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Review of *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*

By James A. Matisoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.*

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Proposing many new cognate sets and building on many decades of his own previous research, Matisoff (2003) represents a major contribution to Tibeto-Burman linguistics. Unfortunately, Matisoff's use of Tibetan is marred by errors of fact and analysis, which together undermine confidence in his reconstructions.

Key words: Tibeto-Burman, Old Tibetan, reconstruction

1. Preliminary remarks

Matisoff's study represents a milestone in Tibeto-Burman historical linguistics. The organizing principle of the work is the reconstructed Tibeto-Burman syllable. For each position in the syllable—initials, medials, rhymes, finals—Matisoff presents the reconstructed inventory, with some evidence from daughter languages, and frequently discusses in detail the respective syllable position in one or more languages. Hundreds of etymologies and sound laws are proposed in the course of the work. A study treating so many and so varied languages presents a formidable object for review. Systematic evaluation of the sound laws and etymologies proposed would require an undertaking of a scope rivaling Matisoff's own work, and will doubtless be the task of ensuing decades for various researchers. My own expertise lies exclusively in Tibetan, and consequently this review is limited to that domain. In keeping with the importance of this work for future studies of Tibeto-Burman historical linguistics, and the importance of the Tibetan language in the reconstruction of Tibeto-Burman, I attempt to be thoroughgoing in pointing out potentially contentious claims.

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* This review makes use of the Wylie transcription system with the exception that ར་ is transliterated as *v* rather than as an apostrophe. Citations from Matisoff (2003) follow his transliteration scheme, and as in the original are in bold type. I would like to thank Guillaume Jacques and Randy J. LaPolla for their helpful advice on a draft of this review.

2. Sesqui-syllables

On several occasions Matisoff seeks to analyze Old Tibetan initial clusters as sesqui-syllables (97, 102, 151, 154). The fullest statement of this idea appears on page 97:

> We cannot be sure from the W[ritten]T[ibetan] orthography how the Tibetan combinations of prefixes and initials were pronounced in ancient times; but judging by their excellent state of preservation in W[ritten]T[ibetan], we may surmise that they were pronounced with a following unstressed schwa-type vowel, which served to protect them from too close contact with the root-initial. (97)

First a terminological objection must be raised: in mainstream linguistics 'initial' refers to the first (not the second or third) consonant in a word or syllable, and 'prefix' is used to describe a morpheme attached to the beginning of a word. The initial of a consonant cluster ought not be dubbed a 'prefix' until it has been shown to have a morphological function.

Regarding the pronunciation of Tibetan in ancient times, Matisoff gives the pronunciation of *sbrul* 'snake' as [səbrul] as an example of his supposition. In Balti[1] this word is pronounced [ʁbul] or [ɾbul] (Sprigg 1968:365, 2002:58).[2] Sprigg argues that the rhoticization of the initial has led to the loss of the medial *r*. In Japhug rGyalrong, the Tibetan loanword *sbrul-lo* 'snake year' is pronounced as [zbri lu] (Jacques 2004:106). Such attested pronunciations suggest an Old Tibetan pronunciation *[zbrul], which reflects perfectly the Tibetan spelling *sbrul*.[3] There is no evidence internal to Tibetan for supporting the analysis of Old Tibetan cluster initials as sesqui-syllabic known to this reviewer.

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[1] Matisoff occasionally treats Balti and Ladakhi as if they were not direct descendants of Old Tibetan, but rather closely related languages (e.g. 323 note a). This view, although rather widespread, is untenable. Ladakh and Baltistan were inhabited by Dardic speakers before the rise of the Tibetan Empire, and Petech (1977:5-13) argues the Tibetanization of the region began only after 900.

[2] In Sprigg (1968:365) this word is mistakenly labeled as Golok dialect. In his later dictionary Sprigg's entry reads "gbul (vul. rbul) s serpent, snake [T. sbul] (U. 317)" (2002:58); the IPA version I have provided based upon his introduction. The IPA transcriptions given by Sprigg (1968:365) are [ʁbul] and [rbul].

[3] The interpretation of <s> as [z] may seem to conflict with the voicing implied by the use of the character <s>, rather than <z>. However, voicing is not a phonemic contrast in the *sngon-vjug* position. The voicing of an initial Tibetan cluster is indicated by the *ming-gzhi* and the entire cluster agrees in voicing (cf. Sprigg 1974:261).

3. Morphology

On occasion, Matisoff sees a morphological significance to syllable initials or finals where the morphological role posited is not demonstrated sufficiently by the examples he cites. For instance, Matisoff suggests that the initial *s-* is an inchoative prefix in the verbs *smin-pa* 'ripen', *sngo-ba* 'become green', *sbo-ba* 'become swollen', and *sbrid-pa* 'become numb, torpid' (101). This claim is not sufficiently demonstrated by these examples. The adjectives *smin-pa* 'ripe, mature' and *sngo-po* 'blue' maintain this initial and cannot be analyzed as inchoative. The verb *sbo-ba* 'swell' must be linked with *vbo*, *phos*, *dbo*, *phos* 'pour' and *vbo*, *bo* 'overflow', which however do not make the inchoative meaning of *s-* any clearer.

According to Matisoff, the most obvious example of "the opposition between inner-directed or stative verbs on the one hand, signaled by the nasal prefix ***m-**, and transitive or outer-directed or causative verbs on the other, marked by the sibilant prefix ***s-**" (89, cf. also 117), is the Tibetan example *mnam* 'to have a smell, be odorous' (v.i.) and *snam* 'sniff something' (v.t.). Matisoff does not define the categories these morphemes are meant to indicate. The traditional definition of 'transitive' makes reference to the term 'accusative'; hence, it is unclear to this reviewer what the term 'transitive' means when applied to Tibetan, an ergative language (cf. Hill 2004:85). Less traditional terms such as 'inner-directed' are even more in need of careful definition. Whatever this example may exemplify, many counterexamples exist. The English translation of Tibetan verbs beginning with *m-* are transitive as often as intransitive. Snellgrove draws attention to such transitive examples as *mthong* 'see', *mchod* 'honor', *mdzad* 'do' (1954:199). One could add other examples: *mkhyud* 'conceal', *mkhyen* 'know', *mgar* 'smith, forge', *mthud* 'join, connect', *mthol* 'confess'. If *m-* has any morphological function in such examples it remains obscure.

In the same paragraph Matisoff writes: "Often, however, the only traces left by the proto-prefix are oppositions in the manner of the initial consonants in verb-pairs" (89). Tibetan is a language with clear use of prefixes, and voicing opposition in the verbal system. Therefore voicing opposition cannot simply be credited to the loss of prefixes where it is found. If this is not what Matisoff intends to claim his position deserves further elaboration.

Matisoff adds his voice to those who see a transitivizing suffix *-d* at play in Tibetan verbal morphology (457-458). Berthold Laufer appears to be the first to propose a *-d* suffix causative. He writes "we observe that there is an affix *-d* forming transitive verbs from intransitive or nominal roots" (1915:62). Róna-Tas (1985:178) reiterates this suggestion. Beyer (1992:113, 176) affirms the causative function of *-d* and serves as the immediate source of Matisoff's examples. When restricting the examples to the present

stem, as Matisoff does, the evidence for a transitivizing *-d* suffix is compelling; when entire verb paradigms are compared, it becomes less so.

The examples Matisoff gives are: *vdzu* 'enter,' *vdzud* 'insert'; *vgye* 'be divided', *vgyed* 'divide'; *vbye* 'be seperated', *vbyed* 'open something', *skye* 'be born', *skyed* 'produce'; *rgyu* 'move', *rgyud* 'transmit'; *nu* 'suck', *nud* 'suckle' (458). Beyer includes an additional *vgag* 'is hindered', *vgegs* 'hinders'; *vgas* 'is cleft', *vges* 'cleaves': *vchas* 'is split', *vches* 'splits'; *vbab* 'descends', *vbebs* 'lowers'.

Here are the full paradigms of the examples of this transitivizing *-d* suffix given by Beyer and Matisoff, in alphabetical order.[4]

skye, *skyes*, *skye*, — 'be born'
skyed, *bskyed*, *bskyed*, *skyed* 'beget, produce'

vgag, *vgags*, *vgag*, — 'be hindered'
vgog (vgegs), *bkag*, *dgag*, *khog* 'hinder'

vgas, *gas*, *vgas*, — 'be cleft'
vgas (vges), *bkas*, *dgas*, *khos* 'cleave'

vgye(s), *gyes*, *vgye*, — 'be dispersed'
vgyed, *bkyes*, *dgye*, *khyes* 'disperse'

rgyu, *rgyu*, *rgyu*, — 'go'
rgyud, *brgyud*, *brgyud*, — 'transmit'

vbab, *babs*, *vbab*, — 'descend'
vbebs, *phab*, *dbab*, *phob* 'lower'

vbye, *bye*, *vbye*, — 'open' (intr.)
vbyed, *phye(d/s)*, *dbye*, *phye(d/s)* 'open' (tr.)

vdzu, -, -, — 'enter'
vdzud, *btsud*, *gzud*, *tshud* 'insert'

The forms *vgegs*, and *vges* are not known to the indigenous lexicographical tradition. Neither is the verb *vdzu* 'enter' for which Jäschke's source is the problematic Schroeter

[4] Dictionaries invariably disagree about the stem forms of Tibetan verbs, these paradigms are my responsibility after consulting nine sources.

(1826).[5] I am unable to confirm the existence of the verbs *vchas* 'is split', *vches* 'splits' cited by Beyer (1992:176). Matisoff's example *nu* 'suck', *nud* 'suckle' (458) is an error. In fact the two relevant verbs are *nu(d)*, *nus*, *nu*, — 'suckle (intr.)', *snun*, *bsnund*, *bsnun*, *snund* 'suckle (tr.)', which shows no transitive *-d* suffix. In the remaining examples other contrasting elements of the paradigm may be equally credited with the difference in meaning. In three examples there is voicing alternation in the past stem: *gyes* 'be dispersed,' *bkyes* 'disperse'; *babs* 'descend,' *phab* 'lower'; *bye* 'open (intr.)', *phye(d/s)* 'open (tr.).' The final two cases (*skye*, *skyed* and *rgyu*, *rgyud*) are the only instances where the *-d* suffix remains throughout the paradigm. In these examples the presence or absence of *b-* in the past and future stems also serves to differentiate the meanings of these verbs.

A few examples mentioned in previous literature have been overlooked by Matisoff. Following the proposal of Coblin (1976:52-53) that an ablaut *e* or *i* in the present stem is due to a former *-d* suffix, Róna-Tas gives these two examples, where differences of voicing and prefix use also occur.

gas, *gas*, *gas*, — 'be split'
vges, *bkas*, *dgas*, *khos* 'split' (Róna-Tas 1985:178)

vbyung, *byung*, *vbyung*, — 'come out'
vbyin, *phyung*, *dbyung*, *phyung* 'cause to come forth.' (Róna-Tas 1985:178)

Two additional examples include an *s-* prefix in the member showing the supposed *-d* suffix.

vdu, *vdus*, *vdu*, *vdus* 'assemble (intr.)'
sdud, *bsdus*, *bsdu*, *sdus* 'assemble, gather (tr.)' (Laufer 1915:62)

na, *na*, *na*, — 'be ill'
snad, *bsnad*, *bsnad*, *snod* 'harm, hurt'

Finally, an example that shows a suppletive paradigm and differing uses of prefixes:

vgro, *phyin / song*, *vgro*, *song* 'go'
vgrod, *bgrod*, *bgrod*, *bgrod* 'walk, travel'

[5] In fact this work was compiled by F. Francesco Orazio della Penna (1680-1745) as a Tibetan-Italian glossary. Schroeter, who had no knowledge of Tibetan, had the Italian portion translated into English and saw the work through publication (cf. Simon 1964).

The evidence for a transitivizing suffix *-d* is unconvincing. The suffix *-d* is only retained in the entire paradigm in three examples (*skyed*, *snad*, *vgrod*), and even in these examples other features also distinguish the paradigms of the paired verbs.

4. Etymology

One may occasionally find reason to disagree with Matisoff concerning a few specifc proposed etymologies. The Tibetan word *khol-po* 'servant' is as convincingly connected to Old Turkic *qul* 'id.' as to Written Burmese *khywan* and Lahu *cè* (261). Matisoff reconstructs Written Tibetan *thor-bu* 'fragment' to a Tibeto-Burman root **twar* 'single, one, whole, only' (262). This word is perhaps better analyzed as a noun derived from the verb *vthor* 'scatter, strew'. Matisoff cites a word *khri* 'chair' (189) and reconstructs it to a root meaning 'foot'. The word *khri* does not mean 'chair' but rather 'throne'. In its oldest attestation it is a royal title. More evidence is needed to make such a semantic shift plausible. Matisoff derives the *-ning* of Tibetan *na-ning* 'last year' from Tibeto-Burman **s-niŋ* 'year' (283). However, since the Tibetan word *na* alone means 'year of life', it seems more likely that *-ning* should mean 'last, previous'. Schiefner, noting the parallel form *na-rnying* 'last year', proposes to relate this *-ning* to *rnying* 'old' (1852:371). This *-ning* is perhaps to be connected to the *-ning* of *da-ning* 'these days', and *ma-ning* 'hermaphrodite'. The word *pad-ma* 'leech' (332) is not a genuine Tibetan word. Bielmeier suggests that "In *srin-bu pad-ma* 'leech,' quoted by Benedict (1972:24) *srin-bu* is the usual word for 'worm' and *pad-ma* 'lotus' the attribute" (Bielmeier 1988: 16 n.1). The alternate form *pad-pa* 'leech' perhaps complicates Bielmeier's explanation. Whether or not these words originate from Sanskrit, the unaspirated voiceless initial is indication enough that they are loanwords into Tibetan.

5. Over-reliance on Jäschke (1881) and Beyer (1992)

Taken as a whole, Matisoff's treatment of Tibetan material suffers from an over-reliance on Jäschke's (1881) dictionary, and Beyer's (1992) grammar. Because this criticism could be made of many contributions to Tibeto-Burman linguistics, the limits of these two works deserves some stress.

As a work of careful lexicography Jäschke's dictionary was unrivaled among Tibetan dictionaries until publication began recently on *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* (Franke 2005-). However, Jäschke's work includes words from all periods of Tibetan literature and all dialects available to him. In particular, it generously covers spoken forms of West Tibet, and makes no use of Old Tibetan. For historical

linguistics Old Tibetan is more appropriate than Written Tibetan, not only because it is older, but because Written Tibetan is a cover term for the written language over a millennium of use anywhere in the Tibetan cultural region, often including spellings of no historical value.

A variety of lexicographical resources are now available for Old Tibetan; these include two glossaries of the Imperial inscriptions (Richardson 1985, Li & Coblin 1987), a complete index to the Shangshu paraphrase (Coblin 1991), a dictionary of Old Tibetan (Ngag dbang tshul khrims 1997), and several complete indices to collections of Old Tibetan texts (Choix III, Choix IV, Takeuchi 1995, 1997-1998).

Beyer's grammar is insufficient in various respects: it should be avoided. Since this work was positively reviewed when published (Behr 1994, Davidson 1996, Eimer 1993, LaPolla 1994, Miller 1994), this dissenting evaluation is in need of some justification.

Beyer cites neither his predecessors nor his textual examples. Without a mastery of the secondary literature one is simply invited to trust his analysis, which is frequently erroneous. Consider Beyer's explanation of the semantics of the Tibetan verb stems. He explains: "the future expresses an event specified as anticipated but not as yet completed, [...] and the imperative expresses an event specified as expected to be completed" (1992: 261). This description is based entirely on morphology (suffix *-s* showing completion with past and imperative stems) and the distribution of negation (*ma* showing anticipation with future and imperative stems). Aside from the fact that without recourse to textual examples the occurrence of morphemes across a paradigm is insufficient to explain the meaning of the members of such a paradigm, the distribution underlying Beyer's analysis is simply false. The imperative stem is not negated in Written Tibetan, and instead the present is negated with *ma* to form prohibitions.[6]

If we consider a point even Miller, generally Beyer's most negative reviewer, singles out for praise, it too is seen to be wanting. Miller writes: "A long section on the socio-linguistic parameters of the personal pronouns (pp.208ff) is replete with new data, brilliantly set forth" (1994:67). Beyer summarizes his analysis of the personal pronouns with the following chart (1992:208).

[6] For a survey of this misconception and its corrections see Zeisler (2004:344-346). Snellgrove (1954:199) can be added to her list of authors who have correctly explained prohibitions. Here is an example of a prohibition formed with the present stem preceded by *ma* from my own reading: "*pha ma gnyis na re | « nged gnyis rgas pas ma shi bar du rgya gar du ma vgro ! » zer* [My two parents said, "Because we are getting old, do not go to India until we have died!]" (Nam mkhav bsam grub rgyal mtshan 1996:5).

Person	Unmarked	Honorific	Elegant
1	*nga*	*nged*	*bdag*
2	*khyod*	*khyed*	*nyid*
3	*kho*	*khong*	-

In fact, *nga* and *khyod* are singular whereas *nged* and *khyed* are plural. Beyer has simply noticed the *pluralis majestatis*. Here are three examples from the *Mi la ras pa rnam thar* (1490) of Gtsang smyon he ru ka rus pavi rgyan can (1452-1507), the same text which Beyer pulls his examples from, showing that the plural use of *khyed* is more basic than the honorific. In the first example, Bla ma Khu lung pa Yon tan rgya mtsho greets Mi la, still a child, and the son of Bla ma Gnyag g.yung ston khro rgyal on their arrival: ***khyed*** *gnyis la mthuvi gdams ngag cis kyang ster ba yin pas* 'I will give to you two whatever curse instructions [I have]' (de Jong 1959:41 line 16-17). In the second example, Bla ma Gnyag g.yung ston khro rgyal congratulates Mi la and his lion-strong friend on their success: *bla mavi zhal nas « **khyed** gnyis la khar rje* [sic *kha rje*] *chen po rang cig byung ang » gsung* 'The lama said: "Congratulations to you both"' (de Jong 1959:49 line 20-22). Both Lamas typically address Mi la with *khyod*. In the third example Mi la's friend, while pretending to be Mi la, taunts and threatens a group of villagers. It would be most peculiar to threaten someone using an honorific: ***khyed*** *tsho sgugs shig sgugs shig* 'You guys wait, just wait!' (de Jong 1959:49 line 9).

I must admit ignorance as to what Beyer means by 'elegant' as opposed to 'honorific'. The word *bdag* 'I, me' is used to show the low status of the speaker with respect to the listener; Mi la uses *bdag* consistently to refer to himself when addressing lamas. Beyer makes no mention of the inclusive plural first person pronoun *rang-re*, nor of other under-researched pronouns such as *vo-skol*, or *vu-cag*. Miller's praise for Beyer's data and analysis are unwarranted. Tibeto-Burmanists are commended to the use of any of the several more reliable Tibetan grammars, including Inaba (1954), Hahn (1994), Bskal bzang vgyur med (1981, 1992), and Schwieger (2006).

6. Typographical errors

Mattisoff's work is unfortunately marred by a number of transcription errors and occasional ghost words, which however trivial are worth pointing out. He informs us (xxxviii) that he will transcribe the letter ཝ *v* as **h̯**, but fails to mention that when used as a final he does not transliterate it at all, and indeed treats its occurrence equivalently to open syllables (e.g. *mdav* 'arrow' as **mda** p.50, 486). In a number of places Matisoff transliterates ཇ j as **ǰ** rather than **dź** as indicated in the preface (xxxviii). This leads, for example, to the single word མཇེ *mje* 'penis' being transliterated as **mdźe** on page 49 but

mǰe on page 153. The reader should be aware that there is no significance to such variation.

Matisoff writes: "The ordinary W[ritten]T[ibetan] word for 'horse' is unrelated **rta**, but Beyer (1992:85) cites an archaic Tibetan form **rmaṅ**, with a final palatal nasal" (268 note b). In Beyer's transcription system (1992:3) the velar nasal ང *ng* is transliterated as ñ whereas the palatal nasal ཉ *ny* is transliterated with the rather unfortunately similar looking ñ. It is difficult to tell whether the diacritic over the 'n' in Beyer's (1992:85 note 16) citation is a macron or tilde. Under magnification it looks to me somewhat more like a macron; Matisoff clearly saw it as a tilde. The diacritic should be a macron. Without doubt Beyer's source for this word is Coblin (1974), who transcribes the word *rmang*. Matisoff also cites Coblin's article and correctly renders this word into his own transliteration scheme as **rmaŋ** (177).[7]

The word *sgro* 'feather' Matisoff transcribes as **s-gro** (173 note c). He gives no account for his use of a hyphen in this transcription.

A few ghost words, or words of unlikely Tibeto-Burman significance, are also worth pointing out. The word *spre* 'monkey' (102) Matisoff has backformed from *sprevu* 'monkey,' by removing the diminutive suffix -*vu*. The word *sprevu* in fact derives from *spra* 'ape'. The word *lags-pa* 'good, elegant' (51) also does not exist. Perhaps Matisoff was thinking of the honorific copula verb *lags*, which can be used to mean 'I understand, that's fine, yes, etc.' or the word *legs-pa* 'good'. The verb *sta* 'put, place' (113) is no more real. Here it is *stad* which is intended. Matisoff cites a nonexistent verb *ring-pa* 'be long' (100); he probably intended *vdring* (< **vring*), *rings* 'be distant' (cf. Li 1959). Matisoff twice cites the quite impossible word **rnyap-pa** 'seize' (355, 507). He cites **byiu** meaning 'alpine hare', as a cognate with Burmese *yun* 'rabbit' and Jingpho *yu/yun* 'rat'. The word *byivu* in fact means 'small bird' and derives within Tibetan from *bya* 'bird'. He should perhaps instead cite *ri-bong* 'rabbit'. Two words although indeed found in Jäschke's dictionary, are very likely not of Tibeto-Burman provenience: *vjag-po* 'good' (51) and *bra-ba* 'much, many' (80). The first, *vjag-po* 'good' Jäschke gives as '*vulgo* = yag-po', indicating that this spelling represents a dialect pronunciation of *yag-po*, and is by no means a separate lexeme, or of any Tibeto-Burman consequence. Jäschke gives *bra-ba* as a verb 'to be or have in great plenty, abound'. The only dictionary independent of Jäschke to give a verb *bra* at all gives it with a very different definition "To be able, to withstand, endure" (Tsan chung 1979). This word is of dubious value for Tibeto-Burman. Neither of these words occur in the currently indexed Old Tibetan texts.

[7] Matisoff also believes there is a word *rmang* 'dream' (425, 521). This ghost word rests again solely on the authority of Jäschke, who derives it from the unreliable Schroeter (1826).

Matisoff analyzes the morpheme breaks in *khri-le-ba* 'fear' (462) as falling where the script indicates syllable breaks. In fact, marking morpheme breaks, this word becomes *khril-e-ba* (cf. Uray 1953).

Here is an inexhaustive list of additional mistranscriptions:

for **ḥkor** read *vkhor* 'turn around' (100)
for **de-lta** read *da-lta* 'present stem' (131)
for **hlod-pa** read *lhod-pa* 'loose, relaxed' (202 note 51, 332, 371 *et passim*).
for **ḥtsag** read *vtshag* 'cause to trickle' (329 note i).
for **khu-tsor** read *khu-tshur* 'fist' (365)
for **bhag-leb** read *bag-leb* 'bread' (377 note b).
for **k'ol** read *khol* (425 note k)
for **kha-tha** read *kha-ta* 'crow' (447)
for **śa-ba** read *shwa-ba* 'deer' (448)
for **spros-ba** read *spros-pa* 'business, activity' (468)
for **gyag** read *g.yag* 'yak' (523)

7. Concluding remarks

Matisoff's work is completed with an index of semantic glosses and of reconstructed forms, but there are no indices of words from relevant languages (other than Chinese). Ideally there would have been an index of every language employed, but at least of Written Tibetan and Written Burmese. An index of Written Tibetan forms appearing in the work is appended to this review.

Containing uncountable provocative hypotheses, this work will no doubt be profitably consulted for decades to come, and represents the pinnacle of Tibeto-Burman comparative linguistics to date.

Tibetan Index to Matisoff (2003)

All verb stems have been indexed under the present stem.

K
kun ‘all’ p. 278, 388, 416
kog ‘husk, peel’ p. 378
klung ‘valley’ p. 287, 524
klub ‘cover, wrap’ p. 369
dkrug ‘stir, agitate’ p. 363 n. f
dkrog-pa ‘rouse, scare up’ p. 329 n. 2, 377
bkres ‘hungry’ p. 437 n. c
rkang ‘leg’ p. 283, 293, 311 n. e
rku ‘steal’ p. 127, 441, 445
rkun-ma ‘thief’ p. 441, 445
rke ‘be lean’ p. 455
rked-po ‘waisr’ p. 455
rko ‘dig’ p. 461
rkod-pa ‘dig’ p. 380, 461
rkon-pa ‘fowler’s net’ p. 451
skar-ma ‘star’ p. 391
skud-po ‘brother in law, father in law’ p. 447, 453
skul-ba ‘exhort, admonish’ p. 425 n. h
ske ‘neck, throat’ p. 481
skog ‘husk, peel’ p. 378, 378 n. d
skon-pa ‘dress someone’ p. 334, 453
skon-pa ‘fowler’s net’ p. 451
skor-ba ‘surround’ p. 100
skyab ‘protect’ p. 466
skyabs ‘protection’ p. 466
skyi-ba ‘borrow’ p. 191, 443 n. 10, 471 n. a
skyi-ba ‘yam’ p. 195
skyin ‘mountain goat’ p. 388, 420
skyil-ba ‘bend’ p. 413
skyur-ba ‘sour’ p. 398
skye ‘be born’ p. 458, 468
skyeng-ba ‘be ashamed’ p. 292, 311 n. f
skyed ‘produce’ p. 458
skyem ‘be thirsty’ p. 466
skyems ‘beverage’ p. 466
skyes-pa ‘man’ p. 468
skyo ‘be weary’ p. 445
skyogs ‘ladle’ p. 295, 321, 517
skyong-ba ‘guard, keep’ p. 294
skyon ‘fault, harm’ p. 445
skrag-pa ‘be terrified’ p. 329 n. 2, 378 n. b
skrog-pa ‘rouse, scare up’ p. 329 n. 2, 378 n. b

KH
kha-ta ‘crow’ p. 447
kha-ba ‘bitter’ p. 164, 451
kha-rud ‘avalanche’ p. 365 n. f
khab ‘needle’ p. 300 n. n, 517
khal ‘burden’ p. 416 n. f
khu-bo ‘uncle’ p. 447, 450, 453
khu-tshan ‘uncle and nephew’ p. 447, 450
khu-tshur ‘fist’ p. 365
khug-ma ‘basket’ p. 356
khugs ‘corner’ p. 358, 530
khung ‘hole’ p. 468
khungs ‘mine’ p. 468
khol-po ‘servant’ p. 261
khyags-pa ‘frozen’ p. 72, 325, 521
khyi ‘dog’ p. 62, 96, 146, 196, 448
khyim ‘house’ p. 273, 498, 531
khrag ‘blood’ p. 313, 323 n. h, 328 n. c, 329 n. v
khrang ‘hard, solid, firm’ p. 267, 304 n. r
khrab ‘shield, coat of mail’ p. 342 n. b
khrab ‘weep’ p. 336
khram ‘tally sticks’ p. 253 n. b
khri-le-ba ‘fear’ p. 462
khrims ‘law’ p. 306 n. c
khru ‘bathe’ p. 466
khrus ‘bath’ p. 466
mkhav ‘heaven’ p. 450
mkhar-ba ‘bronze, bell-metal’ p. 390
mkhal-ma ‘kidney’ p. 405
mkhen ‘know’ p. 291
mkhyud-pa ‘embrace’ p. 116 n. 78
mkhrang ‘hard, solid, firm’ p. 267, 304 n. r
mkhris ‘gall, bile’ p. 189, 436, 456, 465 n. 24
vkhar-ba ‘bronze, bell-metal’ p. 390

vkhor-ba ‘turn round’ p. 100
vkhyig-pa ‘tie, bind’ p. 344, 345, 528 n. b
vkhyil-ba ‘wind, twist’ p. 413
vkhyud-pa ‘embrace’ p. 116 n. 78
vkhru-ba ‘wash’ p. 461
vkrung-ba ‘be born, sprout’ p. 285
vkhrud-pa ‘wash’ p. 461

G

gang ‘who’ p. 488
gar ‘dance’ p. 392, 427
gar-ba ‘strong’ p. 392
gar-bu ‘solid’ p. 392
gar-mo ‘thick’ p. 392
gon ‘clothing’ p. 259, 334, 453
gyad-pa ‘champion, athlete’ p. 334 n. d
grwa ‘angle’ p. 270, 514 n. a
grag ‘cry, shout’ p. 468
grags ‘fame’ p. 328 n. c, 468
grags ‘bind’ p. 328 n. h
grang ‘count’ p. 304 n. o, 466
grang-ba ‘cold’ p. 72, 262, 304 n. b, 325, 521
grangs ‘number’ p. 466
gral ‘row, series’ p. 425 n. e
gras ‘class, order’ p. 425 n. e, 437
gri ‘knife’ p. 189
grib ‘shade, shadow’ p. 353 n. a
grim ‘hasten, hurry’ p. 306 n. e
gru ‘angle’ p. 270, 514 n. a
gro-ga ‘birch tree or its bark’ p. 175 n. e
gro-mo ‘medicinal herb, potato’ p. 174 n. l
grog-po ‘ravine’ p. 378
grog-ma ‘ant’ p. 148, 321
grogs-po ‘friend’ p. 329 n. n
grod ‘belly, stomach’ p. 334 n. a
gros ‘speech, talk’ p. 437 n. f
gla ‘pay, wages’ p. 174 n. f
gla-ba ‘musk deer’ p. 176 n. d
glag ‘eagle, vulture’ p. 263 n. a, 521
glang ‘ox’ p. 304 n. d
glang-ma ‘a large kind of alpine willow’ p. 305 n. v
glan ‘patch, fix, mend’ p. 302 n. e
gling ‘land’ p. 280
gling ‘flute, fife’ p. 280
gleb-pa ‘flatten’ p. 51, 339
glog ‘lightning’ p. 329 n. w, 374
glog-srin ‘thundercloud’ p. 374
glod-pa ‘loosen, relax’ p. 202 n. 51, 332, 334 n. b
dgu ‘nine’ p. 139, 149
dgra ‘enemy’ p. 174 n. k
bgam ‘put in mouth’ p. 300 n. m
bgo ‘put on clothes’ p. 259, 333, 453
bgres ‘old’ p. 437 n. d
mgu-ba ‘rejoice’ p. 117
mgal ‘jaw’ p. 118
vgal ‘be in opposition’ p. 118
vgug-pa ‘bend’ p. 357, 460
vgul ‘neck’ p. 116
vgel ‘load’ p. 425 n. k
vgye ‘be divided’ p. 458
vgyed ‘divide’ p. 458
vgrang ‘satiate’ p. 304 n. p
vgran-pa ‘fight’ p. 261, 388, 407, 516
vgrib-pa ‘shade, shadow’ p. 353
vgrim ‘go, walk, march about’ p. 306 n. e
vgro ‘go’ p. 445, 466
vgrod ‘go, travel’ p. 334 n. f
vgron-po ‘guest’ p. 445, 466
vgrol ‘become free’ p. 425 n. f
vgros ‘466’ p. 466
rga-ba ‘old’ p. 127, 455
rgad-po ‘old man’ p. 455
rgon-pa ‘casting net’ p. 258
rga ‘be old’ p. 467
rgas-ka ‘old age’ p. 467
rgyu ‘move, wander’ p. 445, 458
rgyud ‘transmit’ p. 458
rgyun ‘flow, current’ p. 445
sgang ‘projecting hil, spur’ p. 266 n. d
sgal ‘burden’ p. 416 n. f, 425
sgal-pa ‘small of the back’ p. 405
sgrib-pa ‘darken’ 353 n. a
sgril-ba ‘wind’ p. 411
sgrim ‘hold fast’ p. 305 n. a
sgrug-pa ‘pick up’ p. 357

brgyad ‘eight’ p. 149, 151, 313, 331, 351, 506

NG
nga ‘I, me’ p. 487
ngang ‘goose’ p. 259
ngu ‘weep’ p. 455
ngud-mo ‘a sob’ p. 455
ngur ‘grunt’ p. 400
nged ‘we, us’ p. 489 n. b
ngo ‘face’ p. 468
ngos ‘direction’ p. 468
dngul ‘silver’ p. 82, 415
rnga ‘mow, reap’ p. 445
rngan-pa ‘reward, hire, wages’ p. 445
rngul ‘sweat’ p. 82, 416
lnga ‘five’ p. 94, 129, 149
sngur ‘snore’ p. 400
sngo-ba ‘become green’ p. 101

C
ces quotative particle p. 477
gci ‘urinate’ p. 187, 441, 445
gcig ‘one’ p. 144, 346, 507
gcid-pa ‘urinate’ p. 441
gcin ‘urine’ p. 187, 441, 445
gcod ‘cut’ p. 132, 330

CH
chib ‘ride’ p. 468
chibs ‘horse’ p. 468
mchi ‘speak’ p. 455
mchi-ba ‘appear’ p. 117
mchid ‘conversation’ p. 455
mchin ‘liver’ p. 31, 34 n. a, 134, 277
mchil-ma ‘spittle’ p. 79, 411
mchu ‘lip’ p. 415
vchar ‘rise’ p. 391
vchi ‘die’ p. 34 n. b, 189
vchor-ba ‘scatter, pour’ p. 261
lcags ‘iron’ p. 317
lci ‘excrement’ p. 189
lci-ba ‘heavy’ p. 50, 192
lce ‘tongue’ p. 50, 52, 511

J
ljags ‘tongue’ p. 52, 323
lji-ba ‘flea’ p. 50, 69, 192
lji-ba ‘heavy’ p. 50, 455
ljid-pa ‘weight’ p. 455
ljong ‘large valley’ p. 294
mjing ‘neck’ p. 280
mje ‘penis’ p. 49, 153, 609
vjag-po ‘good’ p. 51, 521
vjag-ma ‘grass’ p. 513
vjibs ‘suck’ p. 313, 369, 382, 460, 500, 527 n. a
vjo-ba ‘milk’ p. 371 n. b, 382, 445
vjol ‘hang down’ p. 407
vjug ‘enter’ p. 362 n. b, 367, 529
rje ‘change’ p. 466
rjes ‘track, trace’ p. 466

NY
nya-ma ‘mistress of the house, housewife’ p. 174 n. n
nyag-mo ‘woman’ p. 174 n. n.
nyams ‘soul, mind’ p. 300 n. r
nyi-ma ‘sun, day’ p. 191
nyi-vod ‘sunlight’ p. 463
nye ‘be near’ p. 445
nye-zho ‘mishap’ p. 203, 468
nyen ‘be pressed hard’ p. 290
nyen ‘kinsman’ p. 445
nyes-pa ‘calamity’ p. 468
gnyid ‘sleep’ p. 350
gnyis ‘two’ p. 149, 351, 434, 477, 481
gnyen-tshan ‘kndred, relatives’ p. 450
rnyab ‘squeeze’ p. 339
rnyid-pa ‘wither, droop’ p. 350 n. c
rnyil ‘gums’ p. 411, 427
rnyed ‘get, find’ p. 206, 460
snyam-pa ‘think, imagine’ p. 300 n. r
snyigs-ma ‘impure sediment’ p. 346
snying ‘heart’ p. 284, 347, 482 n. h, 522
snyung ‘ill’ p. 284
snye ‘lean against’ p. 455
snyed ‘crupper’ p. 455

T

tig-tig ‘very, real, certain’ p. 324, 507
gtam ‘talk, speech’ p. 300 n. q
gtig ‘drip’ p. 324, 506
gtug-pa ‘reach’ p. 136
gtum-pa ‘wrap up’ p. 136
gtom-pa ‘talk, speak’ p. 300 n. q
rtul-ba ‘blunt, dull’ p. 127, 419, 500
lta ‘look’ p. 456, 466
ltag-ma ‘upper part’ p. 129, 317, 328 n. b
ltad-mo ‘sight, scene’ p. 456
ltab-pa ‘fold’ p. 336, 336 n. e
ltam-pa ‘full’ p. 51
ltas ‘omen’ p. 456, 466
lte ‘navel’ p. 52
lteb ‘turn down’ p. 336 n. e
sta-gon ‘preparation, arrangement’ p. 454, 457, 461
sta-re ‘axe’ p. 162 n. a
stag ‘tiger’ p. 102
stad-pa ‘put on, lay on’ p. 454, 457, 461
star-ba ‘tie fast’ p. 403 n. a
steng ‘top, surface’ p. 305 n. u
ster-ba ‘give’ p. 399
stong ‘a thousand’ p. 294

TH

thag-pa ‘be sure, decided’ p. 324, 508
thang-po ‘tense, tight, firm’ p. 267
thang-shing ‘pine’ p. 264
than ‘dry’ p. 258
thab ‘fireplace’ p. 76, 336
thal-ba ‘dust’ p. 425 n. c
thigs-pa ‘a drop’ p. 329 n. i, 506
thul-pa ‘dress made of animal skin’ p. 415
thul-ba ‘roll, wind up’ p. 415
theg-pa ‘bear, endure’ p. 323
theg-pa ‘lift, raise’ p. 328 n. b
tho-le ‘button’ p. 359 n. f
thog-ma ‘upper end’ p. 328 n. b
thor-bu ‘fragment’ p. 262
thos-pa ‘hear’ p. 433, 471
mthe-bo ‘thumb’ p. 118, 485
mtho-ba ‘be high’ p. 204
mtho ‘hand span’ p. 167
mthon-po ‘high’ p. 204
mthol-ba ‘confess’ p. 116 n. 78
vthag ‘weave’ p. 76, 318
vthas-pa ‘hard, solid’ p. 432
vthig-pa ‘tall in drops’ p. 131, 324(?)
vthu ‘gather’ p. 131, 367, 452, 460
vthug-pa ‘deep, thick’ p. 359
vthung ‘drink’ p. 123
vthum ‘cover over, wrap up’ p. 354 n. b, 517
vthol-ba ‘confess’ p. 116 n. 78

D

du-ba ‘smoke’ p. 455
dug ‘poison’ p. 357
dugs-pa ‘burn, kindle’ p. 362
dud ‘smoke’ p. 455
dud-pa ‘tie, knot’ p. 367
dogs ‘fear’ p. 329 n. 2
dong ‘whole’ p. 269
dom ‘bear’ 95, 139, 289, 531
dra-ba ‘cut’ p. 145
drang-po ‘straight’ p. 524 n. c
dri-ma ‘stench’ p. 145
drin ‘kindness, favor’ p. 306 n. b
drug ‘six’ p. 140, 144, 145, 149, 357
drum-pa ‘long for, pine’ p. 141, 272
dro ‘be warm’ p. 440, 445, 455
drod ‘warmth’ p. 440, 445, 455
dron-ma ‘something warm’ p. 440, 445, 455
gdan ‘seat’ p. 445
gdav ‘be there’ p. 445
gdu ‘love’ p. 455
gdugs ‘parasol’ p. 363 n. g
gdud-pa ‘longing, desire’ p. 455
bdar ‘whet’ p. 52
bdun ‘seven’ p. 150 n. a, 453 n. e
mdav ‘arrow’ p. 50, 486
mdung ‘spear’ p. 284
mdud ‘knot, bow’ p. 367
mdongs ‘eye in a peacock’s feather’ p. 294
vdab-ma ‘wing’ p. 116
vdu-ba ‘assemble, join’ p. 367, 445, 452, 460
vdug ‘sit’ p. 288, 523

vdun-ma ‘council’ p. 445
vdegs ‘lift up’ p. 131
vdom ‘come together’ p. 466
vdoms ‘genitals’ p. 466
vdrub ‘sew’ p. 140, 145 n. 153, 369
vdre ‘be mixed’ p. 445, 467
vdren-ma ‘mixture’ p. 445
vdres-ma ‘mixture’ p. 467
rdal ‘spread’ p. 425 n. o
rdug ‘strike’ p. 363 n. h
rdul ‘dust’ p. 415, 503
rdung ‘small mound, hillock’ p. 285
rdung-ba ‘beat, strike’ p. 310 n. a
rdeg-pa ‘strike’ p. 372, 374
rdog-pa ‘kick’ p. 372 n. a, 374
ldag ‘lick’ p. 52
ldab-pa ‘do again’ p. 336 n. e
ldeb-pa ‘bend around’ p. 336 n. e
ldem-pa ‘straight’ p. 51
sdig-pa ‘scorpion’ p. 102, 345
sdig-srin ‘cra, crawfish’ p. 345
sdud-pa ‘collect, gather’ p. 367 n. b, 452, 460

N

na ‘be sick’ p. 440, 452, 455
na-ning ‘last year’ p. 283, 524, 528
nag-po ‘black’ p. 317, 468, 522
nags ‘forest’ p. 468
nad ‘illness’ p. 440, 455, 520
nam-mkhav ‘sky, heavens’ p. 450
nu ‘suck’ p. 440, 458
nud-pa ‘suckle an infant’ p. 440, 458
nub-pa ‘sink, set’ p. 355, 499
gnas ‘dwell, stay’ p. 433, 471, 477
mnab-pa ‘dress one’s self’ p. 117
mnam ‘be odorous’ p. 90, 100, 117
mnal-ba ‘sleep’ p. 117
rnil ‘gums’ p. 127
sna ‘nose’ p. 427
snag ‘ink’ p. 522
snabs ‘snot’ p. 37, 336
snam ‘sniff something’ p. 90, 100, 117
snun-pa ‘suckle an infant’ p. 440
snub-pa ‘cause to perish’ p. 499
snod ‘vessel’ p. 381

P

pir ‘writing brush’ p. 504
pus-mo ‘knee’ p. 364, 436, 494, 505
dpral ‘forehead’ p. 405
spa ‘bamboo’ p. 147
span-spun ‘brothers, relatives’ p. 447
spu ‘decorate’ p. 467
spun ‘siblings’ p. 447
spus ‘beauty’ p. 467
spo ‘change’ p. 467
spos ‘incense’ p. 467
spro-ba ‘go out, disperse’ p. 100, 468, 480
spro-ba ‘delight in, wish’ p. 204
spros-pa ‘buisness, activity’ p. 468

PH

pha ‘father’ p. 447, 453
pha-spad ‘father and children’ p. 447, 453
pha-tshan ‘cousin on the father’s side’ p.447, 450
phag ‘pig’ p. 147, 318
phag ‘hide’ p. 317
phang ‘spindle’ p. 269 n. 6
phar ‘interest’ p. 391
phig-pa ‘bore a hole’ p. 494
phu ‘elder brother’ p. 447
phug ‘cave’ p. 358
phug-pa ‘bore a hole’ p. 494
phyag-ma ‘broom’ p. 323
phyug ‘be rich’ p. 467
phyugs ‘cattle’ p. 467
phye-ma-leb ‘butterfly’ p. 377 n. a
phyen ‘fart’ p. 291, 518
phru-ma ‘uterus, matrix of animals’ p. 199 (mispelled pru-ma)
vphur-ba ‘fly’ p. 397, 501
vphyen ‘fart’ p. 291, 518
vphyo ‘roam about, gambol’ p. 445
vphyon-ma ‘prostitute’ p. 445
vphral ‘seperate’ p. 425 n. j
vphrug-pa ‘scratch’ p. 352

vphro-ba ‘proceed, emanate from’ p. 100, 480

B

ba-mo ‘frost’ p. 408
bag-leb ‘bread’ 377 n. b
bang-po ‘parent’s sister’s husband’ p. 269
bu ‘child’ p. 381
bu-snod ‘uterus’ p. 381
bya ‘bird’ p. 68
byi ‘bamboo rat’ p. 196
byivu ‘alpine hare’ p. 449
byib-pa ‘cover, conceal’ p. 354, 498
brag ‘stone’ p. 318
brang ‘breast, chest’ p. 146
bris ‘picture’ p. 132, 441, 471
bro ‘taste’ p. 455
brod-pa ‘joy’ p. 455
blu ‘redeem, ransom’ p. 440, 456
blud-po ‘ransom payment’ p. 440, 456
blus-ma ‘ransom payment’ p. 440, 456
dba klong ‘wave, eddy’ p. 174 n. a
dbang ‘strength’ p. 140
dbu ‘head’ p. 140, 468, 477
dbul ‘poor’ p. 419, 503
dbus ‘center’ p. 468, 477
vbab ‘fall’ p. 336
vbar ‘blossom’ p. 392
vbar-ba ‘catch fire’ p. 100, 428
vbigs-pa ‘bore a hole’ p. 494
vbibs-pa ‘be turned over’ p. 494
vbu ‘insect’ p. 116
vbu ‘open’ p. 184 n. a
vbugs-pa ‘bore a hole’ p. 494
vbud ‘blow’ p. 364
vbub ‘turn over’ p. 369
vbubs-pa ‘be turned over’ p. 494
vbo ‘swell up’ p. 467
vbos ‘tumor, boil’ p. 467
vbor-ba ‘throw, cast’ p. 394
vbyar-ba ‘join’ 390
vbye ‘be seperated’ p. 458
vbyed ‘open something’ p. 458, 460
vbyon-pa ‘go’ p. 291
vbyor-ba ‘join’ p. 390
vbrang-ba ‘give birth’ p. 264
vbrad ‘scratch’ p.330 n. a
vbral ‘be seperated’ p. 425 n. j
vbras ‘rice’ p. 116, 432, 437 n. e
vbri ‘write’ p. 132, 441, 466, 471
vbrim-pa ‘distribute’ p. 306 n. d
vbrug ‘dragon’ p. 524
vbrub-pa ‘submerge, overflow’ p. 134, 369
vbrong ‘wild yak’ p. 294
rba klong ‘wave, eddy’ p. 174 n. a
sbangs ‘dung’ p. 264
sbar-ba ‘light, kindle’ p. 100
sbal ‘frog’ p. 74, 102, 113, 405
sba ‘bamboo’ p. 147
sbid ‘bellows’ p. 494
sbug ‘pierce’ p. 467
sbugs ‘hole’ p. 467
sbud-pa ‘bellows’ ü- 494
sbo-ba ‘become swollen’ p. 101
sbom-pa ‘thick, stout’ p. 341, 381 n. a, 518
sbor-ba ‘light, kindle’ p. 428
sbyin ‘give’ p. 191, 482 n. g
sbyor-ba ‘join’ p. 390
sbrang ‘fly, bee’ p. 304 n. g
sbrad ‘scratch’ p. 330 n. a
sbrid-pa ‘become numb, torpid’ p. 101
sbrum ‘pregnant’ p. 309 n. e
sbrul ‘snake’ p. 82, 102, 134, 151, 417

M

ma ‘mother’ p. 447, 453
ma-smad ‘mother and children’ p. 447, 453
mag-pa ‘son in law’ p. 325
mi ‘person’ 449
mig ‘eye’ p. 66, 324, 346, 506
ming ‘name’ p. 280
mun ‘darkness’ p. 279, 309 n. a
mur ‘gills’ p. 397
mur-ba ‘gnaw, masticate’ p. 397
mur-gong ‘temples’ p. 397
mur-vgram ‘jam’ p. 397
me ‘fire’ p. 206
med-pa ‘not exist’ p. 350, 520

dmag ‘war’ p. 318
dmun-pa ‘darkness’ p. 279, 309 n. a
dmod-pa ‘curse’ p. 177 n. b, 462
rma ‘wound’ p. 461
rmang ‘horse, steed’ p. 177 n. c
rmi-ba ‘sleep’ p. 195
rmugs-pa ‘fog’ p. 289, 359, 523
rme-ba ‘speck, mark, mole’ p. 290
rmen-pa ‘gland, wen’ p. 290
smag ‘dark, darkness’ p. 318 n. d
sman ‘medicine’ p. 37
smin ‘ripe, ripen’ p. 101, 277
smin-ma ‘eyebrow’ 388, 419
smug ‘fog’ p. 289, 523
smyig-ma ‘bamboo sprout’ p. 344, 494
smyug-ma ‘cane, bamboo’ p. 494
smra-ba ‘speak, talk’ p. 523
smrang ‘word, speech’ p. 523

TS
gtsod ‘antelope’ p. 380
btsan-po ‘strong, firm’ p. 260
btsab-pa ‘chop’ p. 336
btsav-ba ‘bear children’ p. 450, 467
btsas-ma ‘harvest’ p. 467
btsod ‘antelope’ p. 380
rtswa ‘grass’ p. 449
rtsa-ba ‘vein, root’ p. 127, 455
rtsangs-pa ‘lizard’ p. 127
rtsad ‘root’ p. 455
rtsi ‘juice’ p. 189
rtsi-ba ‘count, number’ p. 79, 467
rtsis ‘counting’ p. 467
rtse ‘play’ p. 455
rtsed-mo ‘game’ p. 455

TSH
tsha ‘hot, illness’ p. 177 n. d, 455, 462
tsha-bo ‘nephew’ p. 447, 450
tsha-mo ‘niece’ p. 450
tshad ‘hot, fever’ p. 177 n. d, 455, 463
tshigs ‘joint’ p. 344
tshil ‘fat’ p. 410
mtshul-pa ‘lower part of the face’ p. 415
mtshon ‘weapon’ p. 529 n. b
vtshag ‘strain, filter’ p. 324, 329 n. i, 506
vtshab ‘repay’ p. 336
vtshig-pa ‘burn’ p. 344
vtshud ‘be put into’ p. 529
vtshod ‘cook’ p. 460
vtshor-ba ‘escape’ p. 394

DZ
vdzag ‘drip’ p. 324, 329, 506
vdzu ‘enter’ p. 458
vdzugs ‘pierce, plant’ p. 362, 367, 527, 529
vdzud-pa ‘put, lay’ p. 368, 458, 528, 529
vdzol-vdzol ‘paunch’ p. 407
rdzas ‘thing, object’ p. 432, 437 n. g
rdzi ‘wind’ p. 50, 192
rdzu ‘lie, deceive’ p. 445, 467
rdzun ‘falsehood’ p. 445
rdzus-ma ‘counterfeit’ p. 467
rdzong ‘dismiss, expedite’ p. 467
rdzongs ‘escorting’ p. 467

ZH
zhag ‘grease, oil’ p. 323
zhag ‘spend the night’ p. 323
zhang-po ‘uncle’ p. 79
zhing ‘field’ p. 280
zhim-pa ‘sweet, delicious’ p. 271
zhed-pa ‘fear’ p. 527 n. a
zho ‘yoghurt’ p. 371 n. b, 382
zhon-pa ‘ride’ p. 34 n. h, 291
zhim-pa ‘delicious’ p. 34 n. h
gzhad ‘laugh, smile’ p. 12, 456, 463, 487 n. 55
gzhav-ba ‘joke’ p. 12, 456, 463, 467, 487 n. 55
gzhas ‘play, joke’ p. 456, 463, 467
gzhu ‘bow’ p. 50, 192
bzhad-pa ‘laugh’ p. 487 n. 55
bzhi ‘four’ p. 50, 69, 94, 147, 149, 192
bzhon-ma ‘milk cow’ p. 445

Z
za ‘eat’ p. 34 n. h, 440, 445, 451, 466 n. a, 467, 480
zan ‘food’ p. 433, 440, 445, 451, 466, 467

zab ‘deep’ p. 467
zabs ‘depth’ p. 467
zas ‘food’ p. 433, 466, 467
zi ‘little, small’ p. 191
zin ‘finish’ p. 306 n. c
zil ‘dew’ p. 188 n. b
zug ‘pierce, plant’ p. 362, 367, 529
zed ‘split’ p. 350
zlum ‘round’ p. 78, 272
gzig ‘leopard’ p. 344
gzim ‘fall asleep, sleep’ p. 306 n. g
bzi-ba ‘drunk’ p. 350 n. g

V
vur ‘noise, hum’ p. 396
vog ‘under’ 377
vong ‘come’ p. 269
vod ‘light’ p. 429, 463
von ‘bring’ p. 519

Y
ya-ma ‘the temples’ p. 390
yag po ‘good’ p. 51, 521
yab-mo ‘fan, paddle’ p. 340 n. b
yi-dwags ‘hungry ghost’ p. 321 n. d
yib-pa ‘hide oneself’ p. 354, 500
yog-po ‘poker’ p. 295, 517
g.yag ‘yak’ p. 523
g.yas ‘right’ p. 145
g.yor-mo ‘sail’ p. 393 n. e

R
rwa ‘horn’ p. 270, 514 n. a
rab-rib ‘mist, dimness’ p. 353 n. a
rams ‘indigo’ p. 300 n. i
ral-gri ‘sword’ p. 261, 388, 407, 516
ri-dwags ‘animal of chase’ p. 321 n. d
ri-mo ‘drawing’ p. 132, 441
ring-ba ‘long’ p. 280
ril ‘round’ p. 411
ris ‘figure’ p. 132, 441, 466, 471
ru ‘horn’ p. 270, 514 n. a
-rud, cf. kha-rud and sa-rud
rum ‘darkness, obscurity’ p. 273, 498
rus-pa ‘bone’ p. 435, 465, 477
rod-pa ‘stiff, tough’ p. 332
rlig-pa ‘penis, testicles’ p. 344

L
lag-pa ‘hand’ p. 317
lag-g.ya ‘right hand’ p. 36 (misprinted lag-gya), 93
lang ‘rise, arise, get up’ p. 304 n. m
lu-ba ‘cough’ p. 455
lug ‘sheep’ p. 363 n. g
lugs ‘way, manner’ p. 363 n. b
lung-pa ‘valley’ p. 524
lud-pa ‘phlegm’ p. 455
legs-pa ‘good, elegnat’ p. 51, 521
leb-mo ‘flat’ p. 51, 339, 377 . b
log ‘return’ p. 467
logs ‘side, direction’ p. 467
lob-ma ‘leaf’ p. 336

SH
sha ‘flesh, meat’ p. 448
shwa-ba ‘hart, stag’ p. 448
sha-rmen ‘gland, wen’ p. 290
shar ‘east’ p. 391
shig ‘louse’ p. 344
shing ‘wood, tree’ p. 34 n. 6, 283, 347, 524, 528
shing-leb ‘board, plank’ p. 377 n. b
shib ‘whisper’ p. 356 n. b, 494
shu ‘peel’ p. 445
shud ‘rub’ p. 366
shun-pa ‘a peel’ p. 445
shub ‘whisper’ p. 356 n. b, 494
shes ‘know’ p. 206, 465, 471, 477
shong ‘remove, empty’ p. 467
shongs ‘pit, excavation’ p. 467
gshang ‘excrement, rust, blight’ p. 36
gsho-ba ‘pour out’ p. 136, 394 n. a, 427
bshang ‘excrement, rust, blight’ p. 36
bshal-ba ‘wash’ p. 413, 508
bsho ‘pour out’ p. 467
bshos ‘food offering’ p. 467

S
sa ‘earth’ p. 176 n. c, 486
sa-rud ‘landslide’ 365 n. f
sid-pa ‘whistle’ p. 350 n. f, 367, 502
su ‘who’ p. 181 n. m
sud-pa ‘cough’ p. 462
se ‘fruit, rose’ p. 206
sen-mo ‘nail, claw’ p. 290
sems ‘mind, spirit’ p. 311 n. a
sems-pa ‘think’ p. 311 n. a, 471, 532 n. a
ser-ba ‘hail’ p. 399
sre-mo ‘weasle’ p. 311 n. c
sre-mong ‘weasle’ p. 311 n. c, 512
sreg-pa ‘pheasant’ p. 102, 324, 346, 371 n. 53, 507
srel ‘bring up, rear’ p. 425 n. b
sring-ba ‘lengthen’ p. 100, 280
sring-mo ‘man’s sister’ p. 308 n. n
srid-pa ‘existence’ p. 186, 350, 502
srin-bu ‘worm’ p. 78, 102, 388, 412
srib ‘grow dark’ p. 353 n. a
sril ‘silkworm’ p. 78, 388, 412
srub ‘stir, rake’ p. 467
srubs ‘exercise, practice’ p. 467
sre-mo ‘weasle’ p. 292
sre-mong ‘weasle’ p. 292
slob-pa ‘study’ p. 342 n. f
gsar-ba ‘new’ 391
gsal ‘clear’ p. 405
gsum ‘three’ p. 94, 149, 272, 275
gsod ‘kill’ p. 132, 143, 330
bsil ‘wash’ p. 413, 508
bsung ‘smell, fragrance’ p. 288, 513

H
hab ‘mouthful’ p. 335
hal-ba ‘pant, wheeze’ p. 406
hus ‘moisture’ p. 435
hor-pa ‘hawk’ p. 393
hol-hol ‘soft, loose’ p. 421
hrab-hrib ‘mist, dimness’ p. 353 n. a
lhe ‘twist, braid’ p. 467
lhes-ma ‘braid’ p. 467
lhod-pa ‘loose, relaxed’ p. 202 n. 51, 332, 371

A
a-phyi ‘grandmother’ p. 191
a-bang ‘parent’s sister’s husband’ p. 269
ud ‘swaggering, bragging’ p. 365 n. j
um ‘a kiss’ p. 276
e-ne ‘aunt’ p. 509

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書評

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馬蒂索夫 (2003) 憑藉數十年的研究，提出許多新的同源詞，給藏緬語語言學作出了重要的貢獻。然而，馬蒂索夫引用藏語時出現不少事實及分析的謬誤，削弱其各項重構的可信性。

關鍵詞：藏緬語，古藏文，重構