A MDO TIBETAN NAMING PRACTICES AND NAME POPULARITY

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ABSTRACT
Names, name frequency, and naming practices in Brag dmar nang (Zhemeang) Village, Dkar brjid (Garang) Township, Khri ka (Guide) County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, PR China and Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Khri ka County are presented and discussed. The literature on Tibetan naming practices in English, Chinese, and Tibetan is also reviewed.

KEYWORDS
A mdo, Mtsho lho (Hainan), Mtsho sngon (Qinghai), Tibetan naming practices
**INTRODUCTION**

When Mother (Shag rdo skyid b. 1964) was in her fifth month of pregnancy with me, my paternal grandmother, Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1936), suggested that she visit Bya khyung Monastery to worship and to obtain a name for me. Mother then walked with her aunt (Tshe ring skyid, b. 1930) and her sister (Rdo rje sgrol ma, b. 1954) to the monastery. They set off at about five a.m. from Brag dmar nang Village and, at about six in the evening, they reached the monastery where they stayed at a monk's quarters. The monk is a family friend and his living quarters are located about one kilometer south of the monastery's main temples and chanting hall. During their three day stay at the monastery, Mother circumambulated the entire monastery once in the company of her aunt and sister, and then visited Phag mo Temple, a small temple located about 200 meters southeast of the monastery's main hall.

Mother made an offering of some butter lamps before Buddhist images there and gave a loaf of homemade bread and ten RMB to the *lkog gnyer* as gifts. When she asked for a name for me, the *lkog gnyer* gave her a white piece of paper with two marks.3

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2 All first person references designate the first author unless otherwise indicated.

3 Bya khyung Monastery, founded in 1349 by Chos rje don grub rin chen (Shel 'byung 'khor thar the ring 2005), is located in the west of Tsha phug Township, Dpa'lung County.

4 Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1938, female) and Tshe ring skyid (b. 1930), both of Brag dmar nang Village, describe Phag mo Temple in Bya khyung Monastery:

   Phag mo Temple is a small temple in Bya khyung Monastery. Pregnant women often circumambulate and prostrate in front of this temple. Women who have difficulty becoming pregnant also visit Phag mo Temple with homemade bread and a small amount of cash, and beseech the deities for children. Also, if a woman really wants to have a son, she goes there to ask for a son. This really works sometimes.

5 A monk who assists pilgrims as part of his monastery duties. Monks assume the role of *lkog gnyer* in turn.
names and a loaf of bread, and said, "Please call the child Rdo rje bkra shis if it is a boy, and Phag mo sgrol ma if it is a girl. Please place this bread in your family shrine until you give birth."

Before visiting Bya khyung Monastery, Shag rdo skyid also visited Uncle Dge 'dun and asked him what rituals should be done to ensure a successful birth. Uncle Dge 'dun told her that if she chanted *Sgra dbyangs* she would give birth to a boy. Mother did this.

This is how I got my name.

What are prevalent A mdo Tibetan names? How are names obtained? How, when, and why are names changed? What are the characteristics of male and female names in A mdo? This paper attempts to answer these questions.

I chose two locations for name collection. One was my natal village - Brag dmar nang - located in Dkar brjid (Garang) Township, Khri ka County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, PR China. This village was chosen because I know the names of all the 233 villagers (110 male; 123 female). This also allowed for a focused examination of one particular community. The economics of the village are complex, with ongoing agriculture, animal husbandry, and outside employment, in addition to state-sponsored modern education.

In 2014, the village was home to about fifty-one households whose members were all classified as Tibetan. Brag dmar nang was an agro-pastoral village, with every household owning sheep, goats, mules, donkeys, and cows. However, with the availability of paid employment outside the village, only five village families kept livestock in 2014. Wheat, rape (canola), potatoes, a small amount of

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6 *Sgra dbyangs* refers to *Sgra dbyangs rgyal po'i mtshan*, a Buddhist scripture. 'Phrin las, a monk at Seng khri Monastery, 'Ba' County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon Province advised chanting this scripture helped women avoid miscarriage and give birth successfully.

7 The counties in Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture are Gser chen (Gonghe), 'Ba' (Tongde), Brag dkar (Xinghai), Mang ra (Guinan), and Khri ka.

8 At the time of this survey (2012), the youngest male villager was born in 2012 and the oldest was born in 1930.
barley, and some vegetables are cultivated on approximately thirty-three hectares of irrigated land.\textsuperscript{9} This community has also been described in Rdo rje bkra shis et al. (2012) and Tshe dpal rdo rje et al. (2009).

The second site for name collection was Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Khri ka County. For all students at the school, I collected names (in Chinese, according to the official school list), sex, birthdates, and ethnicity (all were Tibetan). Students were then asked to write their names and home areas in Tibetan. Altogether 1,468 students (673 female; 795 male) were surveyed.\textsuperscript{10} About eighty percent of the surveyed students were from Khri ka County. The other twenty percent were from other counties in Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

I collected data for this paper from both the school and the village. In addition, I interviewed thirty-three students at the school in the teachers' office asking each, "How did you get your name?" and "Do you have any stories to explain your name?"\textsuperscript{11}

Furthermore, I chatted with thirteen Brag dmar nang villagers, most of whom visited my home for reasons unrelated to this paper, and informally asked them the two questions just mentioned. The research was completed in late 2013.

\textbf{LITERATURE REVIEW}

Literature on Tibetan naming practices and name popularity is scant, especially in English. For this reason, we offer summaries of the literature we found, particularly for the Chinese and Tibetan language

\textsuperscript{9} Non-irrigated land is not cultivated.
\textsuperscript{10} The youngest male student was born in 1998 and the oldest in 1988. The youngest female student was born in 1999 and the oldest in 1990.
\textsuperscript{11} When I was collecting the names from Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, some syllables of the names collected were spelled differently, e.g., grub/ˈgrub, skal bzang/bskal bzang, ˈphags/phag, ˈtsho/mtsho, and so on. I standardized spellings and used them to analyze the data. For instance, I used grub for all ˈgrub, and mtsho for all ˈtsho.
materials. With the exception of Basang (2010) and Childs (2003), none of the authors we review explain how they collected the data and sources of their data.

I begin with Childs (2003), who discusses naming practices and name popularity in sKyid grong by focusing on a list dating to 1958 of 2,844 government taxpayers in sKyid grong, "a district-level administrative unit (rdzong [county]) in Tibet" (17). Though descriptive of a community in western Tibet, Childs' data is useful as a reference point for Amdo studies. How children and people in general in sKyid grong composed their names including nicknames is discussed with illustrative examples. Childs notes that (19):

...Tshe ring was by far the most common name in sKyid grong with 299 individuals - more than 10 percent of the entire population - having this as either their first or second name. Nyima and Zla ba had the distinction of being the most popular first names. bsTan 'dzin was not a very frequent name in sKyid grong during the early part of the 20th century, in contrast to the current situation among the exile population.

In terms of frequency of name prefix and suffix by gender, Childs writes (20):

...some names (Nor bu, Tshe dbang, and rDo rje) could be given to females, but were usually reserved for males. Also, some names are gender neutral when used as first names yet more gender specific when given as second names. Tshe ring, bSod nams, bKra shis, Tshe brtan, and bsTan 'dzin are gender neutral as first names but are used almost exclusively for males as second names, whereas Phur bu is used as a second name only for females. ...some names are used frequently as first names but rarely occur as second names (bSod nams, Blo bzang, bsTan 'dzin, bKra shis, and all the day-names except for Phur bu), while others are almost always used as second names (Don grub for males, sGrol ma and Bu khrid for females being the most striking examples).
Childs suggests that unusual entries in the name list are possibly nicknames, noting that nicknames are common and based on physical attributes, intellectual aptitude, and mental abilities, e.g., *nag mdog* 'black colored', *mgo ril* 'round head', *blun po* 'fool', *tha shal* 'bad' 'inferior', and *lkugs pa* 'mute' 'deaf'. Childs notes that nicknames might not state a negative attribute, but be applied in jest. Childs does not provide accounts of naming practices of monks and nuns, nor does he discuss Tibetan surnames.

Based on my information, nicknames in Brag dmar nang Village are used in two contexts. *Gces ming* is a name frequently used for children and friends to express kindness and affection. In contrast, a *mtshang ming* name is used to mock friends and others by basing it on their physical attributes and personality. *Mtshang ming* are more frequently used among children than adults and are particularly common among peers.

*Kho* and *phrug* are common second syllables used in *gces ming*, regardless of name length. For example, Rdo rje mtsho, is a female name, and a common *gces ming* for this name is Rdo phrug. Similarly, Rdo kho is the *gces ming* of the male name, Rdo rje bkra shis. Tshe kho is the *gces ming* of the female name, Tshe ring mtsho. In this case, *kho* and *phrug*, do not signify gender differences as they apply to both male and female *gces ming*. The first two syllables of a name (regardless of name length) represent *gces ming* in Brag dmar nang Village, e.g., 'Brug rgyal is *gces ming* for 'Brug rgyal tshe ring, Tshe gzungs, is *gces ming* for Tshe gzungs skyid, and so on. Other diminutives include using the first and third syllable of a name (regardless of name length), e.g., Rdo bkra for Rdo rje bkra shis, and Phag skyid for Phag mo skyid.

Different categories were identified by the author in the course of field research in A mdo. Almost every Brag dmar nang villager has a *mtshang ming*. For example, Rna rko 'flat nose', Kha stug 'thick mouth', Dmar rdo 'red cheeks', and so on. Examples of *mtshang ming* signifying personality include a villager called Feiji (Chinese for 'airplane') because he constantly fidgeted when he was a youth. Another villager is called Spyang ki 'wolf' as the result of his persistent tendency to obtain the most benefit from whatever activity.
he was engaged in. A *mtshang ming* is sometimes used regardless of physical characteristics and personality. For example, as described above, a female villager called Rna rko (*mtshang ming*) has the formal name 'Phag mo mtsho'. If another female child were born in the village and was named Phag mo mtsho, that child would then be called Rna rko (her *mtshang ming*).

**Chinese Language Literature**


Li (1987), Danzhuangjia (1994), Jia (1994), Ga Dawacairang (1996), Gama Jiangcun (1998), Basang (2010), Gazang Zhuoma (2008), He (2009), and Nong (2013) mention naming practices based on religious terms, birthdates, natural objects, hopes for the child's future life, and the hope that the mother would have no more children. Gazang Zhuoma (2008), for example, writes that Meiduo (Me tog) 'flower', and Dahai ('Rgya mtsho) 'ocean' are given based on natural objects; Duojie (Rdo rje) 'vajra', and Zhuoma (Sgrol ma) 'Tara' are given based on religious terms; Cairang (Tshe ring) 'long life' and Xingfu (Bde skyid) 'happiness' are given based on hopes for the child's future life; Canmujue (Mtshams gcod) 'stop', is given based on the hope that this is the last child for the mother; and Chuoyi (Tshe gcig) 'first', and Xingqier (Gza' mig dmar) 'Tuesday' are names based on birthdates.  

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12 Names are given as provided by the authors and depend on the language the authors employed, i.e., Tibetan or Chinese. Names given in Chinese are followed by Pinyin and Wylie equivalents.
He (2009) adds that Xingqiliu (Gza' spen pa) 'Saturday', Chuba (Tshe brgyad) 'eighth', and Guoqing 'National Day' are given based on birthdates. He states that parents whose other children are all females, and who wished to have a male, name the last female child Puchi (Bu khrid) 'lead to a boy' 'bring a boy'. If children died at a young age, and their parents wish to avoid accidents for a child, Puke (Bu gog) 'ugly child' might be given as a name. He further writes that when a child is seriously ill, parents name it Xiluo (Shi log) 'be dead and come back' in order to escape such suffering. Naming practices including nicknames of lay people, monks, and nuns are briefly mentioned with content very similar to Daola (1984).

Nong (2003) writes that rich families used clan and manor names as surnames to show their high family status. He notes that class and privilege are evident in Tibetan surnames in the past; only high-ranking officials and reincarnate bla ma had surnames while ordinary people did not. Although not stated, I assume this refers to the ancient clans in central Tibet. Nong claims that Tibetans take their children to monasteries and temples and ask a bla ma to name them. However, some parents whose poverty did not allow them to consult a bla ma named their children by themselves, or asked relatives and prestigious villagers for names. Nong provides examples of naming practices based on hopes for a child's future life and the wish that there be no further births, e.g., Ciren (Tshe ring) 'long life' and Qimei ('Chi med) 'no death'; and Cang mu jue (Mtsams gcod) 'stop' and Qiongda (Chog thal) 'enough'. Nong further notes that poverty and poor hygiene meant that children often died, an event that parents attributed to ghosts. In such cases, Qijia (Khyi skyag) 'dog shit', and Qizhu (Khyi phrug) 'puppy' might have been given in the hope the child would have a long, good life.

Nong also states that new naming practices resulted from the Chinese Revolution, for example, Jinzhu (Bcings grol) 'liberation', Dama (Dar dmar) 'red flag', Dejimeiduo (Bde skyid me tog) 'happy flower', Sajinima (Gsar brje nyi ma) 'revolutionary sun', and Jinzhumeiduo (Bcings grol me tog) 'liberation flower'. Illustrations are also given of how numbers, age differences, physical attributes (cripple, big head), vocations (doctor, carpenter), and gender were
used in names. While naming practices in terms of the number of name syllables and gender are briefly mentioned, no information is given on the specific location of the study, and when and how the data were collected.

Qu (1982) argues that Tibetans historically did not have surnames. Instead, they put tribal names, and the names of chieftains and landowners in front of their names (given names) as their surnames. Furthermore, names of Tibetan children attending Chinese schools were transliterated into Chinese characters by teachers. Such students then gradually used the first character of this name as a surname. Some Tibetans put Chinese surnames in front of their names as their own surnames.

While this may be the case, the Mongghul (Monguor, Tu) scholar Limusishiden (personal communication),\(^\text{13}\) describes how certain Mongghul living in Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County in Mtsho sngon Province acquired their Chinese surnames:

One family received their surname, Fu, from an official work team during the Great Leap Forward in 1958. This team visited the village and asked the family what their family was called in Mongghul. When they were told Bayan Kun 'Rich Man', they were designated as the Fu 'rich' family. Similarly, a family in Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township derived their surname, Niu, when an official work team came to the village and saw a person from the family herding cattle, then gave the surname Niu 'cattle'.

Did Tibetans acquire Chinese surnames in similar fashion? This question deserves further research. Some A mdo Tibetan families appear to have had Chinese surnames for a long while. For example, Stobs stag lha (2013:38) reports on the Ma families from Ledu County in Mtsho sngon Province who fled to Chu cha Village in about 1945 to escape Ma Bufang's oppressive rule. They had the Ma surname before arrival and were unable to explain its origin.

\(^{13}\) Email on 7 October 2015.
In addition, Qu states that it is easy for those who understand Tibetan culture and tradition to distinguish Tibetan names for lay people, monks, and nuns, and by gender. This is, however, debatable. For example, based on my experiences and observations, Pa sangs and Zla ba are frequently used by both females and males. Zla ba, for example, is the name of a female in Zhi'u (Xiewu) Township, Khri 'du (Chenduo) County, Yul shul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and also the name of a male in Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County, both of whom I know. In terms of female names, Qu writes that, Wangmu (Dbang mo), Lamu (Lha mo), Zhuoma (Sgrol ma), and Yangjin (Dbyangs can) are only female names, with the majority of female names featuring such suffixes as mu (mo), ji (skyid), cuo (mtsho), ma (ma), and xian (byams).

Li's (1987) general comments about Tibetan names include how naming practices changed after Liberation, and how Tibetans acquired Chinese names. Li (1987) writes that some children were named Gongchantai where Gongchan (Chinese) signifies 'communist' + tai (thar), a common suffix syllable of Tibetan male names. Another example is Wengecairang where Wenge (Chinese) refers to the 'Cultural Revolution' and Cairaing (Tshe ring) means 'long life' in Tibetan. Such naming practices, Li writes, reveal Tibetan attitudes of devotion toward communism and socialism. Li (1987) also notes that some children who were born during the Cultural Revolution were named Zhandou 'battle', Weidong 'Safeguard Chair Mao', and so on.

Danzhengjia (1994) introduces Tibetan surnames and their origins, and posits four great Tibetan surnames – Se (Bse), Mu (Rmu), Dong (Ldong), and Dong (Stong). He also discusses tribal names, place names, marriage and its relationship to surnames, how poor families without surnames acquired surnames, and the names of religious figures. Danzhengjia emphasizes the important role of Buddhism in Tibetan naming practices and name popularity. Focusing on the names of laypeople and monks, he states that, regardless of location, Buddhist terms are frequently associated with Tibetan naming practices, for instance, Zhuoma (Sgrol ma), Jiayang ('Jam dbyangs), and so on. Danzhengjia also briefly discusses naming practices in terms of gender.
Danzhengjia (1994) mentions how certain names indicate places of origin, e.g., regional variation in mountain deities, key monasteries, and srung ma 'protective goddesses', e.g., Hedong (Rma shar), Hexi (Rma nub), and Heyin residents of Khri ka County venerate the Wenchang (Bun khrang) Temple in Khri ka County Town. Consequently, they have names such as Wenchangtai (Bun khrang thar), Wenchangjia (Bun khrang rgyal), Wenchangji (Bun khrang skyid), and Wenchangzhuoma (Bun khrang sgrol ma). In another example, he notes that certain people from Tongren (Reb gong), Rma lho Prefecture are named Xiawucairang (Sha bo tshe ring), Xiawudongzhu (Sha bo don grub), Xiawuji (Sha bo skyid), and Xiawuzhuoma (Sha bo sgrol ma), owing to the locally venerated Xiawu (Sha bo) Mountain Deity. Similarly, in Hualong (Dpa' lung) Hui Autonomous County, people are named Lijiatai (Klu rgyal thar) and Lijiacairang (Klu rgyal tshe ring) because of Lijia (Klu rgyal), a deity in Dandou (Dan tig) Monastery in Dpa’ lung County.

In terms of gender patterns, Danzhengjia (1994) reports that cuo (mtsho), ji (skyid), and mao (mo) are common syllables in girls' names. How male names and female names are composed is mentioned, including nicknaming practices. Naming practices for monks are also briefly discussed. Details of name popularity and how data were collected are not given.

Ga Dawacairang (1996) comments on the historical development of Tibetan naming practices (irrespective of region), how names were composed, and their cultural meaning and significance. In terms of gender, he claims that most female names consist of suffixes - Sgrol ma, Mtsho mo, Lha mo, Bzang mo, and Dpal mo - while most male names are composed of Tshe ring, Dgra 'dul, Lhun grub, and Don grub. He omits discussion of name popularity, and how and where data were collected.

Gama Jiangcun (1998) discusses Tibetan naming practices in the context of historical development, Tibetan Buddhism, and how

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14 Dan tig Monastery, founded in 911 (http://tinyurl.com/q9orzkd, accessed 6 October 2015), is located in the contemporary Dpa’ lung Hui Autonomous County, Mtsho sngon Province. For more on this monastery, see 'Jigs med mkhas grub (2013) and Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring (2005).
Tibetan *rus* 'surnames', a reference to patrilineage, are composed. The author focuses on naming practices of children and associated cultural connotations. The author also mentions naming practices for monks and nuns. Detailed accounts and name popularity are not mentioned.

Basang (2010) focused on 2,286 Tibetan student names collected at Lha sa Teacher's Nationalities School from 2007 to 2009, and concluded that, according to the frequency of names in accordance with the number of syllables and gender, female names commonly employ such suffixes as mu (mo), zong ('dzoms), yang (g.yang), ga (dkar), ma (ma), cuo (mtsho), zhen (sgron), la (lha), and ji (skyid). The author notes that Tibetan names of four syllables reveal certain gender specificity, i.e., most male names feature two disyllabic components. Other names are composed of two syllables lacking gender specificity, for example Baima (Pad ma) and Dawa (Zla ba). Examples of typical male names, female names, and names that lack gender specificity are briefly mentioned.

Basang claims that in terms of name frequency by gender, male names account for forty percent, female names for forty percent, and gender neutral names comprise nineteen percent. He notes that in terms of gender and number of syllable components, seventy-seven percent of male names are composed of four syllables, twenty-three percent of two syllables while three syllable components comprise only 0.06 percent. Similarly, among female names, names of four syllable components account for seventy-three percent, those of two syllables twenty-three percent, while three-syllable components constitute four percent.

Tibetan Language Literature

Ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. (2001), Shes rab bstan dar (2012), Gcod pa tshe ring (2012), and Dpal lha (2006) provide Tibetan language materials on Tibetan naming practices. There are a

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15 Basang does not identify the location of the students' homes.
few additional works on Tibetan naming practices in the Tibetan language, but I could not locate them. They were published in the 1980s, and online resources of much such Tibetan literature are not yet easily accessible.

Ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. (2001) focus on Tibetan lineages. *Tibetan Histories Addenda et Corrigenda* (2010) criticizes this work for its idea that Tibetan 'surnames' (an approximating translation for the word *gdung-rus* as used in this book) have always worked just like Chinese surnames, which is simply not the case.

Ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. (2001) discuss *rus* frequency during certain time periods in terms of syllable components, and claim, for example, that thirty-six Tibetan *rus* appeared from 1251 to 1351, among which eight *rus* (twenty-three percent) were composed of one single syllable, twenty-seven (seventy-five percent) were composed of two syllable components, and one *rus* (two percent) was composed of three syllable components. The list of Tibetan *rus* provided is only for historical figures such as emperors, queens, princes, administrators, officers, writers, and nobles.

The authors also mention *rus* of certain contemporary Tibetans and provide a list of *rus* of Tibetan writers, *bla ma*, teachers, and others. Khri ka Ban de tshe ring of Qinghai Medical College is given as an example with Khri ka explained as being the *rus* of Ban de tshe ring.

Shes rab bstan dar (2012) discusses 'tsho and mtsho, common suffix syllables of Tibetan female names. He suggests that, according to the works of ancient Tibetan scholars, mtsho is used as a suffix for female names while 'tsho is used for males and gives the examples Gangs dkar mtsho (female), Gangs dkar 'tsho (male), and such additional examples as Sgrol ma mtsho, Ye shes mtsho, Lha mo mtsho, and Bkra shis mtsho (female) and Sgrol ma rgya mtsho, Ye shes rgya mtsho, Lha mo rgya mtsho, and Bkra shis rgya mtsho
(male). He points out that rgya followed by the mtsho suffix is a male name.

Gcod pa tshe ring (2012) briefly introduces Tibetan *rus* origins and development. He states that Tibetans stopped using *rus* when Buddhism reached Tibet and religious names began to be used. Naming practices based on different schools of Tibetan Buddhism, and Bon, and their significance are mentioned. Naming practices based on religious terms, *srung ma* 'protective divinities' 'guardian deities', birthdates, and home place are also noted with examples. Location of the study, and when and how the data were collected are not given.

Dpal lha (2006) claims that Tibetan names originally derived from the four or six great *rus* - Bse, Rmu, Ldong, Stong (Sdond), Dbra, and 'Bru ('Dru). He describes the importance of maternal names in naming practices in early society and how the names of kings, queens, and officers relate to naming practices. Naming practices in terms of gender specificity and syllable components are mentioned only briefly. In terms of naming practices based on different schools of Tibetan Buddhism, Dpal lha provides much the same content as Gcod pa tshe ring (2012).

As mentioned, most of the literature we reviewed consists of brief writings ranging from one to six pages in length that provides no information on how the data were collected, where, and when. In contrast, the research reported in the present paper was carried out in one specific Tibetan village - my natal village in Khri ka County, and in Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Khri ka County. This allowed us to examine Tibetan naming practices, naming frequency and name popularity in one particular Tibetan region in A mdo.

We now shift from a broad introduction of naming in the bibliographic essay into the next section of the essay, which is a consideration of who give names and why, a numeric report based on field research, and the gendered nature of names.

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16 They include Rnying ma, Sa skya, Dge lugs, and Bka’ brgyud.
17 Published in 1983 by *Tibetan Studies*.
NAME GIVERS AND NAME CHANGES

To better understand who gave names, I interviewed thirty-three students and thirteen Brag dmar nang villagers. Seven students (four males, three females) from Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School said that they did not know how they got their names. For example, Lha lo tshe ring (b. 1991, male) said, "I don't know how I got my name. I didn't ask my parents about this and they never told me." Similarly, the Brag dmar nang villager, Khe gri (b. 1978, male), said, "I don't know how I got my name."

Knowledge of the origin of a name may not be absent, but may be scant. For example, Rig 'dzin mtsho (b. 1993, student, female) said, "I'm sure my name was given by one of my family members, but I'm unsure who gave it to me. I've never really thought about it." And Brag dmar nang villager, Tshe ring skyid (b. 1930, female), Brag dmar nang Village confided, "I only know my name came from a monk at Sku 'bum Monastery."

However, others I interviewed had more to say about how they obtained their names, though the depth of this knowledge varied. Rdo rje rgyal (b. 1992, student, male) reported that family members do not give names to their children in his village. To do so, they believe, would bring trouble:

My name was given by a bla ma from Hor rgyal Village, Chu nub County Town, Khri ka County. People in my village usually get names from Bya khyung and Kha sha mthil Temple. I never heard a villager say that a name was given by their family members. Villagers believe that a name given by a family member will bring obstacles and difficulties.

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18 Sku 'bum/ Sku 'bum byams pa gling is one of the largest Dge lugs monasteries in China. Located in Ru gsar, it is situated about twenty-six kilometers from the center of Zi ling City. Founded in 1583 by the third Dalai Lama, Bsod nams rgya mtsho, Sku 'bum is the birthplace of Tsong kha pa (1357-1419), founder of the Dge lugs Sect (Rdo rje bkra shis et al. 2012).
19 Kha sha mthil is located about two kilometers north of Gshong gshan Township Town, Dpa' lung County, Mtsho shar Region. It was founded in about 1400 by 'Jam dbyangs, a monk from Lha sa (Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring 2005).
This observation contrasts with other students in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, who said male family members had named them. For example, Klu mo skyid (b. 1994, student, female) explained that her father gave her a name that combined both of her parents' names:

Father's name is Klu rgyal 'bum and Mother's name is Klu dkar skyid. Father named me Klu mo skyid because this name is composed of both his and Mother's names. Father put mo between klu and skyid because I am a girl. Father named one of my sister's Tshe dbang skyid. She was often sick. When a tantric monk from our village was consulted, he gave her a new name - Gu ru mtsho. Afterwards, she became healthy.

Bsod nams don grub (b. 1994, student, male) offers a similar story of a male family member giving a name based on his own name:

Grandfather (Pad ma bsod nams) gave me my name. He named several of my family members with half of his own name. For example, my brother is named Pad ma rdo rje and my sister's name is Bsod nams mtsho. Most people in my village name their children, however, if they become seriously sick, they visit a bla ma and change their name.

Dge 'dun mtsho (b. 1996, student, female), said:

My name was given by Mother's uncle, who is neither a monk nor a tantric practitioner. Most villagers give names to their own children, but if there are no grandparents living in the home, they generally consult an incarnate bla ma and ask for a name.

Chos mtsho sgrol ma (b. 1993, student, female) mentions that few families in her community name their children and also explains that her maternal grandparents named her:
My maternal grandparents in Mother's natal home in Gcan tsha County gave me my name. The majority of the people in my village ask a village bla ma or tantric practitioner for names for their children. A few families give names to their own children.

G.yang skyid mtsho (b. 1993, student, female) said, "My name was given by one of my uncles who is a village monastery monk." Similarly, Rdo rje phag mo (b. 1997, male) said:

My name was given by a village monk my family usually invites to chant at our home. My family visited this monk after I was born and asked for a name. Most villagers visit the local monastery to ask for names for children. A few families give names to their children.

Sngags pa 'tantric practitioners' are frequent name givers, as the following accounts demonstrate:

Lha mo mtsho (b. 1999, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

My father, Lha mchog skyabs, told me that seven days after I was born in my mother's home in Mi nyag Village, Dpa' lung County, my grandfather visited the tantric practitioner, Dbang Idan, who named me Lha mo mtsho.

Shag rdo skyid (b. 1964, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

Aunt told me that a well-known tantric practitioner called Gu ru tshe ring from Mi nyag Village, Dpa' lung County named me Shag rdo skyid. This tantric practitioner's grandmother was also named Shag rdo skyid. I was born in the same animal year\(^20\) she was born in, so he gave me his grandmother's name.

\(^{20}\)This refers to the twelve year animal cycle: rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, and tiger.
Dpal mtsho skyid (b. 1999, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

My father, Khe gri, said that seven days after I was born, my family invited a local tantric monk, Dpal chen, to my home. He named me Dpal mtsho skyid. Dpal chen also said that it would be good for my future if I never ate aquatic animals and if an image of Gsang bdag was placed in the family's shrine.

Dpa' g.yang 'bum mtsho (b. 1995, student, female):

I don't know much about my name. Father said my name was given by a tantric practitioner from Lha khang thang Township, Khri ka County.

Khen thar sgrol ma (b. 1993, student, female):

My name was given by a village tantric practitioner. I don't know the details. Most villagers have names given by religious practitioners at Sku 'bum or Bya khyung monasteries.

Lcags thar tshe ring (b. 1993, student, male):

A well-known tantric practitioner from my village gave me my name. The year and time are important when giving a name, but I don't know much about it. Most people in my village go to Dkar brjid sngags khang\(^\text{21}\) and ask the bla ma there to give a name for their children. Some parents name their own children, usually giving the same name as that of a grandparent.

\(^{21}\) Dkar brjid sngags khang/ Dkar brjid sngags khang rnam grol pad\(+\)ma gling is located in G.yam Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County. It was founded during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) (Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring 2005).
Tshe mo rgyal (b. 1996, student, female):

My name was given by a tantric practitioner from my village. Most families in my village consult a *bla ma* or tantric practitioner for a name. A few families name their own children.

*Bla ma* and monks are also commonly consulted and asked to give names, as the following accounts show:

Stobs chen rgyal (b. 1994, student, male):

My name was given by a *bla ma*. He is still alive and from Bragdkar County. Most of my villagers go to a local incarnation *bla ma* and ask him for a name when a child is born.

G.yang skyid rgyal (b. 1993, student, female):

Uncle told me that my family asked for a name from a *bla ma* from Mang ra County before I was born. The *bla ma* said, "It's very good if the child is a male but, if the child is a girl, then give her a boy's name." G.yang skyid rgyal is the name the *bla ma* suggested.

Tshe ring rdo rje (b. 1991, student, male):

A *bla ma* from Mgo mang Township gave me my name. Most of my fellow villagers visit this *bla ma* for names. A few families name their own children.

Lcags byams tshe ring (b. 1991, student, male):

A *bla ma* from my village gave me my name. Villagers usually ask a local *bla ma* to name their children. No one in the village names their own children.
Phag mo skyid (b. 1994, student, female):

Mother told me that when she was pregnant, a bla ma from Bya khyung Monastery gave me my name. Most villagers usually go to local tantric practitioners and ask them to name their children.

Tshe brtan rgyal (b. 1995, student, male):

Sman sog Bla ma gave me my name. I don't know where he was from. My parents told me that the bla ma passed away when I was seven or eight years old.

Chos bzang sgrol ma (b. 1995, student, female):

About all I know is that a bla ma in Bya khyung Monastery gave me my name. Some families in my village consult someone in a monastery or a tantric practitioner, and others name their children.

Dpal skyid (b. 1996, student, female):

My parents told me that my name was given by a bla ma from Lha khang thang Township, Khri ka County. The majority of the villagers consult a bla ma from their own village.

Rdo rje bsam grub (b. 1996, student, male):

My parents told me that a bla ma gave me my name, but I don't know who that bla ma was or where he was from. Most villagers' names are given by their grandparents. A few families consult a bla ma.

Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1936, female, Brag dmar nang villager) said:
My name was given by Dkon mchog rgya mtsho, a monk from Upper Sde tsha Monastery. When I became pregnant in my twenties, I visited Bya khyung Monastery to prostrate and circumambulate, hoping I would successfully give birth. A monk from Upper Sde tsha Monastery asked me to do this and assigned me the task of circumambulating and prostrating a billion times at Bya khyung Monastery. I was unable to successfully complete this task because I was too weak physically. I gave birth to a girl who, unfortunately, passed away when she was nine months old. She would probably still be alive if I had successfully completed the billion prostrations and circumambulations.

Phag mo skyid (b. 1999, Brag dmar nang villager, female):

Mother (Shag rdo skyid b. 1964) said that in the eighth lunar month when she was pregnant, she went to Bya khyung with other village women and asked the lkgog gnyer for a name. He kindly gave her a white piece of paper with two names and said, "If it is a boy, call him Dgra 'dul rdo rje. If it is a girl, call her Phag mo skyid." That's how I got my name.

Lha sgron (b. 1965, Brag dmar nang villager, female), Tshe ring rdo rje's (b. 2012, male) maternal grandmother, said:

When Tshe ring's mother was pregnant, I visited Bya khung Monastery with his mother to circumambulate Phag mo Temple. We believe that such religious activities at this temple help us give birth more easily. We also asked a bla ma there for a name

22 Tuttle (2010:33-39) writes:

The original d+hl/ Lde tsha Monastery was founded in the seventeenth century by d+hl tsha nang so as a branch monastery of Bya khyung Monastery and shortly afterwards became the seat of the First Zhwa dmar Pandita (b. eighteenth century). The New/Upper d+hl tsha Monastery was founded by the Fourth Zhwa dmar Pandita (1729-1796).
A mdo Tibetan Naming Practices

for the unborn child. The bla ma said, "Call the child Phag mo skyid if it is a girl and Tshe ring rdo rje if it is a boy."

Names may be changed during times of illness, for example, Ban de tshe ring (b. 1995, student, male) reported:

My parents told me that Grandfather gave me my first name. I don't know what that name was. Later, I became very sick and my family went to Klu tshang23 Monastery where my name was changed to Ban de tshe ring. Most families in my village give names to their own children but, if the children get very sick, they go to the local monastery to change their names.

Chos skyong mtsho (b. 1936, Brag dmar nang villager), the paternal grandmother of Phag mo mtsho (b. 1993, female), also gave an account of illness and name change:

About seven days after Phag mo mtsho was born, I visited Uncle Dkon mchog tshe ring, a tantric monk, in Sdong rgan thang Village, Dkar brjid Township, Khri ka County. I asked him for a name for my granddaughter. After returning home, I had forgotten the full name, but I was sure it was something like Tshe gzungs. The family then decided on the name Tshe gzungs sgrol ma. Later, she became very sick. The family took her to several bla ma and also went to several hospitals. Finally, the family went to Bya khyung Monastery where her name was changed to Phag mo mtsho.

Tshe ring skyid (b. 1930, Brag dmar nang villager), the maternal grandmother of Phag mo rdo rje (b. 1998, male), also gave an account of a name change involving visiting Bya khyung Monastery:

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23 Klu tshang/ Rnye dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling is located about two kilometers northwest of Mang ra Township Town, Mang ra County. It was founded in 1889 by the fourth Rnye incarnation, Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (Shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring 2005).
Right after he was born in Brag dmar nang Village, his mother took him to visit her natal home in Dongpen where his grandfather, Dkon ris, gave him the name Yul Iha tshe ring. When he later became very sick, his family visited Bya khyung Monastery and a monk gave him a new name - Phag mo rdo rje.

ILLNESS AND NAME CHANGE

The belief that a name may be too 'strong' (*btsan* in Tibetan) may refer to ordinary people who have the names of such extraordinary people as Tsong kha pa or Mi la ras pa. It is a common idea that ordinary people lack merit to deserve the names of extraordinary people and that they may be harmed by such names. This may then lead to name change. Klu mtsho sgrol ma (b. 1993, student, female) explained:

My first name, Nor 'dzin dbang mo, was given by a village tantric practitioner. When I got sick at the age of two, my family visited a *bla ma* who said, "Nor 'dzin dbang mo is quite a strong name for her," and then he changed my name to Klu mtsho sgrol ma.

Similarly, Phag mo rdo rje (b. 1994, student, male), said:

My first name was Phag mo don grub. It was given by a *bla ma* in Bya khyung Monastery. I became very sick when I was three or four years old. Many blotches stayed on my face. My family visited the *bla ma* who had given me my first name. He said that my name was too strong and he changed it into Phag mo rdo rje. I then completely recovered. Some villagers visit Sku 'bum Monastery for a name for their children while others name their own children.

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24 She did not know the *bla ma*'s name nor where he was from.
THE DATA

The data for Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School and Brag dmar nang Village are presented separately, however, the same parameters of analysis are used. The broad questions this data addresses relate to gender and frequency of occurrence:

- the most common names irrespective of gender
- the number of syllables in names irrespective of gender
- the most common first two syllables for all names
- the most common final two syllable names for names with six and four syllables.
- the most common four syllable names for both males and females
- the most common three syllable names for males and females
- the most common two syllable names for both males and females,
  and
- the most common final syllable in three syllable names for both males and females.

Name Data for Mtsho lho (Hainan) Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School

Of the total 1,468 names surveyed, 795 were male and 673 were female. As shown in Figure 1, only two names were shared by both males and females: Ye shes (one male, one female) and Bsod nams (one male, one female).

Figure 1. The most common names for males and females (1,468 students - 795 males, 673 females) in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Khri ka County.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring don grub</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Phag mo mtsho</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje tshe ring</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rdo rje mtsho</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub rgyal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tshe ring sgrol ma</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most common names for males were Tshe ring don grub (ten), Rdo rje tshe ring (nine), Don grub rgyal (eight), Tshe ring rdo rje (seven), Rdo rje don grub (seven), Phag mo don grub (seven), Bsod nams rdo rje (seven), Tshe ring thar (six), O rgyan tshe ring (six), Klu 'bum tshe ring (six), Don grub tshe ring (six), Bsod nams tshe ring (six), and Bkra shis tshe ring (six).

The most common names for females were Phag mo mtsho (twelve), Rdo rje mtsho (eleven), Tshe ring sgrol ma (ten), Rdo rje sgrol ma (nine), Rin chen sgrol ma (eight), Phag mo skyid (eight), Phag mo sgrol ma (eight), Tshe ring lha mo (seven), Tshe dbang sgrol ma (seven), Rin chen skyid (seven), Rdo rje skyid (seven), and Pad ma mtsho (seven).

No single name for either females or males had a high frequency. The most common names listed above accounted for eleven percent of all males surveyed and fifteen percent of all females surveyed. This suggests considerable diversity in local names and naming practices. However, as subsequent discussion will show, when syllables comprising names are analyzed, there is much commonality between genders.

Among the most common names for males, thirteen had four syllables and two had three syllables. Of the female names, twelve had three syllables and six had four syllables.
Figure 2. Syllable length of names for both males and females.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># of Syllables</th>
<th># of Names</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,468</td>
<td></td>
<td>795</td>
<td>54.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>48.09</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>66.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>45.03</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>40.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one (male) name had six syllables - Gu ru tshe brtan rdo rje. Of all names, six (all male) had five syllables, 706 (469 males, 237 females) had four syllables, 661 (396 females, 265 males) had three syllables, and ninety-four (fifty-four males, forty females) had two syllables, as shown in Figure 2. Most names (ninety-three percent) had either four syllables (forty-eight percent) or three syllables (forty-five percent). Five syllable names accounted for less than 0.5 percent and were all male names - Skal bzang ting 'dzin rgyal, Rta mgon po thar, Pad ma don grub rgyal, Sras mchog rdo rje rgyal, Bsod nams dpa’ ldan rgyal, and Blo rta mgrin rgya mtsho. Two syllable names accounted for about six percent of total names.

Only males had names with six syllables and five syllables. Of the students who had four syllable names, sixty-six percent were male and thirty-four percent were female. In contrast, sixty percent of three syllable names were female, compared to forty percent for males. About fifty-seven percent of the two syllable names were for males (forty-three percent for females).

Rdo rje was the most common first two syllables for all names, as displayed in Figure 3.

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25 This is a formal name. "Gu ru" is neither added as a nickname nor does it indicate this student’s status as a teacher.
Figure 3. The ten most common first two syllables for all names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bsod nams</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phag mo</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pad ma</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skal bzang</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lha mo</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rta mgrin</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgrol ma</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About twice as many males (sixty-three) had these two beginning syllables as compared to females (twenty-nine). The same was true for the second and third most common first two syllables, Tshe ring and Bsod nams, although the gender discrepancy was less pronounced, i.e., thirty-seven males as compared to twenty-eight females, and thirty-six males and twenty-one females, respectively. Phag mo, Rin chen, Lha mo, and Sgrol ma were more common for females than males.

Gender differences in the final two syllables of all names are even more dramatic, as indicated in Figure 4, which does not include names that have only two, three, or five syllables.

Figure 4. The most common final two syllables for names with six and four syllables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sgrol ma</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bkra shis</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rgya mtsho</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe brtan</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The two syllables in a two syllable name are not considered as 'final'. In the case of the final two syllables in five and three syllable names it may be inappropriate to split the two syllable phrase that has a significant meaning in the context of A mdo Tibetan naming practices. For example, in the name Tshe ring mtsho,\(^{26}\) Tshe ring indicates 'long life', and Mtsho means 'lake'. Ring mtsho, in contrast, lacks specific meaning. Similarly, the final two syllables rje rgyal in the name Sras mchog rdo rje rgyal lack specific meaning, whereas rdo rje translates as 'vajra'. There are exceptions, for example, the final two syllables rgya mtsho in the case of the five syllable name Blo rta mgrin rgya mtsho, indicates 'ocean', but this is uncommon in contemporary Tibetan naming practice in terms of our survey. In the case of three syllable names, g.yang indicates 'auspicious' or prosperity' in the name G.yang dpal 'dzoms. Dpal 'dzoms signifies 'abundant glory' 'all virtuous things'.

Of the total 165 students whose names ended in Sgrol ma, 163 were female, while only two were male. Similarly, of the 148 students whose names end in Tshe ring (the second most common final two syllables), 135 were male and only thirteen were female. In addition, these final two syllables were only found for males: Rdo rje (seventy-seven), Don grub (fifty-six), Rgya mtsho (twenty-five), Tshe brtan (twenty-two), Rnam rgyal (ten), and Rin chen (ten). Lha mo (nineteen) was only found in names for females.

Figure 5 shows the most common four syllable names for males and females.

\(^{26}\) As noted, Tshe ring signifies 'long life' while mtsho means 'lake'. However, in the context of Tibetan naming practice, Tshe ring mtsho indicates 'long life' while \textit{mtsho} is merely a suffix.
Figure 5. The most common four syllable names for both males and females.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring don grub</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tshe ring sgrol ma</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje tshe ring</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rdo rje sgrol ma</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring rdo rje</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rin chen sgrol ma</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje don grub</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Phag mo sgrol ma</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phag mo don grub</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tshe ring lha mo</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bsod nams rdo rje</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tshe dbang sgrol ma</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O rgyan tshe ring</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sangs rgyas sgrol ma</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klu 'bum tshe ring</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bsod nams sgrol ma</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub tshe ring</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tshe skyid sgrol ma</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bsod nams tshe ring</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lha mo sgrol ma</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bkra shis tshe ring</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bde skyid sgrol ma</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common male names were Tshe ring don grub (ten), Rdo rje tshe ring (nine), Tshe ring rdo rje (seven), Rdo rje don grub (seven), Phag mo don grub (seven), Bsod nams rdo rje (seven), O rgyan tshe ring (six), Klu 'bum tshe ring (six), Don grub tshe ring (six), Bsod nams tshe ring (six), and Bkra shis tshe ring (six). The ten most common four syllable names for females were Tshe ring sgrol ma (ten), Rdo rje sgrol ma (nine), Rin chen sgrol ma (eight), Phag mo sgrol ma (eight), Tshe ring lha mo (seven), Tshe dbang sgrol ma (seven), Sangs rgyas sgrol ma (six), Bsod nams sgrol ma (six), Tshe skyid sgrol ma (five), Lha mo sgrol ma (five), and Bde skyid sgrol ma (five).

The most frequent name for males was Tshe ring don grub (ten) and for females it was Tshe ring sgrol ma (ten).

The most common three syllable names for both males and females are presented in Figure 6.
Figure 6. The most common three syllable names for both males and females.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don grub rgyal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Phag mo mtsho</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring thar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rdo rje mtsho</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skal bzang 'bum'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Phag mo skyid</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lcags thar rgyal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rin chen skyid</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dbang chen rgyal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rdo rje skyid</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe thar 'bum'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pad ma mtsho</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snying lcags rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tshe ring skyid</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skal bzang rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Khon thar skyid</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>'Brug mo rgyal</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje 'bum'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sgrol dkar skyid</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phag pa skyabs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sgrol ma mtsho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pad ma rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rin chen mtsho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lha 'brug rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rig 'dzin mtsho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kun thar rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Klu mo mtsho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gsang bdag skyabs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bsod nams skyid</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnam lha rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bde skyid mtsho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.yang skyabs rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phag mo mtsho (twelve), Rdo rje mtsho (eleven), and Phag mo skyid (eight) were the three most common three syllable names for females. The five most common male names with three syllables were Don grub rgyal (eight), Tshe ring thar (six), Skal bzang 'bum (four), Lcags thar rgyal (four), and Dbang chen rgyal (four).

The most common two syllable names for males were Rdo rje (four), Mgon po (three), Tshe ring (two), Thub bstan (two), and Rgya mtsho (two). Phag mtsho (three), Byams mtsho (three), Sgrol ma (two), Mtsho mo (two), Klu mo (two), and Gnam mtsho (two) were the six most frequent two syllable names for females.

Figure 7 shows the most common final syllable in three syllable names for both males and females.
Figure 7. The most common final syllable in three syllable names for both males and females.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final Syllable</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rgyal</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtsho</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skyid</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thar</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skyabs</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Bum</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yag</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byams</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkhar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgrol</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rgyal was the most common syllable for males (177) - nearly five times more frequent than for females (thirty-two). Similarly, mtsho appeared 174 times for females, but not once in male names. A third very common final syllable for females was skyid (161), which did not appear at all in names for males. Similarly, skyabs appeared thirty-one times in male names, but not once for females.

VILLAGE DATA

Names, name frequency, and naming practices in Brag dmar nang (Zhemeang), a village of 233 residents (110 males, and 123 females), are now examined, beginning with the most common names for males and females, as shown in Figure 8.
A mdo Tibetan Naming Practices

Figure 8. The most common names (males and female) in Brag dmar nang Village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phag mo tshe ring</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rdo rje mtsho</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje bkra shis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Phag mo sgrol ma</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje tshe ring</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lha mo tshe ring</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rdo rje sgrol ma</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring rdo rje</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>'Brug mo mtsho</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mgon po tshe ring</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sangs gyas sgrol ma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rta mgrin dbang rgyal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bsam grub sgrol ma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje rab brtan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Phag mo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje lhun grub</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bun khrang mtsho</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe brtan rdo rje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lha ris</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bsod nams rdo rje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Phag mo skyid</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phag mo don grub</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sgrol ma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen rdo rje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tshe ring skyid</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pad ma dbang rgyal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Phag mo mtsho</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring don grub</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gcod pa mtsho</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub tshe ring</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje rin chen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dpal chen rdo rje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No single name was recorded more than seven times. The single most common female name was Rdo rje mtsho (seven) and the most common male names were Phag mo tshe ring, Rdo rje bkra shis, and Rdo rje tshe ring, each of which appeared four times. However, this changes when names are analyzed in terms of syllables, as shown in Figure 9.
Figure 9. Syllable length of names for both males and females.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># of Syllables</th>
<th>Total Names = 233</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No villagers had a name with more than four syllables. Of the 148 four syllable names, sixty-four percent were for males and thirty-seven percent were for females. Ninety-one percent of the fifty-four, three syllable names were for females as compared to only nine percent for males.

Rdo rje was the most common first two syllables for both males (twenty-two) and females (fourteen), followed in popularity by Phag mo (twenty-five) for both males (nine) and females (sixteen) as Figure 10 shows.

Figure 10. The most common first two syllables for all names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phag mo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pad ma</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bsod nams</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mgon po</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangs rgyas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkha’’gro</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bkra shis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lha mo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the first two syllables of all names, Lha mo was only used for females (five) and Bsod nams was recorded only for males (six).
Gender division is also evident for the final two syllables for all names, as shown in Figure 11.

**Figure 11. The ten most common final two syllables for all names.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sgrol ma</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don grub</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bkra shis</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dbang rgyal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtsho mo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe brtan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rnam rgyal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rin chen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sgrol ma was recorded only for females (thirty-two) and Tshe ring was used four times more often by males (twenty-four) than by females (six). In addition to Sgrol ma, other gender specific final two syllables include Don grub (nine males), Dbang rgyal (five males), Mtsho mo (five females), and Tshe brtan (five males).

Figure 12 displays the most common four syllable names for males and females.

**Figure 12. The most common four syllable names for males and females.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Name</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Female Name</th>
<th>#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phag mo tshe ring</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Phag mo sgrol ma</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje bkra shis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lha mo tshe ring</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje tshe ring</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rdo rje sgrol ma</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshe ring rdo rje</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sangs rgyas sgrol ma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mgon po tshe ring</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bsam grub sgrol ma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rta mgrin dbang rgyal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje rab brtan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo rje lhun grub</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phag mo tshe ring (four), Rdo rje bkra shis (four), and Rdo rje tshe ring (four), were the most common four syllable names for males. The most common four syllable names for females were Phag mo sgrol ma (six), Lha mo tshe ring (three), and Rdo rje sgrol ma (three).

Rdo rje mtsho (seven) and 'Brug mo mtsho (three) were the most common three syllable names for females.

There were only five three syllable names for males (Tshe ring rgyal, Tshe ring byams, Tshe ring thar, Rdo rje thar, and Lha mchog skyabs) and each occurred only once.

Don grub was the most common two syllable name for males (three occurrences) while the most common two syllable names for females were Phag mo (two), Lha ris (two), and Sgrol ma (two).

The final syllable in three syllable names was closely associated with gender. Mtsho was used by twenty-nine females and not once by a male, while skyid was used by twenty females, but not once by males as a final syllable. Thar was used by two males as a final syllable and not once by females.

**Gender and Names**

Gendered naming practices in both Brag dmar nang Village and Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School merits discussion. All of the 233 Brag dmar nang villagers and 1,468
students that I orally interviewed were named by males. However, there are exceptions, e.g., Tshe lo skyid (b. 1994, female) indicated that most villagers in her home community consult nuns in Gcan tsha County for a name:

A bla ma from Sum pa Village – Mother’s natal village – gave me my name. Most of my villagers go to a nunnery in Gcan tsha County and ask the nuns for a name when there is a birth in the home. If the family has monks or tantric practitioners, then they give names to their children.

This is the only example we have of women systematically naming children.

The study shows that syllable length was related to gender, e.g., only males had names with five or six syllables.

Furthermore some final syllables were strongly predictive of gender, for example, mtsho (174 times) and skyid (161) were final syllables for females and never featured in male names in the school data. For males, skyabs appeared thirty-one times but not once for females in the school data.

This finding was echoed in Brag dmar nang Village data, where mtsho featured twenty-nine times or females, and skyid twenty times for females but neither featured even once for males. Thar was used by two males but not by females. From this data it could be inferred that in three syllable names skyid and mtsho indicate a female.

The picture is different for two and four syllable names. Some names lacked gender specificity, i.e., the school data showed that Ye shes and Bsod nams were shared by both males and females. In the case of four syllable names, the first two syllables rarely indicate gender while the final two syllables may distinguish gender. For instance, Rdo rje, Don grub, Rgya mtsho, Tshe brtan, Rnam rgyal, and Rin chen, and Dbang rgyal were used only for males in both the school and village data while Sgrol ma, Lha mo, and Mtsho mo were found only for females as final two syllables. Tshe ring was a gender neutral name. This resonates with Childs's (2003) finding that Tshe
ring and Bsod nams tended to be gender neutral names while Sgrol ma was used exclusively for females Don grub and Rgya mtsho were only for males.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Childs's (2003) data, which is limited specifically to Skyid grong in the Tibet Autonomous Region, provides a valuable point of contrast for this study of names in A mdo both in terms of changes in time and locations; it examines names fifty years before our data collection and in an area outside of the A mdo region. Comparison highlights notable differences. Childs lists the most common names that have four syllables, and unusual common names. For example, Tshe ring was the most common name in sKyid grong with 299 individuals as either the first name (first two syllables) or second name (final two syllables) for both males and females. Nyi ma and Zla ba were the most common first names. In terms of gender specificity, Tshe ring, bSod nams (Bsod nams), bKra shis (Bkra shis), Tshe brtan, and bsTan 'dzin (Bstan 'dzin) are gender neutral as first names, but are used almost exclusively for males as second names, while Phur bu is used as a second name only for females.

In contrast, of the 1,468 names surveyed in Mtsho lho Number Two Nationalities Senior Middle School, Khri ka County, Rdo rje were the most common first two syllables for all names. About twice as many males (sixty-three) had these first two syllables than females (twenty-nine). When used as the first two syllables in a name, Tshe ring (thirty-seven males, twenty-eight females) and Bsod nams (thirty-six males, twenty-one females) were not gender specific.

Unlike Childs's finding, Nyi ma, Zla ba, Bkra shis, and Bstan 'dzin were uncommon names in our school data. Similar to the school data findings, in Brag dmar nang Village, Rdo rje (thirty-six) was also the most common first two syllables for both males (twenty-two) and females (fourteen), followed in popularity by Phag mo (twenty-five) for both males (nine) and females (sixteen). Among the first two syllables of all names in Brag dmar nang Village, Lha mo was only
used for females (five) and Bsod nams was recorded only for males (six).

In terms of the most common last two syllables for all names surveyed in the school, 165 ended in Sgrol ma (163 females, two males). Of the 148 names ending in Tshe ring, 135 were males and thirteen were females. In addition, as the final two name syllables Rdo rje (seventy-seven), Don grub (fifty-six), Rgya mtsho (twenty-five), Tshe brtan (twenty-two), Rnam rgyal (ten), and Rin chen (ten), were found only for males while Lha mo (nineteen) was found for females only.

The most common final two syllables in Brag dmar nang Village were Sgrol ma, which was recorded only for females (thirty-two). Tshe ring was used by four times more males (twenty-four) than females (six). In addition to Sgrol ma, other gender specific final two syllables include Don grub (nine males), Dbang rgyal (five males), Mtsho mo (five females), and Tshe brtan (five males).

Naming in our study area is a living process that is very much ongoing in A mdo. We encourage more research in ethnographic Tibet on local naming practices to better understand naming - a fundamental aspect of language and culture.
REFERENCES

'Jigs med mkhas grub དོན་གཟིགས་མཁས་པ། 2013. Gnas mchog ri bo dan tig gi gnas bshad shel gyi me long གནས་མཆོག་ཨི་འདོད་ཤེལ་སོད་དོན་པོ ཡི་མེ་ལོང་། [Sacred Land Praise of Dan tig Mountain]. Zi ling ལིང་: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang སྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་གནས་ཁང་། [Qinghai Nationalities Press].


NON-ENGLISH TERMS

'ba' བ་ (ཧི།)
'bru ི།
'brug mo mtsho བྲུག་མོ་མཚོ།
'brug mo rgyal བྲུག་མོ་རྒྱལ།
'brug rgyal བྲུག་རྒྱལ།
'brug rgyal tshe ring བྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཚེ་རིང་།
'bump ི།
'dru ི།
'grub ི།
'jam dbyangs ཟླ་དབྱངས།
'phags ཟླ།
'phrin las ཟླིན་ལས།
'tsho ི།

A
a mdo འམ།

B
Baima བཱ་མ་ (པད་མ།)
ban de tshe ring བན་དེ་ཚེ་རིང་།
Basang བསང་ (པ་སངས།)
bde skyid mtsho བདེ་སྒྲིད་མཚོ།
bde skyid sgrol ma བདེ་སྒྲིད་གྲོལ་མ།
bka' rgyu བཀ་རྒྱུ།
bKra shis (bkra shis) བཀྲ་གཤིས།
bkra shis mtsho བཀྲ་གཤིས་མཚོ།
bkra shis rgya mtsho བཀྲ་གཤིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།
bkra shis tshe ring བཀྲ་གཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་།
bla ma བླ་མ་།
blo bzang བོ་བཟང་།
blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma བོ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དོན་མ།
blo rta mgrin rgya mtsho བོ་རྟ་མིགྲིན་རྒྱ་མཚོ།
blun po བྲུན་པོ།
bon བོན།
brag dkar བྲག་དཀར་ (Xinghai 兴海)
A mdo Tibetan Naming Practices

brag dmar nang (Zhemeang 著么昂)
bsam grub sgrol ma
bse
bskal bzang
BSod nams (bsod nams)
bsod nams don grub
bsod nams dpa' ldan rgyal
bsod nams mtsho
bsod nams rdo rje
bsod nams rgya mtsho
bsod nams rin chen rgyal
bsod nams sgrol ma
bsod nams skyid
bsod nams tshe ring
btsan
bsTan 'dzin (bstan 'dzin)
bu khrid
bun khrang mtsho
bya khyung
byams
byams mtsho
bzang mo
C
Cairang (tshe ring)
Cangmujue (mtshams gcod)
chos bzang sgrol ma
chos mtsho sgrol ma
chos rje don grub rin chen
chos skyong mtsho
chu cha
chu nub
Chuba
chuoyi
Ciren
Cuo
D

d+hI tsha nang so
Dahai 大海 ('rgya mtsho 甘)
Dama 达玛 (dar dmar 烏)
dan tig 丹提
Dandou 丹斗 (dan tig 丹提)
Danzhengjia 旦正加 (rta mgrin rgyal 旦正加)
Daola 道拉
Dawa 达瓦 (zla ba 拉)
 dbang chen rgyal 丹增切
 dbang ldan 丹增lane
 dbang rgyal 丹增拉
 dbra 丹
Dejimeiduo 德吉梅朵 (bde skyid me tog 德吉梅朵)
dge 'dun 该顿
 dge 'dun mtsho 该顿着
 dge lugs 该龙
 dgra 'dul 该都
 dgra 'dul rdo rje 该都热智
 dkar brjid 该布吉 (Garang 甘让)
dkar brjid sngags khang 该布吉桑加康
 dkar brjid sngags khang rnam grol pad+ma gling 该布吉桑加康
 dkon mchog rgya mtsho 该布吉桑加康
 dkon mchog tshe ring 该布吉桑加康
 dkon ris 该布吉
 dmar rdo 道多
 don grub 道格
 don grub rgyal 道格拉
 don grub tshe ring 道格龙
 Dong 董, 东 (ldong 羅crap, stong 聲)
Dongpen 东朋
 dpa' g.yang 'bum mtsho 该阳 该铜康
 dpa' lng 该隆 (Hualong 化隆)
dpa' ris 该林
A mdo Tibetan Naming Practices

dpal 'dzoms དཔལ་འཛ’མས།
dpal chen དཔལ་ཆེན
dpal chen rdo rje དཔལ་ཆེན་ོ་*ེ
dpal lha དཔལ་ལ།
dpal mo དཔལ་མོ
dpal mtsho skyid དཔལ་མཚ’་(ིད
dpal skyid དཔལ་%ིད།
Duojie 多杰 (rdo rje མོ་)
Duojiezhaxi 多杰扎西
F
Feiji 飞机
fu 富
G

g.yam ༣ཞ

Gama Jiangcun 嘎玛降村 (skar ma rgya mtsho ར་མ་%་མཚ’།
Gansu 甘肃
gangs dkar 'tsho སྣངས་དཀར་འཚ*
gangs dkar mtsho སྣངས་དཀར་མཚ*
Gazangzhuoma 党藏卓玛 (skal bzang sgrol ma བཟང་’ོལ་མ་
gcan tsha རང་ཞ
gees ming རིཊ
gcod pa mtsho རུང་མཚ
gcod pa tshe ring རིཊ
gdung rus དཔལ་མཚ‘།
gnam lha rgyal གནམ་ལ་%ལ།
gnam mtsho གནམ་མཚ
Gongchan 共产
grub རུང་།
gsang bdag ལོགས་འཛ

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gsang bdag skyabs གསང་བདག་པ། སྒྲ་བ།
gser chen གསར་ཆེན།
gser gshong གསར་གཤོང་།
gshong gshan གཤོང་གཤན།
gu ru mtsho རུ་མཚོ།
gu ru tshe brtan rdo rje རུ་ཚེ་བཟའ་ཐོས་རོ་འཇེས།
gu ru tshe ring རུ་ཚེ་རིང་།
Guoqing 国庆
H
He Jianchun 和建春
Hedong 河东 (rma shar རྟ་བཞི།)
Hexi 河西 (rma nub རྟ་འབུད།)
Heying 河阴
hor rgyal ཡི་ཀ་པ།
Hu Fengzhong 胡凤忠
Hualong 化隆 (dpa' lung འབྲུ་ལུང།)
Huzhu 互助
J
Ji 吉 (skyid ས་ྱིད།)
Jia Yixin 贾一心
Jiayang 加羊 ('jam dbyangs ག་མེགས་པ།)
Jinzhu 全珠 (bcings grol བཅིངས་གོར།)
Jinzhu meiduo 全珠梅朵 (gcings grol me tog བཅིངས་གོརས་མེ་ཏོག) K
kha sha mthil མཐིལ།
kha stug བུ་མིན།
khe gri ཉིས།
khen thar sgrol ma སྨོན་གྲོལ་མ།
kho བ།
khon thar skyid ཤིས།
khri 'du མིན། (Chenduo 称多)
khri ka བོད། (Guide 贵德)
khri ka ban de tshe ring བོད་དེ་ཚེ་རིང་།
klu ར།
klu 'bum tshe ring ར་ཚེ་རིང་།
klu dkar skyid ར་བ།
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klu mo
klu mo mtsho
klu mo skyid
klu mo thar
klu mtsho sgrol ma
klu rgyal
klu rgyal 'bum
klu tshang
kun thar rgyal
L
La (lha)
Lamu (lha mo)
lcags byams tshe ring
lcags thar rgyal
lcags thar tshe ring
ldong ka tshang bsod nams lha mo
ldong ka tshang dge shis chos grags
ldong ka tshang skal bzang sgrol ma
ldong
Ledu
lha 'brug rgyal
lha khang thang
lha lo tshe ring
lha mchog skyabs
lha mo
lha mo mtsho
lha mo rgya mtsho
lha mo sgrol ma
lha mo tshe ring
lha ris
lha sa
lha sgron
lhun grub
Li Zhonglin
Lijia (klu rgyal)
Lijiacairang (klu rgyal tshe ring)
Lijiatai 利加太 (klu rgyal thar རུ་རྒྱལ་ཐར།)
lkog gnyer ཀྲོག་གཉེར།
lkugs pa ཕུགས་པ།
M
Ma 瑪 (ཐ)
ma མ
Ma 马
Ma Bufang 马步芳
mang ra མང་ར། (貴南)
Mao 毛 (mo མོ།)
mchod rten thang རྟེན་ཐང་།
Meiduo 梅朵 (me tog མེ་ཏོག་)
mgo mang རངོན་མ།
mgo ril རིལ།
mgon po རོལ་པོ་།
mgon po tshe ring རོལ་ཞེས་རིང་།
mi la ras pa མི་ལ་རས་པ།
mi nyag མི་ཉག
mkha'gro མཁའ་འྲོ།
mkhar མཁར།
mo མོ།
mtshang ming རོལ་མིང་།
mtsho མི་ཐོ།
mtsho lho རོལ་ལོ། (Hainan 海南)
mtsho mo རོལ་མོ།
mtsho shar རོལ་ཤར།
mtsho sngon རོལ་སྙན། (Qinghai 青海)
mu 穆, 姆 (rmu རམ་, mo མོ།)
N
nag mdog རྣ་མདོག་།
niu 牛
Nong Ling 农玲
nor 'dzin dbang mo ཕོ་རོ་འཛིན་དབང་མོ།
nor bu དབུ།
nyi ma ཉི་མ།
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O
orgyan tshe ring བཟོན་མོ་འཚོ་རིང་།
P
pa sangs བསངས།
pad ma བད་མ།
pad ma bsod nams བསོད་ནམས།
pad ma dbang rgyal བདང་རྒྱལ།
pad ma don grub rgyal བདོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ།
pad ma mtsho བདོན་མཐོ།
pad ma rdo rje བདོན་རྒྱལ།
pad ma rgyal བདོན་རྒྱལ།
phag རྒྱལ།
phag mo རྒྱལ།
phag mo don grub རྒྱལ།
phag mo mtsho རྒྱལ།
phag mo rdo rje རྒྱལ།
phag mo sgron ma རྒྱལ།
phag mo skyid རྒྱལ།
phag mo tshe ring རྒྱལ།
phag mtsho རྒྱལ།
phag pa skyabs རྒྱལ།
phag skyid རྒྱལ།
phrug རུགས།
phur bu རུ་ས།
Puchi རུ་ས།
Puke རུ་ས།
Q
Qijia དཔལ་འཇུག།
Qimei དབེ་བཞི།
Qing དབོ་བཞི།
Qiongda དབོ་བཞི།
Qizhu དཔལ་འཇུག།
Qu Youxin དབོ་བཞི།
R
rdo bkra རྒྱལ།
rdo kho རྒྱལ།
rdo phrug
rDo rje (rdo rje)
lando rje 'bum
lando rje bkra shis
lando rje bsam grub
lando rje don grub
lando rje lhun grub
lando rje mtsho
lando rje phag mo
lando rje rab brtan
lando rje rgyal
lando rje rin chen
lando rje sgrol ma
lando rje skyid
lando rje thar
lando rje tshe ring
rdzong
reb gong (Tongren 同仁)
rgya
rgya mtsho
rgyal
rgyal mtshan
rig 'dzin
rig 'dzin mtsho
rig 'dzin rdo rje
rin chen
rin chen mtsho
rin chen rdo rje
rin chen sgrol ma
rin chen skyid
ring mtsho
rje rgyal
rma lho (Huangnan 黃南)
rma shar (Hedong 河東)
rmu
rna rko
A mdo Tibetan Naming Practices

rnam rgyal ![རྣམ་རྒྱལ་](#)

rnye ![རྨ་](#)

rnye dgon bshad sgrub dar rgyas dge 'phel gling ![དགོན་བཤད་ས་དར་,ས་](#)

rnying ma ![རྨིན་](#)

rta mgrim ![རྟ་མྒྲིན་](#)

rta mgrim bkra shis ![རྟ་མྒྲིན་བ(་ཤིས](#)

rta mgrim dbang rgyal ![རྟ་མྒྲིན་དབང་ལ](#)

rta mgrim mgon po thar ![རྟ་མྒྲིན་མགོན་པོ་ཐར](#)

ru gsar ![ཐུ་གསར](#)

rus ![ཐུས](#)

S

sa skya ![ཟ་](#)

Sajinima 萨基尼玛 (gsar brje nyi ma ![གསར་བ(་ཉི་མ](#))

sangs rgyas ![བསངས་རྒྱས](#)

sangs rgyas sgrol ma ![བསངས་རྒྱས་ོལ་མ།](#)

sde tsha ![ཨ་](#)

sdong rgang thang ![ཨེང་རང་ཐང་](#) (Dongguotang 东果堂)

Se ![ཇ](#)

seng khri ![ཞི་](#)

Sgra dbyangs rgyal po'i mtshan ![སྒྲ་དབྱངས་'ལ་པོ+་མཚན།](#)

sgra dbyangs ![སྒྲ་དབྱངས།](#)

sgrol ![ོལ།](#)

sgrol dkar skyid ![ོལ་དཀར་(ིད།(gsrol ma ![ོལ་མ།](#))

sgrol ma ![སྒྲོལ་མ།](#)

sgrol ma rgya mtsho ![སྒྲོལ་མ་རྒྱ་མཚ(།](#)

Shaanxi 陝西

Shaanxi Normal University, Shaanxi shifan daxue 陝西师范大学

shag rdo skyid ![ཤག་(ཤི་](#)

shel 'byung 'khon thar tshe ring ![ཤེལ་འUང་འཁོན་ཐར་ཚ.་རིང་།](#)

shes rab bstan dar ![ཤེས་རབ་བ'ན་དར།](#)

skal bzang ![ལ་བཟང་།](#)

skal bzang 'bum ![ལ་བཟང་འUམ།](#)

skal bzang rgya mtsho ![ལ་བཟང་'་མཚ*།](#)

skal bzang rgyal ![ལ་བཟང་'ལ།](#)
skal bzang thar འབུམ་བཞི།
skal bzang ting 'dzin rgyal འབུམ་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་ཞེ་བཞི།
ske ba ལ།
sku 'bum འབུམ།
sku 'bum byams pa gling འབུམ་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་ཞེ་བཞི།
skyabs འབུམ།
skyid ལ།
sKyid grong ལ།
sman sog bla ma འབུམ་བཞི་ཁབ་མ་ལ།
sngags pa འབུམ།
snying lcags rgyal འབུམ་བཞི་སྤྱི་བཞི།
spyang ki ལ།
sras mchog rdo rje rgyal འབུམ་བཞི་བཞི་ལ།
srng ma འབུམ།
stobs chen rgyal འབུམ་བཞི་བཞི་བཞི་ལ།
stobs stag lha འབུམ་བཞི་ལ།
sum pa འབུམ།
Suo nanji 索南吉 (bsod nams skyid འབུམ་བཞི་ལ།)
T
tha shal ལ།
thar ལ།
thub bstan འབུམ་བཞི།
Tai 太 (thar ལ།)
Tianzhu 天祝
Tongren 同仁 (reb gong འབུམ་བཞི།)
tsha phug འབུམ་བཞི།
tshe brtan འབུམ་བཞི།
tshe brtan rdo rje འབུམ་བཞི་ལ་མ་ལ།
tshe brtan rgyal འབུམ་བཞི་ལ།
tshe dbang འབུམ་བཞི།
tshe dbang sgrol ma འབུམ་བཞི་ལ་མ།
tshe dbang skyid འབུམ་བཞི་ལ།
tshe dpal rdo rje འབུམ་ལ་མ་ལ།
tshe gzungs འབུམ་ལ།
tshe gzungs sgrol ma འབུམ་ལ་མ་ལ།
tshe gzungs skyid འབུམ་ལ།
A mdo Tibetan Naming Practices

tshe kho ཆོས་ཁོ།
tshe lo skyid གཉེན་ལོ་ིད།
tshe mo rgyal གཉེན་མོ་རིལ།
tshe ring གཉེན་རིང་།
tshe ring byams གཉེན་འབུམས།
tshe ring don grub གཉེན་དོན་གྲུབ།
tshe ring lha mo གཉེན་ལྷ་མོ།
tshe ring mtsho གཉེན་མཚོ།
tshe ring rdo rje གཉེན་རྡོ་རྨྲེ།
tshe ring rgyal གཉེན་རིལ།
tshe ring sgrol ma གཉེན་སྒྲོལ་མ།
tshe ring skyid གཉེན་སྐྱིད།
tshe ring thar གཉེན་ཐར།
tshe skyid sgrol ma སྐྱིད་སྒྲོལ་མ།
tshe thar 'bum སྐྱིད་འབུམ།
tsong kha pa གཙང་ཁ་པ།

W

Wangmu 旺姆 (dbang mo དབང་མོ།)
Weidong 卫东
Wenchang 文昌 (bun khrang དུན་ཁྲང་)
Wenchangji 文昌吉 (bun khrang skyid དུན་ཁྲང་སྐྱིད།)
Wenchangjia 文昌加 (bun khrang rgyal དུན་ཁྲང་རིལ།)
Wenchangtai 文昌太 (bun khrang thar དུན་ཁྲང་ཐར།)
Wenchangzhuoma 文昌卓玛 (bun khrang sgrol ma དུན་ཁྲང་སྒྲོལ་མ།)
Wenge 文革

X

xian 先 (byams བྱམས།)
Xiawu 夏吾 (sha bo ལོ་བོ།)
Xiawucairang 夏吾才让 (sha bo tshe ring ལོ་བོ་ཚེ་སྣང་།)
Xiawudongzhu 夏吾东主 (sha bo don grub ལོ་བོ་དོན་གྲུབ།)
Xiawuji 夏吾吉 (sha bo skyid ལོ་བོ་སྐྱིད།)
Xiawuzhuoma 夏吾卓玛 (sha bo sgrol ma ལོ་བོ་སྒྲོལ་མ།)
Xiluo 西洛 (shi log བི་ལོ།)
Xingfu 幸福 (bde skyid བདེ་སྐྱིད།)
Xingqier 星期二 (gza' mig dmar གྲེའི་མིག ཀྲེ་བར་གསར་)
Xingqiliu 星期六 (gza’ spen pa གཟའ་སྦེན་པ།)
Xizang shifan zhuanke xuexiao 西藏师范专科学校

Y
yag ཡག
Yangjin 央金 (dbyangs can འབྲས་ཆོས་)
Yang 央 (g.yang ལོང་)
ye shes ཡེ་ཤེས་
ye shes mtsho ཡེ་ཤེས་མཚོ།
ye shes rgya mtsho ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།
yul lha tshe ring རུལ་ལྷ་ཚེ་རིང་།
yul shul རུལ་ཤུལ།
Z
Zhandou 战斗
Zhen 珍 (sgron གྲོན་)
zhi’u རྙུ་(Xiewu 歌武)
Zhuoma 卓玛 (sgrol ma གཉེལ་མ་)
Zhwa dmar བྲངས་དམར།
Zi ling རྒྱིས་མིང་།
zla ba བྲག་
Zong 宗 (‘dzoms བོད་མ་)