོ་པར།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agentive</td>
<td>ང་པོ་པར་ཀི།</td>
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<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>ང་པོ་པར་ལྟ།</td>
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<tr>
<td>oblique</td>
<td>ང་པོ་པར་ལ།</td>
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<td>ང་པོ་པར་ཀ།</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
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<tr>
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<td>དོམ་གི།</td>
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<td>དོམ་ལྟ།</td>
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<tr>
<td>associative</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: The cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agentive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Associative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gis</td>
<td>nas/nas</td>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>la/r/na/du</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>dang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case functions

- **agent**
  - sensorial
  - experincer
  - spatial or temporal origin 213 nas/*las

- **instrument/cause/manner**
  - comparison
    - “more than” la<sub>s</sub>/*pa-s
  - selection
    - “among” *las/nas

- **adverbial suffix**
  - gis
  - nas/nas

- **emphasis/focus on the agent**
  - instrument/manner
  - nas/nas

- **causal subordinate**
  - (pa)-s
  - causal subordinate
    - nas

- **subordinate of anteriority**
  - *(pa)-s
  - subordinate of anteriority
    - nas

- **coordination**
  - (pa)-s
  - subordinate of simultaneity
    - las/nas

- **“rather than”**
  - las

- **case functions**
  - *coordinating combination
    - “and”
  - *purposive subordinate
    - (yagi)-la/*du/*pa-r
  - *relative “who, which”
    - (pa)-‘i / gi
  - *temporal subordinate
    - “as soon as”
  - *imperative or injunctive marker
    - “but”
  - *exclamation
    - las

**213.** The asterisk indicates forms that occur only in literature. Underlining denotes the commonest functions in Standard Spoken Tibetan. Some cases are preceded by a particle such as *pa or yag.*
Table 9: Variant written forms of grammatical cases and morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cases/ suffixes</th>
<th>-g</th>
<th>-ng</th>
<th>-d</th>
<th>-t</th>
<th>-m</th>
<th>-a</th>
<th>-r</th>
<th>-l</th>
<th>-s</th>
<th>∅</th>
<th>drag</th>
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<td>tu</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>du</td>
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<td>tu</td>
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<td>Final particle</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 10: Correspondences between spelling and pronunciation

Using the table

The table of correspondences between spelling and pronunciation presented below is organized according to a dual alphabetical and phonological principle: on the one hand, the root letters are listed in Tibetan alphabetical order, while on the other the combinations of letters that produce the same sound are presented together. Thus the organization of the table makes it possible to be read in two ways. It will tell you the pronunciation of a syllable from its spelling, and also provides the range of possible spellings for an identical pronunciation. The latter feature is particularly useful in view of the large number of homophonic syllables, which are spelled differently but pronounced the same.

On the basis of this list, it will be possible to know the pronunciation of a syllable in both Standard Spoken as well as Literary Tibetan in nearly all cases. However, as in the case of European languages, it is not always possible to predict the pronunciation of certain words. With these exceptions there is no exact correspondence between the written and phonetic forms. Remember also that certain words exist only in the spoken language and have no corresponding written form. Phonological transcription is therefore indispensable in these cases.

The following table presents first the Tibetan, then the transliteration in italics, and finally the pronunciation in roman font.

The first part of the table presents the initial consonants of syllables and the second part the codas, that is, the vowels and final consonants of syllables. The initials of syllables often have two pronunciations. The first, which carries a tone, corresponds to the first syllable of a word. The second denotes the pronunciation of syllables within or at the end of a word, and is preceded by a dash. Certain other combinations involve an n, which corresponds to a nasal: m, ng or n. This nasal does not always manifest in speech, although it may do so commonly (see Appendix 1, section 1.1). The particular nasal involved, m, ng or n, is not always predictable, and depends on the words.

Ex.: \texttt{a-mdo} > ā́mtso “Amdo province”, \texttt{rgya-mtsho} > kyā́tso / kyā́mtso “ocean”, \texttt{sku-mdun} > kū́ntūn “(in) the presence, the Dalai Lama”

The table does not include certain regular variations in pronunciation that occur in the spoken language with respect to the literary pronunciation (see Appendix 1, section 1).

The “sharp” symbol denotes combinations used in words borrowed from foreign languages.

For certain combinations in syllabic rhyme, a second pronunciation, corresponding to a phoneme variant, is presented in parentheses. This variant may be used to reproduce actual pronunciation more closely and to make it easier to learn the proper sound.
Ex.: dmag-mi > mā' mi “soldier” (instead of makmi), gsar-'gyur > sā:ngkyur “news” (instead of samkyur), stag > tā’ “tiger” (instead of tak)

The dash after certain combinations means that this pronunciation is used only after another syllable.

Ex.: khams-pa > khāmpa “inhabitant of Kham”, khrims-dpon > thrimpōn “judge”

Finally, remember that the apostrophe after a nasal represents a modulation as opposed to a flat tone, which carries no apostrophe. The historical explanation of this modulation is the presence of the suffix s after the nasal. It disappears with polysyllabic words.

**Table of correspondences between spelling and pronunciation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kā, -ka</td>
<td>kā, -ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyā, -kya</td>
<td>kyā, -kya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trā, -tra</td>
<td>trā, -tra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khā, -ka</td>
<td>khā, -kka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyā, -kya</td>
<td>khyā, -kya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thra, -tra</td>
<td>thra, -tra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khā, -ka</td>
<td>khā, -ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā, -ka</td>
<td>kā, -ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyā, -kya</td>
<td>khyā, -kya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thra, -tra</td>
<td>thra, -tra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gla → ḥa la</td>
<td>gla → ḥa la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• ཨ་ nga
   ཨ་ dnga 'mnga mnga'
   ཨ་ nga brnga bsnga, ཨ་ lnga snga

• ཡ་ ca gca 'bca \ lca dpya spya
cā, -ca

• ཤ་ cha phya
   ཤ་ mcha 'cha phya'
chā, -ca

• ད་ ja bya
   ད་ rja brja sbya
cā, -ca

cā, -nca

• ར་ nya nywa, ར་ mya
   ར་ rnya smya brnya bsnyya
   ར་ dmya rmya smya mnya gnya'
nya, -nya

• ད་ ta gbta rta sta bpta bsta
tā, -ta
tā, -nta

• ཤ་ tha
   ལ་ mtha 'tha
thā, -ta
thā, -nta

• ད་ da dwa
   ད་ rda bda sda brda bsda
   ད་ mda lda da blda zla bsla
   ད་ dra gra
tha, -ta
tā, -ta
tā, -nta

• ར་ na
   ར་ rna bna sna brna
   ར་ bsna snra mna'
nā, -na
nā, -na

• ཡ་ pa spa lpa dpa
   ཡ་ pya ca pra kra
pā, -pa

• ཤ་ phra
   ཤ་ 'pha
   ཤ་ phya cha phra kha
phā, -pa
phā, -npo
• མ་ ba
ན་ rba ལ sba
བོད་ ར 'ba ལ་ lba
ར་ bya → ལ་ ja, ལ་ bra → ལ་ gra, ལ་ bla → ལ་ la
ཐོ་ dbra' ཨ་ ra, དོ་ dba' ཨ་ wa, དོ་ dbya' → ལ་ ya

• མ་ ma
ར་ rma ལ sma ང་ dma ལ smya → ལ་ nya

• བ tsa བ gtsa བ btsa བ rtsa བ stsa བ brtsa བ bstsa བ rtswa

• བ tsha བ tshwa
མ་ mtsha བ tsha

• བ dza
ར་ rdza བ brdza
དོ་ dza ༽ བ ར ཆ mdza

• བ wa
དོ་ dba

• བ zha བ gzha བ bzha བ zhwa

• བ za བ gza བ bza
ཞ ར ར ར ར  zla  ༽ ར da

• བ 'a

• བ ya
ཞ ར ར ར 'dbya'

• བ ra
དོ་ dbra'
ཞ ར hra
ཞ ར rla → ར la

• བ la བ lwa
ར་ rla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla བ kla
ཞ ར iha
• ʂ̪ ha ʂ̪ hwa ʂ̪' gsha' ʂ̪' bsha' ʂ̪
 ʂ̪ sa ʂ̪' gsa' ʂ̪' bsa' ʂ̪
 ʂ̪ sra ʂ̪' bsra ʂ̪
 ʂ̪ sla → ʂ̪ la ʂ̪

• ʂ̪ ha ʂ̪ hwa
 ʂ̪ lha → ʂ̪ la, ʂ̪hra → ʂ̪ ra ʂ̪
 ʂ̪ hya # ʂ̪
 ʂ̪ hpha # ʂ̪

• ʂ̪ a ʂ̪

Syllable rhyme

\[ \begin{array}{l|l|l|l}
\text{ʂ̪ a} & \text{a} & \text{a (a')} & \text{ak (a')} \\
\text{ʂ̪ ag} & \text{ak (a')} & \text{ak (a')} & \text{ak (a')} \\
\text{ʂ̪ ab} & \text{ap} & \text{ap} & \text{ap} \\
\text{ʂ̪ ang} & \text{ang} & \text{ang', ang-} & \text{ang', ang-} \\
\text{ʂ̪ am} & \text{ams} & \text{am}', \text{am-} & \text{am}', \text{am-} \\
\text{ʂ̪ an} & \text{àn} & \text{à', à-} & \text{à', à-} \\
\text{ʂ̪ as} & \text{a'e #} & \text{a'e #} & \text{a'e #} \\
\text{ʂ̪ ar} & \text{ar (a')} & \text{au} & \text{au} \\
\text{ʂ̪ a'o #} & \text{a} & \text{a:} & \text{a:} \\
\text{ʂ̪ a: #} & \text{a:} & \text{a:} & \text{a:} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{l|l|l|l}
\text{ʂ̪ i} & \text{i} & \text{i} & \text{i} \\
\text{ʂ̪ ig} & \text{ik (i')} & \text{ik (i')} & \text{ik (i')} \\
\text{ʂ̪ ib} & \text{ip} & \text{ip} & \text{ip} \\
\text{ʂ̪ ing} & \text{ing} & \text{ing', ing-} & \text{ing', ing-} \\
\text{ʂ̪ im} & \text{im} & \text{im}', \text{im-} & \text{im}', \text{im-} \\
\text{ʂ̪ in} & \text{in} & \text{ir} & \text{ir (i:)} \\
\text{ʂ̪ il} & \text{i:} & \text{id} & \text{id} \\
\text{ʂ̪ is} & \text{i', i-} & \text{i'u} & \text{iu} \\
\text{ʂ̪ i'i} & \text{i:} & \text{i:} & \text{i:} \\
\end{array} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Romanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཤུ་ u u</td>
<td>uk (u')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣ་ ug</td>
<td>ugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོ྘་ ub</td>
<td>uk (u')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣོ་ um</td>
<td>um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣོ་ ur</td>
<td>ur (u:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣོ་ us</td>
<td>ü', ü-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣོ་ u'i</td>
<td>ü:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ e e</td>
<td>ek (e')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ eg</td>
<td>egs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ eb</td>
<td>ep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ eng</td>
<td>eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ em</td>
<td>em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ en</td>
<td>en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ el</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ e'o #</td>
<td>eo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ ed</td>
<td>e', e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ o o</td>
<td>ok (o')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ og</td>
<td>ogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ ob</td>
<td>op</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ ong</td>
<td>ong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ om</td>
<td>om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ ol</td>
<td>ô:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ or</td>
<td>or (ô:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ os</td>
<td>ô', ô-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ོྣྣ་ o'i</td>
<td>ô:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table lists Tibetan sounds and their Romanized equivalents.
A Simplified System for Transcribing Tibetan Words

The international Wylie system for the romanized transliteration is widely used by specialists for reproducing the spelling of Tibetan words, but it offers no direct clues about pronunciation. (Remember that pronunciation is very different from spelling.) This Manual has been using a system of phonological transcription that was devised for teaching Tibetan and for use in scholarly works on the language and culture of the country. Its technical character makes it less than ideal for a wider readership, for example in magazine articles, popular books and maps.

There is still no standard system of transcription for publications of this sort. In collected volumes of articles authors often use different ways of transcribing even the same word. Authors often come up with their own conventions without following any explicit principles. For example, the personal name that is spelled don-grub is rendered variously as Dondup, Dondrup, Dhondup, Dhundup, Tondup, Tondub, Thôndup, etc. The same is true of the name of Tibet’s second city, gzhis-ka-rtshe, for which the following renderings are in current use: Shigatse, Shikatse, Rigaze, Xigaze, Zhigatse, etc. What is urgently needed is a system for standardising the transcription of Tibetan pronunciation, and this appendix suggests a simplified convention that would enable Tibetan names and most terms to be spelled consistently.

The simplified notation presented here differs from the phonological transcription of the Manual in two main respects:

The absence of special signs for marking tones;

It can be easily and directly deduced from Wylie transliteration.

The convention has been used in this work for presenting Tibetan names in English passages.

Although the simplified transcription doesn’t use any diacritics, it gives a fairly clear indication of how words are pronounced in Standard Tibetan, and where tonal distinctions should be made. In most cases there is only one possible unambiguous transcription for a given word if the rules are observed.
The convention is relatively close to English pronunciation: Thus <ch> corresponds to the ‘ch’ of chair, <j> to the ‘j’ of jazz, and <w> to the ‘w’ of win.

Above all, the system suggested below has the advantage of being consistent and based on a simple principle, and hence avoids the idiosyncrasies to be found in much of the secondary literature on Tibet.

a) The general principle

The simplified transcription uses the same correspondences between the Tibetan script and the roman alphabet as the Wylie system of transliteration presented in Table 2 of the Introduction. Only two letters are different: c > ch and ‘a > a.

The thirty consonants: transliteration and pronunciation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>kha</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>nga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
<td>nyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pha</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>tsha</td>
<td>dza</td>
<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>zha</td>
<td>za</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>‘a &gt; a</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>sha</td>
<td></td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The four vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The system proposed here entails dispensing with the letters used by the Wylie system that are no longer pronounced in Standard Tibetan.

This concerns mainly the superscribed consonants r, l and s, the prefixes g, d, b, m and ‘, and the suffixes s and d. However, as the examples below will show, some affixed consonants are pronounced. Although the letters l and r are generally replaced by a lengthening of the preceding vowel, they will be retained here because they are still audible if a reader is enunciating carefully. The elimination of these sounds results in the remaining vowels and consonants being pronounced as they would be in Standard Tibetan. In the following examples, the letters that are actually pronounced are presented in bold type.

Ex.:  lha-sa > Lhasa, sa-skyà-pa > Sakyapa, blo-bzang > Lobzang,

rnying-ma-pa > Nyingmapa, rdo-rje > Dorje, dge-lugs-pa > Gelugpa,
gzhis-ka-rtse > Zhikatse, mar-me > marme.
b) Special rules

1) The letters c and ch as used in the Wylie system are both marked as ch.

Ex.: bceu > chu, lce > che, rin-chen bzang-po > Rinchen Zangpo, nag-chu > Nagchu.

2) When the vowels a, o, u are followed by the consonants d, n, l, s they acquire an umlaut and become, respectively, ä, ö, ü.

al → äl, ol → öl, ul → ül.

ö corresponds to the sound ò in German Götter, or the eu in the French word feu.

ü corresponds to the sound ü in German Rücke, or the u of the French word rue.

ä corresponds to the sound ä in German Kaise, or the ai in French aime.

Ex.: thub-bstan > Thubtän, ‘jam-dpal-dbyangs > Jampâlyang, bka’-rgyud-pa > Kagyüpa,

srong-btsan sgam-po > Songtsän Gampo, bsod-nams > Sönam, bstan-'dzin > Tändzin,

mi-la-ras-pa > Milarâpa.

3) The suffixes g and b on the end of a word are devoiced and marked as k and p.

Ex.: dge-legs > Gelek, kha-btags > khatak, bka’-shag > kashak, thabs > thap.

4) When the simple consonants (that is, without affixes) ba and bo appear as the second syllable of a word, they are pronounced wa and wo.

Ex.: lha-sa-ba > Lhasawa, jo-bo > Jhowo, dpa’-bo > pawo.

5) The initial consonant clusters py, phy and by are pronounced respectively ch, ch and j.

Ex.: spyan-ras-gzig > Chânrázik, sbyin-bdag> Jindak

6) The initial consonant clusters kr, khr, gr, pr, phr, br, tr, thr, dr

kr, pr, tr are all pronounced as tr.

khr, phr, thr are all pronounced thr.

gr, br, dr are all pronounced dr.

Ex.: sgrol-ma > Drôlema, rten-'brel > tendrel, ‘bras-spungs > Drünpung, ‘phrin-las > thrinlä

7) When a voiced radical such as g, j, d, b or dz or a cluster such as gy and by appears with no prefix, it is voiceless and slightly aspirated, a feature that will be marked by the addition of an h: gh, jh, dh, bh, dzh, ghy, jh.
Ex.: bar-skor > Bharkor, ding-ri > Dhingri, jo-mo glang-ma > Jhomo Langma,
jo-khang > Jhokhang, don-grub > Dhöndrup, bag-gro > Bhagdro, byams-pa > jhampa,
byang-thang > Jhangthang, dra-ba > dhrawa.

8) The consonant clusters dbr, dby and db

dbr is pronounced r.
dby is pronounced y.
db is pronounced w.

Ex.: dbang > wang, dbral > ral, dbyar-kha > yarkha

   c) Exceptional pronunciations

   The prefixes ‘a and m and the superscript l produce a nasal n or m in certain words.
l and ‘ — > n or m.
m → m

Ex.: dga'-ldan > Gandên, dge-'dun > Gendûn, a-mdo > Amdo, rta-mgrin > Tamdrin.
rgyal-rtsé > Gyantse

   In a few cases the production of a nasalization by the letters ‘, l and m results in the
   disappearance of the preceding consonant.

Ex.: cha(b)-mdo > Chamdo, dpa(l)-ldan > Pândên, dpa(l)-'bar > Pämbar,
ri(g)-'dzin > Rindzin, skya(b)-'gro > kyamdro.

Finally, in certain words that contain an r affixed to a labial p, ph or b, the r disappears in
normal pronunciation.

Ex.: ‘bri-ru > Biru, sbra-nag-zhol > Banagzhöl
Prosody and Accentuation in Literary Tibetan

One of the difficulties with the reading of Literary Tibetan is the absence of separation between words. There is no rule that can predict whether a word has one, two or more syllables, but there are important conventions concerning the phrase and clause prosody. It should be emphasized that prosody and accentuation are extremely important for reading Literary Tibetan, whether verse or prose. Even from a grammatical point of view it is essential to make the right pauses and these follow some prosodic rules. If those rules are not applied, the text becomes incomprehensible for the hearer. The traditional Tibetan treatises of grammar and poetry do not provide these rules, probably because there were entirely different from those which applied to Sanskrit. However, when Tibetan scholars read a text, they naturally apply the prosodic and accentuation rules.

- The main rule is that grammatical particles should normally be read together with the preceding word. There should not be any pause between the word and the following particle, but a pause after the particle. When there is a succession of particles (two or more), they should normally be read without an intervening pause.

In most cases, grammatical particles are not stressed, but when there is a focus, a topicalization or for metric reasons, it is possible to stress the particle.

Here is the list of the main particles affected by the prosodic rule mentioned above:

- the case particles: བོད་ gi (or its variants), རུ་ du (or its variants), ད་ la (or its variants), གནས nas, ལུས las, རང dang, གི gi (or its variants)
- the quantifiers: རྡོ་ dag, ོི། tsho, ལུགས rnams, ངོ། to-cog (or its variants), རོ་ tsam, ཡོ། zhig
- the topicalizer དེ་ ni
- the statement particle མོ། tu (or its variants)

214. This is true for all types of Literary Tibetan: Classical or Modern, religious or lay.
• the alternative and question particle འམ་ 'am (or its variants)
• the adjunctive and adversative particle དང་ yak (or its variants)
• the nominalizers: བridged pa (or ba), བཞི། mkhan, ཁྱེན can, གྲོ་ ldan, ལྷོ་ rgyu, བརྟོན་ stangs, རིག་ tshul, ཐུ་ khul, དི་ mi, ་གཤེགས་ phro
• the connective particles: སྤྱོད་ ste, སྤྱོད་ zping (and their variants), ཏྱ། na, ཨ་ dus, མེ་ tshe

These particles generally occur at the end of a phrase or a clause, and are often followed by the clause ending punctuation mark shad. Some rare particles, such as the adjunctive particle དང་ yang, may occur at the beginning of a clause.

Ex.: བོད་ནི་ཤིག་པའི་ཐང་ལྟ་བཟང་ཐོས་པ་ཅིམ་དམེ

de yang bla ma de ’i zhal mjal gsung thos pa tsam mam

ཟླ་གྱུར་ ཊ་མོ་ ཌྷམ་ ཡོ་ ཡུ་ དམ་ འེ གཤེའི་ ང་ བཝ བཤ དུ་ མཤ ང་ ནས མཤ མཤ མཤ "Just meeting that lama or hearing his words, and even just hearing his name, can generate devotion to the extent that the hairs on one’s body stand on end."

• When the connective na particle conveys the meaning of a hypothesis “if”, it should be read with a rising intonation, but when it means “when”, as in the following example, it should read with a falling intonation:

རྒྱ་མཚོ་མཐོང་སྟེ། བ་ ཟ་ མིན་པའི་ཤིང་ བཟང་ བཟང་ རླུ་ དང་ བ་ བདེ་ ཡེ་ སྟོན་ ད་ དྱེ་ སྟོན་ ད་ དྱེ་ སྟོན་ ད་ དྱེ་ སྟོན་ ད་ དྱེ

rgya-tmtsho mthong+ ba+ na khor-ta’i sbar-ba brgyal+ nas mgo gas+ te shi skad

“It is said that, when it saw the ocean, the frog in the well fainted, its head burst and it died.”
The Main Symbols of Tibet

Tibetan culture is very rich in symbols. While these symbols usually have a deep meaning, they also have an aesthetic function. Most are related to the philosophic-religious tradition, but some are only found in popular culture. These symbols are to be seen in murals on monastery walls, on thangka (Tibetan icons), carpets, and, in a few cases, on the walls and doors of houses, on tents, clothing and jewelry. The following examples are among those which are most likely to be encountered, with a brief description of each.215

\[\text{ṭrāśi' tā' kyā}\]
(Skt.: aṣṭamaṅgala).

The Eight Auspicious Signs.

215. Although a number of these signs are originally derived from the Indian tradition, the interpretations offered here are primarily Tibetan. Symbols may often have more than one interpretation, even within Tibet. For more information see: Robert Beer, Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs (London: Serindia, 1999); Dagyab Rinpoché, Buddhist Symbols (Boston: Wisdom Publication, 1995); Eva Rudy Jansen, Le Livre du Bouddha, divinité et symboles rituels du bouddhisme (Diever, Holland: Éditions Binkey Kok, 1990).
The wheel

The wheel represents the teaching or the spread of the Dharma, or the pacification of living beings by the Dharma. The eight spokes represent the Noble Eightfold Path. More generally, the wheel stands for royal power.

The parasol

It reduces the pain resulting from the heat of negative emotions.

The victory banner

It stands for victory over demons and heretics, and represents the flag of perfect knowledge.

The patra

The patra symbolizes perfection, fullness and the glory of the five wisdoms. It is sometimes referred to as the “knot of eternity”, and is associated with the concept of tendrel (rten-'brel), meaning “inter-dependence”. This is one of the fundamental notions of Buddhism in general, insofar as all phenomena are regarded as being interdependent and linked to causes and conditions.

The clockwise-spiralling white conch

It announces in all directions the sweet sound of the Dharma and the glory of all the buddhas.
The vase

It contains the essence of knowledge and of pure merit, and represents the fulfilment of wishes.

The lotus

The lotus stands for the perfectly pure spirit of one who is born in samsara and yet remains detached and untainted by negative emotions and impurities.

The (two) golden fish

A sign of good fortune. According to some interpretations, the two fish symbolize the two sacred Indian rivers of the Ganges and the Yamuna.

The adamantine thunderbolt

This is the central symbol of Tantric Buddhism or Vajrayāna (rdo-rje theg-pa), from which the name of the latter is derived. The thunderbolt represents indestructible force and symbolizes the unchanging nature of ultimate Reality (the Void), the permanence of the Buddha-mind and the immutable truth of the Dharma. It also represents the masculine aspect of the path to enlightenment.
torče kyiṭrnam (Skt.: viṣṭvājaṃra)
The “double vajra” or “crossed vajra”
It symbolizes realization linked to the four types of worldly activity. The crossed vajra also represents the seal of the secret or of eternity.

thrjipu (Skt.: ghanta)
The ritual bell
The ritual bell or drilbu represents the wisdom of selflessness associated with the feminine principle, whereas the vajra stands for compassion, associated with the male principle.

nörpu mempar (Skt.: cintamani)
The blazing jewel or norbu membr
Also known as the wish-fulfilling gem.

kakyi:
The gakyl
This jewel represents the combination of happiness and joy.

nāmcu wāngtān
The ten letters of the Kālacakra mantra
Namchu wangdān is the symbol of the Kālacakra, the wheel of time, and represents the Kālacakra mantra comprising ten superimposed letters.
The swastika

This is the most important symbol of the Bön religion (the anticlockwise swastika), but the clockwise variant is also used in Buddhism to denote immutability. The sign sometimes appears on the Buddha’s footprints. According to Bön teachings, the origin of the yungtrung is not Sanskrit, and the symbol is therefore not assimilated to the Indian swastika.

The objects of the five senses

These are: the mirror, the lute, the conch filled with water, the fruit and the silk scarf. Each represents a sensual pleasure. They may be united in a single compilation, as here, or displayed separately.

The trident

This symbol is generally to be seen on monastery roofs and as an attribute of certain divinities. It represents the three jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha.

The khatamka

This trident or magic sceptre, usually adorned with a string of skulls, is the attribute of certain divinities. It destroys the three poisons: ignorance, hatred and lust, or else stands for the divinity’s consort.
Symbol of the dākini

The three angles of the two triangles represent respectively:
— non-adherence to subject and object, and ultimately emptiness;
— being concept-free and therefore unqualifiable;
— non-attachment to the five aggregates, and hence freedom from desires.

The crescent knife, an attribute of the dākini

This symbol represents wisdom, which cuts through the ego.

The stake of male wrathful divinities

Sometimes referred to as a dagger, it represents the destruction of all conceptualization and of the notion that phenomena have an intrinsic reality. During certain rituals this stake is thrust into an effigy representing demonic forces in order to subdue them.

Sun and moon

These are often displayed on doors of houses in nearly all Tibetan villages, as well as on flags. They represent abundance (associated with the stars) and happiness. The buddhas and gods are often seated on a solar and/or lunar disk, in which case the latter represent the union of wisdom, the female principle (the sun and the red color) and the means or compassion corresponding to the male principle (the moon and the white color).
The scorpion

The scorpion often figures on the walls of Tibetan village houses. It is believed to repel evil spirits and to eliminate obstacles.

The mirror

This is an important symbol, especially in the school of the Great Perfection (Dzogchen). Representing the mind in which all phenomena are reflected, the mirror is associated with wisdom.

The four brothers in harmony

The drawing portrays an elephant, a monkey, a rabbit and a bird. They signify friendship and cooperation, as well as a proper moral and virtuous attitude.

The mandala

This is a diagram consisting of concentric circles and squares, symbolising the cosmos (the external mandala) or the human body (the internal mandala). It may be represented in various different ways as a drawing, a thangka, a sculpture or as a composition of colored sand or rice.

The eight auspicious materials

The mirror, yoghurt, the durwa grass (Panicum dactylon), the wood apple (Aegle marmelos), the clockwise-spiralling conch, ghiwang pigment (bezoard), vermilion powder and grains of white mustard.
The seven symbols of royalty

The wheel (faith), the jewel (wisdom), the queen (moral conduct), the minister (concentration), the elephant (recognition), the sublime horse (diligence), the general (reflection and attention).

The wind-horse

This term variously denotes a kind of individual energy, a ritual, and also a prayer-flag associated with this ritual. On these flags of different colors, representing the five elements, are printed “wind-horses” and mantra that the wind carries with it in all directions. Lungta are generally found on mountain passes as well as on the roofs of houses and monasteries. In the centre of each flag is the “wind-horse”, carrying on its back the cintamani or “wish-fulfilling gem” (see above), while each of the four corners features one of four protective animals: འ杲 ཡི་ “tiger”, ་ཅ་ ཾི་ “dragon”, རས་ སྐྱོང་ “garuda (mythic eagle)” and རྩེ་ བོདེ་ “snow lion”. The “wind-horse” or lungta symbolizes good fortune. In Spoken Tibetan, “to have lungta” means “to be lucky”.
Glossary of Linguistic Terms

ablative:
The ablative case indicates spatial or temporal provenance. (see Lesson 9)

absolutive:
The unmarked case: It indicates the grammatical patient, that is, the participant that undergoes the action (in the case of transitive verbs) and the single participant (in the case of intransitive verbs). (see Lesson 4)

affective (verb):
With an affective verb, the subject is in the absolutive case (unmarked case) and the object is in the dative. (see Lesson 9)

agentive:
The agentive denotes the agent of an action (the ergative function) as well as the instrument, the cause of an action and manner in which it is produced (instrumental functions). The agentive may also be designated by the term “ergative-instrumental”. (see Lesson 8)

allocentric future:
The allocentric future implies that the speaker intends to perform the action on behalf of an interlocutor. It can be used only in the first person singular (and occasionally plural) with volitional verbs. (see Lesson 23)

anticipatory mood:
In the case of interrogative sentences that directly concern the person being addressed, the questioner must anticipate an answer containing an “I” or a “we” by making advance use of an egophoric auxiliary in the question itself. This “anticipatory mood” is a distinctive feature of Tibetan. It appears not only in Standard Tibetan but in all other Tibetan dialects too, though not in the classical literary language.

aorist (aspect):
The aorist is a perfective aspect of the verb that denotes that an action performed in the past has no bearing on the present. (see Lesson 10)

aspect:
Together with tense, verb aspect is an essential notion for understanding the system of verb “tenses” in the majority of the world’s languages. Verb aspect specifies whether an action is completed (perfective) or non-completed (imperfective) with respect to a given reference-point (past, present or future). In Tibetan, the present and the imperfective past are formally identical, whereas the perfective past (the aorist and the perfect) have a completely different form. (see Lesson 10)
assertive (mood):
The assertive mood corresponds to a historical or general truth, or a piece of information that the speaker regards as certain even if he or she may not have verified it directly. The mood is marked by appropriate verb auxiliaries. (see Lessons 5 and 10)

associative:
The associative case conveys the meaning of “with”, “against” or “from”, but it may also function as the conjunction “and”. (see Lesson 9)

causative/resultative verbs:
Causative and resultative verbs are phonetically closely-related pairs. Causative verbs emphasize the cause of a process and the role of the agent in performing an action. Resultative verbs stress the result obtained and the state of the patient or object. All causative verbs are transitive and volitional. Resultative verbs are generally non-volitional and intransitive. (see Lesson 35)

connective:
The connective is a grammatical morpheme that makes it possible to turn two basic sentences into one. It corresponds to both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions of traditional grammar.

directional (auxiliary):
Directional auxiliaries are used with verbs of movement to indicate whether an action is taking place towards or away from the speaker or the point of reference. (see Lesson 41)

egophoric (mood):
The egophoric mood translates a personal knowledge on the part of the speaker, or else an intention on his or her part that is often directly implied in the event that he or she is describing. Egophoric auxiliaries are therefore always associated with an “I” (whether explicit or implicit) in the statement, whatever the function of that “I” may be (subject, object, indirect object or complement). (see Lessons 3 and 10)

ergative:
The ergative and the instrumental cases together provide the two functions of the agentive case. The ergative denotes the agent of the action. In syntactic terms, it denotes the subject of most transitive verbs. (see Lesson 8)

ergative (verb):
With an ergative verb, the subject is in the ergative case and the object is in the absolutive. (see Lesson 8)

essential (stative verb):
Stative verbs or essential copulas denote an essential quality inherent in the person or the thing. The difference between essential and existential verbs is similar to that between the Spanish verbs ser and estar. (see Lesson 6)

evidential mood:
See mediatory mood

existential (stative verb):
Stative verbs or existential copulas express the existence of a phenomenon or a circumstantial characteristic that may often imply a value-judgment on the speaker’s part. (see Lesson 6)
**experiential** (auxiliary):
The use of this auxiliary signifies that the subject has experienced the action at least once in the past. (see Lesson 15)

**genitive:**
The genitive case denotes the noun complement (see Lesson 4).

**inferential** (mood):
The inferential mood implies that the speaker is basing what he or she is saying on an inference or a deduction drawn from the traces or results of a past action. The mood is expressed through the appropriate verb auxiliaries. (see Lesson 10)

**intentional** (auxiliary):
Intentional auxiliaries are compatible only with volitional verbs. They imply that the agent-speaker has voluntarily performed the action. (see Lessons 8 and 10)

**mediatory** (mood):
Mediatory moods are conveyed by auxiliary verbs (or copulas) and have the role of specifying the source of information that provides the authority for the speaker's statement. There are basically four moods: egophoric, testimonial, assertive and inferential. The information that all these moods convey is certain. (see Lessons 5 and 10)

**mnemonic** (auxiliary):
The use of this type of auxiliary implies that the speaker has only a vague memory of what he or she is saying. (see Lesson 33)

**nominalizer:**
Nominalizers are suffixes that make it possible to transform a verb or clause into a noun (or a noun phrase). Verbs that have been nominalized in this way operate as nouns or participles, depending on the context. (see Lesson 11)

**oblique:**
The oblique case indicates the goal (dative function), place or direction (locative function). Thus, the oblique may be referred to as the "dative-locative". (see Lesson 5)

**participant:**
A participant is a person or thing that is involved in a process to some degree. It is generally a noun, which is directly governed by the verb. Different verbs may have one, two or three participants. Thus the verb "to walk", for example, has just one participant (the one who is walking), the verb "to see" has two (the seer and the seen), and the verb "to give" has three (the giver, the thing given, and the recipient). The same verb may have a different number of participants according to its particular meaning in a given context.

**perfect** (aspect):
The perfect is a perfective aspect of verbs that specifies that the result of an action performed in the past is still present at the time of utterance. (see Lesson 10)

**possessive** (verb):
With a possessive verb (also called benefactive verb), the subject is in the dative case and the object is in the absolutive (see Lesson 9)
Postposition:
Postpositions are "prepositions" that go after the noun with which they are associated. They have the same function as prepositions (in, on, below, etc.) in European languages. (see Lesson 7)

Receptive (auxiliary):
The receptive egophoric auxiliary, which is used only in the past, implies that the subject-speaker of a sentence has undergone the action, has perceived it (involuntarily) or has been its goal. (see Lesson 10)

Resultative verb:
See causative verb

Secondary verb:
"Secondary" verbs are for the most part modal verbs that go between the main verb and the final auxiliary. (see Lesson 11)

Self-corrective (auxiliary):
"Self-corrective" auxiliaries imply that the speaker has just realized that he was mistaken or else that he has just discovered something. (see Lesson 33)

Situational grammar:
Tibetan is particularly sensitive to situation and environment, as well as the sources of information on which a speaker's assertions are based. When a statement cannot be immediately associated with a concrete situation of communication, Tibetans tend not to accept it or find it strange. One consequence of this attitude is a reluctance to present verbs in a series of conjugations. The existence of an anticipatory mood and evidential auxiliaries is a manifestation of this situational grammar. The specific function of auxiliaries in dreams or in reported speech also illustrates the importance of pragmatics in this language. (see Lessons 6 and 10)

Testimonial (mood):
The testimonial mood specifies that the speaker was himself witness to what he is stating. The testimony is usually visual, but may also be based on hearing or any of the other senses (touch, smell or taste). This mood is marked by appropriate verb auxiliaries. (see Lessons 5 and 10)

Topicalizer:
A topicalizer in Tibetan is a particle that makes it possible to emphasize or "topicalize" the group of words that precedes it. (see Lesson 25)

Valency (verb):
The verb valency corresponds to the number of participants (or valents) with which a verb is combined. There are basically monovalent (valency of 1), bivalent (valency of 2) and trivalent (valency of 3) verbs. (Tibetan does not have any verb with zero valency). Thus the verb "to walk" is monovalent (the one who is walking), the verb "to see" is bivalent (the seer and the seen), and the verb "to give" is trivalent (the giver, the thing given, and the recipient).

Verb types:
From a syntactic perspective, the Tibetan verbs may be divided into the following types: ergative verb, possessive verb (or benefactive verb) and affective verb, according to the various cases the verb governs. (see Lesson 9).
verbalizer:
Verbalizers are verbs that are either intrinsically meaningless or have a general meaning such as “to do” or “to send”. A great many verbs in Standard Spoken Tibetan consist of a noun followed by a verbalizer. Thus Tibetan doesn’t say “to study” but “to do study”. Similarly, for “work”, “telephone” and “photograph”, the literal translation of the Tibetan constructions would be “to do work”, “to send telephone” and “to make photograph”. (see Lesson 14)

volitional/non-volitional verb:
Tibetan verbs fall into two basic categories: volitional and non-volitional. The former relate to controllable actions, and are compatible with intentional (and any other) auxiliaries. The latter imply non-controllable processes that do not depend on the subject’s volition and cannot be combined with intentional auxiliaries or imperative markers. (see Lesson 8)
English-Tibetan Glossary

ཧིན་ཧིང་མིའི་ཆེན་མེད་སྨྲ་རི་
A
a short while ago
a, an
abandon, leave, to
able, to be
about, approximately
above all
abundant, copious
accent
accept, agree, to
accident
accountant, astrologer
accuse unjustly, to
accuse, to
act, deed
act, do, to
act, to (theatre)
actor
acupuncture
address
administration
advise, to
advise, to
aeroplane
affection (to show)
affectionate
Africa
after
age
agree, arrange, to
agreement, harmony
agriculture
Ah! I see!
aim, goal
air
airport
alcohol (distilled)
alive, living
all day

all three
all
alone
already
also
altar
altitude sickness
altitude
altogether
aluminum container
always
amazed, to be
amazing! (that’s)
ambassador
amber
Amdo
America, American
American
among
analyse, to
and
anger someone, to
anger
angry, to get
angry, to get
angry, to get

animal
annihilate, to
ant
antelope
apart from that
apple
apricot
April
Arabia, Arab
argali, wild sheep
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<thead>
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<th>Aristocrat, noble</th>
<th>bar, pub</th>
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<tr>
<td>Arithmetic, mathematics</td>
<td>barber, hairdresser</td>
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<td>Arm</td>
<td>barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>base, foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army camp</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Around, about</td>
<td>bathe, wash oneself, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive late, to</td>
<td>bathe, wash oneself, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive on time, to</td>
<td>bathroom, washroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive, reach, to</td>
<td>battery</td>
</tr>
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<td>Arrow</td>
<td>be about to, to</td>
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<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>be, to</td>
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<tr>
<td>Article</td>
<td>bean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>bear, black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask, to</td>
<td>bear, brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask, to</td>
<td>beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask, to</td>
<td>bearded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asleep, to fall</td>
<td>beat, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly hall</td>
<td>beautiful woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly</td>
<td>because, since</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home</td>
<td>because, since</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the home of, near</td>
<td>become, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attach, tie, to</td>
<td>bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>bedroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt (maternal)</td>
<td>bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt (paternal)</td>
<td>beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn, fall</td>
<td>before, in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B</strong></td>
<td>before, preceding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>beggar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backside, rump</td>
<td>begin (sth.), to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad, wicked</td>
<td>begin (sth.), to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bag</td>
<td>begin, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball</td>
<td>begin, to</td>
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<td>Balloon</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamboo</td>
<td>behind, rear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bandit</td>
<td>believe</td>
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<td>Bank</td>
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<td>English Word</td>
<td>Tibetan Word</td>
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<td>bellows</td>
<td>ངོ་ན་བ་</td>
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<td>ལེན་</td>
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<tr>
<td>belong, to</td>
<td>གཞན་པ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>རྣམ་པ་</td>
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<td>bharal, blue sheep</td>
<td>འབྲས་ཏུ་</td>
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<td>རྟ་རྗེད་</td>
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<td>བོད་</td>
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<td>བོད་ སྤྱིར།</td>
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<td>bicycle</td>
<td>ཤོག་ རྒྱས།</td>
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<td>big</td>
<td>ཤོག་</td>
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<td>binoculars</td>
<td>རྒྱས་དཀར།</td>
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<td>biography (of a saint)</td>
<td>རོག་གསུངས།</td>
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<td>bird</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>birthday</td>
<td>རོག་དང་།</td>
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<td>birthplace</td>
<td>རོག་དང་།</td>
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<td>bite, to</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blacksmith</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<tr>
<td>blanket, cover</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>blood pressure</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>blood</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blow, to</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue, green (grass)</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>boat</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>Bodhgaya</td>
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<td>bodhisattva</td>
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<td>body</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<tr>
<td>body-cutter</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>boil, to</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>boil, to (cause to)</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>Bön (religion)</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<tr>
<td>bon appetit!</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>Bönpo</td>
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<td>book (Western style)</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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<td>book, exercise</td>
<td>རོག་</td>
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Buddhism  
Buddhism, Mahayana  
Buddhism, Hinayana  
Buddhism, Vajrayana  
Buddhism, Burmese  
Burma, Myanmar  
burn, to  
burn, to (cause to)  
burn, to (cause to)  
bus, coach  
bus, to  
business, to do  
business, trade  
business, to do  
bus, to  
busy, occupied  
but  
butter  
butter lamp  
butterfly  
build (house) to  
buy, to  
buy, to  
calculate, to  
call someone, to  
call someone, to  
called, to be  
calm  
calm, to be  
camera  
capital city  
capital, investment  
capitalism  
car  
car  
care (medical)  
careful, to be  
carpenter  
carpet, floor rug  
carry, to  
carry, to  
carry, to  
cast, throw  
cat  
catch, hold, to  
cause  
cell (monastic)  
cemetery  
centre, middle  
century  
ceremony  
certain, some  
certainly  
certainly  
certainly, really, exactly  
chain (iron)  
chair  
chang, Tibetan beer  
change (money)  
change, alteration  
change, exchange, to  
change, to  
chapel, shrine  
character, temperament  
chase, pursue  
cheap, inexpensive  
cheat, deceive, to  
cheek  
cheers! bottoms up!  
cheese  
chemist's shop  
chemistry  
cheque  
chest  
chicken  
child  
chili  
China (P.R.C.)  
Chinese (spoken)
Chinese (written)
choose, to
chopstick
Christian
churn for tea
cigarette, tobacco
cinema
circuit
circuit, to make a
circumambulate, to
Civilization, culture
class, course
classroom
clean
clear
clear, bright
clear, to
clever, smart
climb, to
clock, watch
close (door), to
close (door), to
close (objects), to
cloth (cotton)
clothing
cloud
cloth
coffee
coincide, fall, to
cold
cold, flu
cold, to catch
cold, to catch
cold, to feel
collect, save, to
collect, to
college (of monastery)
colour

comb one's hair, to
come in!
come, to
come, to
commemorate, to
commemoration, memorial
common, ordinary
Communism
Communist Party
companion
compare, to
compassion
competition
complete, accomplish, to
complicated
computer
concerning
conditions
conflict
consciousness
consider: see think, to
construct (house, bridge...)
construct (road, object...)
construct, build, to
consult, to
continue, to
convenient, simple
converse, talk, to
converse, talk, to
converse, talk, to
cook
cook, to
copper
copy, to
coral
corpse, dead body
correct, to
cost, to
cotton cloth
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>དཀར།</td>
<td>Dalai Lama (title)</td>
<td>དཀར། ིེར་རི། རི་ཉི།</td>
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<tr>
<td>cough, to</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + ཕྲུ་</td>
<td>damage, loss</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<tr>
<td>count, calculate, to</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + ཕྲུ་</td>
<td>damp, wet</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<tr>
<td>count, to</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
<td>dance, to</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<td>country, valley</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
<td>danger</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<td>countryside, village</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
<td>dare, to</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<td>courage, bravery</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི།</td>
<td>Darjeeling</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི།</td>
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<td>court, courtlyaid</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
<td>date</td>
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<td>court, tribunal</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
<td>daughter, girl</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<td>cousin, brother</td>
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<td>cow</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>crag, cliff</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
<td>day before yesterday</td>
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<td>crane (bird)</td>
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<td>day, the following</td>
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<td>deaf</td>
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<td>debt</td>
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<td>decide, to</td>
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<td>crudeness, boorishness</td>
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<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<td>cry, weep, to</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>deep</td>
<td>སྷེ་ + རི་</td>
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<td>English Word</td>
<td>Tibetan Word</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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</table>
| destroy, waste    | དང་པོ ཕདབ་ གཞུང་ | H
| detailed, precise | དཔལ་ི་མ་ བཟོག་པ་  བཅོམ།   | L
| development, progress | བསྐྱེད་ རང་བཞི་  བཞིན་  | L
| Dhagpo             | དག་པོ། | H
| Dharamsala        | དྲ་ ར་མས་ལ།  | H
| Dharma             | དྲ་ ར་ བྱམས།  | H
| Dharma centre      | དྲ་ ར་ བྱམས་ བིང་།  | H
| dialect            | དབང་ རས།  | H
| diamond            | འབྲོང་། | H
| dictionary         | འབྲོང་། ཁྱིག་ཤིས།  | H
| die, to            | བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| difference         | རྡེ་ བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| different          | རྡེ་ བོད་  | H
| difficult          | རྡེ་ བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| diligent, earnest  | རྡེ་ བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| direction          | རྡེ་ བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| director, leader   | རྡེ་ བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| dirt               | བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| dirty              | བོད་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| disappear, to      | སྐྱེ་  ཞུས་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| disaster, obstacle | སྐྱེ་  ཞུས་ སྐྱེ།  | H
| disciple           | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| discipline, rules  | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| disorder, chaos    | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| distance           | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| distinguish, to    | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| district           | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| disturb, to        | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| divide, to         | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| do, act, to        | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| doctor, physician  | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| doctrine, vision   | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dog                | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| doll, puppet       | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| domain, property   | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| done, to have      | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| donkey, ass        | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| door               | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dot, intersyllabic | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dough of tsampa     | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| down, below        | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| down there          | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| down, to bring      | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| down, to go         | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| downwards           | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| Drapung (monastery) | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| drawing             | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dream               | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dream, to           | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dress, wear, to     | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| drink, to           | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| drive (a car), to   | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| driver, pilot       | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| drop (of liquid)    | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| drugstore           | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| drum                | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| drunk, to be        | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dry                 | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dumb, mute          | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| during, while       | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dust                | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| dwindle, to         | སྐྱེ་  སྐྱེ།  | H
| E                  | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
| each               | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
| each               | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
| ear                | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
| early              | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
| earring            | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
| earth, soil, land,  | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
| east               | སྐྱེ།  སྐྱེ།  | H
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<td>eat (flour), to</td>
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<td>emotion (negative)</td>
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<td>རྟོ་བོད་ལ།</td>
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<td>end of month</td>
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<tr>
<td>end, be ended, to</td>
<td>རྟོ་བོད་ལ།</td>
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<td>endure, get used to, to</td>
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<td>endure, support, to</td>
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<td>enough, to be</td>
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<td>era, time</td>
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<td>establish, fix, settle</td>
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<td>establish, set up, to</td>
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<td>et cetera</td>
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<td>evening, this</td>
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<td>ever, never</td>
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<td>exam, test (oral)</td>
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express, show, to
expression, appearance
exterior, outside
eye

F
face
factory
faithful (religion)
take, false
fall in love, to
fall, fall over, to
tall, to
fame, glory
family
family member
famous, well known
far, distant
farmer
farmer
farmer-nomad
fashion
fast, rapid
fat, stout
fat, stout
father
father (of someone else)
fault
fear
fear, be afraid, to
February
feel, to
feeling, sensation
female sex
festival, ceremony
fever
few days ago, a
few
field
fifteen
fifty
fight, quarrel, to
fight, quarrel, to
fight, to
figure, number
fill, be filled, to
film
find
fine (powder, etc.), detailed
fine! all right!
finger
fingernail
finish, to
fire
fire (to break out)
fire, shoot, to
fire, to light
fire, to set
first
fish
fish (dish)
fish, to
evive
flat
flee, run away
floor, storey
flour
flour of roasted barley
flower
flute
fly (insect)
fly, to
fold, to
follow, to
tood
food
food
food, to prepare
foodstuffs
foot, leg
football
forehead
foreigner
forest
forget, to
fork
fortress
forty
found (institution)
four
Four [Noble] Truths
fourteen
fox
foxfur hat
France
free
free, let loose, to
free, liberate, to
freedom, liberty
frequent
Friday
friend
friendly, compatible
frog
front of, in
fruit
fry, to
frying pan
full
fumigation, to perform
funds
funny
funny, amusing
funny, comical
furniture, item of

G
game, toy
Gandán (monastery)
garbage, rubbish
gasoline, petrol
gather, meet, to
gather, to
gazelle
Gelugpa (sect)
generally
generation
generator
gentle
geography
Germany
geshe
get rid of, to
gift
gift, to make a
gift, to make a
girlfriend
girlfriend, boyfriend
give, offer, to
glass (drinking)
glass (substance)
glasses, spectacles
glove
go back, return, to
go out, to
go out, to (of fire)
go, to
go, to
goat
god, divinity
goddess
gold
good, well
goodbye (to so. departing)
goodbye (to so. staying)
goods, items
gormo, currency unit
government
gown, chuba
grain, seed
granddaughter
grandfather, old man
grandmother, old lady
grandson
grasp, seize
grass
grassland
great temple of Lhasa
green (dark)
grey
groom, son-in-law
group
guardian of temple
guerrilla warfare, to wage
guest
gun

H
habit, custom
hail
hall, to
hair
hairdresser, barber
half
Han China
Han Chinese
hand
handsome
hang, to
happen, to
happiness
happy, content
happy, pleasant
hard, fierce
hard, solid
hare
harm
harm, to
harmonious, interesting
harvest festival
harvest
hat
have to, to
he
he, she
head
headmaster
heal, get better, to
health
healthy
heap, pile
hear, to
heart (anatomical)
heart (spiritual)
heart disease
heat
heat, to
heater
heavy
heel
height
helicopter
hello, best wishes
help
help, to
help, to
hepatitis
herd, flock, pack
herder, nomad, drogo
here
hesitate, doubt, to
hide (of yak); coracle
hide (oneself), to
hide, to
high
high school: see school
hill
hill, mountain
Himalaya
Hindi
Hindu
history
hit, hurt oneself, to
hold, to
holiday, vacation
hollow
homeland
honest
hope, to
horrible
horse
horse race
hospital
hot spring
hot
hotel
hour, watch, clock
house
household
how are you?
how are you?
how much? how many?
how?
humble
hundred million
hundred thousand
hundred
hungry, to be
hunt, to
hurry, to
hurt, to
hurt, to
hydroelectric plant
I
ice
idea
idea, thought
idiot
if, in the event that
ill, sick
ill, to be
illness, disease
illusion
image, reflection
imbecile: see idiot
imitate, to
immediately, at once
imperialism
important
impossible
impression, feeling
in
India
Indian
indicate, to: see show
industry
influence
injection, to administer
ink
innermost part
insect, bug
instant, moment
instrument (musical)
istitution: see tool
intellectual
intelligent
intelligent, clever
interest, preoccupation
interesting, nice (to hear)
interior, inside
international
interpreter
interpreter: see translator
invent: see create
invite, to
invite, to
iron
island
Italy

J
jacket, coat
January
Japan
jealous
jewel
Jhangthang
Jhokhang
joint, articulation
joke, to
joke, to; to have fun
journal, newspaper
journalist

joy
joyful
judge
juice, clear soup
July
jump, to
June
Jupiter

just to there

K
Kagyüpa (sect)
Kalimpong
karma
Kathmandu
Kazakh
keep, look after, to
kettle, teapot
key
Kham
khatak, silk scarf

kidney
kill, to
kilogramme
kilometer
kind, good-hearted
kind, sort
king
kiss, to
kitchen
kite
kite (bird)
knee
knife
knock
knot
know (someone), to

know, to
knowledge, quality
Kongpo

L
Ladakh
ladder
ladle
lake
lama, teacher, master
lamp
land, earth
Land of Snows, Tibet
landscape, countryside
language, speech, sound
last
last, to
late
late, to be
laugh, to
laugh, to make
laughing, to burst out
laundry, washing, to do
law, rule
lay down (someone), to
laziness
lazy
lead (metal)
lead, drive
lead, drive, to
leader, chief
leaf
learn, to
leave, abandon, to
leave, go out, to
leave, put, place, to
leave, to take
left
leg, foot
legal, judicial
Leh
lend, borrow, to
leopard
leprosy
lesson
let go, allow to go, to
let go, drop, to
letter, mail
level (water or fig.)
level, rank, order
Lhasa
Lhokha
library
lick, eat (yogurt), to
lie down, to
lie, falsehood
lie, to tell a
life
lifestyle
light (weight)
light
light, to
like
like, as
like, to
limb
line
line, lineage, tantra
line, queue
lineage of incarnations
lion
lip
liquid
list
listen, to
lit, to be; to burn
literature
little more, a
little, a
little, a; once
live, lead a life, to
live, sit, to
lively, agitated
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
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<td>liver</td>
<td>བཀྲིལ།</td>
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<td>living room, sitting room</td>
<td>སྦྲིལ་ཟོིང་ཟོིང།</td>
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<td>lodging, hospitality</td>
<td>ནང་ན།</td>
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<td>lodging, to find</td>
<td>བཀྲུལ་བ་ཞིབ། བཀྲུལ་གཏིང་།</td>
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<td>རོང་</td>
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<td>long (time)</td>
<td>རོང་(ཚིམ་)</td>
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<td>ིོ་ རྱིན་1 རྱིན་2 རྱིན་3</td>
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<td>lute, Tibetan</td>
<td>ལུཏེ, བོད་གི་ཏེ་</td>
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<td>བུམ་པུ་བིུ།</td>
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<td>ཚེ་ཐེ་</td>
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<td>mad, crazy, to be</td>
<td>རབ་ཐེ་</td>
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<td>Madam</td>
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<td>magazine, journal</td>
<td>རུལ་དྲང་ཐོས་</td>
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<td>རུལ་དྲང་བཞི།</td>
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<td>majority, most</td>
<td>རུལ་དྲང་ཞིབ།</td>
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<td>make up one's mind, to</td>
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<td>རུལ་དྲང་</td>
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<td>male</td>
<td>རུལ་དྲང་</td>
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<td>man, human, person</td>
<td>རུལ་དྲང་</td>
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<td>man, husband</td>
<td>རུལ་དྲང་</td>
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<td>manner, way</td>
<td>རུལ་དྲང་</td>
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<td>master, chief</td>
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<td>material, substance</td>
<td>བཀྲིལ་</td>
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<td>matter, it doesn't</td>
<td>བཀྲིལ་</td>
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<tr>
<td>matter, it doesn't</td>
<td>བཀྲིལ་</td>
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<td>mattress (square, flat)</td>
<td>བཀྲིལ་</td>
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<td>maximum, most</td>
<td>བཀྲིལ་</td>
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<td>May</td>
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<td>means, method</td>
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<td>Medicine Buddha</td>
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<td>medicine, medical science</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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<td>medicine, medication</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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<td>medium</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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<tr>
<td>meet, to</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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<td>meeting</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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<td>melody, tune</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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<td>member, representative</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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<tr>
<td>memory</td>
<td>ཟོ་མིན་ཤེས་</td>
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merchant, businessman
Mercury
merit
message, answer
meter
method, way
midday, noon
midnight
milk
million
mind, spirit
mineral
minimum, fewest
minister
minute
mirror
misfortune, unhappiness
mistaken, to be
mix, be mixed, to
mix, to
modern
molasses
momo, Tibetan ravioli
Mön (tribe)
monastery
monastic dance
Monday
Mongol
Mongolia
monk
monkey, ape
Mönlam, Great Prayer
month (international)
month (lunar)
month, beginning of
month
moon
moreover, furthermore
morning
morning, this
mosquito
mother
mother (of someone else)
motorcycle
mountain sickness
mountain, hill
mountain, sacred
mouse, rat
moustache
mouth
move house, to
move, to
moved, to be
movie
movie theater
moxibustion
mule
museum
mushroom
music
musician
musk deer
Muslim
mute, dumb
mutton

N
naga, serpent-spirit
naked, nude
name
narrow
national
nationality
native land
naturally
nature
near
near, by
near, close
necessity
need, to
needle
neighbour
neighbourhood, proximity
Nepal
Nepalese
nephew, grandson
nervous
net
never, not at all
New Year
new
news
next
next, following
Ngari
niece, granddaughter
night
nine
nineteen
ninety
noble
noise
nomad (male)
nomad, herder, drogpa
nomad-farmer
noodles, noodle soup
noon, midday
Norbu lingkha
north
northern
nose
not at all
not bad!
nothing
notice, to
November
novice monk
now
now, so then
nowadays
number
number (of people)
number one, champion
number
numerous
nun
nurse
Nyingmapa (sect)

O
obey, to
object, thing
obstacle, obstruction
obtain, acquire
occasion, opportunity
occupation
ocean
October
offer, give, to
offering
offering, item of
offerings, to make
office, bureau
official, civil servant
often
Oh no! What a shame!
oil, petrol, gasoline
old (object)
old, elderly
on foot
on the occasion
on, on top of
one
oneself
only, solely
open (door, to
open (objects, to
operative piece
operation, to undergo
opinion
opponent, adversary
opposite
or
orange
order, command, to
order, to
order, to
ordinary
order, command
organisation
origin
ornament, jewel
other
otherwise
otter
Ouch, that's cold!
Ouch, that's hot!
outside
oven (electric)
Ow! Ouch!
owner

P
packet, package
Padmasambhava
page
paint a thangka, to
paint, to
pair
Pakistan
c

palace
panda
pane of glass
pants, trousers
paper
paralysed, to be
parasol, umbrella
pardon, forgiveness
parent
park
part
particularly
party (political)
pass (mountain)
passport
past
pastry, fried
pasture, alpine meadow
patience
patient (to be)
paw
pay a salary, to
peace
peaceful, tranquil
peach
peacock
pear
Peking
pelt, leather coat
pen
people, populace, popular
pepper, capsicum
perfect
perfume
perhaps, maybe
period
permission, authority
permit, allow, to
permit, authorisation
permit, passport
Persia, Iran
person, human
person, people, man
petrol, gasoline
pharmacy
photo
photograph, to
physics
pica (tailess mouse-hare)
pick, gather, to
picnic, to
piece
pig
pile up, to
pilgrim
pilgrimage
pill
pillar
pillow
pine
pipe
place
place, leave, put, to
place, seat, habitation
plan, scheme
planet
plant
plant, insert, begin, to
plant, medicinal
plant, to
plastic (elastic)
plastic (hard)
plate
play ballgames, to
play dice, to
play, have fun, to
pleasant
please
please, like, to
pocket (of clothing)
pocket of chuba
poetry
point of view
police
politics
poor
population
pork
port, harbour
possible, to be
post office
post, pillar
postman
pot
Potala
potato
pound, 500 g
pour, put, to
power
power, might
practise, apply, to
practise, to
pray, to
pray, to
prayer flag
precious
Precious One (title)
precise
prefer, to
pregnant, to be
prepare, to
president
press, to
pretty, sweet, cute
prevent, prohibit, to
price
pride
pride, arrogance
priest, tantric
principal
printing press
prison
prisoner
private
problem
procession
produce, to
profit
progress, development
promise, acceptance
promise, to
proof
protest, to
proud, arrogant
prove, to
proverb
province
psychology
public
publicity
pull, draw, drag
pulse
punish, to
pure
purse
push, to
put out (a fire), to
put, place, leave, to

Q
quality, excellence
quantity, amount
question
queue, line

R
rabbit
race, human race, tribe
radiator
radio
radish
radish, pink sour
rain
rain, to
rainbow
raincoat
raise, incite, to
raisin
range of mountains
rank
rare
rat, mouse
read (aloud)

read, to
read, to
ready, to be
ready, to get, to make
real
reason, cause
receipt
receive, get, to
receive, lodge, to
recently
recently
reception, banquet, party
recognise, identify
red
reflect, think
reflection, image
refrigerator
refugee
refuse, to
regent
region
register, catalogue
regret, to feel
regular
relationship, connection
relaxed, calm
religion
remain, stay, to
remember, recall, to
remind someone, of sth., to
remove, take off, to
renovate, restore, to
rent (on house)
rent, to
repeat, say again, to
replace, to
reply, answer, to
represent, mean, to
reprimand, chide, to
republic
research
research, to do
resemble, to
reservoir
respect
respect, to
responsibility
rest
rest, to
restaurant
restore, renovate, to
result
return, give back, to
revenge, to take
Reverence, Your, Sir
revolt, rebel, to
revolution
rheumatism, arthritis
rice
rich
rickshaw
ride (horse, bike, etc.), to
right, correct
right, right-hand
Rinpoche, Precious One
rise, appear, to
river
road, way, route
roast, grill, to
robbed, to be
roof
room (in a house)
room, chamber
rosehip
rot, decay
rough, brutal
round
row
rug (for mattresses)
rug
run out, to; to finish
run, race, to
run, to
Russia, Russian
S
sacred
sad
sailor
Sakyapa (sect)
salary
salary, to pay
salt
salty
same way, in the
same
samsara, cycle
sanctuary, shrine, temple
sangha
satellite
satisfied
Saturday
Saturn
save life, to
say, to
say, to
scholar
school
school (primary)
school (secondary)
science
scientist
scorpion
sculptor
sea: see ocean
seal, sign
season
second (of a series)
second (time)
secret, hidden
secretary
security
see you later
see, to
self
selfishness
sell, to
send, to
sentence
separate (oneself), to
separate, to
September
Sera (monastery)
servant
set fire, to
seven
seventeen
seventy
several
sew, to
sew, to
shadow
shame
shape
share, to
sharp
shave, to
she
sheep
sheepskin
sheet, bedding
shell
shepherd
shine, to (of the sun)
shirt
shiver, tremble, to
shoe
shoot arrows, to
shop, store
shopping, to do
short (not tall)
short
shout
show, performance
show, to
sick, to feel
side, direction
side, slope
sign, indication
sign, mark
sign, to
signature
Sikkim
silent, stay to
silk vest
silver
similar
simple, convenient
since
sing (a lu), to
sing, to
sister (elder)
sister (younger)
sit down, please
sit, to
sit, to
situation, information
six
sixteen
sixty
skillful
skin, hide
skirt
sleep, lie down, to
sleep, to put to
sleeve
slide, slip
slim, thin
slingshot
slow
slowly, gently
small
smell
smile, to
smile, to
smoke
smoke, to
snake
snow
snow, to
so, and so
so, well
so? and then?
socialism
society
soft
soldier
solitary
some, several
someone
something
sometimes
son, boy
sort, kind
sound
soup with noodles
soup, based on chang
sour
south
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>south, southern</td>
<td>གུ་་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>saw</td>
<td>ག་ག་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spain, Spanish</td>
<td>རབ་ས་པ་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>speak, to</td>
<td>རབ་ག་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>special</td>
<td>རབ་ཝ་མ་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>speech, talk</td>
<td>ར་དོ་མ་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>spelling</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>spicy, hot</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>spider</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>spoiled, to be</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>sponsor, patron</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>spoon</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>sport</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>spouse, husband, wife</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>spread, be spread, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>spring</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>spy</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>square</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stadium</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>staff, stick</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stage a show, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stamp, postal</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>standard, level</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>star</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>State, country</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>steal, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>step, pace</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stew</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stick, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>still, further</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>sting, bite, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stomach</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stone, rock</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stop, be blocked, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>stop, block, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>storm</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>story, tale</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stove, hearth</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>straight, direct</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>strange, bizarre</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>strange, curious</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stream, brook</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>street, alley</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>strength</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stroke, caress, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>stroke, cerebral hemorrhage</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stroll, walk</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>strong</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>student, pupil</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>study, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>stupa</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>stupid, dumb</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>such, thus, like this</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>suddenly</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>suffering</td>
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<td>suffice, to</td>
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<td>suicide, to commit</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>suitcase</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>summarize, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>summer</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>summer camp</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>summit, peak</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>sun</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>Sunday</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>superb, magnificent</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>superior, preceding</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>support, base</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>sure</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>surface</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>surroundings</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<td>suspect, doubt, to</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suspicion, doubt</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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<tr>
<td>sutra</td>
<td>ར་ས་ོ་ོ་།</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
swallow, to
swear, vow, to
sweat
sweep, to
sweet
sweet, candy
swim, to
Switzerland, Swiss
symbol
system

T

table
tail
take away, to
take out, remove, to
take part, to
take, take away, to
take, to
tall
tantra
tantric priest
tape recorder
target
taste, savour
taste, to
taste, try
tax
taxi
tea
tea (plain)
tea (sweet milky)
tea (Tibetan)
teach, to
teacher
teacher, guide
teacher, master
team
teatop, kettle
tear, to
tease, joke, to
teashop, café
technology
telegram
telephone
telephone, to
telephone, to
telephone, to
television
temperature
temple, to visit a
ten
ten million
ten thousand
tend, treat, to
tense, tight
tent (cotton)
tent (yak hair)
tent, to pitch
tepid, warm
thank you
thank, to
that (one) over there
that
dtheatre (hall)
dtheatre, drama
dtheory
dthere is, there are, to have
dthere, around here,
thereabouts
dtherefore
dthermos, vacuum flask
dthese
dthese days
dthey
they
dthick
thick (cylindrical object)  
thief, robber  
Thimphu  
thin (cylindrical object)  
thin, fine (cloth),  
thin, slim  
thin, weak (liquids)  
thing, belongings  
think, reflect, to  
think, reflect, to  
think, to  
thirsty, to be  
thirteen  
thirty  
this  
those (over there)  
those two  
those  
thought, idea  
thousand  
thread  
threaten  
three days's time, in  
three  
threshold, hearth  
throat  
throne  
throw, to  
thumb  
thunder, to sound  
Thursday  
Tibet  
Tibetan  
Tibetan race  
Tibetan spoken language  
Tibetan written language  
ticket  
tidy up, to  
tie up, to  
tie, attach, to  
tiger  
time  
time (to), to be  
time, occasion  
time, this  
time, to have  
tired, to be  
tired, to be  
tired, worn out, to be  
tired, worn out, to be  
to, of, before (time)  
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university
united
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urgent
urinate
urine
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way, manner

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wealthy
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what, which
what?
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width, breadth
wild ass
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(rev. n.) Persia, Iran, Iranian

Dalai Lama (title)

(adj.) exact

telegram

(adj.) a little

tomato

(vol. v.) to fix, establish

(adj., adv.) certain, sure

(proverb)

(base, bottom)

(deep)

(mine (gold, etc.))

(to destroy, demolish, waste, scatter)

torma

(vol. v.) to destroy

(torma)

(vol. v.) to tie, attach

(vol. v.) to send

(vol. v.) to allow to go,

verbalizer

(vol. v.) to sow, plant

(horse)

(horse race)

(always)

(sign, mark)

(symbol)

(to represent, symbolise)

(heel)

(support, base)

(interdependence, ceremony)

(doctrine, theory)

(to try)

(to read)

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<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) honest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) hard, violent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(inv. v.) to remember, recall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(n.) memorial, souvenir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to commemorate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to remind so. of sth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(n.) memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(inv. v.) to recover one's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>senses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to remind someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) smell, odour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) propaganda, publicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) sixty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) washing, laundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to do laundry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(n.) dirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས། +།</td>
<td>(n.) Tibetan brown bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) mule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(pr. n.) Dharamsala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) rug, low seat, cushion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) seat; major monastic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to choose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) owner, lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) selfishness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) seventy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) safety, security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) well, fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to do archery,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>loose an arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adv.) yesterday evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) knot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(post.) in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) sutra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) tea churn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adj.) ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(vol. v.) to summarize, abridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(adv.) here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(inv. v.) to shake, tremble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(dem.) this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>near dem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(dem.) like this, such</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(dem.) these near dem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) assembly hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(in a monastery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྣོ་ཇེགས།</td>
<td>(n.) consciousness</td>
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(n.) pilgrimage
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(vol. v.) to press
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(n.) police
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(12.2)  
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(8.2)  
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(7.2)  
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(n.) Bhutan
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see
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(push)
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exercise
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bee
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pregnant woman
snake
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(accuse falsely)
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quantity
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see ཤྱུལ་བཟོ།
(inv. v.) to arrive, reach.......................... 13.2
(n.) classroom
(n.) school ..................................... 2.2
(n.) student, pupil ............................ 2.2
(n.) secondary school ............... 12.2
(n.) university ................................ 12.2
(n.) primary school .................... 12.2
(n.) instruction manual
(vol. v.) to study ......................... 10.2
(n.) pupil, disciple
(n.) lesson, course ......................... 1.2
(n.) education
(vol. v.) to educate
(adj.) secret, hidden ....................... 37.2
(n.) toilet .................................. 18.2
(n.) news
(n.) journalist .............................. 32.2
(n.) revolution
(vol. v.) to create, invent
(adj.) new .................................. 4.2
(vol. v.) to establish, found, build ........ 37.2
(adj.) clear .................................. 17.2
(vol. v.) to say, speak .................... 20.2
(adj.) three
(n.) all three .................................. 33.2
(n.) gold
(n.) alcohol offering ..................... 27.2
(n.) acupuncture .......................... 34.2
(n.) medicine ................................ 34.2
(adj.) alive
(inv. v.) to be hungry
(vol. v.) to make a gift ...................... 8.2
H (vol. v.) to prepare a meal 41.2
H (n.) meal .................................. 22.2
(vol. v.) to save, collect
(vol. v.) to kill
(vol. v.) to perform a ritual fumigation 25.2
(inv. v.) to think, consider .......... 14.2
H (n.) thought, idea ...................... 14.2
H (vol. v.) to think, ponder .......... 14.2
(n.) opinion
(pr. n.) Samyā ............................... 26.2
(n.) basketball ............................ 32.2
(n.) beetle .................................. 22.2
(adj.) lucky, fortunate
(n.) merit
(adj.) really good
(vol. v.) to grill ............................. 22.2
H (vol. v.) to mix
H (vol. v.) to make sth. stand up, raise, erect, incite,
provok ................................. 35.2
H (vol. v.) to teach, learn .............. 10.2
H (vol. v.) to advise
(inv. v.) to understand..... 28.2
(n.) aluminum, aluminum container ..... 17.2
(inv. v.) to be amazed ......... 37.2
(pr. n.) Kazakh
(n.) underpants, shorts
(n.) brutality, savagery
(adj.) brutal
(pr. n.) Himalaya ............ 13.2
(n.) Hindu ................ 26.2
(adj.) diligent, earnest
(pr. n.) France, French ...... 9.2
(n.) god, divinity ........... 27.2
(n.) temple, chapel, sanctuary .................. 12.2
(n.) thangka painter ............ 27.2
(n.) goddess ................ 27.2
(n.) Tibetan opera ........... 41.2
(n.) sculptor ................ 27.2
(n.) Buddhist Doctor of Divinity (highest rank) ....... 37.2
(pr. n.) Lhasa ................. 1.2
(vol. v.) ritual propitiation of local divinities (of mountains, rivers, etc.) ...... 40.2
(pr. n.) Mercury (planet) ......... 14.2
(adj.) especially, above all
(adj.) a little more ............. 15.2
(n.) wind ...................... 14.2
(inv. v.) to be windy
(n.) boot ...................... 23.2
(n.) south .................... 20.2
(pr. n.) Lhokha ................. 22.2
(n.) southern .................. 20.2
(adj.) relaxed ................ 18.2
(vol. v.) to calm down, relax
(n.) paternal uncle .......... 6.2
(pr. n.) Akhu Tönpe,
a folk-hero .................. 35.2
(n.) towel
(n.) elder sister, wife, madam .............. 6.2
(part.) Oh, it's cold! ........... 16.2
(n.) ear .......................... 16.2
(adj.) deaf
(pr. n.) Amdo ................. 22.2
(pr. n.) Amdowa
(co.) and so? so what?
(n.) paternal aunt .......... 6.2
(n.) nun ..................... 2.2
(n. pr.) Africa
(n.) nomad (male) ............ 29.2
(n.) pika (small rodent) ..... 17.2
(n.) mother .................. 4.2
(part.) good heavens! ....... 16.2
(pr. n.) America ............. 5.2
(pr. n.) American
(part.) Oh no! Dammit! ...... 16.2
(part.) Oh, it's hot! ........... 16.2
(n.) doll
(idiom.) really! well well!! .... 3.2
(n.) earring
(n.) maternal uncle .......... 6.2
(n.) moustache
(n.) alcohol ................. 21.2
(n.) Arab .................... 9.2
(part.) Oww! Ouch! .......... 16.2
(n.) high-quality khatak ....... 19.2
(n.) number, figure
(n.) mathematics, calculation
(n.) first-class ............... 32.2
(n.) pocket of a chuba ...... 30.2
(part.) echo question ......... 31.3
(pr. n.) Italy, Italian ......... 9.2
(n.) young monk ............. 24.2
(pr. n.) Russia, Russian ....... 9.2
(n.) doctor .................. 8.2
(part.) not bad! .............. 16.2
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