Lesson 5  Where Are You from?

Key Grammar Points in Lesson Five:
1. Verbs of Identification: བོད་ vs. དོན་
2. Absolutive Case
3. Nationalities and Names of Countries
4. Personal Pronouns
5. Interrogative words: གླགྭ་ of Where, རིག་པ་ What, and རིག་པ་ Who

5.1 Dialogue

藏文 | 普通话
---|---
བོད་ | 我是西藏人 | 我是西藏人
བོད་ | 我是藏人 | 我是藏人
བོད་ | 我是西藏尼泊尔人 | 我是西藏尼泊尔人
བོད་ | 我是尼泊尔人 | 我是尼泊尔人
藏文 | 普通话
---|---
བོད་ | 我是誰 | 我是誰
བོད་ | 我是誰 | 我是誰
藏文 | 普通话
---|---
བོད་ | 我是誰 | 我是誰

Bai Li: How are you?
Tom: Good. How are you?
Bai Li: I am good too. Where are you from?
Tom: I’m from America. Where are you from?
Bai Li: I am from China. Who is she?
Tom: She is my friend.
Bai Li: Where is she from? Is she from America too?
Tom: No, she is from Japan.
Bai Li: What does she do? (Lit. What is her job?)
Tom: She is a student.
Bai Li: Who are they? Are they also students?
Tom: Yes, they are my classmates.
Bai Li: Where are they from?
Tom: He is from India. She is from France.

5.2 Vocabulary

5.2.1 Vocabulary from the Dialogue

1. བོད། pro. which
2. བོད། ་། pro. of/fro where (of origin)
3. ངོ་ཉོ་ོ། n. America
4. ངོ་ཉོ་ོ། n. China
5. ཆུ། pro. she, her
6. ཆུ། pro. who
7. ངོ་ཉོ། v. to be
8. ངོ་ཉོ་ོ། n. friend
9. ལ། adv. (neg.) not
10. ངོ་ཉོ། n. Japan
11. ངོ་ཉོ། [ོ། ་།] pro. her (Gen.)
12. ངོ། n. job
13. ངོ་ཉོ་ོ། [ོ། ་།] pro. they, them
14. ངོ་ཉོ། aff. plural marker (see 5.3.5)
15. ངོ་ཉོ་ོ། n. classmate
16. ངོ། pro. he, him
17. ངོ་ཉོ། n. India
18. ངོ་ཉོ་ོ། n. France

5.2.2 Additional Vocabulary

19. ངོ་ཉོ་ོ། person Lobzang
20. ངོ་ཉོ། n. America (from ངོ་ཉོ་ོ།)
21. ངོ་ཉོ། n. Canada
22. ངོ་ཉོ། n. Korea
23. ངོ་ཉོ། n. England
24. ངོ་ཉོ། n. Germany
The 在 this lesson differs from the sentential particle  在 introduced in Lesson 4. Here, 在 means also, but it has different syntactic properties from its English counterpart. The English adverb also appears in a fixed position (e.g., after to be), having the flexibility to refer to phrases that are not adjacent to it. Consider:

(1) Mary is a teacher. John is also a teacher.
(2) John is a teacher. He is also a poet. (He = John)

In (1), the adverb also refers to the subject John (Mary is, John also is.) In (2), when the subject remains the same, also refers to the noun phrase a poet (John is a teacher and also a poet.)

The context of the discourse helps the English speaker identify which phrase also refers to.

Tibetan zier is different. It must be attached to the right of the phrase to which it refers. For example:

(3) ཨེམ་རོ་ཁང་། མེད་པས་ཁང་། You are from the US. I am also from the US.

(4) གོའི་ཐོས་པ། གོའི་ལོ་། I am a teacher. I am also a student.

In (3), zier is attached to the subject ༉ I also; while in (4), it is attached to གོའི་ also a student. zier can also be used as a preposition meaning with (expressing accompaniment, e.g., with Tom, not instrument, e.g. with a hammer) or a conjunction meaning and, in the form of A zier B. For example:

(5) གོ་ནག་དོན་ད་། གོ་ནག་དོན་ད་། Lobzang and Dondrup are friends.

5.3.2 Nationalities and Names of Countries

Some of the names of Western countries are apparent transliterations from English such as ཁོ་མན་ America (sometimes truncated into a shorter form, ཁོ་), ཁང་ Canada, ཁང་རི་ France, ཁང་རྱི་ Korea, etc. Some other names, which sound less akin to the English language, are earlier transliterations into Tibetan such as ཁང་རྲི་ England and ཁང་རི་ Germany. Yet a third group of country names (mostly neighboring countries of Tibet) are indigenous Tibetan terms such as, གོ་མན་ India, ཁང་རི་ Nepal, etc. The term ཁོ་ refers to the part of China that is mainly Han Chinese. China (the political entity) is referred to by the term ཁང་, a Chinese loan word. In the Amdo region, where Chinese is spoken by most Tibetan people as their first non-native language, the Chinese word ཁོ་མན་ for America (meaning the United States) is understood more widely. It is the author's personal experience that the sentence ཁོ་མན་ཁང་། ཁོ་མན་ "I am from the US." is not as clear to Amdo Tibetans as ཁོ་མན་ཁང་།
To indicate a person's nationality, one uses the genitive case marker $A$ after the country's name. They refer to the origin of someone/something but not the language. For instance, འཛམ་ནག་means Japanese (a Japanese person and not the Japanese language). The word for person or people is རིག. For example: རིག་འཛམ་ནག་དེ།  He is German (Lit. He is a Germany's person). More examples: རིག་བོད། Frenchman, རིག་ཐོང་ རིག་ཐོང་ Japanese, རིག་ཐོང་ Indian, རིག་ཐོང་ Russian, but རིག་ Han Chinese, རིག་ Tibetan.

For names of languages, see Lesson 6.

5.3.3 Personal Pronouns

The colloquial forms of the third person pronouns are རིག or རིག་པ། she and རིག or རིག་པ། he. The genitive form for རིག is རིག་, in the standard written form. To reflect the colloquial pronunciation, we change it to རིག་. Similarly, རིག་ his is changed to རིག་. རིག་ takes the genitive case marker $A$ then changes to རིག་. རིག་ becomes རིག་. Examples:

1. རིག་བོད།  her friend  
2. རིག་བོད།  her teacher  
3. རིག་ཏོང་  his name  
4. རིག་བོད་མོ་བོད་མོ་བོད་མོ་བོད་མོ་བོད་མོ་བོད་མོ་བོད་མོ་བོད་  his students and his classmates.

Below is a summary of the absolutive and genitive forms of the pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>I, me</td>
<td>རིག</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>རིག</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>རིག</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>your</td>
<td>རིག།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 m.</td>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>he, him</td>
<td>རིག</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>རིག།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 f.</td>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>she, her</td>
<td>རིག</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Plural personal pronouns རྒྱ་ʓི, རྒྱ་ཇི, རྒྱ་ཟྲི are formed by adding the plural morpheme རྒྱ་ to the singular personal pronouns རྒྱ་, རྒྱ་, and རྒྱ་. Note that རྒྱ་ they does not have a gender distinction. It can refer to either a group of females or males. The genitive forms of plural pronouns are formed by adding the genitive case marker རྒྱ་.

► 5.3.4 Absolutive Case

Recall that in Lesson 4, we mentioned that Tibetan employs a case system that is different from that of English. The chart in 5.3.3 gives the absolutive and genitive forms of each pronoun. The absolutive case is the "unmarked" or base form of the noun and is usually used when the noun phrase is the subject of an intransitive verb, including the linking verbs རྒྱ་ and རྒྱ་, which we have covered in Lesson 4, or the direct object of a transitive verb, which we will cover starting from Lesson 9. The subjects of the following examples are marked absolutive:

(1) རྒྱ་ (Abs)’ རིྡི (Abs)’ རྒྱ་ How are you?
(2) རྒྱ་ (Abs)’ རྒྱ་ (Abs)’ རྒྱ་ She is from Qinghai.
(3) རྒྱ་ (Abs)’ རྒྱ་ (Abs)’ རྒྱ་ I am a student.
(4) རྒྱ་ (Abs)’ རྒྱ་ (Abs)’ རྒྱ་ I am not Tserang.

Note that in (3) and (4) the noun phrases རྒྱ་ student and རྒྱ་ Tserang function as nominal predicates, linked by རྒྱ་ to be to describe the subject. They have the same case as the subject རྒྱ་, therefore, absolutive. It is tempting for the English-speaking student to associate the absolutive case with the nominative case in English at this point. Please don't, for example (5) below proves that such an association is faulty and simply prevents the learner from internalizing the ergative-absolutive case system.

(5) རྒྱ་ (Obliq)’ རྒྱ་ (Abs.) རྒྱ་ My name is called John.

The noun phrase John in (5) is marked absolutive in the complement position, while the subject of the verb རྒྱ་ my name is, as we covered in Lesson 4, marked oblique case with Ladon.
The chart of pronouns above serves our purposes up to Lesson 8. We will then incorporate the Ergative Case for all pronouns in Lesson 9.

5.3.5 Plural Nouns and Plurality Marker གཉིས

Careful readers will notice that the plurality marker གཉིས is not attached to all plural nouns in English such as *students* and *classmates* in the following examples:

1. ང་པོ་བཞིན་བཞིན། We are students.
2. ང་པོ་བཞིན་བཞིན་ཞེས་པརོ། They are also my classmates.

The nouns ང་པོ་ *students* and ང་པོ་ *classmates* in (1) and (2) are called nominal predicates. When noun phrases are used as nominal predicates, linked by ཁུ་ or རུ་, it is always the unmarked (absolutive) form that is used. In fact, even though གཉིས can be attached to nouns to indicate plurality, it is often not used outside the pronominal (personal and demonstrative) category. A rule of thumb is that when a plural noun phrase is used vocatively (i.e., in calling), thus similar to a pronoun, then plural marking is used. For example, in *Comrades! Let's fight on!* or *Teachers and students, how are you all today?* the noun phrases *comrades, teachers,* and *students* can be marked with གཉིས. When plurality is expressed by means of numerals or demonstratives, the noun itself cannot take the plural marker གཉིས. We shall return to this issue in Lesson 7.

5.3.6 ཁུ་ vs. རུ་

In Lesson 4, we learned that the linking verb ཁུ་ *to be* expresses the subjective perspective of the speaker. In this lesson we will introduce its non-subjective counterpart རུ་ *to be*. Again, the criterion for choosing ཁུ་ or རུ་ is not directly related to "person" as a rigid grammatical entity. It would appear that the second and third person subject, when not in any way considered an extension of the speaker (the first person), employs the verb རུ་. The negative and interrogative forms of རུ་ follow those of ཁུ་: the negative adverb སྐ སེ is placed before རུ་ to form the negation སྐི་རུ་. The interrogative adverb སྐ སེ is placed before རུ་ to form a yes-no question. It is interesting to note that the two adverbs སྐ སེ and སྐ སེ seem to be somehow competing for the same
position before ཤེ, for it is impossible to put both of them in front of ཤེ to form a negative yes-no question. In other words, the combination *ཤེ་ཤེ is ungrammatical. One way to solve this problem is to use a sentential particle (ཤ for ཤོ and ཤོ for ཤེ) when the verb is negated (see Example (4)). The various forms are summarized below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>to be</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Non-Subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative</td>
<td>ཤོ་ཤེ</td>
<td>ཤེ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>ཤོ་ཤེ</td>
<td>ཤེ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>ཤོ་ཤེ</td>
<td>ཤེ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Interrogative</td>
<td>ཤོ་ཤེ</td>
<td>ཤེ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

1. ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ I am from the US. She is from Russia.
2. ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ Sophie is not a teacher. I am not a teacher either.
3. ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ Are you a student? Is he a student?
4. ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ ཤེ་ན། ཤོ་མ་ Isn't he your student?

The interrogative particle ཤེ in (4), called *Jeddul (ཇེད་ུན) in traditional Tibetan grammar, is the same as ཤོ, which we learned in the greeting ཤུན་ཤོུན་. Like Ladon, Jeddul also has several variants depending on the syllable preceding it. When the word that precedes it has a syllable-final consonant ཤོ or ཤོ, the form ཤོ is used. Other variants of Jeddul will be introduced in Lesson 11 (see 11.3.9).

5.3.7 Interrogative Pronouns: ཤོ who, ཤོཐོ what, and ཤོཐོ from/of where

Interrogative pronouns such as ཤོ who, ཤོ what, and ཤོ from/of where form “WH-questions”: *Who is she, What is that, Where are you from*, etc. There is one crucial difference between English and Tibetan WH-questions, however. Normally, interrogative pronouns in English are moved forward to a sentence-initial position to form questions (e.g. *Who did you see? as opposed to You saw who?). Under special circumstances, the interrogative pronouns can
stay "inside" the sentence. This is called an echo question, used by the speaker to show surprise, disbelief, or to ask for clarification. Compare the following examples:

(1) Where is he from? Who did you see? (normal questions)
(2) He is from where? You saw who? (echo questions)

Tibetan, like most other Asian languages, does not move forward the interrogative pronouns such as ི་ who, གཉིས་ what, and སྡེ་བོས་ where to the sentence-initial position. They stay put, or "in situ", inside the sentence just like the English echo questions shown in (2). Their presence in the sentence alone is sufficient to give the sentence a natural interpretation of a question. In other words, such Tibetan questions are interpreted as normal questions as the English questions in (1), and not the echo questions in (2). Moving forward interrogative pronouns to sentence-initial position is generally ungrammatical.

If the reader is not sure where the original position of an interrogative pronoun is, he can always test it by trying to answer the question first, then replace the key words by an interrogative pronoun. For example: བོད་པའི་ཁུལ་པོ་ཐོས་ སྒྲོལ། He is your teacher is the answer to the question Who is he? Therefore, the Tibetan word order for the question is: བོད་པའི་ཁུལ་པོ་ཐོས་ and not ཨུ་ཐོས་

Similarly, the following English questions are translated into Tibetan by placing the interrogative pronouns "in situ."

(3) What is her job? སྒྲོལ་ཇིག་ སིང་། (Lit. Her job what is?)
(4) Where is she from? ཐོ་ཁྲིད་ སིང་། (Lit. She where of is?)
(5) What is your name? སྒྲོལ་ཤིག་ རྡོ། (Lit. Your name what is called?)
(6) Who is our teacher? མཐོང་ལེགས་ དེ་ཚེ་ ཞུས་ སིང་། (Lit. Our teacher who is?)

The above word order should make perfect sense if one compares it with the answer to each question. The word ཱི in གཉིས་ is the interrogative what, which is often attached with the indefinite marker འཇི to indicate the indefinite nature of what (Lit. a certain what). Lastly, the phrase སྡེ་བོས་ from where actually consists of an interrogative word རྡོ་, meaning which, and the
genitive case $\text{ं}$. The word $\text{ं}$ can be used independently, meaning which, or with other particles or prepositions, e.g., $\text{ं}$ at which place (Lesson 7) and $\text{ं}$ to where (Lesson 10).

5.4 Cultural Notes

5.4.1 Tibetan Calligraphy

Earlier in the lesson, we introduced two writing styles, namely, Wuchan and Wumed. Literally, $\text{ं}$ means the headed, referring to the initial horizontal stroke that resembles the "head" of each letter, and $\text{ं}$ means the headless, referring to the removal of that head-stroke. In the Amdo region, the two styles are known as $\text{ं}$ “the white font” for the headed and $\text{ं}$ “the black font” for the headless. Together, they are called $\text{ं}$.

In terms of traditional Tibetan calligraphy, the headed is called Zabyig (ཞབ་བི). This is the style used in almost all printed material, and the style we learn in this textbook. The other headless calligraphic styles are all called Xarma (ཞབ་རམ་). Among them, depending on how cursive and how connected the strokes are produced, are the Drutsa (དྲུན་), Chuwig (ཞིུུུ་), and Chumatsug (ཞུམ་མཚུ་). Drawing a metaphor from music, if the printed style $\text{ं}$ is adagio, then the $\text{ं}$, $\text{ं}$, and $\text{ं}$ are, respectively, andante, allegro, and allegro ma non troppo. Below is a selection of different styles (courtesy $\text{ं}$, 1999).

![Tibetan calligraphy example]
Calligraphy-Example 1  Zabyig འབྲིས་འཛིན་
Traditional Tibetan calligraphy is written with a flat-topped bamboo pen, similar to a quill. The bamboo must be first treated with a layer of yak bone marrow or butter. After the bamboo has absorbed the substance, it is then heated and dried before the actual making of the pen. The width of the flap top decides the size of the words produced. Depending on the style of the
writing, the flap top needs to be cut either slanting towards right for ཨ་ནུ་ཙོ་ the headed or left for ཨ་ནུ་ཙོ་ the headless. When writing, the user holds the pen with his or her thumb and index finger and turns the pen clockwise or counterclockwise to produce the desired width and shape of each stroke. Generally speaking, horizontal strokes are thick and level; vertical strokes often thin and long. During the writing, a knife is sometimes needed to sharpen the pen.

Good penmanship, as well as proper spelling, is usually regarded as a reflection of one's education. Therefore, even though the thick-thin contrast of stroke shape in traditional calligraphy cannot be easily done with a ball-point pen, it is still a good idea for a student to write neatly and smoothly and to cultivate an esthetic sense of what makes proper Tibetan calligraphy.

✽ 5.4.3 Yes or No

The Tibetan language does not have the equivalent of the English yes or no. The short answer to a yes-no question is simply replying with the verb. For example, to answer do you like tea, Tibetan speakers, lacking the words yes or no, may say "Like." Do you eat lamb and yak meat? "Eat." In a negative response, the negative adverb ཡེད། cannot be used alone. The shortest possible answer is ཡེད། + verb.

Foreigners find it fascinating that in many areas not limited to Amdo, Tibetan speakers respond to a yes-no question or a statement by making a very brief inhaling sound. This is to signify agreement with your statement or yes to your question. As far as the Tibetan is concerned, by inhaling, he has already answered your question.

❖ 5.5 Key Sentence Patterns

■ 5.5.1 རོ་བོ། Asking About Origin
(1) རོ་བོ། མི་དེ། Where are you from?
(2) རོ་བོ། བཟོག་པའི་དེ། Where are they from?
(3) རོ་བོ། བཟོག་པའི་དེ། Where is she from?
(4) གཞལ་ལས། Where is John from?
(5) གཞལ་ལས། Where is Akimi from?

■ 5.5.2 Country / Place + མ།
(1) དབང་རྩོང་སྐྱིད། I am from Qinghai.
(2) སེམས་ལས། She/He is from China.
(3) གཞད་ལས། We are from Japan.
(4) གཞད་ལས། They are from England.
(5) གཞད་ལས། Sophie is from Europe.

■ 5.5.3 རེ་ to Be, རེ་ (Negative), and རེ་ (Interrogative)
(1) སྦྱར་སེམས་ལས། Is Dawa Dondrup a teacher?
(2) དེ་ན། No, he isn't. He is a student.
(3) བཞིན་ལས། Is Sophie from America?
(4) བཞིན་ལས། Sophie is not American. She's from France.

■ 5.5.4 རུ། Who
(1) སྦྱར་ལས། Who is she/he?
(2) དེ་སེམས། Who are you?
(3) དེ་ལས། Who are they?
(4) དེ་ལས། Who is Tserang Drolma?
(5) དཔལ་ལས། Who is Sangji Lhamo?

■ 5.5.5 Asking and Answering Questions About ལ་ གྱི་ Job
(1) སེམས་ལས། What’s his job?
(2) ཕྱིན་ལས། He is a farmer.
(3) བཞིན་ལས། What’s your job?
(4) སྦྱམས་ལས། I am a doctor.
(5) སྦྱར་ལས། What's their job?
(6) དེ་ལས། They are workers.

■ 5.5.6 Personal Pronouns, Absolutive and Genitive Case
(1) དེ་ལས། Who is our teacher?
(2) ཀུན་ལྡེ་བོད་ལ་འབྲེལ་པོ་ཐོན་པ་རེ། Is your (pl.) teacher from Lhasa?
(3) ཀུན་ལྡེ་བོད་ལ་འབྲེལ་པོ་ཐོན་པ་རེ། Are your students from America?
(4) ཤིག་པར་ཐོག་པ་ོད་པས་ལོང་གོ་རེ། Their doctor is Lobzang Dondrup.
(5) རོ་བོ་དཔལ་ཐོག་པ་ལོང་གོ་རེ། John and Mary are our friends.

❖ 5.6 Exercises

5.6.1 Listening Comprehension: True or False

(1) Tom is a student.
(2) Sophie is from France.
(3) Tom is from America.
(4) I am a student too.
(5) Tom, Sophie and I are friends.

5.6.2 Complete the Dialogues

(1) རྒྱུན་དབང་ཆེན་པོར། ________________?

(2) རྒྱུན་དབང་ཆེན་པོར། ________________?

(3) རྒྱུན་དབང་ཆེན་པོར། ________________?

5.6.3 Fill in the Blanks (I): Personal pronouns for (1), (2), དེ་ or དེས་ for (3) and (4)

(1) རོ་བོ་ཐོག་པ་སྒྲིབས་པས་ནི་ཚོགས་པ་རེ། _____________

(2) རོ་བོ་ཐོག་པ་སྒྲིབས་པས་ནི་ཚོགས་པ་རེ། _____________

(3) རོ་བོ་ཐོག་པ་རྩོང་བཞིན་____| རྩོང་བཞིན་____| དོན་པས་ལོང་གོ་རེ།

(4) རོ་བོ་ཐོག་པ་རྩོང་བཞིན་____| དོན་པས་ལོང་གོ་རེ།

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5.6.4 Fill in the Blanks (II): Insert the correct form of the genitive case

(1) ཞིབས་ཅིང་མཚན་སཤེས་པ།
(2) བོད་ཀྱི་མི་མ།
(3) དོན་དཔལ་སོ། བཤེས་པ། གཅིག་ཏུ་ཐོས་པ།
(4) བོད་པོ་སི་་ིམ་ཞིས་(my)སྐེལ་བའི་སུམ་ཅིང་།
(5) བོད་པོ་སི་་ིམ་ཞིས་(my)སྐེལ་བའི་སུམ་ཅིང་།
(6) བོད་པོ་སི་་ིམ་ཞིས་(my)སྐེལ་བའི་སུམ་ཅིང་།
(7) བོད་པོ་སི་་ིམ་ཞིས་(my)སྐེལ་བའི་སུམ་ཅིང་།
(8) བོད་པོ་སི་་ིམ་ཞིས་(my)སྐེལ་བའི་སུམ་ཅིང་།

5.6.5 Image Description: Introduce the following people according to the information provided. Start with "His/Her name is… S/he is from…etc."

[Images of three people]
5.6.5 Translation

(1) A: Who are they? Are they your students?
   B: No, they are not my students. They are my classmates.
   A: Where are they from?
   B: Tserang is from India. Sophie is from Europe. Akimi is from Japan.

(2) I am a teacher. I am not a student.

(3) A: What do you do?
   B: I am a worker. What do you do?
   A: I am a farmer.

(4) A: Is she Sophie? Where is she from?
   B: No, she is not Sophie. She is Mary. She is from England.

5.6.7 Oral Spelling

(1) ཐོར་ཤུན་ཐོ་ classmate   (2) སྦུང་ཐོ་ China
(3) གཞན་པོ་ Japan
(4) སྦུ་ཤུང་ཐོ་ England    (5) སྦུང་གཞན་ friend
(6) སྦུ་ཤུང་ job
(7) སྦུ་ཤུང་ worker     (8) སྦུ་ཤུང་ farmer