



## DERIVATION AND LOAN WORDS IN CLASSICAL AND MODERN TIBETAN LANGUAGE: AN OVERVIEW

Dr. Shedup Tenzin

Senior Assistant Professor, Department of Indo-Tibetan Studies, Bhasha-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, Birbhum, West Bengal

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### Abstract:

This paper attempts to focus on some of the few specimens of Tibetan syntax, the usage of vocabularies influenced by national and regional languages of India such as Hindi, Nepali and the certain words that have been originally derived from Sanskrit, Chinese, Mongolians and other foreign languages which were assimilated into the Tibetan language. Before going into the actual theme of the topic, the identification of linguistic classification and the geographical distribution of Tibetan language and its speakers are necessary.

### Linguistic Classification & Geographical Distribution:

From the syntactical point of view, Tibetan language is classified under the SOV (subject+object+verb) language. From the modern linguistic point of view, Tibetan language is classified under the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic group spoken and written in Tibet and throughout the Himalayan region namely Bhutan, Mustang in Nepal, Sikkim, Ladakh, Kargil, Lahaul & Spiti district, upper Kinnaur, Mon Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh (claim to be southern Tibet by PRC) and Tibetan Diaspora<sup>1</sup> in India, Nepal, Bhutan and elsewhere in the world. The tribes known as Sherpa (settled in India, Nepal and Bhutan), Walung<sup>2</sup>, Humlu<sup>3</sup>, Limi, Mukum, Nyeshang, Yolmo, Tamang<sup>4</sup> and Gurung<sup>5</sup> nationalities of Nepal also speaks the dialects fall under the category of Tibetan language.

Within the Tibetan culture, it is customary to speak colloquial language (*phal skad*) in day to day life conversation and the literary language (*yig skad*) or doctrinal language (*chos skad*) among the intellectuals in their academic pursuits. In Bhutan, they classified Tibetan literary language as *Chos skad* (doctrinal language). There are differences in the dialects used by these people. But written language serves as the *lingua franca* or the means of communication between them. This indicates the fact that the forms of writing and the orthography have not witnessed much change since from the time of its introduction. Therefore, those who acquired a good standard in Tibetan language can able to decipher and comprehend the ancient inscriptions on stone-pillars and rock edicts engraved during the 8<sup>th</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> century AD as well as Tun-huang manuscripts which is regarded as the oldest manuscript still available to us.

In Tibet itself there are hundreds of dialects which are broadly grouped into three major dialects of the three provinces of Tibet namely U-Tsang, Do-toe and Do-mey<sup>6</sup> as popular saying goes; *lung pa re re skad lugs re//* (every region has its own dialects).

Gedun Chopel says, "Conversely, today there are certain people who (lacks the aptitude of proficiency in Tibetan literary language) tend to compile the dictionary with entries from local vernacular of Central Tibet and Ladakh and so forth. If this sort of trend becomes popular, the common language of Tibet would disintegrate, owing to the diversity of the colloquial languages of each and every region of Tibet. Certainly there will come a day when respective regional dialects and the literary language would be limited to mutual communication. As a result of language disintegration, mental disposition and character and so forth (among the fellow people) would end up in diversity and would eventually lead to the cause of splitting the Tibetan nation and her ethnics. If this sort of new colloquial language becomes popular all over Tibet, then the entire ocean-like *Sutra* and *Tantra* literature written in doctrinal language (*chos skad*) gradually understood by none and certainly becomes the mere aggregation of volumes. So everyone must caution against this sort of unfavorable trend".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tibetan migrants who are living in India before 1959 and those who migrated after 1959 from Tibet. Regarding the Tibetan diasporas settled down before 1959 in India are known as *rgya gar khams pa* in Uttarkhand and Himachal Pradesh, and *bod pa rnying pa* or derogatively known as *rgya ma bod* in Darjeeling and Kalimpong.

<sup>2</sup> The Tibetan ethnic settled in Nepal. They speak the dialect that has got close affinity with Tsang dialect of Tibet.

<sup>3</sup> The tribe settled in Nepal adjacent to Purang near Mt. Kailash and speaks the dialect that is quite close to *stod pa skad* or the dialect that speaks in western part of Tibet.

<sup>4</sup> The proper Tibetan transliteration form of Tamang is *rta dmag* refers to Tibetan descendent known as the ancient cavalry class of the Yarlung dynasty, presently settled in India, Nepal & Bhutan. See *The White Annals* p.37

<sup>5</sup> The proper transliteration of Gurung is *sgo srung*, believed to be Tibetan descendent settled in India, Nepal & Bhutan. *sgo rung* literally means door keeper in Tibetan language.

<sup>6</sup> U-Tsang is demarcated within the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) by PRC in 1965 which excludes Do-toe and Do-mey province.

<sup>7</sup> Palbar, Horkhang Sonam et al., *dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsung rtsom*, bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Vol. III, 1994, p. 272

When two people from the two different provinces or regions of Tibet face problems in communicating, the written form or the literary Tibetan could serve as the means of communication among them. But the fact is that this could only be possible among the literate one. The similar situation could also occur among the different regions of Himalayan Bhoti speakers. But generally among them either Nepali or Hindi could serve as the means of communication.

Gedun Chopel says that the dialects of many sub-regions bordering India and Upper Ngari region (Western Tibet) has very close resemblance with Amdo dialect.<sup>8</sup> I personally came to learn that there is a case where Amdo people who could not follow the Dalai Lama's teaching in Lhasa dialect could be able to follow the teaching translated in Zongkha dialect of Bhutan. In the recent past, a growing number of Tibetan native linguists, scholars and social activists proposed the creation of "common spoken language" (*spyi skad*) which could be able to serve as the *lingua franca* among the varied Tibetan dialect speakers from the various provincial parts of Tibet. They opine that for the creation of "common spoken language" (*spyi skad*), the Lhasa dialect should be taken as the base due to the fact that Lhasa was the prominent centre of learning as well as the important political and major financial centre in ancient Tibet.

The erudite scholar Dungkar Rinpoche (1927-1997) suggested that by going through the following texts composed in local vernaculars will definitely enlighten us on the historical development of Tibetan language and literature.

- ✓ *be'u bum sngon po, dpe chos rin chen spungs pa* and its commentary composed in the dialect of 'Phan po by Kadampa master Geshe Potowa in the beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> century AD.
- ✓ Milarepa's biography composed in Ngari dialect by Tsangnyon Heruka Sangye Gyaltzan in the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century AD.
- ✓ *Go bde ba'i phal skad zab chos* and *zlos gar gyi bstan bcos* composed in Amdo dialect by Gunthang Tanpae Droenme in the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>9</sup>

Regarding the classification of Tibetan language grouped under the sub-category of Sino-Tibetan family, the native scholars strongly disagreed with this hypothetical conclusion and hence it is not well received by the Tibetan scholars at large. Unlike Chinese ideograph, the Tibetan alphabet is based on phonetic and took the model on one of the ancient Indian scripts prevalent during the Gupta dynasty. One must be categorical about the fact that Tibetan language though linguistically belongs to the Tibetan-Burman group, paleographically classified as the Kutila variety of Magadha alphabet of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>10</sup>

There are four major groups of people who are engaged in learning Tibetan language are as follows;

1) A group of people who use Tibetan language as their own mother tongue, 2) a group of people who use Tibetan language mainly in pursuit of Buddhism and its culture, 3) a group of intellectuals who study Tibetan language in pursuit of academic research, 4) a group of people who learn Tibetan language for official or security or business purpose.

The first group here refer to mainstream Tibetan (living in Tibet, India, Bhutan and Nepal and other parts of the world) and the people from various Himalayan regions namely Bhutanese (exclude *lhotshamkha* or Nepali language), people of Tibetan origin of Nepal, Ladakh, Lahual & Spiti, Kinnaur, Sikkim, Mon Tawang in India. This group also refers to Tibetan Muslims who are migrated from Kashmir and settled down in Lhasa since 17<sup>th</sup> century AD. They adopted Lhasa dialect as their mother tongue. This is the case of non-native Tibetan ethnic who speaks Tibetan as their mother tongue. Today there are handful of Tibetan Muslims living in India mainly in Kashmir, Darjeeling and Kalimpong. They speak in such a pure and melodious tune that laid the deep impression in the heart of the Tibetan people, thus the popular saying "*kha che'i kha la ma blta// lto la ltos//* (lit. *don't look at Muslim's mouth or speech rather you should look at their food*)<sup>11</sup> came into being. Balti minority of Tibetan origin centered around Skardu in Baltistan (POK) can also be grouped into this section of Tibetan language speaker.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, Vol. II, p. 79

<sup>9</sup> Thungkar Lobsang Trinley, *dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las kyi gsung rtsom phyogs bsrigs*, Beijing: krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1997, pp. 311-323

<sup>10</sup> Berthold Laufer, "Origin of Tibetan Writing", *JAOS*, USA: New Haven, Connecticut, Vol. 38, 1918, pp. 43 & ff.

<sup>11</sup> Implication of this proverb is that the Tibetan Muslim speaks such a pure Lhasa dialect that one may become spell bound if one stuck with listening to local Muslim resident of Lhasa. Rather it is suggested that it is wise to taste the Muslim cuisine which is very delicious.

<sup>12</sup> Siddharth Varadarajan reports in *Times News Network* on Thursday, March 28, 2002 that the Tibetan script is slowly making a comeback in this corner of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir — fighting not just the cursive dominance of Urdu but also the suspicions of mullahs and officials who feel both Islam and Pakistan might be undermined. The Baltistan region — centered around Skardu — is home to some 300,000 people whose mother tongue is Balti, a language of the Tibetan-Ladakhi family. "We are the only people in this region to have had our own script since the 6th century AD," says Syed Abbas Kazmi of the Baltistan Cultural Foundation (BCF), "but due to the "narrow-mindedness of the mullah class people were told to stop using Tibetan". The result is that over the years, the linguistic and literary development of Balti has suffered. "Persian alphabets were not suitable. Many Balti words could not be written and hence our language became like a stray animal, our prose and poetry withered," says Kazmi, a scholar who has written a monograph on the Balti version of the old Tibetan Epic of King Gesar. Together with the Aga Khan Cultural Services Pakistan and the London-based Tibet Foundation, Kazmi has been working since 1999 to reintroduce the Tibetan script. The BCF has published an elementary textbook and helps shops in Skardu put up signboards in Tibetan. These signs are the first thing an outsider notices when he comes in to town.

The second group refers to Mongolian, Kalmyks, Buryats who adopted Tibetan literary language chiefly in pursuit of religious and cultural studies since 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, and hence Tibetan language became the part and parcel of their culture. In Mongolia, the Tibetan language is considered the most sacred language and it is taught specifically for the pursuit of academic qualifications in diverse fields like Buddhist philosophy, Buddhist Logic, Tibetan Medical Science, Tibetan Astrology and other Tibetan literatures.

The third group refers to modern Tibetologists who are engaged in the task of translation, teaching and research on various fields of Tibetan Studies. In the last five decades, a great deal of Western scholars encountered with the native Tibetan and Himalayan Buddhist scholars which resulted in the Western scholarship about the Tibetan studies. The fourth group of people who learn Tibetan language for official, security or business purpose refers to defense personnel, traders and tour guide etc.

**The Derivation and Loan words in Tibetan language:**

The influences of culture, literature, language and ideology among the countries are the common phenomena in many parts of the world except the countries which are completely geographically, culturally, politically isolated from the rest of the world. Especially in the era of globalization, the influences of one or more languages into other languages in terms of vocabularies, syntax etc. has appeared to be quite common. Therefore, the practice of using loan words from the foreign language in one’s native language has become common practice in many countries.

The first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD marked the watershed in the history of Tibetan Buddhist culture, religion, language & literature. This epoch-making period witnessed the beginning of Indo-Tibetan cultural contact initiated by the King Songtsan Gampo (*srong btsan sgam po*). Under the royal patronage of King Songtsan Gampo, Thonmi Sambhota along with the team of Indian and Chinese scholars carried out the first ever translation project of Sanskrit–Tibetan Buddhist texts in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. In the history of Tibetan language and literature, 7<sup>th</sup> century AD is the period when Buddhist Sanskrit begins to influence into the Tibetan language & literature which last till the 17<sup>th</sup> century AD. In the following 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the project on updating, standardization of orthography, archaic terms and terminology was taken place which in the Tibetan history is popularly known as *bkas bcad gsum* (three royal decrees). Until the appearance of Sakya Pandita (1182-1251 AD), apart from few Chinese astrological and Ayurvedic works, the translation works were mainly focused on Buddhist philosophical (here refer to *nang don rig pa*) text rather than the secular literature. The era of Sakya Pandita may be regarded as the renaissance of Tibetan literature, because it was he who pioneered and introduced the other secular literatures into the Tibetan literary world in the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. With respect to the art of composition, he composed the text called “*mkhas pa la ‘jug pa’i sgo*” in which he presents the partial translation of *snyan ngag me long* (kāvyādarśa). Patronized by Drogon Chogyal Phagpa (1235-1280), Shongton Lotsawa Dorjay Gyaltan (1240-?) made his way to India to learn Sanskrit texts and after returning back to Sakya, he translated the complete chapters of *snyan ngag me long* in the great Sakya monastery (*sprul pa’i lha khang chen mo*). Hence, this period demarcates the second phase of Tibetan literature. In brief, the long process of Indo-Tibetan cultural relationship eventually led to the production of voluminous corpus of Indo-Tibetan literature which fills the entire shelves of the Tibetan Buddhist temples and the monastic libraries. Along with the translation work, Tibetan scholars themselves began to write the indigenous literature and philosophical commentaries since from the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Out of these voluminous works, a great deal of Sanskrit words merged with the Tibetan vocabularies and the large number of derivative and loan words entered into the Tibetan lexicography.

It is important to note here that during the process of translation, certain methodologies were proposed and undertaken; one among them was the methodology of “*rgya skad sor bzhas*” i.e. to leave the Sanskrit term as it is without translating them into Tibetan e.g. यज्ञा ष्युद्गया गृह्णुता उद्घाता योद्गया उद्घाता शिष्युदाया गौद्गया श्वसुद्गया श्वसुद्गी गृया गौवैग etc. It is suggested in the *Madhyāviyutpatti (bye brag rtogs byed ‘bring or sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa)*<sup>13</sup> that in order to avoid the confusion to the Tibetan reader (who are not familiar with the Indian tropical flowers and plants, place and animal’s name etc.) the name of the place (*yl*), animal (*ri dwags*), flower (*me tog*), plant tree (*rtsi shing*), precious stone (*rin po che*), fish (*nya*) etc. must precedes the noun e.g. ཡུལ་ལྟ་སྤུང་སྤུང་མི། རི་དྭགས་ལེ་ཧེ། རི་དྭགས་ཀླུ་ལྷ་ར། མེ་རྟོག་པལ། མེ་རྟོག་ལྷུན་ལ། ཤིང་རྩུ་ཤོ། ལྷ། ཤིང་ལུག་ཀ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷི་རྩེ་རྩི། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་པལ་རྩུ་ར། ཉེ་རི། respectively. Though the word ཡུལ་ རི་དྭགས། མེ་རྟོག་ ཤིང་ ཤིང་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ། ཉ། does not exist in Sanskrit, these are added by Tibetan Lotsawa to cut off doubt over the noun that is not familiar to Tibetan students.

More importantly, with the anticipation of wrong interpretation that leads to the malpractice of *Tantra*, many *mantras* were not translated literally into Tibetan rather they were transliterated in Tibetan script. These mantras are recites through the standard Tibetan transliteration form of Sanskrit. Keeping in view the accurate

<sup>13</sup> rTa rdo, *dkar chag ‘phang thang ma sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, p. 72, 2003

pronunciation of Sanskrit mantra, later Tibetan *Sanskritists* like Sakya Pandita, Narthang lotsava, etc. has composed the standard manual of proper Sanskrit pronunciation generally known as *sngags bklag thabs or klog thabs* in Tibetan.

There are many cases where we find corrupted form of transliteration that has the root of Sanskrit origin which is mistakenly identified as the Tibetan original term and used them in day to day life conversation.

e.g. ལུདྲིག་ འཇམ་ཟེ་ བ་དན། ཀའོ་ར། གེ་སར། ལུར་ལུམ། (ལུར་ལུམ།) གཟུར། ལུམ་ལུམ། གེ་བ། ཚ་ཚ། རི་དཔག་མི་རྒྱན་མེལ། སི་ཏི།

etc. are the corrupted transliteration form of Sanskrit origin ལུདྲི། (ལུདྲི།) ལུམ་ལུམ། བ་དུ་ག། ཀའོ་ར། གེ་སར།

ལུར་ལུམ། ཀའུ་ར། (ཀའུ་ར།) ལུམ་ལུམ། གེ་ལུ། ལུམ་ལུམ། རི་དཔག་མི་རྒྱན་མེལ། སི་ཏི། respectively. (See table no. 1)

Among the Tibetan intellectuals who lack the proper understanding of etymology of certain Sanskrit terms mistranslated or misinterpreted the meaning in their own way. This fact is evident from the works of Tibetan *Sanskritist* like Sakya Pandita.<sup>14</sup>

There are also cases where incorrect transliterations are found in the Tibetan classical texts which were intentionally done for the sake of proper Sanskrit pronunciation e.g. འགྲུ་ཏུ། འགང་ག། འཇམ་ལུ་རྒྱིང་། མོང་འགལ་བ།<sup>15</sup> འགཞི། འཇམ་ལུ། འགོ་ཏུ་ཏམ། བར་འགྲུ། འགན་འཇིང་། are used instead of proper transliteration system such as ལུ་ཏུ། ཀའུ། རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཏུ། མོ་ཏུ་ཡན། མོ་ཏུ། གཞི། རྒྱ་ལ། གོ་ཏམ། བུ་ཏུ། གཞིར། respectively. (See table no. 2)

The Sanskrit loan words in Tibetan language are not only concerned with philosophical terminology but name of the precious stones, person, place, plants, medicinal plants, animals etc. are also exist.

Since the beginning of Yarlung-Tang dynasty relationship, Chinese vocabularies gradually begin to enter into the Tibetan lexicography. There are a number of loan words of Chinese in Tibetan language that are related with kitchen or food stuffs, ornamental stones, political designation, medicine, astrology, fabrics etc. are as follows; གོ་གམ་མན། བཀའི་སྤིང་སང་། བོ་ཅོ། སུ་ཅོ། ལུ་ཅོ། ལུ་ཅོ། འཇམ་བན། ཏུ་གང་། ཅོང་། ཏུ་ཅོ། རང་ལུ། རི་མ་ཅོ། ཏང་མི། ཏང་ཡོན། རོང་ཡན། བད་ཚལ། སྤར་ལ། སྤིན་ཚལ། དབྱིན་གོ། མོག་ཚོ། ཅོང་། ཏུ་ཏུ། ཚོ་ཏོ། མོན་ཡན། ཡང་ཅོན། ཡང་ལ། ཡི་ཅོ། གཡང་ཀི། ལ་ལུག། ལུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ལང་། ཏུ་ཤིག། etc.

The loan words of Mongolian language possibly start employing in the Tibetan language during the Yuan dynasty when the Priest-Patron Relationship (*chos yon gyi 'brel ba*) was established. The loan words are generally concerned with the political designation, common articles, costumes etc. e.g. ལ་བ་ཏག་ས། ལུ་བྷི་ཚོལ་ལ། ལུ་ག། མེབ་ཅོ། རོ་སྤག། ཏུ་ལག། སེ་མོ་དོ། རོ་བྱུག་ལུ། ཞའ་ཅོར། ལུ་ལུ་སྤ། ཞི་མ་ཚི། ཞི་རྟི་ནི། etc.

Gedun Chopel maintained that the word དེབ་ཐེར is employed by Greek and Ta Zig (Tib. sTag gzic)<sup>16</sup> which later on employed in Mongolia. Subsequently, it was borrowed in Tibetan language and henceforth Tibetan chronology or historical text are called as དེབ་ཐེར such as, *deb ther dkar po*, *deb ther dmar po*, *deb ther ser po*, *deb ther sngon po* etc.<sup>17</sup> Gedun Chopel further says that, "there are great deals of Tibetan derivative words in Burmese language".<sup>18</sup>

During the last five decades, the modern Tibetan of the 20th century showing evidence of exposure to Hindi, Nepali, English and Chinese. Contemporary Tibetan language and literature appeared to be a new trend of linguistic aspects which has the aspects of Hindi and Nepali influences such as "nga bhi 'gro gi yin" and "nga pani 'gro gi yin" instead of saying "nga yang 'gro gi yin" where you can see the particle "bhi" of Hindi and "pani" of Nepali is applied and mixed within the Tibetan syntax instead of Tibetan particle "yang" meaning "also". Another instance of the influence of Hindi and Nepali in the Tibetan syntax is e.g. "dkar po khang pa", instead of proper Tibetan syntax "khang pa dkar po" meaning white house. According to Tibetan

<sup>14</sup> See Sakya Pandita *et al.*, *zlos gar dang mkhas 'jug*, dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gsung rab, Beijing: mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004, Vol. VI, pp. 149 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Tibetan text read as *mon gal* is in fact the misreading of *mod gal*. It is very common case that when the Tibetan letter 'da' is stacked, this often caused confuse with the letter 'nga' in the xylographs and printing.

<sup>16</sup> Refer to Persia; corrupted form of Tajik (Persia)

<sup>17</sup> See dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi gsung rtsom, bod ljongs bod yig dpe nying dpe skrun khang, Vol 1, 1994, p. 246

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 155

syntax, noun should be followed by an adjective. So here in this sentence “*khang pa*” refer to house and “*dkar po*” refers to white. There are other instances such as “*rgyags pa mi*” (meaning a fat person), “*Sonam rgan lags*” (meaning Sonam sir) instead of “*mi rgyags pa*” and “*rgan Sonam lags*” respectively. You can see in this sentence where the speaker changes the sequence of noun and adjective due to the influence of Hindi and Nepali.

In the last five decades, owing to the inter-regional marriage, mingling and interaction within the Tibetan Diasporas resulted in the natural formation of new kind of dialect which has influenced from both the parents and from the society. There are many cases where we can see English corrupted form employed in day to day life in Tibetan. For example, *mo-ta, ri-li, ri-li te-sing, gi-la-si, su-ta, bo-to-ra, bi-ding, ra-shing, kutu ma-ni*<sup>19</sup> which has their roots from English motor vehicle, railway, railway station, glass, sweater bottle, building, ration, good morning, respectively. (See table no. 3)

Following are the corrupted transliteration form of Sanskrit origin (Table 1)

མུ་ཏིག	མུ་ཏིག (མུ་ཏིག)
བམ་ཟེ།	བམ་ཟེ།
བ་དན།	བ་དན།
གཏོ་ར།	གཏོ་ར།
གེ་སར།	གེ་སར།
གུར་གུམ། (གུར་གུམ།)	གུར་གུམ།
ག་ལུར།	ག་ལུར། (ག་ལུར།)
གུ་གུལ།	གུ་གུལ།
གེ་བ།	གེ་བ།
ཚ་ཚ།	ཚ་ཚ།
མི་དྲགས་ཁྱི་རྩོན་ས་ལེ།	མི་དྲགས་ཁྱི་རྩོན་ས་ལེ།
མེ་རྩེ།	མེ་རྩེ།

Table 2

Phonetic	Transliteration
འགྲུ་ཟ།	འགྲུ་ཟ།
འགང་ག།	འགང་ག།
འཛམ་བུ།	འཛམ་བུ།
མོང་འགལ་བུ།	མོང་འགལ་བུ། མོང་འགལ་བུ།
འགཞི།	འགཞི།
འཛམ་ལ།	འཛམ་ལ།
འགོ་ཉུང་མ།	འགོ་ཉུང་མ།
པར་འགྲུ།	པར་འགྲུ།
འགན་འཛི་ར།	འགན་འཛི་ར།

Table 3

Corrupted English form used in modern Tibetan	Proper English equivalent
<i>mo-ta,</i>	motor vehicle
<i>ri-li</i>	railway

<sup>19</sup> This is the corrupted word of English good morning is misunderstood for hand shake. Elderly Tibetan people who are ignorant of English use the sentence *kutu ma-ni tang* as an equivalent of shake hand.

<i>ri-li te-sing</i>	railway station
<i>gi-la-si</i>	glass
<i>su-ta</i>	sweater
<i>bo-to-ra</i>	bottle
<i>bi-ding</i>	building
<i>ra-shing</i>	ration
<i>kutu ma-ni</i>	good morning

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