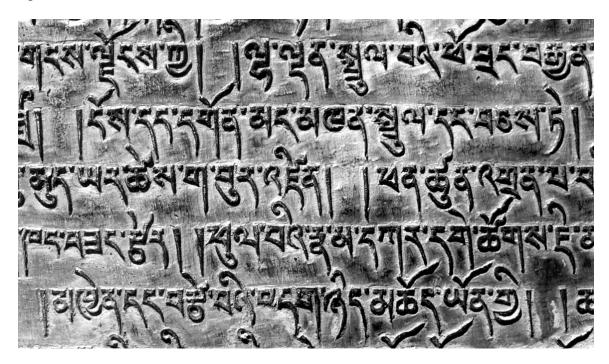


4 1.1 The Tibetan Alphabet

1.1.1 The Alphabet

The invention of the Tibetan alphabet is often credited to Thon-mi Sambhota (র্নির্ন্তা ক্রাম্বর্জার), a scholar and minister who served under the reign of King Srong bTsan sGam Po (র্ন্তান্ত্রর্ন্তার্কার্কার) in the eighth century. Modeled after Brahmi writing, the Tibetan alphabet consists of 30 letters and four vowel diacritics. The unit of writing is the syllable and not the word.

In the traditional alphabet chart, letters are arranged, in principle, according to their place of articulation (in rows) and manner of articulation (in columns). In the last three rows, the rationale for the order becomes less apparent. For example, the letters \P and \P , which behave just like the third-column letters in the previous five rows, are placed elsewhere. That said, the order of the alphabet is of vital importance because it is the way all Tibetan dictionaries are arranged.



Inscription on Bronze, the Jokhang, Lhasa

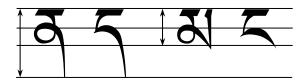
In the following chart, the standard Latin transcription (SLT), which is the spelling adopted by scholars to transcribe literary Tibetan, and the Amdo phonetic transcription are both given for each letter, with the SLT followed by the Amdo phonetic transcription in brackets. For example, the letter \P is transcribed as ga [ka]. For a description of the Amdo phonetic symbols adopted in this book, please see the explanations in section 1.2.1. Sounds represented by letters in combination with others are given in brackets marked with the circumflex: ^[]. These sounds will be discussed in Lesson 2.

Colu	ımn I		mn II	Colu	mn III	Colum	ın IV
ka [ka]	শ	kha [k ^h a]	শ	ga [ka]	ম্ ^[ga]	nga [nga]	۲
ca [ca]	3	cha [c ^h a]	æ	ja [ca]	독 ^[ja]	nya [nya]	3
ta [ta]	5	tha [t ^h a]	Za	da [ta]	γ ^[da]	na [na]	व
pa [pa]	ZI .	pha [p ^h a]	B	ba [wa]	ス ^[ba]	ma [ma]	સ
tsa [tsa]	र्ड	tsha [ts ^h a]	k	dza [tsa]	≰ ^[dza]	wa [rwa]	स
zha [sha]	ন ^{^[3a]}	za [sa]	ສ ^[za]	'a [a]	R	ya [ya]	শ্ৰ
ra [ra]	Ŧ,	la [la]	प ^[l ^h a]	sha [xa]	9	sa [sa]	ব
ha [ha]	5	a [a]	(S)		۶ ک	\ ~	

Chart 1.1: The Tibetan Alphabet

1.1.2 Writing (Stroke Order) of the Alphabet

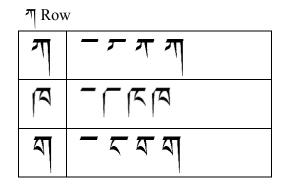
There are two things to note about the writing of Tibetan letters. First, the "base" line of the letters is on top. All letters are lined-up downwards from that base line. Second, all letters are not of the same "height". As shown in the diagram below, \mathfrak{F} and \mathfrak{F} are almost twice as "high" as \mathfrak{F} and \mathfrak{F} .

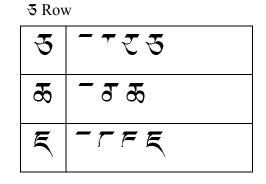


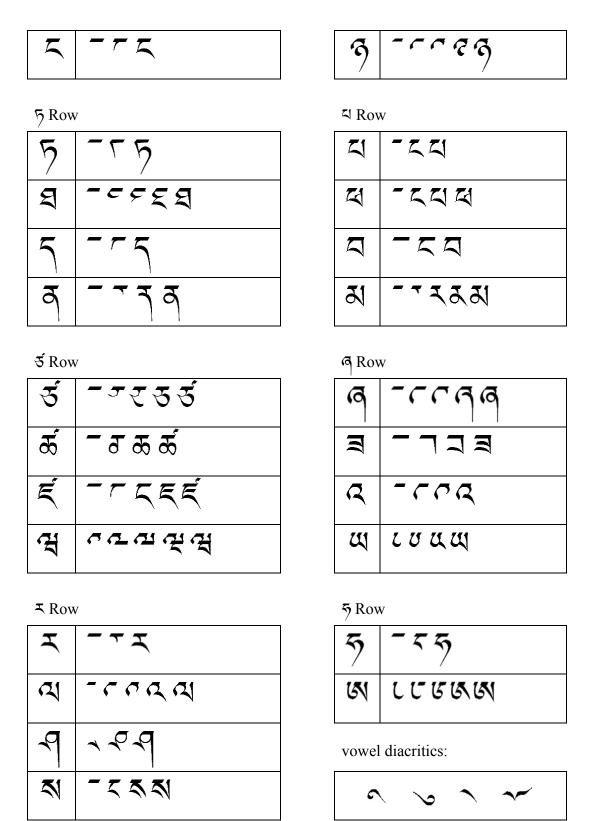
Letters that resemble \mathfrak{F} and \mathfrak{F} in height are called long-legged letters. Besides \mathfrak{F} and \mathfrak{F} , there are also \mathfrak{F} , \mathfrak{F} , and \mathfrak{F} , ten altogether. The rest of the letters of the alphabet have the same height as \mathfrak{F} and \mathfrak{F} . It is important to make this distinction in order to prevent writing \mathfrak{F} and \mathfrak{F} too similarly. In Lesson 2, the learner will encounter stack-up (i.e., superjoined or subjoined) letters, where two or three letters are written vertically, one on top of the other. The stack-up letters have roughly the same height as a single long-legged letter, as shown below:



The following chart shows the standard calligraphic stroke order of the Tibetan alphabet, as taught in Amdo elementary schools. Note that this is the correct stroke order when one intends to produce calligraphic-quality handwriting. In casual handwriting, the rules loosen and the strokes are more fluid.



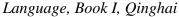




1.1.3 Different Writing Styles

The style of the alphabet we introduce here is called *Wuchan* (५६७६). The style used in all printed material, *Wuchan* is also the style studied in elementary schools throughout the Amdo region. In the U-Tsang region, elementary school children learn a different style called *Wumed* (५६७६). Only in higher grades do they learn to read *Wuchan*, but at that time, they also learn to write in a cursive script called *Chu* (६६५). It is probably safe to say *Wuchan* is by far the most important and practical style to master in reading, if not also in writing. The photographs below are textbooks showing the different styles: *Wuchan*, taught in Amdo, and *Wumed*, taught in U-Tsang.







Language, Book I, Lhasa

When it comes to calligraphy as a traditional art, there are many more different styles and sub-styles. See the cultural notes in Lesson 5 for a brief introduction to Tibetan calligraphy and some examples.

❖ 1.2 Writing System vs. Sound System

Any two sounds in a language that serve the purpose of contrasting with each other to make a meaningful distinction are called phonemes, such as the sounds s and z in a pair of words like seal and z and z and z are represented by the individual letters z and z in

this case, but phonemes are not always represented in such a straightforward fashion in a writing system. For instance, the phonemes /sh/, /ch/, / θ /, and / δ / are usually represented by a combination of letters, such as *shirt*, *church*, *thin*, and *there*. In some cases, different spellings can represent the exact same phoneme, such as the /f/ sound in *photo*, *fun* and *effort*; in others, the same letter can represent different sounds, usually depending on the immediate sound environment. For example, the letter *t* in *nation*, *native* and *question* is pronounced differently depending on the surrounding sound. Amdo Tibetan has its fair share of complexity in the connection between the writing system and the sound system. In this regard, Amdo Tibetan and English share a number of similarities:

- (1) the same sound can be represented by different letters, either an individual letter or a combination of letters, e.g., the /k/ sound in *sic*, *sick*, *Christmas*, and *like*.
- (2) a combination of letters can represent new sounds such as the *sh* in *shoe* and the *ch* in *chin*, or existing sounds such as the *gh* /f/ in *laugh* and the *ch* /k/ in *mechanic*.
- (3) the same letter can represent different sounds depending on its phonological environment, such as the letter *a* in *car*, *cat*, *any*, and *lake*.

Fortunately, the pronunciation of Amdo Tibetan is highly regular, more predictable than that of English. The connection between the writing and the pronunciation can be accounted for by a few simple rules and a very small number of exceptions. The following sections in this lesson introduce the inventory of the consonants and vowels of Amdo Tibetan. There are several sounds that will be entirely unfamiliar to English speakers (but not necessarily to speakers of other languages such as Chinese). If the reader finds himself at loss as to how to pronounce a certain sound in this chart, he should listen to and imitate the sound recording.

1.2.1 Consonant sounds represented by individual letters

Letter	Sound Description	Adopted Phonetic Symbol	IPA Equivalent	Examples
य	non-aspirated voiceless velar	k	k	k in sky (English); c in caro (Spanish); gao 'tall' (Chinese)

I	,			
ľ٩	stop aspirated voiceless velar stop	k ^h	k'	c in <i>cake</i> (English), <i>kai</i> 'open' (Chinese)
শ	শ্	k	k	identical to the sound of 7
5	velar nasal	ng	ŋ	ng in <i>long</i> and <i>singer</i> (English), can appear syllable-initially
3	non-aspirated alveo-palatal affricate	c	tø	j in <i>jia</i> 'home' (Chinese)
æ	aspirated alveo- palatal affricate	c^h	t¢'	q in qi 'seven' (Chinese), ch in chair (English) without [round] feature
Ę	3	c	tç	identical to the sound of 3
3	palatal nasal	ny	р	ñ in <i>niño</i> (Spanish); gn in <i>oignon</i> (French)
5	non-aspirated voiceless alveolar stop	t	t	t in sty (English), t in tener (Spanish); d in dai 'to bring' (Chinese)
ঘ	aspirated voiceless alveolar stop	t^h	ť'	t in <i>tie</i> (English), t in <i>tai</i> 'too' (Chinese)
5	5	t	t	identical to the sound of 5
व	alveolar nasal	n	n	n in no (English)
Ŋ	non-aspirated voiceless bilabial stop	p	p	p as in <i>spot</i> (English); p in <i>pan</i> 'bread' (Spanish); <i>bai</i> 'white' (Chinese),
ধ	voiceless bilabial stop aspirated	p^h	p'	p as in pot (English)
T	bilabial glide	W	W	w as in we (English)
ઢા	bilabial nasal	m	m	m as in my (English)

र्ड	non-aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	ts	ts	z in zou 'go' (Chinese)
ಹ	aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	ts ^h	ts'	z in <i>Zeit</i> (German), c in <i>ca</i> 'wipe' (Chinese), ts in <i>lets</i> (English), can appear syllable initially
ř	र्ड	ts	ts	identical to the sound of 3
त्स	voiced uvular fricative	RW	RM	r and the /w/ sound in <i>roi</i> (French), r in euro (French, German), no trill
ଜ	voiceless alveo- palatal fricative	sh	Ş	xia 'blind' (Chinese), sh in <i>she</i> (English) without [+round] feature
Ħ	voiceless alveolar fricative	S	S	s in sun (English), similar to the sound of \P , with less aspiration
વ	no phonetic value	(a)	(a)	N/A
Щ	palatal glide	y	j	y in yes (English)
x	alveolar retroflex liquid	r	z / r	word initially, r in <i>rang</i> 'let' (Chinese), word internally, r in <i>pero</i> (Spanish), just tap, no trill.
ঝ	alveolar lateral liquid	1	1	1 in <i>let</i> (English)
9	voiceless velar fricative	X	x/ç	ch in <i>Bach</i> and <i>ich</i> (German) in similar phonological distribution
**	(aspirated) voiceless alveolar fricative	s ^h	s'	s in <i>sun</i> (English); pronounced with strong aspiration
5	voiceless glottal fricative	h	h	h as in hello (English)
ISN	no phonetic value	(a)	(a)	N/A

Chart 1.2: Sounds represented by individual letters

Among the 30 letters of the Tibetan alphabet, two (\(\mathbb{Q}\) and \(\mathbb{M}\)) are used as a "space filler" in Tibetan orthography for an onsetless syllable and do not have any consonantal (or any phonetic) value. That is, they are used for syllables without an initial consonant so that the vowel diacritic can be written above or under them like a regular syllable. \(\mathbb{Q}\), in addition, can be used as a prefix (representing a nasal sound) or suffix (no phonetic value), to which we will return in Lessons 2 and 3. Of the remaining 28 letters, only 23 sounds, or phonemes, are represented, summarized in the consonant charts below. Chart 1.3A uses the phonetic symbols adopted in this book. Chart 1.3B shows the corresponding Tibetan letters for each sound.

	labial	alveolar	alveo- palatal	palatal	velar/uvular	glottal
stops [-voice]	p, p ^h	t, t ^h			k, k ^h	
fricatives [-voice]		s, s ^h	sh		X	h
fricatives [+voice]					RW	
affricates [-voice]		ts, ts ^h	c, c ^h			
nasals	m	n		ny	ng	
liquids		l, r				
glides				у	W	

Chart 1.3A: Consonants represented by single letters in Amdo Tibetan (Phonetic Symbols)

	labial	alveolar	alveo- palatal	palatal	velar/uvular	glottal
stops [-voice]	ದ , ಆ	5 = 5, ब			ग = ग्, व	
fricatives [-voice]		a , v	a		4	5
fricatives [+voice]					त्म	
affricates [-voice]		₹ = ₹ , ₺	₹ , ₹			

nasals	स्र	ठ	3	К	
liquids		त्य, म			
glides			ধ্য	Ω.	

Chart 1.3B: Consonants represented by single letters in Amdo Tibetan (Tibetan Letters)

There are 24 phonetic symbols in Chart 1.3A, but 28 letters in Chart 1.3B. The discrepancy in number comes from four pairs of letters, which have the same pronunciations. They are: $\sqrt[n]{\eta}$ [ka], $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ [ca], $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ [ta], and $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ [tsa]. The identical pronunciation of these pairs may cause some confusion. There are (infrequent) occasions when a speaker may say [ka] and the listener has to ask which [ka] it is: the open $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ (called $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$) or the closed $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ [ta] or the " $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ [ta], the round $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ (ca], or just the regular $\sqrt[n]{\xi}$ [ca]? This situation is similar to the δ and δ in Spanish, both of which are pronounced as a bilabial fricative [β]. A Spanish speaker sometimes has to specify whether the letter is a tall [β e] (δ larga) or a short [β e] (δ corta/chica). In Amdo Tibetan, these five pairs do not cause a great deal of spelling difficulty, as the position in which a letter appears in the syllable usually (but not always) indicates which letter is possible. We will return to this issue in Lesson 2.

1.2.2 Additional consonantal phonemes in the system

The charts given in the previous section, 1.3A and 1.3B, only show the sounds represented by single letters. These 24 sounds, in fact, are only a subpart of the entire Amdo consonant inventory, which contains 38 phonemes. (Some sub-dialects may have more.) For our purposes, and without investigating the details of Amdo dialectology, we shall treat the following chart of 38 contrastive consonantal phonemes, Chart 1.4, as the complete inventory of Amdo consonants. The 14 new sounds that are not represented by individual letters in the previous charts are shown in bold. Note that there are two additional sounds, namely, [f] and [v], which are included in this chart. We shall address these two sounds shortly.

	labial	alveolar	alveo- palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
stops [-voice]	p,p ^h	t,t ^h			k,k ^h	
stops [+voice]	b	d			g	
fricatives [-voice]	(f)	s, s ^h	sh		X	h, hw
fricatives [+voice]	(v)	Z	zh		R, RW	
affricates [-voice]		ts,ts ^h	c,c ^h			
affricates [+voice]		dz	j			
nasals	m	n		ny	ng	
retroflexes		tr,tr ^h dr,sr				
liquids		l, r				
aspirated liquids		l ^h				
glides				у	W	

Chart 1.4: A complete inventory of consonants in Amdo Tibetan

Note that the /R/ is similar to the uvular fricative /R/ in French *reine* 'queen'. Since Amdo Tibetan does not contrast velar sounds with uvular sounds, the authors place the /R/ in the column for velars. The reason that the combination /RW/ is written as a single phoneme is that, according to an Amdo speaker's intuition, the combination /RW/, represented by a single letter \mathfrak{A} , is considered a single consonant, which contrasts with another phoneme /R/, represented by the combination of the two letters \mathfrak{A} . \mathfrak{A} /RW/ as a single phoneme is similar to the German intuition that treats the combination of /ts/, represented by a single letter z such as in Zeit 'time', as a single sound (phoneme). The same consideration applies to the combination [hw], which is also listed as a single phoneme in the chart. [hw] in orthography is written as \mathfrak{A} .

In English, when letters are put together, the combination may represent new sounds, such as *ch*, *sh*, *th*, etc. Sometimes, it does not have to take a combination of letters. A single letter in



Letter(s)	Sound Description	Adopted Phonetic Symbol	IPA equivalent	Examples
^মা	voiced velar stop	හ	g	g in <i>go</i> (English)
^ E	voiced alveo- palatal affricate	j	dz	j in <i>joy</i> (English), lips stretched, without [+round] feature
्र मृत्य	voiced alveolar stop	d	d	d in day (English)
^\\	voiced bilabial stop	b	b	b in <i>bus</i> (English)
^ É	voiced alveolar affricate	dz	dz	ds in <i>ads</i> (English), can appear syllable initially
୍ଦ	voiced alveo- palatal fricative	zh	3	j in <i>je</i> (French), s in <i>pleasure</i> (English), without [+round] feature
< m	voiced alveolar fricative	Z	Z	z in <i>zeal</i> (English)

1, 3 column stop + π	non-aspirated voiceless alveolar retroflex	tr	tr	zh in <i>zhidao</i> 'know' in Chinese
2nd column stop + ₹	aspirated voiceless alveolar retroflex	tr ^h	tr'	ch in <i>chi</i> 'eat' (Chinese)
prefixed 3rd column stop + ₹	voiced alveolar retroflex	dr	dz	close to dr in <i>draw</i> (English), with lips stretched, without [+round] feature
হ:শ্র	voiceless alveolar retroflex	sr	Ş	sh in <i>shi</i> 'wet' (Chinese)
57	voiced uvular fricative	R	R	r in <i>route</i> (French), contrasts with [RW]
5 ¤	voiceless glottal fricative + [w]	hw	hw	wh in where/which (English dialect where h is pronounced), contrasts with [h]
त्य हैं	aspirated voiceless lateral fricative	l ^h	4	no close equivalent in familiar languages; try pronounce [1] simultaneously with lots of air

Chart 1.5: Fourteen sounds not represented by individual letters

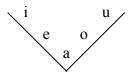
Do not worry about how the letters are put together to represent new sounds for the missing 14 consonants. This will be the main focus of Lesson 2, where we will learn the writing of subjoined, superjoined, and prefixed letters, as well as the phonological rules that create all 38 consonantal phonemes.

1.2.3 The Vowels Represented by Vocalic Diacritics

The four vocalic diacritics represent the vowels: /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/. Adding the null, or default, diacritic that represents the vowel /a/, we have the original five-vowel system of Classical Tibetan. The Amdo dialect has undergone significant changes from this five-vowel system and has evolved into a new seven-vowel system.

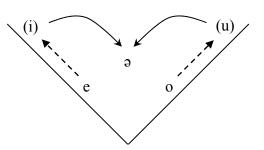
A. The Five-Vowel System of Classical Tibetan (preserved in writing)

Classical Tibetan has a five-vowel system, [a, i, u, e, o], represented by four vocalic diacritics. Except for the vowel [a], which is unmarked (a sort of default vowel in the writing system), the other four, namely, [i, u, e, o], are represented by 战, 战, and 战. Note that the letter 凶 is only a space filler and not a part of the diacritics. The four diacritics are called 为为[kə.kə], 何不可谓[shab.cə] or colloquially [sham.cə], 不到不识[dreng.wə] or colloquially [drəng.e], and 为于[na.ro], in that order.



B. Basic Four-Vowel System (actual basic vowels in Modern Amdo Tibetan)

The classic five-vowel system has evolved in Amdo Tibetan into a basic four-vowel system, [a, ə, e, o], with [i] and [u] merging into [ə], the central mid vowel known as the schwa. For example, the vowel diacritic $\widehat{\P}[\P]$ ($\widehat{\P}$) itself is pronounced as [kəkə] in Amdo (as opposed to [kiku] in classical Tibetan).



That the high vowels [i] and [u] have merged to [ə], vacating the original spots, makes it possible for many speakers to shift their mid vowels [e] and [o] upward towards [i] and [u], which resembles the English dialect where *pen* is pronounced close to *pin*. For learners of Amdo Tibetan, it is important to know that, even though some vowels are pronounced between [e] and [i] or between [o] and [u], their underlying forms are still \Re [e] and \Re [o]. (That is, native speakers think they are pronouncing \Re [e] and \Re [o], when foreign ears actually hear vowels closer to [i] and [u], respectively.)

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In order to reflect a native Amdo speaker's intuition about the underlying vowels of words, we will consistently mark the pronunciation of w and w as [e] and [o] in this book.

When a syllable has a final consonant, known as $\Re S$ suffix in Tibetan orthography, it may change the pronunciation of the preceding vowel. This suffixation creates three additional vowels, [i, u, i], turning the four-vowel system into a system of seven. This will be the focus of Lesson 3.

❖ 1.3 Oral Spelling (I): Simple Syllables

A simple syllable consists of a single consonant and a single vowel. The consonant is known as the root letter (ইনিস্ক্রি) in Tibetan orthography. The vowel can be either [a], which is unmarked, or [i], [e], [o] (জ), জ), which are written on top of the root letter, or [u] (ঙ্)), written underneath the root letter. Remember that the simple [i] and [u] are pronounced the same as [ə] in Amdo.

The custom of spelling out a syllable orally is unique to the Tibetan language. Unlike English, which spells out words in a letter-by-letter fashion, Tibetan spells out syllables in a "progressively-staged" fashion. Take the word *knight* for example. English employs a straightforward K-N-I-G-H-T oral spelling. Tibetan's progressively-staged fashion works like this: K-N reads N, plus I becomes NEE, plus GH becomes NIE, plus T results in NITE. This may sound complicated and difficult, but it is not. In the Amdo region, anyone who has had a couple of years of formal education at a Tibetan elementary school knows this spelling method like the back of their hand and can do it in rapid rhythm. Often, when asked by someone how a word is written, a native speaker will immediately perform the oral spelling. Therefore, it is practical to learn this method well.

For a simple syllable, one reads the name of the root letter followed by the name of the vowel, i.e., $\widehat{\P}$, $\widehat{\P}$, $\widehat{\P}$, $\widehat{\P}$, $\widehat{\P}$, or $\widehat{\P}$, and not by the phonetic value of the vowels as $[\widehat{P}]$, $[\widehat{P}]$, $[\widehat{P}]$. Remember that the name of the vowel diacritic $\widehat{\P}$ [drengwə] is generally not used in the oral spelling; instead, a variant form [drəng.e] is used, e.g. $\widehat{\P}$ [ka drəng.e ke]. More examples:

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- (2) ~ spells [nga naro ngo] (云云云云)
- (3) ক্ spells [cʰa shamcə cʰə] (ক্ত'ব্যমায়ু'ক্)
- (4) ই spells [tha drang.e the] (ম্ব্র্র্র্র্র্র্র্

When the vowel is [a], one simply spells with the name of the letter, which contains the vowel [a] by default. This is the simplest oral spelling. Examples: \$75799, etc.

For syllables without an initial consonant, either \(\mathbf{S}\) or \(\mathbf{Q}\) is used to serve as a "space filler" to carry the vowel diacritic (or in the case of [a], to represent the entire syllable). The choice between the two letters is lexically decided, considered part of the orthography of that word, so it needs to be memorized. Examples:

- (5) द spells [a naro o] (です ギズ)
- (6) दे spells [a drəng.e e] (ਟਾਰਗੈਟਾਰਟੇ)

A multisyllabic word is spelt out syllable by syllable before the whole word is repeated. Examples:

- (7) 🎢 'apple' spells [ka shamcə kə | xa shamcə xə | kəxə]
- (8) ${\bf 3}$ ${\bf 3}$ 'younger sister' spells [na shamcə nə | ma naro mo | nəmo]
- (9) ব্ৰী'ঝ 'sun' spells [nya kəkə nyə | ma | nyəma]
- (10) জ'ই 'older sister' spells [a | ca drəng.e ce | ace]

❖ 1.4 Exercises

1.4.1 The Alphabet: Write the Tibetan alphabet and circle the long-legged letters

1.4.2 Pronunciation Drill: Repeat each word after the recording

- (1) 중·최 (11) 축·취 (21) 축·죗 (31) 률·최 (32) 塚·충 (32) 塚·충 (33) 중·제 (13) 작취 (23) 평·취 (33) 塚·충 (33) 塚·숭 (33) 塚·숭 (33) 塚·숭 (33) 塚·숭 (33) 塚·숭 (33) 塚·숭 (33) 雅·숭 (33) 雅·숭

- (4) জন্ম (14) ব্রুমা (24) মঝা
- (34) মুর্জা

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(5) ष्यापी	(15) ই্র্রা	(25) धे'ষो	(35) कें बें।	
(6) बिस्प्रा	(16) স্থির্ন্	(26) ইঝা	(36) 🔊 🏋	
(7) लें भी	(17) প্র	(27) జేష్	(37) মঁ'দৃ'ম্য	
(৪) ই:হা	(18) के च ि	(28) कें नी	(38) মিন্মান্ত্রা	
(9) 3:91	(19) गॅ्रिने।	(29) गुःशु	(39) ष्यः विः दे दिन	
(10) স্থামা	(20) क्.सं.सा	(30) र्हें स्	(40) ष्यासे दिन्	
1.4.3 Sound Discrin	nination: Listen to	the recording and ci	rcle the sound you hear	
A. aspirated vs. n	non-aspirated conso	nants		
(1) $k - k^h$	(2)	t - t ^h	(3) ts - ts ^h	
(4) $c - c^h$	(5)	p - p ^h		
B. palatal vs. non	n-palatal consonants	S		
(6) ny - n	(7)	z - zh	(8) $w - y$	
C. nasal vs. non-n	asal consonants			
(9) p - m	(10)) t - n	(11) k - ng	
(12) $c - ny$				
1.4.4 Transcription	: Transcribe the	following syllables to	o Tibetan according to the sta	ndard
Latin transcription	n given on page 2.	e.g., a- ma: প্রে'ঝ		
(1) yi-ge		(11) sa-c	cha	
(2) ma-mo		(12) za-	ma	
(3) a-pa		(13) lo-t	ho	
(4) za-ma		(14) nu-	bo	
(5) ne-le		(15) ha-	go-ba	
(6) ya-ru		(16) zhe	-gi	
(7) zhi-la		(17) ga-	ge-mo	
(8) bzo-pa		(18) ngo	o-tsha	
(9) khe-tse		(19) kha	-bo	
(10) bo-bo		(20) gi-ş	gu	

1.4.5 Oral Spelling

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e.g., ର୍ଚ୍ଚ ଫ୍ର'୍ୟ' 'orange' spells: [ts^ha | la shamcə lə | ma | ts^ha lə ma]

(1) ই'স্ 'rope' spells:

(2) ڴڵڴ 'older brother' spells:

(3) ỡ'지 'to buy' spells:

(4) **उँ** 'शु 'rat' spells:

(5) র্ব'ঝ 'milk' spells:

(6) 축ੱੱ 'mountain' spells:

(7) रुँ प्र्यं water' spells:

(৪) প্র'্ম 'lamb' spells:

(9) $\widetilde{\mathfrak{A}}$ ' ξ 'colt' spells:

(10) প্র'র্ম'ন 'driver' spells: