Phonological Profile of Zhongu:
A New Tibetan Dialect of Northern Sichuan*

Jackson T.-S. Sun

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Zhongu is an obscure variety of Tibetan spoken in the Zhongu Valley of Songpan County in northern Sichuan, a borderland between Tibetan and Qiang. This paper, the first linguistic description of the dialect, explores the Zhongu phonological system and its evolution. A number of striking features are revealed, including lack of common modern Tibetan suprasegmental distinctions, phenomenal reduction of rhymes, and drift toward accretion of uvular and dental initials. The peculiar character of Zhongu, owing in part to its idiosyncratic phonological innovations and esoteric vocabulary, should earn it a place in the internal classification of Tibetan as a minor (but distinct) dialect. The current subgrouping schemes of modern Tibetan are critically evaluated in light of this new data.

Key words: Tibeto-Burman, Tibetan dialects, dialect subgrouping, Zhongu dialect

1. Introduction

With dozens of mutually unintelligible dialects, Tibetan is an extremely diverse language. The extensive linguistic survey of China in the ’50s covered more than fifty varieties of Tibetan spoken in China, signalling a significant advance in Tibetan dialectology. This body of data, still not fully published, has been steadily enriched by

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individual efforts to document Tibetan dialects spoken in that country. However, certain Tibetan-speaking regions in China remain little explored to this day. One such area is the Aba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in northern Sichuan. Located in the Chinese-Qiang-Tibetan-Gyakrong borderland, this prefecture has all the necessary geographical and sociolinguistic factors conducive to linguistic divergence, sheltering obscure Tibetan dialects little known to the outside world. Zhongu is possibly the most remarkable of these dialects, and the focus of this paper.

Zhongu Tibetan is spoken in Hōngtú 紅土 and Hōngzhá 紅扎 Townships and in Ping-ān 平安, Gūnā 姑納, and Luōbūchōng 蘿卜沖 Villages of Xiāoxíng 小姓 Township in the Zhongu Valley (\textasciitilde<br/>\textasciitilde<zho.ngu.khog>; in Chinese, Rēwūgōu 熟務溝) of Sōngpān 松潘 (<zung.chu>) County. The Tibetans of the neighboring Māizhāgōu (麥扎溝) Valley in Hēishuī 黑水 (<khro.chu>) County, with whom the Zhongu Tibetans have been in close contact, allegedly use a similar dialect, but I have not been able to verify this claim. While clearly a form of Tibetan, Zhongu is divergent enough to make it incomprehensible to Tibetan speakers from outside these valleys.

The phonological and lexical study reported herein is based on materials collected during several recent field trips, gradually expanding on preliminary work done in a much earlier pilot study. The main findings are presented in three sections. Synchronic Zhongu phonology is outlined in Section 2. Section 3 traces the origins and developments of this phonological system by a comparison with the sound system of ancient Tibetan, as reflected rather faithfully in standard Tibetan orthography. Now equipped with newly revealed sound laws, I proceed to assess the linguistic position of Zhongu in Section 4, critically reviewing in the process current subclassifications of the spoken Tibetan dialects of China. The paper concludes with an appended English-Zhongu vocabulary of about 1,500 common words.

2 Written <zho.ngu>, pronounced /\textasciitilde<br/>\textasciitilde\textasciitilde/ at Layi Village (cf. variant pronunciations /\textasciitilde<br/>\textasciitilde\textasciitilde/ and /\textasciitilde<br/>\textasciitilde\textasciitilde/ at other villages).
3 There are five townships in Zhongu Valley: Kālōng 卡龍, Yānyún 燕雲, Hōngzhá 紅扎, Hōngtú 紅土, and Xiāoxíng 小姓. Varieties of Amdo Tibetan are used at Kālōng and Yānyún, while most villages in Xiāoxíng Township speak Northern Qiang.
4 My Zhongu consultants assured me that the Maizhagou Tibetans ‘speak the same way as we do’. However, when I had an opportunity to work briefly with one Maizhagou speaker in 1998, I found his speech lacking many of the distinctive traits of Zhongu Tibetan.
5 I met my first Zhongu speaker at Wènchūān 汶川 Town in 1990. Although on that occasion I could do little more than record a short wordlist, the striking aberrancy of this Tibetan variety had already caught my attention.
6 Wylie’s standard Tibetan transliteration system will be adopted throughout.
2. Synchronic phonology

2.1 Syllable canon

All Zhongu syllables are open. The optional onset is composed of at most two consonantal slots, followed by an obligatory simple vowel slot. This surprisingly meager syllable structure is summarized as (C)(C)V.

A degree of syllable reduction can be observed in casual speech, producing surface syllables that violate the syllable canon. One type of reduction elides the /ə/ of unstressed grammatical suffixes. Frequently seen examples include the directional morpheme /ra/ (e.g., /tsʰ-rə/ → [tsʰə] ‘hither’), and the imperative prefix /mə-/, and the unstressed form /ra/ of the copula verb /ri/; the latter two often cliticize to the verb stem and become surface codas (e.g., /nð-rə/ → [nðə] ‘exist (declarative)’; /dzʰ-mə-χtu/ → [dzʰmyʔtu]8 ‘Throw it away!’).

2.2 Initials

The onset system of Zhongu Tibetan is quite complex, with forty-two simple initial consonants and thirty-three complex initials.

2.2.1 Simple initials

The Zhongu inventory of simplex (i.e., unamenable to cluster analysis) initials are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
p & t & ts & tʂ & tf & k & q \\
pʰ & tʰ & tsʰ & tʂʰ & tfʰ & kʰ & qʰ \\
b & d & dz & dʐ & dʑ & g \\
s & ʂ & ʃ & ɣ & ξ \\
z & ʐ & ʒ & ɣ & ɣ \\
m & n & p & η \\
mʰ & pʰ & ʃʰ & ŋʰ \\
l & ɭ & ɭʰ & ɭʰ \\
r & ʐ & ʐʰ \\
w & ʍ
\end{array}
\]

7 From the existential verb <‘dug’> plus the copula <red>.
8 Imperative form of the complex verb dzʰ-χtu ‘to throw away’.
Among the above, the uvulars and the voiceless sonorants are noteworthy. The distinctiveness of the uvulars is borne out by minimal pairs like the following:

- /ko/ ‘to hear and understand’
- /qo/ ‘to decrease’
- /kʰo/ ‘mouth; opening’
- /qʰe/ ‘to be bitter’
- /yæ/ ‘to come [PFV]’
- /se/ ‘to scratch to stop an itch’

For some speakers at least, the voiceless sonorant tap/trill /t/ is in phonological opposition to the voiceless retroflex spirant /s/. The voiceless lateral /l/ may be alternatively realized as a consonant cluster [xl] ~ [x] ~ [h]. Another conspicuous deviation from a typical Tibetan consonantal system is the complete absence of the palatal glide /j/.

Examples of simple initial consonants are:

- /p/ /pi/ ‘wool’; /pɔ/ ‘to embrace’
- /ph/ /phu/ ‘brewer’s yeast’; /phɔ/ ‘to undress [PFV/IMP]’
- /b/ /ba/ ‘goiter’; /be/ ‘to hide (an object)’
- /m/ /me/ ‘butter’; /mɔ/ ‘to be much/many’
- /n/ /ne/ ‘medicine’; /nɔ/ ‘mole (on body)’
- /w/ /-wa/ ‘nominal suffix’; /-wu/ ‘nominal suffix’
- /t/ /tx/ ‘Asiatic black bear’; /te/ ‘that’
- /th/ /thu/ ‘sledgehammer’; /thi/ ‘to get’
- /d/ /du/ ‘tree’; /da/ ‘to lick’
- /s/ /si/ ‘thought; mind’
- /z/ /zo/ ‘to bark’; /za/ ‘to be good’
- /n/ /nu/ ‘oath’; /na/ ‘to exist’
- /q/ /qu/ ‘oil’; /qi/ ‘snot’
- /l/ /la/ ‘manure’; /lu/ ‘to fall from height’
- /l/ /li/ ‘god, buddha’; /la/ ‘to give birth (as of animals)’
- /r/ /re/ ‘long’; /ra/ ‘to be’
- /g/ /qa/ ‘to touch’; /qe/ ‘pimple’
- /ts/ /tsu/ ‘mouse’; /tsa/ ‘to filter; to strain’

9 OT palatal glide <y> went to /z/ in Zhongu; see below.
2.2.2 Complex initials

Three kinds of complex initials are noted in Zhongu: prenasalized consonants, pre-aspirated consonants, and consonants in combination with a uvular pre-initial.

Voiced and voiceless aspirated stop/heritics may be prenasalized, symbolized in this study by a preposed raised $n$. The prenasal element agrees in voicing and place of articulation with the main consonant (e.g., /npæ/ → ['mpæ]). The prenasalized initials are:

$np_b$  $nt_f$  $nt_s$  $nt_t$  $nt_f$  $nk_b$
$nt_b$  $nt_d$  $nt_dz$  $nt_d$  $nt_d$  $ng$

Prenasalization is contrastive, as these minimal pairs show:
Voiceless stop/affricates may be pronounced with a slight puff of glottal air preceding the closure phase of a following consonant. If the latter happens to be a voiceless affricate, the pre-aspiration acquires supraglottal coronal friction under assimilation to the following affricate (i.e., /ts/ → [ts]; /tʃ/ → [ʃ]). Pre-aspiration is phonologically significant on voiceless stop/affricates; many lexical pairs are minimally distinguished by this feature:

- /kɔ/ ‘cowhide’
- /kɔ/ ‘to be thirsty’
- /tsɔ/ ‘rust; bird’
- /tsɔ/ ‘pulse; grass’
- /p/ ‘wool’
- /pɔp/ ‘brother’

The complete set of phonemic pre-aspirated consonants are:

\[
\text{hp} \quad \text{ht} \quad \text{hts} \quad \text{hʃ} \quad \text{hk}
\]

The third type of complex initials consists of unequivocal clusters comprising a uvular pre-initial\(^{11}\) attached to another consonant. Listed below are the attested \([\text{uvular} + \text{C}]\) clusters, with some minimal pairs showing them in contrast with the corresponding simplex initials:

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\(^{10}\) This tendency is particularly clear in the speech of Zháshí, from Láyí Village.

\(^{11}\) The voiceless uvular spirant \(\chi^-\) is alternatively realized as a stop \(q^-\).
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The additional minimal pairs below confirm that the uvular pre-initial must also be kept distinct from pre-aspiration:

/tsa/ ‘to filter’
/øtsa/ ‘sand’
/χtsa/ ‘China fir’

/tsø/ ‘earthern wall’
/øtsø/ ‘to hang’
/χtsø/ ‘to be clean’

Examples of the complex initials:

/npb/  /npbɛn/ ‘dhole’; /npbɔ/ ‘to fly’
/mb/  /mbɔ/ ‘insect’; /mbn/ ‘to burn, to be aflame’
/mb/  /mbɔ/ ‘declivity’; /mbu/ ‘to drink’
/md/  /mdu/ ‘color’; /mdɛ/ ‘to chase’
/mtʃb/  /mtʃbɔ/ ‘lake’; /mtʃbɛ/ ‘to open’
/mdʒ/  /mdʒɔ/ ‘dzo’; /mdʒɔ/ ‘to paste’
/mtʃb/  /mtʃbɛn/ ‘rosary’; /mtʃbʊ/ ‘to snatch away, to rob’
/mdʒ/  /mdʒɛ/ ‘rice’; /mdʒɔ/ ‘to drag; to pull sth heavy’
/mtʃb/  /mtʃbɔ/ ‘lip’; /mtʃbɑ/ ‘(as of sth stiff) to break’
Palatalized consonants are found at the allophonic level. Palatalization occurs automatically with consonants preceding the non-low front vowels /i/, /e/; and /æ/; e.g., /ge/ [gje] ‘to laugh’; /pe/ [pje] ‘Tibetan’.

2.3 Rhymes

The Zhongu rhyme inventory is probably the most impoverished of all Tibetan dialects. There are no diphthongs, no consonantal codas, nor any secondary features such as nasalization or vowel length. In fact, the entire Zhongu rhyme system consists of nine simple vowels:
The mid vowels contrast two degrees of vowel height:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
/e/ & '/o/ 'rice' \\
/e/ & '/o/ 'say [PFV]' \\
/æ/ & '/æ/ 'eight' \\
/æ/ & '/æ/ 'to grow'
\end{array}\]

Two low vowels are distinguished: a front /e/ (phonetically centralized, hence the IPA symbol) and a more back /a/:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
/æ/ & '/æ/ 'east' \\
/æ/ & '/æ/ 'deer'
\end{array}\]

Examples of the vowel phonemes are:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
/i/ & '/i/ 'bit'; /li/ 'to do; to make' \\
/e/ & '/dze/ 'eight'; /se/ 'to grow' \\
/e/ & '/æ/ 'cotton cloth'; /kæ/ 'to lean' \\
/e/ & '/yn/ 'antler'; /ln/ 'to lay (e.g., bricks)' \\
/o/ & '/ræ/ 'mountain'; /sa/ 'to select' \\
/o/ & '/pul/ 'belly'; /ru/ 'to incubate' \\
/o/ & '/rø/ 'corpse'; /zo/ 'to be slanting' \\
/o/ & '/tø/ 'Asiatic black bear'; /lø/ 'to stand' \\
/o/ & '/ra/ 'enclosure'; /sa/ 'to stack'
\end{array}\]

### 2.4 Suprasegmentals

The most striking characteristic of the Zhongu sound system is the absence of suprasegmental features commonly found in phonologically reduced varieties of spoken Tibetan. Zhongu makes no phonological use of vocalic length or nasalization,

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12 The higher mid rounded vowel /o/ is actually pronounced as a centralized vowel [ø].
nor is tone lexically significant. All monosyllables in isolation are uttered in a high (variably level or slightly falling) pitch. With polysyllabic words, a system of stress accent is at work, much as we find in such Amdo dialects as Xiāmàn 西曼 (<Byams.me>; J. Sun 1986) and Hóngyuán 紅原 (<dMar.thang>; Huang 1995). As an expected effect of stress accent, the unstressed (and low-toned) vowel ə in Zhongu often weakens and becomes elided in casual speech (see §2.1). Stress commonly falls on the last syllable of the stem, for example:

\[ \chiə-má 'gold' \]
gold-black

\[ əsó-no 'at/from Lhasa' \]
Lhasa-LOC

\[ \text{exprə-tə-kə} 'with an ax' \]
ax-INDEF-INST

\[ ðé-kə [ðék] 'It is fine/good (mirative).' \]
be fine-MIR

Complex verbs containing nominal roots or complement verbs exhibit trochaic stress instead, as in:

\[ pá-le 'to marry a wife' \]
bride-take

\[ ná-ne 'to listen' \]
ear-listen

\[ 'dʒò-go 'to want to go' \]
go-want

\[ 'tfʰə-su 'Go eat!' \]
eat-go:IMP
As shown by the minimal pair below, however, stress placement is not always predictable and must sometimes be lexically marked:\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mē-ṛ} ‘ideophone mimicking moving currents’
  \item \textit{me-ṛ} ‘to be red’
\end{itemize}

3. Phonological history

This section presents a phonological history of Zhongu recovered through a comparison with the phonological structure of Old Tibetan (OT).\textsuperscript{14}

The most extraordinary overall characterization of Zhongu phonological diachrony is the drastic simplification of the original Tibetan syllable canon, compounded by a sweeping merger of old onsets and rhymes. Segmental decay was counterbalanced mainly on the morphological plane by bulk-increasing suffixes, some of which having no obvious OT etyma, rather than on the phonological plane by innovative suprasegmental contrasts. The specific sound changes that took place to generate the current Zhongu phonological system are discussed in the ensuing subsections.

3.1 The Zhongu syllable

OT had an extremely complicated syllable structure, permitting as many as six consonant slots: (C)(C)C(C)V(C)(C).\textsuperscript{15} In the formation of Zhongu Tibetan, the OT initials were considerably depleted, evolving into a modern onset system with only two slots. The reduction of the original rhymes in Zhongu is even more extensive,

\textsuperscript{13} In what follows, non-stem-final stress will be indicated by grave accent.

\textsuperscript{14} This term refers to the phonological system underlying traditional Tibetan orthography. Much of this phonological system can be readily recovered through a comparison of the modern dialectal reflexes of the orthographic forms. For instance, the written sign \textit{achung} must have represented prenasalization as a prefix and some voiced guttural spirant (*ᐴ or * وخاصة) as a root initial, but must have had nil phonetic value at the syllable coda position. Some uncertainties remain regarding the actual phonological values of some letters and letter combinations (e.g., < lh >; see §3.2.2.3). For convenience of exposition, Old Tibetan will be represented herein by Written Tibetan forms enclosed in angle brackets alongside the corresponding spoken forms, except where otherwise noted (e.g., when discussing ancient phonetic values).

\textsuperscript{15} OT also allowed secondary diphthongs (VV), stemming from earlier disyllables. No OT diphthongs of this type could take syllable codas.
progressing to an extent unmatched in modern Tibetan. The resultant Zhongu syllable canon is (C)(C)V, a scanty remnant from its elaborate OT progenitor.

Some modern Zhongu syllables ending in the vowels /a/, /u/, and /i/ originate from coalesced OT disyllables containing the morphologically opaque nominal ‘suffixes’ -ma, -mo, -wa (written <ba>), and -wo (written <bo>). Contraction involving these OT syllables, especially <ba>, is commonplace throughout modern Tibetan, but the process in Zhongu affected all four of the above OT syllables without any ostensible trace of syllable coalescence ever having taken place (e.g., nasalized vowels, length, etc. cf. Gê-êr (<sGar>) Tibetan pô<sup>ː</sup> ‘girl’ <bu.mo> Qu and Tan 1983). Some examples follow:

/ka/ <ka.ba> ‘pillar’
/tsu/ <tsha.bo> ‘nephew’
/ŋa/ <rnga.ma> ‘tail’
/ywa/ <’o.ma> ‘milk’
/su/ <sha.mo> ‘mushroom’
/pu/ <bu.mo> ‘daughter’

3.2 History of Zhongu onsets

Old Tibetan had one of the most complex onset systems in Tibeto-Burman. This complexity is mainly syntagmatic. The OT unitary consonants are quite unremarkable in themselves, but all kinds of combinations of them are permitted, yielding more than two hundred initial clusters, many of which are made up of three or four consonants. These old onsets have been greatly reduced and simplified; in the meanwhile a number of novel consonantal types emerged in compensation for the lost onset contrasts, including pre-aspirated obstruents, voiceless sonorants, retroflexes, and uvulars.

The evolution of the OT simple consonants and consonant clusters in Zhongu Tibetan will be examined in turn.

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16 OT had about ninety separate rhymes. The Zhongu rhyme inventory contains only one tenth of that number. This should set a record for modern Tibetan. The smallest Tibetan rhyme system reported in Qu’s survey (Qu 1991:234) contains seventeen (Yâjiąng 雅江 <Nyag.chu>), whereas Hua and Duozangta (1997:112) find only sixteen in Shîbâzi 石壩子 <Kun.sngon>. But these dialects still have almost twice as many rhymes as Zhongu.
3.2.1 Fate of OT simple onsets in Zhongu

3.2.1.1 OT sonorants

The OT sonorants include four nasals (*m, *n, *ŋ, and *ŋ), two liquids (*r, *l), and two glides (*w, *j). Except for the unusual innovations whereby the OT glides *j and *w changed respectively to spirants /z/ and /ŋ/, the OT simplex sonorants were generally kept as such in Zhongu, and need concern us no further.

3.2.1.2 OT obstruents

The OT obstruents contrast in voicing; the voiceless stop/affricates are further distinguished by aspiration. Unprefixed OT voiced stop/affricates became devoiced in Zhongu; devoicing however did not extend to voiced spirants,\(^{18}\) which are still voiced:

\[
\begin{align*}
/k\hat{a}/ & <gur> \text{ ‘tent’} \\
/\hat{t}r/ & <ja> \text{ ‘tea’} \\
/z\hat{o}/ & <zho> \text{ ‘yogurt’} \\
/z\hat{a}/ & <zug> \text{ ‘to bark’} \\
/\hat{\gamma}u/ & <’ong> \text{ ‘to come’}
\end{align*}
\]

Original voicing is preserved if the OT obstruent was protected by a preceding prefix:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ko/ & <rdo> \text{ ‘stone’} \\
/go/ & <sgo> \text{ ‘door’} \\
/\hat{n}go/ & <mgo> \text{ ‘head’}
\end{align*}
\]

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\(^{17}\) There is some doubt concerning the original phonetic quality of the OT \(w\), written \(<w>\), as some modern dialects show voiced uvular reflexes, e.g., \(x-\) (Amdo Xiaman, J. Sun 1996) or \(\hat{xw}-\) (Darlg <Dar.lag>, Zhang 1996:23).

\(^{18}\) I believe (contra an earlier view expressed in J. Sun 1986:114) that OT originally had three voiced spirants: \(z, \hat{z} <zh>\), and a guttural \(\hat{h}i\) or \(\hat{h}\) (written with root-initial \(\text{achung} <’>\)), the dialectal reflexes of the latter include \(\hat{h}\) (in many Amdo varieties, while in other Amdo varieties it has dropped), \(h\) (Lhasa and many Central varieties), and \(j\) (Zhongu, Baima). That the \(\text{achung}\) at the root initial position represented a voiced guttural spirant was proposed early on by Róna-Tas (1966:129, fn.142); this is also the widely held opinion among Mainland Chinese Tibetanists.
A significant innovation setting Zhongu apart from most other Tibetan dialects is the characteristic conditioned split of palato-alveolar spirants, which turned into retroflexes in most phonological environments, except before modern high-front vowels where they remain palato-alveolars, e.g.:

/ʂʔ/ <shi> ‘to die’
/z;q’bo/ <zhim.po> ‘to be sweet’
/ji/ <shing> ‘firewood’
/swiʒi/ <sa.zhing> ‘field’

The same shift also affected OT consonant clusters:

/ʂt/ <bsha> ‘to butcher’
/zt/ <bzhar> ‘to shave’

A side-effect of this sound change brought the voiced retroflex spirant /z/ in contrast with the dental trill/tap /t/ (from OT r-). This is a rare opposition in modern Tibetan, where [z] is normally a positional variant of the /t/ phoneme. A few other modern dialects are known to turn all the original palato-alveolars into retroflex consonants, such as Zhuöní (卓尼 <Co.ne>, Qu 1962), Döngyi (東義),19 and the Dīqīng (迪慶 <bDe.chen>) dialect cluster of northwestern Yunnan (Lu 1990, Zhang 1993, Hongladarom 1996). However, retroflexion of OT palato-alveolar spirants in Zhongu is probably a fairly late, independent development, as it is conditioned by modern vowel qualities.

3.2.1.3 Zhongu Uvulars

Zhongu, like certain Tibetan dialects spoken in its vicinity, boasts a whole set of phonemic uvulars: /q\, /qʰ\, /χ/, and /ʁ/. Some of these were secondarily derived by word-internal mutation (e.g., /ra∅o/ <ra.ba.skor> ‘cowpen’, /tʂʰu/ <brag.khung> ‘cave’, /tʰiqa/ <phyed.ka> ‘half’), or came from original consonant clusters (e.g., /ʁ∅/ <dbang> ‘power’, /ʁo-ʁo/ <sgor.sgor> ‘to be round’, /χ∅/ <lham> ‘boot, shoe’). Other instances of uvulars are of mysterious origin, as they occur in lexical items of unknown ancestry (e.g., /χŋ∅/ ‘hole’, /χʰtɕ∅/ ‘neck’; /q∅a∅/ ‘hook’, and in the suffixes /-q∅/, /-ʔ∅/ attached to many nouns, as in /m∅q∅/ <rna.?> ‘ear’, /ʔ∅t∅/ <zhwa.?> ‘hat’). It would be

19 A variety of Tibetan spoken at Daöchéng (稻城 <‘Dab.pa>) County in Gānzī 甘孜 Prefecture (personal research).
rash to attribute them indiscriminately to Qiangic substratal or areal influences, as very few of them are recognizable as Qiangic loanwords (e.g., /qʰolo/ ‘walnut’; /qʰetʂa/ ‘neck’). Moreover, there are native Tibetan lexical items containing (simplex) uvular onsets, such as /χɡko/ <ha.go> ‘to understand’, /qʰa/ <kha.ba> ‘snow’, and /qʰpʰde/ <khwa.?> ‘to be bitter’. Since it is perfectly normal for archaic linguistic traits to be preserved in peripheral dialects (e.g., Zhongu /kʰa/ ‘eye’ reflecting an older form <dmyig> than the standard written form <mig>), and furthermore since uvular pronunciations of these words are documented in several other conservative dialects, we may not want to reject out of hand the possibility that some instances of Zhongu uvulars represent retention of ancient consonantal contrasts which predate standard written Tibetan.

3.2.2 Fate of OT cluster onsets in Zhongu

OT cluster initials fall into two overlapping groups depending on the secondary consonantal element in combination with the main consonant (or root initial); namely, those carrying prefixes (g-, d-, b-, m-, n-, r-, l-, s-), and those carrying medials (-y-, -w-, -r-). These old clusters have survived in various residual forms in Zhongu, giving rise in several cases to innovative consonantal types.

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20 Cf. Jiulong Pumi qā³⁶tsi⁶⁵⁵; Muya kʂʰtsa⁶⁵⁵; Shixing kʰbʰi⁶⁵⁵.
21 In many Tibetan dialects that distinguish uvulars from velars, these three test words often contain uvular onsets, as evidenced in the following examples from Shibāzi (Hua and Duozi 1997), Yànyùn (<gNyan.yul>, personal research), and Rénèntáng (仁恩塘; <zings.ngo.thang>; personal research):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shibāzi</th>
<th>Yànyùn</th>
<th>Rénèntáng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qʰko:⁶⁵⁵</td>
<td>qʰa:</td>
<td>kʰa:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʰlo:⁶⁵⁵</td>
<td>qʰpʰde</td>
<td>qʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>χʰ-ko</td>
<td>χʰ-ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 For more evidence and further discussion of this possibility, see Huang 1991:230-235.
23 Some initial clusters involving one of the three continuant prefixes (r-, l-, s-) permit an additional ‘external’ prefix b-. Incidentally, the Tibetan script writes -l- in clusters like kʰl-, gʰl-, nʰl- as a subscript, as if it were a medial. There is ample OT-internal as well as dialectal evidence, though, that despite this misleading spelling convention /l/ here actually served as the main consonant (cf. Huang 1983:36, Beyer 1992:74-79).
3.2.2.1 OT consonantal prefixes

OT had nasal (m-, n-\(^{24}\)) as well as oral (g-, d-, b-, r-, l-, s-) prefixal consonants. The OT nasal prefixes merged before obstruent root initials (in this case stop/affricates), resulting in the Zhongu prenasalized consonants, as in:

\[-\]n\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{4}d\texttt{ay\_a}/ <mdzug.gw> ‘finger’
\[-\]n\texttt{dz}\_a/ <’dzug> ‘to plant (trees)’
\[-\]n\texttt{hu}/ <mthong> ‘to see’
\texttt{’thung} ‘to drink’

The nasal prefix m- (from earlier *b-), however, elided before another nasal (e.g., /në/ <\texttt{mna’}> ’oath’).

Among the oral prefixes, the labial b- disappeared altogether, irrespective of voicing of the root initial:

\[-\]z\_a/ <zhag> ‘to stay overnight’
\texttt{’bzhag} ‘put [PFV]’
\[-\]f\_a/ <shig> ‘louse’
\texttt{’bshig} ‘to untie’

The dental oral prefixes d-, r-, l-, and s\(^{25}\) also dropped before voiced (sonorant and obstruent) consonants:

\[-\]\texttt{g}\_a/ <\texttt{dngul}> ’silver’
\[-\]\texttt{g}\_a/ <\texttt{rngo}> ‘to parch’
\[-\]\texttt{nmt}\_\texttt{f}\_a/ <\texttt{linga.bcu}> ’fifty’
\[-\]\texttt{gtsig}\_\texttt{g}\_a/ <\texttt{gecin.lgang}> ‘bladder’
\[-\]\texttt{g}\_a/ <\texttt{rgang}> ‘porcupine’
\[-\]\texttt{g}\texttt{u}k\_\texttt{n}/ <\texttt{dgongs.kha}> ’evening’

\(^{24}\) Written as \texttt{achung’}. The prefix \texttt{achung} clearly represented prenasalization in Old Tibetan, distinct from the bilabial nasal prefix m-.

\(^{25}\) For the fate of sC- where C is a sonorant, see further on.
Before being elided, these prefixes had acted as a buffer against devoicing of the following root initials, supplying the majority of modern voiced stop/affricates:

/te/ <de> ‘that’
/de/ <bde> ‘to be well’
/dew/ <sde.ba> ‘village’

Dental prefixes occurring in front of voiceless obstruents (in this case stops/affricates), on the other hand, merged and survived as phonemic pre-aspiration on the main consonant:

/ɑkɑ/ <rkang> ‘marrow; foot’
<skom> ‘to be thirsty’
<skam> ‘to make dry’

/kɑ/ <gang> ‘to be full, complete’
<ko.ba> ‘cowhide’

The dental spirant prefix s-, in combination with OT sonorants, underwent quite unique developments.26 OT sN- clusters (where N = any nasal root initial), in particular, evolved into Zhongu voiceless nasals. Contrast:

/nv/ <na> ‘if’
/nmŋɔ/ <sna.mgo> ‘nose’

/ŋu/ <nga> ‘I’
/ʃu/ <snga> ‘early’

Also standing out for its exceptional diachrony is the velar prefix g-, which developed into a uvular spirant (χ- or ʁ-, depending on voicing of the root initial) and accounted for a good many Zhongu consonant clusters, some of which contrast with pre-aspirated consonants:

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26 The OT sr- and sl- clusters are traditionally analyzed as the root initial s followed by medials -r- and -l-. For their developments in Zhongu, see further on.
3.2.2.2 OT medials

Among the three OT medials, the \textit{wazur} (i.e., -\textit{w}-) dropped without compensation:

\begin{itemize}
  \item /\textit{rts}a/ <\textit{rtsa}> ‘pulse’
  \item /\textit{rts}a/ <\textit{rtswa}> ‘grass’
  \item /\textit{tsh}a/ <\textit{tsha}> ‘to be hot’
  \item /\textit{tsh}a/ <\textit{tshwa}> ‘salt’
\end{itemize}

The palatal medial \textit{-j-} could combine with labial and velar stops, as well as with the labial nasal \textit{m-}. While \textit{mj-} went rather banally to /\textit{y}/, OT velar and labial stops taking the \textit{-j-} medial merged and were transformed into dental affricates:

\begin{itemize}
  \item /\textit{ts}a/ <\textit{khyod}> ‘you [SG]’
  \item /\textit{ts}a/ <\textit{gyang}> ‘wall’
  \item /\textit{dz}a/ <\textit{rgya}> ‘Chinese’
  \item /\textit{dz}a/ <\textit{gyog}> ‘to lift, hoist’
  \item /\textit{ts}e/ <\textit{phye}> ‘flour’
  \item /\textit{ts}u/ <\textit{bya}> ‘bird’
  \item /\textit{dz}u/ <\textit{byar}> ‘to paste, stick’
\end{itemize}

This is an uncommon sound change typologically, perhaps even unique in modern Tibetan. Other Tibetan dialects usually preserve the palatal quality of the \textit{Kj}-\textsuperscript{27} clusters,

\textsuperscript{27} Capital \textit{K}-, \textit{P}-, and \textit{T}- represents any velar, labial, and dental stop consonant, respectively.
or changed them into palato-alveolars (as in many Khams and Amdo Tibetan varieties). The development of OT Py- clusters is extremely variegated in modern Tibetan, but if a modern dialect shows affricated reflexes of Py-, the place of articulation is normally palato-alveolar (cf. Zhang 1993:302).

The OT medial -r- could be added to labial, dental, and velar stops, as well as to the spirants s and h.28 Considering first the stop-based clusters, we observe an interesting split, with OT Pr- and Tr- sequences merging as retroflex affricates while Kr- merging rather with the palato-alveolars:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/n} & \text{tæe/} \text{<’phrad> ‘to meet’} \\
\text{/tə} & \text{<brag> ‘rock, cliff’} \\
\text{/n} \text{dʒa/} & \text{<’bri> ‘female yak’} \\
\text{/tʃe/} & \text{<dran> ‘to think of’} \\
\text{/n} \text{dʒe/} & \text{<’dre> ‘goblin; ghost’} \\
\text{/tʃa/} & \text{<bkrus> ‘wash [PFV/IMP]’} \\
\text{/tʃa/} & \text{<khram> ‘blood’} \\
\text{/tʃo/} & \text{<gro> ‘wheat’} \\
\text{/n} \text{dʒo/} & \text{<’gro> ‘to go’}
\end{align*}
\]

The same alignment of the three OT cluster types is also reported in the neighboring Amdo, Zhuoni, and Zhóuqü (<’Brug.chu>) dialects (Hua 1983, Zhang 1993:302).

3.2.2.3 Miscellaneous changes of OT initial clusters

This subsection is dedicated to OT cluster development not accounted for in the foregoing. This includes <lh>, the three clusters of notorious heterogeneity in their modern reflexes: sr-, sl-, zl-, and various other clusters with spirantized Zhongu reflexes.

The optional cluster realizations of the phoneme /l/, reflecting OT *hl (written <lh>, see §2.2.1), suggest that this script sequence might have once represented a true consonant cluster. Supporting evidence of the cluster origin of OT *hl- comes from its Dége (德格 <sDe.dge>; [ʰl]) and Záduō (雜多 <rDza.rdo>; [hl]) reflexes (Zhang 1996:

\[\text{An interesting gap is *mr- (which had probably turned into rm-); there was the extremely rare cluster smr-, however.}\]
23); in Baima\textsuperscript{29} likewise, words like \textit{ilha} \textlangle hla \textrangle \ ‘god’ carry the suggestive breathy register indicating a proto-sonorant cluster.\textsuperscript{30} Another remnant of \textit{*hl-} as an earlier consonant cluster is the pronunciation \textit{χam} (written \textlangle lham \textrangle \ ‘boot’) current in certain dialects spoken in the Amdo region.

Unlike in most other modern dialects, OT \textit{sl-} and \textit{sr-} converged into the pre-aspirated dental affricate \textlangle tsi \textrangle in Zhongu:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textlangle tsi \textrangle \textlangle sring \textrangle ‘younger sister’
  \item \textlangle tsa \textrangle \textlangle sreg \textrangle ‘to roast, to burn’
  \item \textlangle tse \textrangle \textlangle sran \textrangle ‘beans’
  \item \textlangle tsi \textrangle \textlangle sleb \textrangle ‘to arrive’
  \item \textlangle tsi \textrangle \textlangle sla \textrangle ‘to be easy’
  \item \textlangle tsi \textrangle \textlangle slob \textrangle ‘to teach’
\end{itemize}

The mysterious OT cluster \textit{zl-} is also reflected by a Zhongu dental affricate, in this case a voiced \textlangle dz \textrangle, as in most varieties of Amdo Tibetan:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textlangle dz \textrangle \textlangle zla \textrangle ‘month’\textsuperscript{31}
  \item \textlangle dz \textrangle \textlangle zlo \textrangle ‘to say’
  \item \textlangle dz \textrangle \textlangle zla.ba \textrangle ‘penis’\textsuperscript{32}
\end{itemize}

Various complex initial OT clusters with oral prefixes developed (often via conditioned splits) into Zhongu spirants, contributing to the overall aberrancy of this dialect. These correspondences are listed below with supporting examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{sky-} \textrightarrow \textlangle s \textrangle
  \item \textlangle s \textrangle \textlangle skyi \textrangle ‘to borrow, to lend’
  \item \textlangle s \textrangle \textlangle skye \textrangle ‘to grow’
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{29} Nishida and Sun (1990) suggest that Baima is a separate Bodish language. Subsequent studies, however, convincingly demonstrate that Baima is merely an aberrant Tibetan dialect (Huang 1995, Zhang 1994, 1997).

\textsuperscript{30} This is also the case in Ladakhi (Beyer 1992:46, fn.9).

\textsuperscript{31} The word ‘moon’ \textlangle zla.wa \textrangle \textlangle dëwë \textrangle is however always pronounced with the literary-style initial \textlangle d \textrangle.

\textsuperscript{32} The meaning ‘semen, juice’ is given in Das 1902:1099.
sgy- > /z/
/zeka/ <sgye.khug> ‘large bag’

lec- > /s/ (before OT non-low front vowels) /₁/
/ša/ <lecags> ‘iron’
/fe/ <lce> ‘tongue’

dpy- > /ʃ/ (before OT high front vowels)₃³
/fəŋgo/ <dpyi.mgo> ‘hip’
/fəkə/ <dpyid.kha> ‘spring’

spy- > /s/
/synɡa/ <spyang.khu> ‘wolf’

phy- > /ʃ/ (before OT -o and -u)₃⁴
/ʃɔpə/ <phyug.po> ‘to be rich’
/ʃu/ <phyogs> ‘direction’

dby- > /z/
/zənkə/ <dbyar.kha> ‘summer’
/za/ <dbyug> ‘to sway’

sby- > /ʒ/ 
/ʒə/ <sbyin> ‘to give’

spr- > /ʃ/₃⁵
/fə/ <sprin> ‘cloud’
/fənɡa/ <sprə>₃⁶ ‘monkey’

---

₃³ Elsewhere OT dpy- gave /ts/, as in /tsɔ/ <dpyang> ‘to hang down’.
₃⁴ Elsewhere OT phy- gave /tsb/, see §3.2.2.2 above.
₃⁵ An apparent exception is /pɔ/ ‘to beg’, which probably came from *spa, a variant of WT <sprang>. Note that cognate forms of ‘to beg’ in most Amdo varieties also reflect *spa (e.g., Labrang hwa) rather than <sprang>.
₃⁶ With suffix -nda.
Jackson T.-S. Sun

sbr- $\rightarrow /\check{z}/$ (before OT -i and -u)\(^{37}\)

$\check{z}/ <\text{shrub}>$ ‘snake’

$\check{z}/ <\text{shrid}>$ ‘to be numb’

rdz- $\rightarrow /\check{z}/$\(^{38}\)

$\check{z}/ <\text{rdzi}>$ ‘to knead; to tread’

$\check{z}/$ <rdzi.bo> ‘shepherd’

### 3.3 History of Zhongu rhymes

OT had one of the fullest rhyme systems in Tibeto-Burman. Barring a few marginal and secondary diphthongal rhymes, OT rhymes adhered to the canonical structure $V(C^1)(C^2)$, where $V = \{a, i, u, e, o\}$, $C^1 = \{b, d, g, m, n, g, r, l, s\}$, and $C^2 = \{d, s\}$.

This original state of affairs has been drastically revamped in Zhongu. All the old codas were lost, transforming all closed syllables into open syllables. The amazing degree that rhyme attrition and merger have reached in Zhongu, leading inevitably to excessive synchronic homophony, is evident in the following table summarizing the observed correspondences between OT and modern Zhongu rhymes:\(^ {39}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zhongu Rhymes</th>
<th>Old Tibetan Rhymes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a; ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>a’u; e’u; ing(s); in; un; on; ad; ed; od; ab(s); eb(s); ob(s); as; es; os; al; e.ba; e.bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>og(s); ung(s); ong(s); um(s); i.ba; u.ba; o.ba; a.bo; i.bo; a.mo; o.mo; u.mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e; ad; ed; od; er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ing(s); eng(s); em(s); an; en; on; as; al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o; or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>ang(s), am(s), om(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>i; u; ig(s); ug(s); id; ud; in; ib(s); ub(s); im(s); is; us; ir; ur; il; ul; el; ol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{37}\) Elsewhere OT sbr- gave /b/, as in /bma/ <sbra.nag> ‘yak-hair tent’; /bøna/ <sbrang.bu> ‘fly’.

\(^{38}\) A few words show /dz/ corresponding to OT rdz- (e.g., /dzi/ <rdzun> ‘lie’).

\(^{39}\) A number of OT rhymes exhibit multiple Zhongu correspondences. OT -ad, -ed, -od, for instance yielded /i/ in some words but /e/ in others; the split in such cases does not seem attributable to stylistic (literary vs. colloquial) differences.
Attention can now be directed to several notable phonological developments that forged the Zhongu rhyme system.

### 3.3.1 Merger of the OT high vowels \( i \) and \( u \)

The merger of the OT high vowels \( i \) and \( u \) is an important areal feature in the Amdo and Khams regions. What is striking about this process in Zhongu is its relentless thoroughness, as the majority of the OT rhymes containing the two old vowels became reduced to /\( \dot{a} \)/, as seen in Table 1 above.

### 3.3.2 Loss of -\( r \) without concomitant vowel change

As in the other Tibetan dialects, coda depletion in Zhongu was often accompanied by compensatory vowel shifts. However, the exceptional treatment of OT -\( r \) can be considered an important characteristic of this dialect. The loss of -\( r \) in Zhongu is more complete than the other codas, since OT syllables carrying the -\( r \) coda bore the same reflexes as OT open syllables with the corresponding vowels:\(^{40}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{št}/ & \quad \text{<sha> `flesh, meat’} \\
& \quad \text{<shar> `east’} \\
/\text{tsʰ}/ & \quad \text{<phyi> `outside’} \\
& \quad \text{<phyir> `backward’} \\
/\text{ϻ}/ & \quad \text{<bu> `bug’} \\
/\text{ϻϻ}/ & \quad \text{<bur, `bur> `to be protruding’} \\
/\text{dew}/ & \quad \text{<sde.ba> `village’} \\
/\text{kde}/ & \quad \text{<dkar.sder> `plate’} \\
/\text{ɡ}/ & \quad \text{<sho> `dice’} \\
& \quad \text{<shor> `to slip; to be lost’}
\end{align*}
\]

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\(^{40}\) The OT -\( r \) coda also seems to have dropped very early in Baima Tibetan, since OT syllables with -\( r \) behaved tonogenetically like open syllables (Huang and Zhang 1995:99).
3.3.3 Compensatory vowel developments

As the three OT simple rhymes a, i, and u developed shifted vowel qualities (OT a > /ø/; OT i, u > /ɔ/), various OT closed rhymes containing old codas were also transformed, some of which replenished the vacated vowel spaces (e.g., OT ag > /a/; ab > /i/; og > /u/), while others generated different innovative vowels (e.g., OT an > /ɛ/; am > /ɔ/). The outcome of these sound changes is a significantly expanded modern vocalic inventory with four new vowel phonemes: /ɛ/, /æ/, /ɔ/, and /ø/.

3.4 Irregularities

It will be quite a challenge to elucidate exhaustively the phonological history of Zhongu. The lexical aberrancy of this dialect presents the first stumbling block. Many common vocabulary items are hard to identify with any known Tibetan roots, even with some knowledge of the major sound correspondences. Consider, for example: /sømo/ ‘bamboo’; /tso pu/ ‘book’; /tuna/ ‘earthworm’; /χapnu/ ‘hole’; /pøhɛ/ ‘to itch’; /sirɛ/ ‘nail (body part)’; /tsa/ ‘sand’; /tsɛntso/ ‘thing, object’; /pɛkɛ/ ‘spider’; /tʃɛnu/ ‘grave’.

The problem of morpheme identification is further complicated by stark violations to expected sound changes. Many such cases appear to be sporadic exceptions; e.g., /nlɛ/ (instead of */nɛ/) <lnga> ‘five’; /sɛi/ (instead of */sa/) <sol> ‘charcoal’; /lu/ (instead of */lu/) <lhung> ‘to fall’; /æta/ (instead of */tsa/) <rtseg> ‘to stack up’. Other cases, though, can be further explicated.

3.4.1 Dialect mixture

Among the Zhongu forms that do not correspond normally, some seem to be importations from Amdo, the dominant Tibetan dialect in the area. Doublets are particularly revealing. Consider /ʃaro/ <lcags.?>, the normal Zhongu word for ‘iron’, and /ætʃaækʃu/ <lcags.skud> ‘wire’. The syllable /ʃa-/ manifests a characteristic Zhongu sound change lc- > /ʃ/ and is therefore the genuine native reflex of <lcags>. The alternant /ætʃa-/ on the other hand, was clearly a borrowing from Amdo where OT lc- regularly yields /ʃ/. Loanwords of this type usually pertain to pastoral life or plateau fauna, such as /ʃærør/ (instead of */tsørn/) <phyur.ba> ‘cheese’, /kʰumo/ (instead of

---

41 The obviously relatable written form <bye.ma> would account for the rhyme, but unfortunately not the onset, of /tsa/.

42 The Zhongu are rongpa, or traditional farming Tibetans.
3.4.2 Word-internal anomalies

In Zhongu, sound laws deduced from observing the behavior of isolated syllables often fail to apply to syllables inside polysyllabic (compound or affixed) words. 43 The word /doÙë/ <rdo.dkar> ‘flint’, for example, has a compound element /Ùë/ ‘white’ with a different initial /Ù/ than the expected reflex /æk/ of <dk>. Other examples of internal voicing and spirantization include /z˙©e/ <yi.ge> ‘writing; letter’, /srum/ <sa.bon> ‘seed’, and the diminutive suffix /©/ <gu>; e.g., /l˙-©/ <lug.gu> ‘lamb’. Examined below are two other primary sources of such irregularities: internal de-aspiration and syllable boundary shift.

3.4.2.1 De-aspiration

Aspirated initials are generally de-aspirated word-internally in Zhongu. Although certainly not a rare phenomenon in modern Tibetan, 44 word-internal de-aspiration in Zhongu is notable for its systematic (though not exceptionless) operation. Some examples are provided:

/ntšn/ <na.tsha> ‘illness’
/tg³tsø/ <khrı.tsho> ‘ten thousand’
/potsh/ <bu.tsha> ‘son’
/metu/ <me.thog> ‘flower’
/akø/ <a.khu> ‘paternal uncle’

/tʃ³tsø/ <chu.thag> ‘water-barrel strap’
/sra/ <khal.thag> ‘leather string’
Cf. /tɢæa/ <thag.pa> ‘rope’

43 This is a familiar problem in Tibetan dialectology. Huang et al (1994), for example, have to list separate correspondences for isolated versus word-internal syllables in Yushu (Yushu: <yus.shu’u>) Tibetan.
44 Hu (1993:69) describes analogous de-aspiration conditioned by speech-tempo in the Lhasa dialect. Internal de-aspiration was also extensive in Baima (Zhang 1997:§11.1) and the Tongren, Xùnhuà, and Huàlónɡ varieties of Amdo (Hua 2002:30-34).
3.4.2.2 Syllable boundary re-adjustment

Syllable boundary shifting is already in evidence in OT; e.g., <yig> ~ <yi.ge> ‘word; writing; letter’; <phrug> ~ <phru.gu> ‘young animal’, <phyu.ra> ~ <phyur.ba> ‘curd, cheese’. The syllable boundary readjustment rule [VC $ CV > V $ CCV], likewise, applied with great frequency in Zhongu polysyllabic words, making the original coda part of the following onset:

- <lus.po> > *lu.spo > /la-hpo/ ‘body’
- <rus.pa> > *ru.spa > /ra-hpa/ ‘bone’
- <grum.pa> > *gru.mpa > /tfa-hpa/ ‘badger’
- <sngon.po> > *sngo.npo > /iho-bo/ ‘to be blue’
- <sman.pa> > *sma.npa > /me-hpa/ ‘doctor’
- <shog.pa> > *sho.gpa > /so-hpa/ ‘wing’
- <dron.po> > *dro.nbo > /tso-bo/ ‘hot (as of weather)’
- <bdun.cu> > *bdu.ncu > /da-nbo/ ‘seventy’
  cf. /di/ <bdun> ‘seven’

4. The position of Zhongu in modern Tibetan

How many separate dialects does Tibetan have? What criteria should one employ for their subclassification? No conclusive answers are forthcoming for either of these fundamental questions. One popular view (Qu and Jin 1981, Zhang 1993) posits five major Tibetan dialects: Central (<dBus-gTsang>), Southeastern (Khams), Southern, Western, and Northeastern (Amdo). It is clear that this classification scheme does not do sufficient justice to the actual diversity of modern Tibetan, particularly with regard to the dialects spoken in China. Of the three recognized Tibetan dialects of China, Central, Amdo, and Khams, the former two are homogeneous units with a high degree of internal intelligibility. There is therefore little doubt that they constitute valid major Tibetan dialects. What is problematic is ‘Khams’, the widely accepted third Tibetan dialect of China, which seems to have been arrived at by lumping together a host of mutually unintelligible speech forms by using untenable methods of dialect subgrouping. Qu and Jin (1981:79), for instance, list among the subclassifying criteria the following defining global features of the three major dialects:
Table 2: Some global phonological features of the three Tibetan dialects of China according to Qu and Jin 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Presence of Voiced Obstruent Onsets</th>
<th>Presence of Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khams</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amdo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obviously, two forms of modern Tibetan are not necessarily more closely related because they both preserve OT voiced obstruent onsets (shared retention) and both have tones (possibly convergent, but independent development). Supplementing the above with a long list of phonological traits of the three dialects (e.g., the presence of central, front rounded, or nasalized vowels, number of codas and tones, etc.) only makes their work seem like an exercise in typological, rather than genetic, classification (Qu and Jin 1981:79-80). This flaw is clearly revealed by the fact that many subgrouping features they discuss hold only for a subset of the respective dialects. For instance, they list the following divergent OT origins of modern palato-alveolar affricates as one of the ‘qualitative’ differences that demarcate the three major dialects (1981:82):

Table 3: OT sources of Palato-Alveolar affricates in the three Tibetan dialects of China according to Qu and Jin 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C-</th>
<th>Py-</th>
<th>Ky-</th>
<th>Kr-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khams</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amdo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preceding table evidently reflects only tendencies displayed by alleged members of the proposed dialect groups, rather than reliable phonological isoglosses that delimit

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45 Some also use the presence of consonant clusters in a similar way, with the same methodological problem.
46 The presence of OT prefixal consonants and development of phonemic tone have also been used by Róna-Tas as criteria for subclassifying Tibetan dialects into ‘archaic’ and ‘non-archaic’ subgroups (Róna-Tas 1966:21). I wish to show in a separate paper (J. Sun, forthcoming-a) that there are actually divergent tonogenetic paths in modern Tibetan; being such a prevalent sound change both areally and typologically, tonogenesis is a risky criterion to bank on for subclassifying modern Tibetan.
47 Standing for the original OT palato-alveolar affricates.
precise dialect boundaries. Thus, Zhuoni and Diqing turned OT C- to retroflexes and OT Kr- to palato-alveolars (Qu 1962, Lu 1990, Hongladarom 1996); Găizé (改則 <sGer.rtsce>) preserved OT Ky- as true palatals; Zaduo merged OT C-, Py-, and Ky- into palatal affricates (Huang et al. 1994:117), whereas Chaïngdú (昌都 <Chab.mdo>) flip-flopped OT palato-alveolars (C-) and palatales (Ky-). All the above Tibetan varieties are commonly grouped under the Khams dialect complex, and yet they display sound changes that are at odds with what Table 3 tells us how a ‘Khams dialect’ ought to behave. The unity of the motley ‘Khams dialect’ should therefore not be uncritically embraced, for the simple reason that it is not grounded in principles of rigorous linguistic subclassification, which admit as evidence only shared innovations that are individual-identifying (Nichols 1996). If one exercises the methodological rigor demanded by mainstream historical linguistics (e.g., Campbell 1999 §6.4), it is highly probable that a number of peripheral ‘Khams subdialects’ may turn out to be distinct dialects in their own right. In fact, one such ‘Khams’ dialect, Yushu,48 has already been disentangled from core Kham Tibetan and proposed as a separate Tibetan dialect in Huang et al. 1994. In the meantime, the lamentable tendency persists to pigeonhole minor Tibetan dialects into the above-mentioned major dialects on the shaky basis of shared archaism (consonant clusters, voiced obstruent initials, no diphthongs, etc.) or global similarities owing to convergent development (syllable canon reduction, vowel nasalization, tonogenesis, etc.).49 But the very existence of a dialect like Zhongu presents a serious predicament for subclassifications of that description. Should Zhongu be assigned to the Amdo dialect because it is a cluster and toneless dialect spoken in the vicinity of Amdo, or should it rather align with Khams on account of its elimination of all OT syllable codas, a most un-Amdo typological feature?50

It is temptingly convenient to classify Tibetan dialects in broad typological terms (e.g., tonal vs. non-tonal, cluster vs. non-cluster, archaic vs. innovative), but the results are hardly on solid scientific footing. I therefore propose that all distinct (i.e., language-like) forms of Tibetan should a priori be placed directly under Old Tibetan as its first-order offshoots, unless there are sound reasons for making the flat family tree

48 Spoken at Zaduo, Jiégü (結古 <sKye.rgu>), Nángqiān (<Nang.chen>) Counties of Yushu Prefecture in Qinghai Province, and Băqíng (<sBra.chen>), Dīngqíng (<sTeng.chen>) and Suō Counties in Tibet.
49 As a recent example, Hua and Duozangta (1997) attempt to categorize the Shibazi variety of Tibetan of Songpan County as a Khams dialect, mainly on account of its (marginally phonemic) tones.
50 Similarly baffling for typology-based classifications are dialects like Qūmálái (曲麻菜 <Chu.dmar.leg>), in Qinghai Province, which has innovated tones while remaining basically Amdo with respect to the conservative rhymes (Wang 1990).
hierarchical—that is, until one finds unmistakable evidence in the form of diagnostic shared innovations pointing to a period of common history between a subset of these dialects. I contend further that Zhongu be recognized as one such distinct Tibetan dialect on the grounds that, diverging sharply in phonology and vocabulary from all major Tibetan dialects, Zhongu has accumulated enough linguistic deviance to become language-like, and no definite proof has been found yet to subgroup it with any other Tibetan dialect.

5. Summary and conclusions

The foregoing outline of the Zhongu synchronic phonological system and its evolution demonstrates that this previously unknown dialect has followed the modern Tibetan drift of syllable-structure depletion almost to the extreme, yet managed marvelously without recourse to suprasegmental compensation of any sort. Its special linguistic position is, however, better ascertained by the many distinctive paths of linguistic innovation it traversed, as Zhongu is characterized not only by its peculiar vocabulary and grammar, but particularly by a set of characteristic sound changes, the most important of which are summarized as follows:

1. OT j- became /z/.
2. OT labial and velar stops with -j- merged and became dental affricates.
3. OT sky- became /s/; sgy- became /zl/.
4. OT sl-, sr- merged and became /hts/.
5. Conditioned shift of some OT palato-alveolar spirants to retroflexes.
6. OT velar prefix g- developed into distinctive uvular spirants, whereas other oral prefixes either elided or turned into pre-aspiration.
7. OT spr- became /f/; shbr- became /z/.
8. Loss of OT -r with no compensatory warping of preceding vowel.

51 I have not yet systematically investigated grammatical changes in Zhongu. The following morphosyntactic innovations have however been noted: distinctive case forms (e.g., dative /ja/ or /sw/, locative/ablative /no/, comparative /sono/) and aspect and modality markers, grammaticalization of imperative markers from OT directional terms (/za/ <yar> ‘upward’; /ma/ <mar> ‘downward’; /sh/ <phyir> ‘level direction’), and the obligatory use of a specialized existential verb */ba/ for predicating the existence of stationary but growing objects (plants, hair, etc.), e.g.

ridge tree many exist-MED
‘There are many trees on the mountain ridges.’
It is diagnostic innovations of the foregoing type\textsuperscript{52} that constitute the indispensable tools with which Tibetan dialectologists will eventually be able to determine the appropriate positions of Zhongu and other minor but distinct provincial dialects such as Baima (Huang and Zhang 1995, Zhang 1997), Yushu (in the sense of Huang et al. 1994), Basong (巴松 <Brag-gsum>; Qu et al. 1989), Zhuoni (Qu 1962), and Qiuji (求吉 <Chos.rje>; J. Sun forthcoming-b) in the colorful mosaic of modern Tibetan, alongside the prestigious principal dialects.

Abbreviations

| MED  | mediative          |
| LOC  | locative           |
| INDEF| indefinite         |
| INST | instrumental       |
| MIR  | mirative           |
| PFV  | perfective         |
| IMP  | imperative         |
| SG   | singular           |

\textsuperscript{52} These sound changes are not claimed to be unique to this dialect, though. In fact, merger of OT -V and -Vr is also noted in the similarly aberrant Baima Tibetan dialect (Huang and Zhang 1995:99). The point is that we must focus on specific and uncommon sound changes in each Tibetan dialect we investigate, on the basis of which accurate subclassification of modern Tibetan can be conducted in the future. Huang and Zhang (1995) and Zhang (1997) mentioned some such characteristic phonological developments in Baima (e.g., OT /l/ became /j/; voicing of voiceless aspirated stop/affricates after nasal prefixes) but unfortunately did not consider their relevance for subgrouping. For enlightening application of the criteria of sound changes to the subclassification of Tibetan dialects spoken in Nepal, see Bielmeier 1982 and Nishi 1983.
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Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office
Academia Sinica
130, Sec. 2, Academia Road
Nankang, Taipei 11529, Taiwan
hstssun@gate.sinica.edu.tw
熱務溝話語音簡貌：一種川北藏語新方言

孫天心
中央研究院

熱務溝話是筆者在四川省北部藏、羌交界地帶發現的一種特殊藏語，分
布於松潘縣南部熱務溝區。筆者根據多年積累之第一手調查材料，首次對本
方言提供描述記錄，詳加探究其語音系統之源流及突出特點，包括缺乏聲
調、長短元音等超音段語音對立，傳承自古藏語韻母體系極端簡化，以及發
展小舌與舌尖聲母之流變趨勢等。由於語音創新與眾不同，外加部分本土語
彙來源特殊，熱務溝話與周邊藏語已產生不同語種間之隔閡，不能直接通
話。本文根據新方言材料對現行藏語方言分類體系提出原則性檢討，並提出
在藏語方言家族中，熱務溝話應享有獨立小方言地位之意見。

本文附錄有英語－熱務溝藏語對照常用詞 1,500 條左右。

關鍵詞: 藏緬語，藏語方言，方言次分類
Appendix

English-Zhongu Vocabulary

The following concise English-Zhongu vocabulary lists around 1,500 common lexical items with their suggested etymologies. Short illustrative sentences are provided where appropriate. Zhongu forms are syllabified in order to facilitate morpheme identification. The Tibetan etymologies given below, notably, are etyma underlying the modern Zhongu forms in question rather than their standard Written Tibetan meaning equivalents. Thus, the archaic written form <dmyig> is given as the source of the Zhongu morpheme šap- ‘eye’, rather than the ordinary WT <mig>. Likewise, Zhongu štso ‘to rest’ is not traced to WT <gs>, as WT <gs> regularly corresponds to Zhongu š-. Uncertain origins are indicated by question marks in the corresponding syllable slot, e.g. še-ngu <me.?> ‘fire (disaster)’, where the source of the syllable ngu is unknown, or beside a tentatively offered etymon, e.g. šap-špa <dmyig.lpas?> ‘eyelash; eyebrow’ where the syllable špa probably reflects <lpags> ‘skin, fur’. Exceptions to observed sound laws are highlighted by boldface, e.g. the first syllable in štsø-≈u <rkyag.khung> ‘anus’ undoubtedly came from <rkyag> ‘excrement’ but the rhyme is at variance with the expected correspondence -ag > a.

a bit; a little; šna-šu-tso
<nyung.nyung.cig>
abdomen; štu tfø-tfu
<pho.ba.chung.chung>
abdominal cavity; škø-pu <khog-pa>
above; šgo-ti <go.?>
ache; be painful; me <na>
acorn; duš-žø <sdong.'bru>
add to; gi <snon>
afternoon; šbo-ţso <phyi.dro>
afterwards; to-no (with locative -no)
again; wu; te wu yu-kø ‘She has come again.’
age; lo <lo>; šbo totsø lo tføa-tso rø
‘What is your age this year?’
aim; šgø <tshad>
air; breath; bo <dbugs>
alike; šdžv <‘dra>; rø <rigs>;

ša-sa-go-lo
<tshe-mo <tsang.ma>
alone; single; škø-šde <kher> (with suffix šde)
also; je
amber; špi-sø <spos.shel>
angry; škø šsø <khong.?>
ankle; šo-lo
anklebone; štš-e-shv-pv-tšə
answer, admit, consent; škø-le <kha.lan>
ant; šfø-tšø <grog.?>
antler, horn; šv <rwa>
anus; štsø-ţu <rkyag.khung>
anything; šfø-tʃø <ci.cang>; šfatʃø jo-no
‘There is nothing.’
apron; šo-ţø <pang.?>
argali (Ovis ammon); šo-ţi <lug.rgod>
arm; ša-ţa <lag.pa>
armpit; ḃtʃe-hrtsa <mchan.rtsa>
arive; ḃtsi <sleb>
arow; ḃde <mn̥a>
ashamed, embarrassed; go-tsʰe
<ṅgo.tsha>
ashe; ko-ti <go.thal>
ask; ḃdzə <dri>, [PFV/IMP] tʂə <dris>
aunt; (uncle’s wife) ame <a.ne> (father’s sister) ami <a.?>; (mother’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>
avenese; (rt) <a.ne> (father’s sister) ame <a.ma>

bar (the door); ɬte <gtan>
bark [V]; ɡo <zug>
bark [N]; ku-tʃo
barley; ne <nas>
basket carried on back; ʈw-go (with suffix -go)
bat (animal); ḃtsa-ŋpʰe-jo
be; re <red>; (reduced form) r(ə); (in affirmative replies) r; tʃɔ yon-ka pa;
 środ ‘Are you from Zhongu?’
be accomplished; be done; ḃdzə <'grub'>;
tonda ḃdzə-štš-e ‘The job is done.’
be accustomed to; li <lob>
be allowed; may; ye <nyan>
be time for; re <ran>;
ri te ñe-rə-štš-e ʈə ‘It is time to sleep now.’
beam; ḃso-du <dung> be;
beard; ḃtsa <srən> bear; endure; ḃtsa <srən> bear; (Asiatic black bear)
to <dom>;
(black-bear cub) tɔ-pə <dom.bu>;
(brown bear) tsi <dred> bear; endure;
beard; ḃve-pə <kha.spu> beard;
be; (Asiatic black bear)
to <dom>;
(black-bear cub) tɔ-pə <dom.bu>;
(brown bear) tsi <dred> bear; endure;
beard; ḃve-pə <kha.spu> beard;
belch; *ga-bp\n
believe; trust; *di-\n
bell; *tf\nt\n(a religious instrument) *h\n\nbellows; *khu-mo <khol.mo>

belly; *pæu <pho.ba>

bend; bend down; *g\n-\n<sgur.sgur>

bent; curved; *g\n-\n<sgur.ru>;

big; *æt\n
birch; *æta-ma <stag> (with suffix -ma)

bird; *tsë <bya>; (small bird)

*b\n</chung>

bit; *®i <srab>

bite; so-qo ts <so.?.byed>

bitter; qæë-nde <khwa> (with suffix -nde)

black; *na <nag>; (the color black) ne-

blacksmith; *ng\n-v <mgar.ba>

blanket; rug; *te <stan>; (saddle-blanket)

gv-\n<sga.stan>

bleat; *\n\n<ba>

blind; *\n\n<zhar.ba>

blind person; *\n-v <zhar.ba>

blister; *tf\nt\<chu.sgang>

blood; *tf\n <khrag>

blood vessel; *tf\n-ta <khrag.?

bloom; *\n
blow (air); *\n<br>

blow (as of wind); *\n\ntfo, *\n<br>

blow nose; *\n\n<snabs.spur>

blue; *\n
blunt; *pu-\n
board; plank; *ki-\n
boat; *t\n <gru>

body; *lo-\npo <lus.po>; (upper body)

\n<khu-h\n<khog.stod>; (lower body)

\nkhu-pai <khog.smad>

boil [VT]; (~ water) *tso <sro>,

[PFV/IMP] *t\nsi <sros>; te *tf\n \tso-\n
‗S/he is boiling water‘; (~ solid food)

\nt\n <btsos>

boil [VI]; (as of liquid foods) *k\n <gdu>;

(as of water) *tf\n, *t\n <tf\n-ke \n\n\nre ‗Steam comes out when water boils‘.

boulder; *p\n-v-\n <pha.bong>

bone; *ro-\n <rus.pa>

book; *t\n <tso-pu>

borrow; (~ money) so <skyi>; (~ objects)

k\n <g.yar> ts\n goto so-ja-te tu

s\n <g.yar> \n\n‘You borrowed money. Why haven‘t you returned it yet?‘

bottle; *fe-\n <shel.mdong>

bottom; *\n\n<kulub>; *\n <zhabs?>

boundary; *p\n-\n <bar.skabs>

bovine; *\n <zog>; (hornless ~) *\n <mgo.rdo>

bow (weapon); *sz\n <gzhu>

bowl; *\n <dkar.yol>; (metal bowl)

ga-\n <lcags.dkar>; (wooden bowl)

a-\n <a.dkar>

box; *go-\n <sgom.bu>

boy; *p\n-\n <bu.tsha>

bracelet; *\n <gdu.gu>

brain; *k\n-\n <klad.pa>

bran; *p\n
branch; *lo-tfo <lo.?>; (thin twig) *\n <bud.?>

brass; ra <rag>

brazier; *\n
bread; *ko-\n <kohtse *tf\n-do \n
‗Are you eating bread‘?

break [VI]; (as of sth stiff) *tf\n
break [VI]; (as of sth soft); \textit{tfe}\textsuperscript{11} break [VT]; (~ sth stiff) \textit{tfu} <\textit{gcog}>, 
\begin{itemize}
  \item [PFV] \textit{tfu} <\textit{bcag}>
\end{itemize}
break (sth soft); \textit{tfe} <\textit{gcod}>, [PFV] \textit{tfe} <\textit{chod}>,\textsuperscript{12}
breakfast; \textit{zǔ-ntæu} <\textit{za.?>}; \textit{nø-tsi} <\textit{nangs.?>}
breast; \textit{pa-pa} <\textit{bag.ma}>
bride; \textit{pa-më} <\textit{bag.ma}>
bring up; \textit{so} <\textit{gso}>, [PFV] \textit{so} <\textit{gsos}>
bring, carry; carry on back; \textit{kæ} <\textit{khur}>
bridget; \textit{ntsæø} <\textit{tsæø-xu}>
\textit{ntsæø-rë} <\textit{tshang.ra}>
'the fire in the stove burns brightly.'
burn; \textit{tsæ} <\textit{tshig}>
burial; \textit{ntsæø-rë} <\textit{tshang.ra}>
'the dead body in the earth!'
break [VI]; (as of sth soft); \textit{tfe}\textsuperscript{11}
made Trashi drink the medicine.'
causative verb, make; .ny.dga.<r> <jug>,
[PFV/IMP] tfa.<beug>
cave; tsu-pta.<brag.khung>
ceiling; du-si
charcoal; si <sol>
changed; dga.<sgyur>
dash; dga.<tdal>
<bcug>
cave; t®a-
<brag.khung>
ceiling;
change; nö-
si <sol>
<phyur.ba>

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choose, pick; so

chop off (branches); nö.<pho.<thel>,
[PFV/IMP] tø
chopper with curved blade; sà-to
chopsticks; qöa-je

chough (red-billed Pyrrhocorax
pyrrhocorax); tfu-ma

cicada; si-si
cinders; nö.
dzö-dzö u <me.?>
claw; be-re <sbar.>

clean; tøsö~ tøsö-wa <gtsang> (with
suffix -wa); nö.de kæa te tøsö-ka~
nö.de kæa te tøsö-wa tø-ru 'Is this bowl
clean?'

clear; tø-mø <dwangs.mo>;

tø-mø tøsø
ye-sö-tøs 'The river has cleared.'
clear; sunny; tø <thang>
clever; dzøi-wu <sgrin.po>
climb (trees); nö-dze <dzeg>
cloak; (single-layered cotton cloak) re-la
<ras.lwa>; (two-layered cloak)
ked-rtso; (lambskin cloak) tshø-re
<tsha.ru>; (woolen cloak) nö.tsö
<phrug>
clod of earth; po-tso

clogged; kha-te <kha.?>;

kha-te-do-kø
kha-te-de-nø 'The sewer is clogged
with rocks.'

close; (door) tøsö <byed>, [PFV/IMP] tøsö
<byas>; go pør (ma-tøsö 'Close the
doors!'; (close eyes, mouth) tø

<btsums>; kha-tú-di 'Shut up!'; (close
umbrellas) nö.phi; [PFV] phö <phab>

close (vs. far); tøa-ne <thag.nye>
clothes; kha-pho <gos.?>

cloth; re <ras>

cloud; re <sgrin>

China fir; tøsa

China oak; pe-si <be.shing>

Chinese; dzö.<pi> <ryga.>

Chinese prickly ash; wze-mø <g.yer.ma>
chisel [V]; tøsì

choma (wild sweet potato); tfa-wa <gro>
(with suffix -wa)
coal; do-si <rdo.sol>
course; htsa-mo <rtsub.mo>
coarse yak-hair; htsa-pu <rtsid.pa>
cobweb; pu-dr
cockcomb; kze
cold; tshya <’khyag>; ts’ba-hpo <’khyag.po>
collaps; hpo; (as of walls) lu <log>
collar; ku-ta <gong.?>
collect, gather; d<sdud>29
collide; du-r‰ <rdung-res>
color; ndu <mdog>
colostrum; buttermilk; first milk; htsa <spri>30
comb; [N] chsawar, 31 [V] fe <shad>
come; yu <’ong>, [PFV] ye, [IMP] xu <shog>; te tse-no ye-sv-tso ‘S/he has come from Lhasa.’

come back; sv-tfa yu ‘.’ong; ts’ho yv-tsva yvfa xu ‘Come back to me!’

come out (as of the sun); ja
common cattle; s<ls-ja <glang.bu>; 32
common cold; qu<pho-pb <cham.pa>
companion; ra-hpo <rogs.pa>
compensate; ndzyi <’jal>; te-ka ye-ja

ndjen-tsa ndzyi-sv-te ‘S/he gave me a horse in compensation.’

crowd; tu <dung>
cone; du-mdz<sdong.’bru
connect; nh<mtud
contract, draw in (legs); hku <skum>
convex; hbo-bho <bur.’bur
cooked; ts’h<shos
cool; so-so <bils.bsil

coconut; zs-gm <zangs.ma>
cut open; χṭve  
cut with scissors; shear, reap; tailor; ṇdzə `<breg>; [PFV]ţsa `<breg>`  
cut (firewood into smaller pieces); f̣i χse  
cut off (a piece); χṭve `<gcd>`  
cymbol; bo-tʃa `<bug.chal>`  
dance; tʂo ɬtʃu `<bro.mchong>`  
danduff; ɬgo-ɬho `<mgo.'bu>`  
dare; ɬpu, te pəɬgo ɬtsɔ-tsa ɬdzə  
pə-ɬpu-ko `S/he does not dare go without company.`  
dative suffix; -tsə ±-sə; te tʃpə te ɬtsə  
give that book to me!`  
day after tomorrow; ṇnø-ɬ <gnangs.nyin>  
day before yesterday; kʰe-ɲə `<kha.nyin>`  
day; ɲə-wa `<nyin>` (with suffix -wa); tɔɾi ɬnɔwa tʃa ɬnɔ-ɾa `What is the date today?`  
daytime (vs. night); pə-ɬgu  
(byin.(d)gung)  
dead; ɬo-ɬo `<shi.`?  
deaf; ɬn-ɬi `<ma.'on`; te nni ti-ɬse-ɬtsə  
S/he has become deaf.`  
declivity; ɬtbo `<thur>`  
decrease; ɬo  
deep (water); ṇtbo-ɬbo  
deep (as of pits); di-na  
deer; sa `<shwa.ba>`; (deer-hunt) ɬa-ɬu  
<shwa.ba.bda>  
delicious; ɬə-ɬbo `<zhim.po>`; ɬu  
<zhim.po>  
dense; χṭve  
dented; ɬo-ɬu  
demon; ghost; evil spirits; ṇdzə `<dre>`;  
(female~) ṇdzə-mo `<dre.mo>`; (devil) ɬdo `<bdud>`; ( demon that causes diseases) ɬde `<gdon>`  
dew; ɬkə-ɬe `<zi.l.?>; ɬv-tʃo`  
dhole; red dog (Cuon alpinus); ṇpʰu-re  
<ɬphar.ba>  
dike; ɬfə-ɾa `<chu.rags>`  
die; ɬo `<shi>`  
dice; ɬo `<sho>`  
difficult, hard, tired; ɬke `<dka>`  
dig; ɬkə `<rkə`; [PFV/IMP] ɬki `<rkos>`;  
ɬpʰə, toka ɬtsə-tsa ɬpʰə-ji ro ɬtsə-ɲə  
mo-tso `They dug a pit and buried the dead body inside the pit.`  
digest; ɬə `<zhu>`  
dinner, supper; gu-tsi `<dgongs.?>`  
direct (visual) evidential suffix; -tə  
(thd); ɬtsə-tʃi ɬkə ɬu-ɬbi-ɾe `(I saw that) Trashi did not drink liquor.`  
dirty; ɬkə-ɬtsə `<mi.gtsang>`  
direction; ɬu `<phyogs>`  
discuss; tʃi-ɬso `<gros.byed>`  
dish, curry; ɬkə `<spags>`  
dislike; ɬpʰe-ɬse  
dismount; ɬi  
disorderly; ɬv-pʰu-ɬpʰu-ɬpʰu  
dispatch (people); ɬa `<mngag>`  
ditch; ɬfə-ɬi `<chu.`?  
distribute; divide; ɬi `<bgos>`  
divine; mo ɬdi `<mo.'deb>` [PFV/IMP] ti  
<btab>  
do (labor); ɬi `<las>`  
do, make; ɬi `<las`; ɬə `<byed>`;  
[PFV/IMP] tse `<byas>`; ɬəko-ɬtse  
v-tse tə `Have you made bread?`
null
ferment; so <skyur?>; nqo so-kø kø ‘The dough has become fermented!’
fertilizer; manure; lo <lud>
fiddlehead fern; mo-kø
field; (sn)-zi <sa.zhing>
fifteen; tsø-pr <beco.lnga>
fifty; gn-tfæ <ingga.lnga>
fight battles; dzè-re tsø <res.byed>
fight for sth; ghbu-re <phrog.res>
file (tool); vn-dr <gsed.bdar>
fill up (a hole); kò-sø
film of oil; (kò)Âa <zhag>
filter; tsa <btsag>
find; ‘i <rnyed>
fine, well; de(-mo) <bde.mo>
finger; ndzø-© <mdzug.gu>
fingerprint; ndzø-tæ <mdzug.thel>
fire; ‘e <me>
fire (disaster); ‘p<phur>, [PFV/IMP] pø <gro.phye>
firefly; nbø-rø-kë-re <bu.?>
fire-poker; ækø-zu <skam.?>
fireplace; kò-ø
firewood; fi <shing>; (firewood stack) fiµkø <shing.?>
fire
first; tø-wu <dang.po>; zo-ngo <mgo>
fish; nr <nya>
fist; ndø-dzu <mdzog.?>
five; pr <ingga>
flag, banner; tw <dar>
flail; kò-ro-mu <khor.ma>
flame; pe-fe <me.ice>
flash (as of lightning); tøø-ro nhø
flat; le-pe, sze-øfa le143
flea; ëu <lji.ba>
flee; escape; dzì <’bros>, [PFV/IMP] tsi <’bros>; tØ tøora n goti po-sv-te
una tsu’tso kø dzì-ø ‘The river has overflowed the top of the dike, let’s quickly run away!’
flesh; sr <sha>
flint; do-sv <tdo.dkar>
float; kò <khur>; tfønølo tfø-ø
kø-ø ‘(I see that) Tea leaves are floating in the tea.’
flo, floating ice; tw <dar>
floor; kɔ-li15
flour; tsøe <phye>; (wheat flour) tø-tsøe <gro.phye>
flower; me-tu <me.thog>
flute; pi-ba
fly (insect); zhø-ø <sbrang.bu>
fly [V]; pø <phur>, [PFV/IMP] pø <gro.phye>
foal; ætø-ø <sbrang.bu>
fold [V]; tsø <sgril>
food; zhø <za.‘thung>
foodstuff; grain; lo-tu <lo.thog>
foot; kò <rkang>
foot of mountain; ro-øtsø <ri.rtsa>
forehead; biha-ø <thod.pa>
forest; na(øfe) <nags(.chen)
forget; je <rjed>
forgive, fate; sø-ø
forty; zhø-tfø <bzhi.lnga>
foundation of house; kò-sv <khang.sa>
four; zhø <bzhi>
fourteen; tfø-zø <bcu.bzhi>
fowl; fox; ye <wa>
foxskin; ye-fi <wa.shun>
free, liberated; tø <thar>
freeze; kò <khang.>;49 gu
friend; (intimate friends; frinds of opposite sex) zø-sv <bzang.sa.>; (of same sex) po-ø <bu?.rog>
frighten; bfø-tø <skrag.slong>
frivolous; unruly; \(^\text{ng}6\text{go-dzi} \langle \text{mgo.} \rangle\)
frog; \(\text{ng}6\text{go-w} \langle \text{sbal.ba} \rangle\)
front; \(\text{ng}6\text{go-dzi} \langle \text{sngun.} \rangle\)
frost; \(\text{pi} \langle \text{bad} \rangle\)
frost-bitten; \(\text{ng}6\text{go-dzi} 50 \text{\&} \text{la-xa} \text{ng}3\text{-jat-tsa} \langle \text{my hands are frostbitten.} \rangle\)
fruit; \(\text{ng}6\text{go-tu} \langle \text{rtog.} \rangle\)
full; \(\text{ko} \langle \text{gang} \rangle\)
full from eating; \(\text{nd\&o} \langle \text{grang} \rangle\)
gale; \(\text{\&u} \text{\&o} \langle \text{rlung.rgod} \rangle\)
game, playing; \(\text{etse-mo} \langle \text{rtsang.rgod} \rangle\)
garbage; \(\text{\&e} \text{\&e} \text{\&a} \langle \text{rkyag} \rangle\)
garlic; \(\text{go-} \langle \text{sgog.pa} \rangle\)
gather; \(\text{d\&u} \text{\&a} \langle \text{rtse.mo} \rangle\)
genitive suffix; \(-\text{k} \langle \text{khog.yangs} \rangle\)
grip; get; \(\text{ti} \langle \text{thob} \rangle\)
get up; \(\text{lo} \langle \text{lang} \rangle\)
gift; \(\text{ji} \langle \text{thob} \rangle\)
ginger; \(\text{go-\&u} \langle \text{skyga.sga} \rangle\)
girdle; (made of cloth) \(\text{\&e-\&u} \langle \text{ske.rags} \rangle\)
(grey belt) \(\text{ng}6\text{go-m\&i} \langle \text{mkhas} \rangle\)
give; \(\text{\&o} \langle \text{byin} \rangle\), [PFV] \(\text{tsi} \langle \text{IMP} \rangle\) \(\text{tsu} \langle \text{te} \langle \text{ng}6\text{go-jat-tsa} \langle \text{give his horse to me!} \rangle\)
give birth; \(\text{\&o} \langle \text{gsog} \rangle\); 51 (as of animals) \(\text{la} \sim \text{la}\)
glass; \(\text{fe-go} \langle \text{shel.sgo} \rangle\)
glue; \(\text{\&a}\langle \text{ng}6\text{go} \rangle\)
gnaw; \(\text{ke} \langle \text{ng}6\text{go} \rangle\)
go; \(\text{ng}6\text{go} \langle \\text{\&r} \rangle\), [PFV] \(\text{\&r} \langle \text{tag} \rangle\), [IMP] \(\text{su} \langle \text{song} \rangle\), \(\text{\&s} \text{\&s} \text{\&a} \langle \text{ng}6\text{go-\&o} \langle \text{I want to go to Lhasa.} \rangle\)
guide [V]; tʃhо <khrid>
gums; so-pо <so.myil>
gun, pu <bo’u>
gunpowder; pu-me <bo’u.sman>
gutter; tʃhо-ʃi <chu.?
haul; se-ra <ser.ba>
hair; ʃpо <spu>
hair of head; ʃtè-ʃi <skra.spu>
half; tæu <tho.ba>
hand, arm; lа-a <lag.pa>
handful; pë-rë <spa.ra>
handspan; ntæo <mtho>
hang (hang sth dangling); Ùnë;
(hang sth against a flat surface) τhу
happy; ʃtæ-pо <skyid.po>; (glad) gо 
hard (not soft); ʃtsæn-pо <sra> (with suffix -pо)
hat; z v-go <zhwa> (with suffix -go)
hatch; ʃtærd, ʃtsæ-ʃ-tо <sag.go.
"The chicks have hatched."
have a temperature; have a fever; tʃhо tσi <tsha.?
have diarrhea; p’hу-fe <pho.ba.bshal
have to, must; want to; go <dgos
have sex; tσо <byed>, ʃʃo [RECP] kjo-re
he/she; te <de
head; ʃhо-τо <mgо.
headwaters; tʃhо-ʃgo <chu.mgo>
heal; ʃта <drag
heap [N]; p’о-τо, [V] p’hо-ʃσо mа-ʃσо
hear; tʃhо <tshor>; (hear and understand) χо-ko <go
heart; se <sems>; (abstract sense) tσе-ʃhе
hearth; thу-ku <thab.go.ra>
heavy; dʃо-ʃо <ljid.mo>
heel; tʃhо-hte <phyi.tring>
hell; kpe-ŋkо <dmyal.khang>
help; ra-ŋpе-ʃσо <rogs.pa.byed>; te-ʃо 
rσpе tσо ‘Help him/her!’
hemp; so-ta <so.?53
herd; zu ṭσо <zog.’tshо>, [PFV] tσhі <tshос>; (go herding cattle) zu ṭσо <zog.’gro
herder; zu <rdzi.bo>
here; ṭd54
hero; ṭpе-wu <dpa.bo>
hiccups; gа-ŋpе tσо <sag.?byed
hide (oneself); z v’<gzhа>; z h-di ‘Hide yourself!’
hide (objects, secrets); be <sbed
high; ṭpо( Mbo) <mthо> (with suffix -Mbo)
hipt, knife-handle; τfа-pа
hip, hip bone; fо-Mго <dpyi.mgo>
hire; pa
hit (target); dзі <rgyab>; ṭошпіон 
lу-pо-thе свtσе dzі-te ‘The cup fell and hit the ground.’
hit; χо
hither; tσhо-řо <tshu.rol>
hoe; ka <gag>; (pickaxe) kа-ʃфо <gag.?>
hoist, lift; nσ-τσо
hole; χσ-ŋz. (concave; dent) qо-tu
hold (contain); gu <shong
hold in the arms, embrace; ṭσо <pang
home; inside of the house; tʃhо-ŋо <khyim.nang>
homesick; tsʰɔ-nɔ tse <khyim.nang.dran>

honey; bo-hɔ tsa <sbrang.ṛtsi>

hoof; po-ke <mig.?>

hook [N]; ge-ŋo

hoop; ln-ka

horizontal; ʰbi-še-ke

horse; ʰtw-pi <ṛta> (with suffix -pi)

horse-dung; ætæ-ɻi <ṛta.lud>

horse feed; pe-ɻø

hot; tsæë-nde <tsha>

hot pepper; la-tɹ 56

house; nkæ-ɻwë; nkæø <khang.(pa)>

how; tɹæ|a-ts 8.5

I; ɣn <nga>

ice; tsɔŋtson-nɔ tʃɔ tʃɔ <tʃɔ>

gu-su-tsa ‘The water in the cup has turned into ice.’

ill; nu <na>

illness; nu-tsv <na.tsha>; (specific kind)

nv-dzɔ <na.?> netse ma-hi-ke ‘Don’t get ill!’; te n testData kʰokʰv-tsa ʃu-tsa ‘He came down with an unusual disease.’

in a moment; right away; ʰtsu-tsa-ke

in the way; ga <bgegs>

in that way; tʃu-tse <de.?>

in this way; ʰdɯ-tse ‘di.?>

incantation; ʃa <sngags>

incense; ṭpi <spos>

incubate, sit on eggs; ṭu <rum.>

motfe-kɔ go ne-ɻu-ndɔ ‘The hen has been sitting on eggs.’

indirect evidential suffix; -ts 8.zig;

(Trashi did not drink liquor.)

industrious; diligent; ko-tʃe

infect; ʰgo <ɡo.>;

tʃa-κɔ ʰntʃa <bhe.ʃe-jɔ

ŋo-ʃa-te ‘he infected me with common cold.’

inhale; bo ʰtʃe <dbugs.?>, [PFV/IMP] tʃe

insect, bug; ʰbo <bu>

insert; poke into; ʃe <gzer>; (insert sth into container) dzɔ <dzud>

inside; ɾo <nang>

interest; ʰpʃo <phel>

interstice, gap; po-ɣv <bar.?>, (space between two objects) po-hki <bar.skabs>

intestines; dzɔ-wa <rgyu> (with suffix -wa); (large intestines) dzɔ-wa bo-ɾbo <rgyu.sbm.bo>, (small intestines) dzɔ-wa tsʰu-ɣa <rgyu.phra> (with suffix -ɣa)

iron; ɡa-ro <lcags.?>

itch; ɣv <za>; ʃa-ɾpke

ivory; pe-so <ba.so>
jar, big water container; *tʃɔ-zo*

<chu.zangs>

jew’s harp; *χtʃr* (play on Jew’s harp)

*jaw; mʌ-ʃtʃ*<ma.mchu?>

joint; *tʃɔ-* <tshigs>

kick; *kɔ*-to *χtʃ* <rkang.to.* (as of a horse)

jump; *ntʤ* <mchong>

juniper; *®-pë* <shug.pa>

key; *de-ŋi*<lde.mig>

kick; *ækø-to*<rkang.to.* (as of a horse)

madder; *nt®æa-kdza*<’phra.rgyag>,58

[PFV/IMP] *nt®æa Dzi<’phra.brgyab>,

kidney; *ntæi-l*<mkhal.?>59

kill; *≈se*<gsod>, [PFV/IMP] *≈se*<bsad;

sod>; *t®i t®ë-k*<’phra.rgyob>

knee; *po-‘mo*<pus.mo>

kneecap; *po-‘mo*≥ë-< pus.mo.ngar.gdong>

kneel; *po-nd*<pus.?>byed>; [PFV/IMP] *po-nd*<pus.?>byed> ‘Don’t keep kneeling!’

knife; *lo-tʃɔ*<glo.gri>; (long sword)

knock; *χtɔ*

knot; *nt®pë*<mdud.pa>

know; *fi*<shes>; (be familiar with)

*tʃɔ-z*i<cha.yod>; (be acquainted with, recognize) *no-fi*<ngo.shes>

know how; *fi*<shes>

ladder; (log-ladder) *bke-ŋi*b<skas.?>

(made of planks) *dzv-bke*<rgya.skas>

ladle [N]; *ŋi-bɔ*<thom.bu>; (big ladle) *lo-ŋi*<.thom>

ladle [V]; *tʃɔ*<bcu>

lake; *ŋtʃɔ*<mtsho>

lame person; *zɛ-wu*<zha.bo>

lamb; *lo-yɔ*<lug.gu>

landslide; *tʃɔ*-<chu.?>

language; *k[i]*<skad>

lap; *pɔ-nɔ*<pang.nang>; (lap part of cloak) *pɔ-ŋpɔ*<pang.?>

larder; *tʃɔ*

lasso; *sa-so*

last night; *nɔs-ŋ*<na.ning>;'ŋv-lo

<snga.lo>

last year; *nɛ-ŋ*<na.ning>;'ŋv-lo

leaf; *shes*;

later; *a-nd|*<bting>

laugh; *gi ± ge*<dgod>

lay (bricks); *lã ± ‘lã*, [PFV/IMP] *lã*

lay (eggs); *lã*

lay (carpets); *de*<’ding*[PFV/IMP] *te*<bting>

lead along; *tʃɔ*<khrid>; (lead the way)

if-tʃɔ*<lam.khrid>

leaf; *nɛ-lɔ*<.lo>; (leaves with branches)

*ŋbo-*<.lo>; *tsnte ye-st*-<nuɔ.˘go

petʃɔ* po-ja-te ‘Sunlight came out, and the dew on the leaves disappeared.’

leak; *ḷx, te zoŋt te lɔ-kɔ* ‘This pot is leaking.’

lean on sth., recline supported by one elbow; *khe*<khen>

learn; *sʃɔ*

leave sth behind; *lɔ*<lus>

leave unused or unconsumed, remain; *sła*

<lhag>; (remainder, leftover) *sła-mɛ*<lhag.ma>

left-hand; *zɔ-tʃɔ*<g.yon.?>
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

leg; \(b_k\)-\(w\)~\(b_k\)-\(w\) <rkang.ba>
leisure; have free time; \(k\b\) <khom>
leopard; \(szt\) <gzig>
leprosy; leper; \(d\b\) <mdze.bo>
letter, writing; \(z\b\)-\(ye\) <yi.ge>
level; \(d\) <bde>
lick; \(d\) <ldag>
lid; \(k\b\)-\(le\) <kha.levb>61
lie (posture); (lie face down) \(s\b\)-\(nt\) \(\Delta\) \(\dot{e}\)-\(tse\) \(\bar{\i}\) <sa.ynal>; (lie face up) \(ts\b\)-\(dze\)-\(q-e\) \(\bar{\i}\) <\.nyal>
ilie (say falsehood); \(dz\b\)-\(ndzu\) <rdzun.?>
life; \(\bar{\i}\) <srog>; (life-span) \(ts\b\) <tshe>
lift; raise; \(ndzu\) <\.gyog>, [PFV] \(ts\b\) <bkyags>, [IMP] \(ts\b\) <khyogs>
light [N]; (sunlight) \(ts\b\)-\(te\) <chang>; (ray of light) \(\dot{e}\) <me.?>
live; dwell; \(z\b\)-\(a\) <zhag>63
live, alive; \(\chi\b\)-\(bo\) <gson.po>
live charcoal; \(\dot{e}\) \(md\)-\(z\b\) \(<me.?>
livestock; \(\dot{e}\)-\(ru\) <\.zog>
liver; \(\dot{b}\b\)-\(bo\) <mchinn.pa>

living room; \(k\b\)-\(k\b\)
load [N]; \(\dot{e}\) <khal.>,64 (leather-string for binding loads) \(\dot{e}\)-\(ru\) <khal.thag>
load [VT]; \(\dot{d}\b\b\) <PFV/IMP> \(\dot{e}\)
locative suffix; \(-n\o\), \(\dot{e}\) \(ts\b\)-\(no\) \(ye\)-\(\dot{p}\)
\(ts\b\)-\(nt\) \(\dot{b}\b\)-\(go\) ‘I came from Lhasa and will go to Chengdu.’
lock [V]; \(szt\), [N] \(szt\)-\(ru\) <\.cha>
loft; attic; \(\dot{b}\b\)-\(<k\b\)-\(hi\) <\.kang.steng>
log; \(\dot{u}d\)-\(wa\) <\.gung.ba?>; (small ones used as firewood) \(d\b\b\b\)-\(o\) <\.dong.li?>
long; \(\dot{e}\)-\(ru\) <\.ring.po>
look; \(\dot{u}\b\) <\.lta>, [PFV] \(\dot{u}\b\) <\.ltas>, [IMP] \(\dot{u}\) <\.ltos>
loom; \(\dot{u}\b\)-\(ru\) <\.thags.\thag>
loose; \(\dot{u}\b\) <\.lhol>; \(\dot{u}\b\)-\(l\)
lose (not win); \(m\b\)-\(le\) <\.ma.lon?>
lose (cannot find); \(\dot{\i}\) <\.bor>, [PFV] \(\dot{\i}\) <\.ltas>, [IMP] \(\dot{\i}\) <\.ltos>
loud; \(b\b\) \(\dot{b}\b\) <\.skad.?>,65 \(k\b\) \(b\b\)-\(bo\) <\.skad.mthon.po>
louse; \(\dot{\i}\b\) <\.shig>
low; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(m\b\b\) <\.dna.?> (with suffix \(-m\b\b\))
lower (head); \(g\b\b\b\)-\(g\b\b\) <\.gur.sgw>
lukewarm; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(bo\)-\(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ru\) <\.dron.po.\.dro.?>
lunatic; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ro\)
lunch; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ru\) <\.dro.?>
lungs; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ru\) <\.glo.ba.?>; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(pe\) <\.glo.?>
maggot; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(bo\) <\.sha.\bub>; (similar sp.) \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ru\) <\.bu.nag>
magpie; \(k\b\)-\(b\b\)>66
maize; \(j\b\)-\(me\)67
make (food); \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ru\)
make tea; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ru\) <\.ja.sbang>
make way; \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ru\) <\.lam.?>
man (male person); \(\dot{\i}\b\)-\(ri\) <\.rabs>
mane; tʃo-za
manger; htu.khu <rta.? >
manure; lo <lad>
mare; go-mv <rgod.ma>
mark; htu <tag>
market; ηgshu-rn <tshong.ra>
marmot; ts/u <phyi.ba>
marry (a wife); pa le <bag.len>
mark; æta <rtag>
market; ntsæu-rë <tshong.ra>
marmot; æta <phyi.ba>
marrow; ækø <rkang>
merry (a wife); pl‰ <bag.len>
marten; tsi-ngo-da
mask; ba-ngo <bag.mgo>
master, host; Ôe-da <sbyin?.bdag>
meadow; æpø <spang>
meal; zë-ntæu <za.'thung>
measles; s˙ <sib>
measure; ñsæe <tshad>
measure (grain with container); dz u
meat; sr <sha>; (spareribs) so-ku
<sha.? >; (dried, salted meat) la-zo<br>
medicine; me <sman>
meet; ntsæe <phrad>, [PFV] tsæe <phrad>
melt; z ø <zhua>; [VT] ø-ke <zhua.?
merchant; khe-wu <khe.pa>
method, solution; lo <blo>
middle; z ø-tsø <? .dkyl>
midnight; λtsæe-hsa <mtshan.dkyil>; λtsæe-gi <mtshan.?>
milk [VT]; øo <bzhø>, [PFV/IMP] øi <bzhø>
winter; w <'o.ma>; (mother’s milk) pa-pa
mill; (watermill) tʃo-ntʃo <chu.mchig>;
(midmill) la-ntʃo <lag.mchig>
mind; lo <blo>
mirror; me-lu <me.long>
miss; ñsr <dran>
mix; htsæ <src>; phøni lanye htsæ-re
the-sæ-t 'The pigs and sheep have
become mixed together.'
moan; htsæ <bho tse <'khun.?.byed>
mole (on body); yæ-to <smø.?>
mole (animal); tsø-lu <byi.long>
monastery; æse-bko <ger.?>; go-bhø
<dgøn.pa>
money; go-mo <sgor.mo>
monk; v-kø <a.khu>; (young disciple)
<grwa.pa>
monkey; fn-do <spra.?>; (year of the
monkey) fø-lo <spri.’u.lo>
month; de-wr, dzø <zla.ba>; dwu/dzw
<zla.ba.gnyis> ‘two months’
moon; de-wr <zla.ba>; tø <tsbønu dwu
køkø tfø-kø 'The moon is very large
tonight.'
morning; ñw-øa, (forenoon) ñw-tø
<snga.dro>
morning star; sø-ø-ðkø-døi
<gnam.?.skar.?>
mortar (for crushing substances in);
sw-qo (with suffix -qo)
mosquito; tʃø-se
moss; tøo-lat, (hanging moss, beard lichen)
ø-ma. (lichen on slippery rocks)
<zla.ba.gnyis>
mother; æ-mø <a.ma>
mount (horse); ñdzø <dzin> [PFV/IMP]
zø <bzung>
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

mountain ridge; rā-nqdō <ri.mgo>
mouse; tsu <byi.ba>
moustache; kʰw-ṃpö <kha.spu>
mouth; kʰp <kha>; (external opening) ntfō-to <mchu.to>
moved; shake; nqô
move sth to a different location; hpe <spar>; (move house) hkir <byi.ba>
much, many; mwa <mang.po>
mud; nDë-sa <drel>
musk; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>
muscle; ṉi <dmar.sha>

That room is very cramped.‘

I am drinking liquor now.’ (just now) t̥a-Lo tsö <grags.? byed>
‘I was drinking liquor just now when he came.’

numb; ʒa <sbrid> ŋə b̥awɔ ʒa-kɔ ‘My legs feel numb.’

number, digit; ɔn-ə <ang.Kİ>

‘My legs feel numb.’

number, digit; =title

nun; ɗt<jo.mo>
oath; ɲe <mna’> (take an oath)

number; thing; ɬs-tso

observe; ɬl̥a <lo.lon>

odor; ɬt̥-wa <dri> (with suffix -wa)

often; ɬk̥<gzi>

oil; (generic) ɲu <snum>; (vegetable oil)

old (senile); ɡe <rgas>

old (used, stale); ɲa-we <mying.pa>

old person; (male) ɡe-po <rgad.po>;

(female) ɡe-mo <rgad.mo>

one; ɡtsa <gcig>; (in classifier phrases)

ka ~ wa <gang>

onyx (banded); ɡza <gzi>

open [VT]; ɡts̥e <phye>

[PFV/IMP] ts̥e <phye>

tšɔ̥-kɔ tu ta mɔ-kɔ b̥unvu
tšɔ-tša <ts̥e>

‘There is too much smoke in the house, open the window a bit!’;

(open eye, mouth, openings of bags, etc.) sdo <gdan̥>

k̥b̥ ma-sdo ‘Don’t open your mouth!’; (open umbrella)

p̥b̥i

other; v-r̥-uŋ, sū-kɔ

others; di-r̥-uŋ

otter; ɡo <sram>

otter-skin; ɡo-fi <sram.shun>

outside, outdoors; ts̥ɔ̥-so <phyi.sor>

outside, outdoors; ts̥ɔ̥so sɔ̥ ɡbi-le ma-le tso-kɔ ‘It’s raining outside.’

overflow; ɡΨ
pick (flower); ʰᵗʰʊ <‘thu’; ᵗʊ <btog>
pick up; ᵈᵒ
picture; photo; ˢʰ iVar <dpar>
pickle; ʲo <sngo>
pierce; ˢʰ⁻ʰʊ <phig>, [PFV/IMP]
ᵖʰʊ <phigs>
pig; ʰᵖᵃ⁻ᵖʲ <phag> (with suffix -ᵖʲ);
(sow) ʰᵖᵃ⁻ᵍ <phag.khang>
pigsty; ʰᵖᵃ⁻ᵃ⁻ᶠ <phag.
>pika (Ochotonidae); ᵗˢᵃ⁻ᵗˢᵉ
<brag.gzer?>
pile [N]; ʰⁿᵒ⁻ʳ <sder.?>
pile up; ʰᵖᵘ <spung>
pillar; ᵗᵃ <ka.ba>

pillow; ʰⁿᵒ⁻ᵗᵉ <mgo.sngas>
pimple; ʰʳ‰
pinch with fingernail; ˢᵉ⁻ʰᵈ <phag.?>
<?..byed>
pinch and twist; ˢᵉ⁻ʰᵈ ʰᵗʃᵃ⁻ᵗˢᵉ ᵗˢᵉ
<?..byed>
pine; ʰᵗᵃ⁻ᵗˢᵒ
pipe; ʰⁿᵉ⁻ⁿ <me.?>
pit, grave; ᵗˢʳ⁻舄 <sa.cha>
pit, stone; ʰⁿᵈᶻ⁻ᵗ <bru>; (of peaches)
ʰᵗᵒ⁻ˡŌ
pitch (tent); ʰⁿᵖʰⁱ, [PFV/IMP] ʰᵖʰⁱ
place; ˢʳ⁻ᵗᶠ <sa.cha>
plains; flat ground; ʰᵗʸ⁻ⁿ<br>
plait [V]; ʰᵗ <lha>; [PFV/IMP] ʰᵗ
<lhas>81
placenta; ʰᵗᵉ⁻ˡ<br>
plane (tool); ʰᵗ⁻ˡ <.len>82
plant [V]; (sow seeds) ʰᵗ⁻ˡ <debs>,
[PFV/IMP] ᵗⁱ <thab>; (plant seedlings);
ʰᵈᶻ <ᵈzte>s, [PFV/IMP] ᵗˢᵉ
<ᵇtsugs>
plate; ᵈᵉ⁻ʳᵃ <sder.?>; ʰᵗ⁻ᵈ <dkar.sder>
plateau; ʰᵗ <thang>
play; ʰᵗˢᵉ <rtse>; ᵗˢʷ⁻ᵗˢᵉ <?..byed>
plough [N]; ʰᵗʃᵃ <gshol>
ploughshare; ʰᵗ <cags>
plough [V]; ʰᵐᵒ <rmo>, [PFV/IMP] ʰᵐⁱ
<rmos>
pockmarked person; ʰᵐᵃ⁻ᵗˢ³
point, tip, edge; ʰᵖ⁻ʳ <sne.kha>
point at; ʰⁿᵈᶻ⁻ᵗ <mdzub.?>.byed
pointed; ʰᵗˢᵗ⁻ʰᵗ <phag.khang>
poison; ᵗᵃ <dug>
polyp; ʰˢ⁻ⁿ <sha.nag>
poor; ʰᵐᵉ⁻ʰᵗ <med.po>; ʰᵗᵉ <mpt拥 pho.tʰé>
‘S/he has become poor.’
pop; explode; ʰᵖ<br>
poplar; ʰᵗᵃ⁻ˡ <la.wu> ʰᵗ <dôo>
porcupine; ʰᵗ <rgang>
pot; ʰᵗᵒ⁻ᵖ <zangs.pa>; (large pot) ʰᵗ⁻ʲ <zangs.?>
potato; ʰᵗ⁻ђ<br>
pour (liquid) into container; ʰᵗ <blug> <?..byed>
pour out completely; ʰᵗᶻ <gzan>
power; ʰᵗ <dbang>
prayer flag; ʰᵗʰᵗ⁻ʰᵗ <rta.?>
pregnant; ʰᵗʰᵗ⁻ʰᵗ <pho.ba.?>86
press; ʰᵗᵉ <gson>
press (hide) to soften; ʰᵗ <mnyed>
(wooden tool for pressing hide) ʰᵗ⁻ᵏ <mnyed.?>
pretend; ʰᵗˢᵗ⁻ᵏ <pho.ta> ʰᵗ <se.hékô>
ʰᵗ⁻ᵏ <se.hékô> ‘This child is pretending to be
crying.’
price; ʰᵗ <gong>
prop; ʰᵗ <rte>
property; ʰᵗ⁻ʳ <rgyu>
protruding; \( n_\beta \text{-} n_\beta \) <'bur.'bur>; \( g_\nu \text{-} g_\nu \)
proud; \( n_\beta \text{-} n_\beta \)
provoke; \( k_\beta p_\text{t} <\text{kha.?> \}
pry with lever; \( k_\alpha l_\gamma t_\sigma <\text{?} \text{.byed} \)
puddle; \( t_\beta q_\gamma <\text{chu} > \) (with suffix -qo) pull; \( t_\gamma <\text{the} > \)
pull up (e.g. weeds); \( n_\beta <\text{bal}, \)
[PFV/IMP] \( b_\gamma <\text{bal} > \)
pull, drag; \( n_\beta p_\text{d} <\text{drud}, \)
[PFV/IMP] \( t_\gamma <\text{drud} > \)
pulse; \( n_\beta <\text{tsa} > \)
purposive complementizer; -jx, g\nu t\/b\gamma \n\nu_\beta j_\gamma o_\gamma g_\delta <\text{I want to go and drink wine.} >
pus; \( n_\gamma q_\gamma <\text{mag} > \) (with suffix -qo) pulstule; \( m_\nu n_\gamma <\text{rma.?> > \)
push; \( \chi t_\gamma \)
put; put aside for future use; \( n_\beta z_\nu <\text{jog}, \)
[PFV] \( z_\nu <\text{bzha.g}, \) [IMP] \( z_\nu <\text{zhog} > \)
pull in order; \( d_\gamma s_\gamma t_\sigma <\text{bsdus.gsg.byed} > \)
put (object) into container; \( t_\sigma ; t_\nu k_\gamma <\text{mha.na-tsa} > \text{te} > \) 'S/he put the candy into her/his mouth.' put (clothing) on; put (soil) on; \( n_\gamma g_\delta <\text{g77} > \)
[PFV/IMP] \( k_\nu <\text{gon} > \)
putter; \( p_\nu t_\nu o_\gamma <\text{nywa.dkri} > \)
Qiang; \( r_\nu w_\nu <\text{ri.paa} > \)
quarrel; \( n_\beta d_\beta z_\nu g_\nu t_\sigma <\text{?} \text{.byed} > \); \( n_\beta p_\gamma h_\nu r_\nu t_\sigma \gamma <\text{res.byed} > \)
quiet; \( q_\gamma o_\text{-} r_\gamma \text{-} j_\beta \text{-} d_\gamma \)
quit; \( \chi t_\nu e <\text{gge.d} > \)
rabbit; \( r_\gamma y_\nu <\text{ri.bong} > \)
rack on which harvested grain is placed to dry; \( r_\nu z_\nu \)
rafter; \( k_\nu d_\nu f_\nu <\text{gdung.shing} > \)
rain; [N] \( m_\nu <\text{gnam} > \); (rain coming down on sunny day) \( t_\beta h_\nu <\text{char} > \); \( k_\nu n_\beta <\text{?'bab} > \); [V] \( m_\nu n_\beta n_\beta \)
<gnam.'bab>, [PFV] \( n_\gamma p_\gamma i <\text{gnam.babs} > \); \( n_\gamma t_\sigma t_\nu t_\beta o_\text{-} s_\nu t_\nu t_\nu <\text{The rain has stopped now.} > \)
rainbow; \( n_\beta d_\beta z_\nu t_\nu <\text{ja.tshon} > \)
raise, feed; \( c_\gamma o_\gamma <\text{gso} > \), [PFV/IMP] \( c_\gamma s_\gamma <\text{gsos} > \)
raise (hand); \( b_\gamma k_\gamma <bke-bke \)
rake [N]; \( b_\beta w_\gamma <\text{spar.ba} > \); \( g_\nu b_\nu <\text{?} \text{.spar} > \);
[V] \( b_\beta r_\nu t_\sigma <\text{?} \text{.byed} > \); (harrowing rake with put teeth) \( s_\gamma a \text{-} s_\gamma a <\text{lghags.?> > \)
rash; \( n_\beta d_\beta z_\nu n_\beta <\text{brum.bu} > \)
ray; \( y_\iota <\text{od} > \)
read; \( n_\beta d_\nu <\text{don} > \), [PFV/IMP] \( t_\nu <\text{bton} > \)
reach out, extend; \( t_\nu s_\gamma <\text{kryong} > \)
real; \( a_\gamma m_\nu <\text{ngo.maa} > \)
receive; \( n_\beta s_\gamma h_\nu <\text{phrd} > \), [PFV] \( t_\gamma s_\gamma <\text{gs77} > \)
recognize; \( g_\nu f_\nu <\text{ngo.shes} > \)
recompense; \( n_\beta d_\gamma j_\nu <\text{jal} > \)
recover from illness; (\( n_\nu \text{-} t_\sigma r_\nu t_\sigma \)
<na.tsha.drag> red; \( m_\nu r_\nu <\text{dmar.?> > \)
reduce; \( l_\nu \)
regret; \( x_\alpha r_\gamma s_\gamma <\text{?} \text{.bsam} > \)
reheat; \( t_\beta h_\nu n_\beta d_\nu t_\sigma <\text{tsa.'de.byed} > \); \( t_\iota <\text{dros} > \)
rein; \( n_\beta h_\nu p_\gamma d_\nu <\text{mthur.mda} > \)
reincarnated buddha; \( t_\gamma o_\gamma b_\gamma k_\nu <\text{sprul.sku} > \)
relation, relative; \( s_\nu t_\nu <\text{sha.?> > \)
release; \( n_\beta g_\nu t_\nu <\text{gton} > \), [PFV] \( t_\nu <\text{btang} > \)

religious doctrine; \( t_\beta f_\nu <\text{chos} > \)
remember; \( s_\nu n_\nu b_\nu n_\nu <\text{se.naa} > \)
<sems.nang.?nang> repair; \( t_\beta f_\nu <\text{bcos} > \)
resin; \( b_\nu t_\nu f_\nu o_\nu <\text{thang.chu} > \)
rest [V]; \( b_\gamma s_\gamma <\text{btang} > \)
restaurant; \( z_\beta n_\beta b_\gamma <\text{za.khang} > \)
return, give back; \( s_\nu p_\nu b_\nu z_\gamma <\text{skyin.pa} > \)
sbyin>

rGyalrong; tsʰw-kʰo <tsha.kho>

ribs; htsa-y ཐ<tsa.gu>

rice; ndz tʰr<bras>

ride; ndz <dzin>, [PFV/IMP] zu <zung(s)>

right-hand; tša-la

rim; ætsa-<mtha.?>

rinse; æt<chul>

ring; mdzug.dkris

ripe; ùa-k ðeëi<gtore> kæë©i t o 

'Below our village flows the Zhongu River.'

road; way; lɔ<lam>

roast, bake, scald; htsa <sreg>

rob; ndz <phrogs>, [PFV/IMP] tšu <phrogs>

rock; cliff; tsa <brag>

roll [VI]; ðtsʰr, gwu sni<tsen> ndzha-kə 'The ball is rolling on the ground.'

roll [VT]; gwu tsa <.log.byed>;

napu-kə gwu sni<tsen> grlu-tsə-kə 'The child is rolling the ball on the ground.'

roll up; dzə <srigl>

roof (slab-covered roof); ndzə

room; pʰo-tso

root; htsa-<tsa.kang>

rope; tʰr-<thag.pà>

rosary; ðtsʰe-<phreng.bu> tʰsa-<phreng.bu> tə<phreng.bu> <phreng.bu>

rough; m ᵃ-k <rule>

round; so-ko <sgor.sgor>

rub (hide); zo

rub (skin); ðpʰo <phur>, [PFV/IMP] pʰo <phur>

ruminate; ðdi <kha.dad>

rummage; shu

run; kde<rgyu>

rust; tṣ <tso>; [V] tṣ tfəa <tso.chags>?

row [V]; tṣa-dza <guru.rgyag>

sad; se-də <sems.sdü>

saddle; htv-gr<rta.sga>

saffron; kə-kə me-tu <guru.kum.me.thog>

salamander; tfəa-ʒə <chu.sbru>

saliva; kʰv-tʃə <kha.chu>

salt; tšu <tshwa>

salt; ðtʃu <tshwa>

salty; ðtʃu-qə <tshwa.khwa>

same; tʃa-sə-sə-kə, ndz v-ndz v <`dra.'dra>

sand; htsa, (fine sand) htsa htsə, htsə, htsə <srab.pà>

sausage; htsə

say, tell, speak; dzo <zlo>, [PFV] dze <bzla>, [IMP] dzə <zlo>;

tə-kə

dzə-kə te tʰore yu-tə dzo-ka: 'S/he says that (another) s/he will come tomorrow.'; te pʰi kə dzo fi-tə 'S/he can speak Tibetan.'

scabies; ðo <rgno>

scallion; ʰtṣ <a.?>

scar; mə-dʒi <rma.rjes>

scatter; ʰτə <gtor>; (become scattered, e.g. beads) ðpʰo <`tor>

scissors; ðtfə-ʰbv

scold; ðpʰa

scrape; zu

scratch to stop an itch; (fdə)re, (as of a
cow) བས པ <’phrug>
scratch; claw; vertime
scream; བོ-གོ <’.shor>
scrub; ང།
scythe; བོ-ཟོ <’.zor>
sea; རྟ་ཐོ དོ་ བོ <rgya.mtsho>
search; རྟོ <’tshol>
seat, mat; ང། དོ །།<stan>
seat for higher-ups, throne; ང། དོ །།<khri>
second day after tomorrow; བོ །།<gzhes.nyin>
second day before yesterday; བོ །།<kha.rgya>
s, see; བོ <mthong>, 袖<rig>; ང། དོ །།<’m‰-no
‘One can’t see anything in the fog.’
see off; བོ <bsu>
seed; བོ །།<sa.bon>
seep; ང།<’tshol>
sell; བོ །།<btsons>; བོ །།<phongs> ‘I sold the horse to him/her yesterday.’
semen; བོ<’bod>
sharpen; བོ །།<’khum.('gro)>
shudder; བོ །།<’khyag.'dar>
shun; བོ །།<’bod>
shuttle; བོ །།<’tshol>
shrine; བོ །།<mchod.khang>
shy; བོ །།<ngo.tsha>
sibling; (elder brother and younger sister)
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- po-za <bu.?>; (elder sister and younger brother) ni-hti <? string>
- sickle; zo-re <zor.ba>
- side (of body); sló-no <glo> (with locative -no)
- sieve; tsʰa-su <tshags.?>
- sift; qa
- silver; ≥ <dngul>
- sinew, tendon; ®u; ætsë-®u <rtsa.?>
- sing; Ùl‰ <glu.len>;
- sink; ndë; te dogu te ætsuæts|¨ kë t∆æi
- ‘The stone quickly sank to the bottom of the water.’
- sister; pu-æp; (elder sister) ë-mi/ë-dë;
- (younger sister) ætsi <sring>
- sit; nd <'dug>, [PFV] d‰ <bsdad>, [IMP] di <sdo>; ræ|røz|/mdi; së-ki di ‘Sit down!’
- sit cross-legged; dze-nd <dug>
- sit on eggs; ru <rum>
- six; tØ <drug>
- sixteen; tʃa-tʃa <bcu.drug>
- sixty; tʃa-tʃa <drug cu>
- skin; sà-ða <shun.lpa>; ñi <shun>;
- (whole skin, fur) pa-ða <pag.pa>
- skin, flay; ñgu <gog>;
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
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- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
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- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du.ba>
- smoke [V]; tu <du.ba>
- smoke [N]; to <du ba>
son-in-law; ma-hp® <mag.pa>
song; k®la <glu>; (love songs) lt-fo
       <la.gzhas>
soon; t®sa-ke
soot; t®h® <hp®< (on ceiling) tu
sore, boil; m®v-na <rma.nag>
soul; n®-øi <rnam.shes>
sound; d®105<gra>
sour; s®<skyur>; s®-mo <skyur.mo>
   t®ntæo<skyur.mo>
   |ës®-k®’Is it sour (mirative)?’
   s®mo
   |ë-r®’Is it sour?’
space; sp®<mtho>
span; p®<mtho>
sparrow hawk; t®<khra>
spatula; ku-t®ë-t®ë<106<gru.bzhi>
spear; n®du <mdung>
speech; x®<gtam>
spend; x®<skyag>
spicy; ts®h®, ts®-de <tsha> (with suffix -de)
spider; p®-k®
spin; p®<mtho>, pi n®<bal.’thag>
spindle; n®<phang>; n®<phang-lo
   <’phang.lo>
spine; d®<ts® <rgyab.tshig>
spittle; t®<ph®<wa <mchil> (with suffix -wa)
spleen; t®<b®<mtshet.ba>
splinter; sa-z®
split [VT]; t®<gshag>
spoon; t®<q® <thom> (with suffix -q®)
spring; f®<by® <dyiyid.kha>
sprinkle; t®<f®<x®<chu.gtor>
sprout; come into bud; ne-lo se
   <?.lo.skye>, n®de joji t®se no n®lo se-k®
   ‘The potatoes have sprouted.’
sputum; g®<k®<k®<kha.lud>
squat; b®<b®
square; t®-z®-ø-ø <gru.bzhi>; t®-ø-ø-ø-le
   <gru.bzhi.?>
squeeze; x®f® <gcu>
squirrel; du-p®<ø-ø-ø-ø
   <dong.?>
stack up; sa<rtseg>; mate mo-sa ‘Stack up the sacks.’
stairs; b®<skas>
stallion; hr-w®<g®<rta.gseb>
stamp (foot); h®<t®<la-la-p®<ty®<ka
   <’rkang.’phra.?’phra>
stand; l®<lang>; h®ro m®z®-l® ‘Stand up!’; l®-di ‘Keep standing!’
star; b®<sk®<ma>; t®<ts®<ø-n®
   h®k®<m®e t®<ø-l®<ø-k® ‘Many stars can be seen tonight.’
startle; h®fa <sk®ag>
stay (= sit); n®<d®<d®<d®>, [PFV] d®
   <bsd®>, [IMP] d®<sd®
stay overnight; z®<zhag>
steal; h®<r®<ku>
steam; l®-hp®<rang.l®<pa>
steelyard; d®y®-m®<rg®<ma>
steep; sz®<gzar>
step; make a step; h®<b®<l®<rk®<s®<pos
stepmother; m®<v®<m®<g®<y®<ar
stick, rod; la-ø-lo, (thick firewood stick)
fi-t®<sh®<ng.?>
stick, paste; n®<by®<by®
stickly; n®<by®<by®
sting [V]; n®<p®<, [PFV] p®
stingy, narrow-minded; k®<p®<p®
   <khog.n®
stinky; t®<w®<ø-ø <d®<n®
   (with suffix -wa), t®<w®<ø-a-b®<ø-ø-ø
   <d®<? (with suffix -wa)
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

stir; ʰtfɔ <dkrug>
stir-fry; ɣsɔ <gsir?>
stirrup; ji-tʃe <job.chen>
stomach; ʃe-ʃkv
stone; do <rdo>; do-gu <rdo.?>
stone reservoir beside water source;

tfɔ-ʃke <chu.skas>
stool; tfɔ-ʃe <lcog.tse>
story, folklore; kʰv-ʃpe <kha.dpe>
storey; -kʃp

stool; tʃɔ-ʃæk‰ <chu.skas>

strength; ̄i <shed>
stretch out; make taut; dzɔ <rgyang>
stride over; gɔ <bgom>
strike with palm; du <rdung>

swallow; ʃtu <gtong>, [PFV] ʃtø <btang>
swallow (bird); tfɔ-ʃa <ngul.chu>

sweat; ʃi-tʃe <rngul.chu>
sweep; ntsæa <phyag>, [PFV/IMP] ʃtsæa <phyag>
sweet; ʃe-mo <dngar.mo>
swell; (become swollen) ndø <grang>
swim; tʃø-ʃe tsɔ <chu.rkyal.byed>
sword; tʃø-ʃto
tadpole; ʃa-wa-ʃgo-do <nyi.mgo.rdo>

tael; ʃa <srang>
tail; ʃa <mga.ma>
tailor [N]; zo-ʃkæ <bzo.mkhan>; zo-ʃvr <bzo.ba>
tailor [V]; ʃdɔ v <dra>
take; le <len>, [PFV] ʃlø <blangs>, [IMP] ʃlu <løngs>; s堵tse gomo liro liu-xu
‘Pick up the money on the ground!’
take away by force; snatch; ʃtšu

sulphur; ʃɔ-ʃa <mu.zi>
summer; ze-ʃkv <dbyar.kha>
sun; ʃa-ʃa <nɔ-yi> (with suffix -wa);
ʃa-ʃwa lo-sv-ʃɔ ‘The sun has come out.’
sunbathe; tsv-te ʃdʒo
sunken, concave; ʃɔ-ʃɔ

sunlight; tsv-te, tsɔ ʃv kera zatʃvu-tʃɔ
tsv te ʃa de go-ʃk ‘You are too pale,
you need to get some sunlight.’
supper; gu-tʃi <dgong.?>

sugar; (brown sugar) bɔ-ʃtsɔ
suck; ʃn-ʃe <jib>
suckle [VI]; ʃa <nu>; [VT]; pa-па pi
suddenly; ʃlɔ-du ʃɔ-ʃo <gro.gyag.?>

(sunbathe)

sugar; (brown sugar) bɔ-ʃtsɔ
(sunbathe)

suck; ʃn-ʃe <jib>
suckle [VI]; ʃa <nu>; [VT]; pa-па pi
suddenly; ʃlɔ-du ʃɔ-ʃo <gro.gyag.?>

(sunbathe)

sugar; (brown sugar) bɔ-ʃtsɔ
suck; ʃn-ʃe <jib>
suckle [VI]; ʃa <nu>; [VT]; pa-па pi
suddenly; ʃlɔ-du ʃɔ-ʃo <gro.gyag.?>

(sunbathe)

sugar; (brown sugar) bɔ-ʃtsɔ
suck; ʃn-ʃe <jib>
suckle [VI]; ʃa <nu>; [VT]; pa-па pi
suddenly; ʃlɔ-du ʃɔ-ʃo <gro.gyag.?>

(sunbathe)

sugar; (brown sugar) bɔ-ʃtsɔ
suck; ʃn-ʃe <jib>
suckle [VI]; ʃa <nu>; [VT]; pa-па pi
suddenly; ʃlɔ-du ʃɔ-ʃo <gro.gyag.?>

(sunbathe)
enclosure); \( b\text{phud} \), [PFV/IMP]
\( \text{phud} \)
take turns; \( h\text{kho} \text{-tv}\text{-ts}\text{li} \text{<skor.? byed las>} \)
talk, give a speech; \( f\text{shad} \)
tall; (as of people) \( f\text{che} \); (as of objects, buildings) \( m\text{tho} \)
tangka;
\( \text{skor.?.byed las} \)
target;
\( \text{ben} \)
tartar;
\( \text{so.dreg} \)
tasty;
\( \text{zhim}; \)
tattered;
\( \text{hral} \text{-d\text{reg}} \)
tax;
\( \text{ja}\text{.mdong} \)
tea-churner;
\( \text{ja}\text{.?>} \)
tea;
\( \text{ja}\text{.?>} \)
tea;
\( \text{ja}\text{.?>} \)
tea-churner;
\( \text{ja}\text{.?>} \)
tea;
\( \text{zhim.po} \)
tattered;
\( \text{hral} \text{-nbo} \)
tears;
\( \text{myig.nang chu} \)
tear;
\( \text{bsed} \)
tell fortune;
\( \text{mo.'debs} \); [PFV/IMP]
\( \text{mo.btab} \)
temple;
\( \text{bcu.tham.pa} \)
ten thousand;
\( \text{khri.tsho} \)
tendon;
\( \text{sbom.pa} \)
tent;
\( \text{gur}; \)
(bark-hair tent)
\( \text{sbra.nag} \)
tent;
\( \text{bsra.nag} \)
testicles; (yak-hair)
\( \text{dgril} \text{-rtso} \)
tether; \( b\text{bra} \text{-do} \)
than; (with locative -no); \( s\text{bra.nag} \)
that; \( \text{de} \)
\( \text{de} \)
there; (dual) \( \text{de} \text{-yi} \text{<de.?>} \); (plural)
\( \text{de} \text{-na} \text{<de.?>} \)
they; (dual) \( \text{de} \text{-yi} \text{<de.?>} \) (with dual suffix -\( \text{yi} \)); (plural) \( \text{de} \text{-na} \text{<de.?>} \) (with plural suffix -\( \text{na} \))
thick (as of books; hair of head); \( \text{thug.po} \)
(thick); \( \text{sbom} \text{-po} \)
(thick); \( \text{sbom} \text{-pa} \)
(thick); (as of soup) \( \text{zhim.po} \)
(thick); \( \text{zhim} \text{-po} \)
think; ponder; \( \text{zhim} \)
think of, miss; \( \text{dran} \)
thirsty;
\( \text{kha.skom} \)
thirsty;
\( \text{bsam} \text{-po} \)
(thirty); \( \text{bsam} \text{-cu} \)
(thirty); \( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
this;
\( \text{de} \text{-di} \)
this year;
\( \text{de} \text{-d\text{reg}} \)
this year;
\( \text{de} \text{-bsam} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{de} \text{-bcu} \text{-gsum} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{gsum} \text{-cu} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bsam} \text{-de} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bsam} \text{-cu} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
this;
\( \text{de} \text{-di} \)
this year;
\( \text{de} \text{-bsam} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{de} \text{-bcu} \text{-gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
this;
\( \text{de} \text{-bsam} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{de} \text{-bcu} \text{-gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
this;
\( \text{de} \text{-bsam} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{de} \text{-bcu} \text{-gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
this;
\( \text{de} \text{-bsam} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{de} \text{-bcu} \text{-gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
this;
\( \text{de} \text{-bsam} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{de} \text{-bcu} \text{-gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
this;
\( \text{de} \text{-bsam} \)
(thirteen);
\( \text{de} \text{-bcu} \text{-gsum} \)
(thirty);
\( \text{bcu.gsum} \)
(thirty);
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

thunder; ʰⁿdэт<ʼbrug>;

(track [N]; ʰkɔ⁻dży<rkang.rjes>

thunderbolt; ᵍʰu<thog>

Tibet; Tibetan; pi<bođ>

Tibetan eared pheasant; tsë-jø<bya.wang>

tick; se-të kë-le

tie up, bind (people or animals); gu; (tie up objects) ʰsdo<sdom>

tiger; ᵐtu<stag>

tight; ᴻfū, ʰtfā
time, watch; tɔ⁻tshe<dus.tshod>

tin; Ḷë⁻<zha.nye>

tinder; ṿe-ð<me.ʔ>

tinderbox; ṿe⁻tfū<me.cha>

tired; ṿsō⁻<tso.ʔ.ʔad>;

(exhausted) pa-le, pa-le gu-χtfe

toad; se⁻rë-qo

tobacco, cigarette; ʰtu<du.ba>;

today; ʰtɔ⁻<de.ring>

together; ᶲe

tomorrow; ᵇʰo⁻re<tha.rengs>¹¹⁷

tomorrow morning; ᵇʰo⁻re⁻nv-χa

(through); ᵇʰo⁻re⁻rv⁻yɔ

(through)

tomorrow night; ᵇʰo⁻re⁻tsʰə⁻nɔ

<de.reng.mtshan.nam>

tongs; ᴿkɔ⁻bh<skam.pa>

tongue; fe<lee>

tonight; tɔ⁻rĩ⁻tsʰə⁻nɔ

<de.reng.mtshan.nam>

tool; ʰa-ᵗʃr<lag.cha>

tooth; ᵑo<so>

torch; Ṽe⁻dʒɔ<me.ʔ>

torn (as of clothing); ᵗʃe<dral>

touch; ᵃke

trace; ᴺʒi<rjes>

treasure; no<ŋb<or.ʔ>?

tree; ᵈu<sdong>

tree trunk; ᵈu⁻fi<sdong.shing>

tremble; ᵃde<dar>

trivet; Ṽkɔ⁻bh<tsǔ, tsǔ>

(makeshift trivet)

comprising three pieces of rock) pi-ku

trough; water conduit; ʰw·tsu

trousers; ʰkɔ⁻ŋ<rkang.snam>

true; ʰo⁻m<tsos.ʔ.m⟩

(trunk; ʰs<mtshax>¹¹⁸

(containing clothing)

ki⁻<gos.ʔ>

tsampa; Ṽs-bal<rtsham.pa>

tsampa dough; ᴴsu

turban; haircloth; Ṽgo⁻bhʃ<mg.ʔ dukri>¹¹⁹

turn, spin; Ṽkɔ<ktʃad>

turn around; Ṽkɔ⁻lā tsa<phyi.ʔ.byed>

turn corner; ᴴw·tv<ŋkɔ<.ltʃad>

turnip; ᴴlu⁻<lu.kar>

(pickled turnip greens) lo-so<ʔ.ʔskyur>;

(turnip tuber) lo⁻bu

turquois; Ṽʃ<gon.yu>

tusk; Ṽo⁻tfū<so.ʔmche.ba>

twelve; ᵿʃo⁻p<bcu.ʔgyis>

twenty; ᵽa⁻ʃo<ŋi.shu>

twenty-one; ᵽa⁻ʃo⁻tsa⁻tʃo

<ŋi.shu.ʔrtsham.gци>
	win; ᵼːʃi⁻<mtsh.e.ʔso?

twist (two strands of yarn into one); ᴺʒɔ<ɡrim>

twist (towels); ᴷʃo<ɡcu>

two; ᵽo<ŋyis>;

(in classifier phrases)

to<do>

ugly; ᵼo⁻<ʔ.ŋan>

uncle (maternal); ʰa⁻<z.ʔ<zhang>~
zɬ-wu <zhang.po>; (paternal) v-kə <a.khu>

uncultivated land; ɡi <rgod>

under; ʒ-ɜ <og> (with locative -ɜ)

understand; ɛ-ko <ha.go>; ɛt v-ko-te

‘Do you understand?’

undress; ín <phud>, [PFV/IMP] pæ <phud>

untie; [VT] fɔ <bshig>; [VI] ʒ <zhig>

upper jaw; zn-ɡo <ya.mgal>

up, upwards; l|ɛ-r <la.rol>

urine; ɮ|ɛ-ɡ <la.ɡo>; ɬ<ɛ-ɡ-ð> (with locative -ɡ)

understand; ɑ-ɡo <ha.go>; ɑt ɡ-ɡo-t

‘Do you understand?’

undress; ín <phud>, [PFV/IMP] pæ <phud>

untie; [VT] fɔ <bshig>; [VI] ʒ <zhig>

upper jaw; zn-ɡo <ya.mgal>

up, upwards; l|ɛ-r <la.rol>

urine; ɮ|ɛ-ɡ <la.ɡo>; ɬ<ɛ-ɡ-ð> (with locative -ɡ)

understand; ɑ-ɡo <ha.go>; ɑt ɡ-ɡo-t

‘Do you understand?’
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

weigh, measure; ts\(\text{e}^\text{tshad}\)
weld; \(\text{b}^\text{v}\)
west; no <nub>
wet; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{b}^\text{v}\) <rlon.pa>
what; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{a}\) <ci.cig>

wheat straw; su-\(\text{z}^\text{o}\) <sog.?>
(threshed bran of this) p\(\text{e}\)
wheel; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
when (Q); no <nam>

whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

wheel; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

wheat; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{b}^\text{v}\) <rlon.pa>

wheel; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

where (Q); k\(\text{o}-\text{no}\) <gang>

whitewash; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

wheat; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{b}^\text{v}\) <rlon.pa>

wheel; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

when (Q); no <nam>

whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

where (Q); k\(\text{o}-\text{no}\) <gang>

whitewash; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

wheat; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{b}^\text{v}\) <rlon.pa>

wheel; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

when (Q); no <nam>

whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

where (Q); k\(\text{o}-\text{no}\) <gang>

whitewash; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

when (Q); no <nam>

whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

where (Q); k\(\text{o}-\text{no}\) <gang>

whitewash; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

when (Q); no <nam>

whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

where (Q); k\(\text{o}-\text{no}\) <gang>

whitewash; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{lo}^\text{tshad}\) <khor.lo>
whitened; \(\text{ts}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e}\) <ci.cig>

when (Q); no <nam>
yawn; 전문 tsø <glal.byed>
year after the next; )i-lo <gzhes.lo>
year before the last; fontName-lo-te-fontName-lo <snga.lo.de.snga.lo>
year;  görme-lo
yeast (brewer’s yeast); pʰi <phabs>
yell, cry out; tFourth-lo-tsø <grags.?.byed>
yellow; se-ra <ser.po>
yesterday; kʰpʰ-byname <khar.rtsang>
yeti, legendary wild man; na-jø-gi <nags.?.rgod>
yield; make way; l5-byname <larn.?>; te-sw
l5-byname ‘Make way for him!’
yogurt; zo ـ yo <zho>
yoke; ph-pi <gnya’.shing>
yonder; pʰa-jo-tø <pha.gi.de.?>
you; ts/lo <khyod>; (dual) ts/lo-jø
<khyod.?> (with dual suffix -jø);
(plural)ts/lo-ka <khyod.?> (with plural suffix -ka)
young; l6-tjøu <lo.chung>
youngster; (male) pʰa-sw <pho.gsar>
(female) mo-sw <mo.gsar>
Zhongu Valley; yo-nya-kʰu <zho.ngu.khog
Notes:

1. Amdo usage. The original meaning is ‘kind, type’.
2. Cf. Northern Qiang patṣ ‘round object’.
3. Cf. Qügü 曲谷 Qiang e-nie (Huang Bufan, p.c.).
4. WT <gra.ma>.
5. Töngrên (同仁) <Thun.rin> Amdo tan-ma <dang.ma>.
8. WT ‘goods’; with semantic shift to ‘bovine’ as in Amdo and some Kham dialects.
9. As in Amdo; cf. WT <gdub>.
10. From Chinese huópén 火盆.
11. WT ‘<chad>; [PFV] <chad>.
15. Cf. variant form tsa-slo-t used in Lai village.
17. Amdo Xiahe (bLa.brang) tætæ.
18. From Chinese mātàng 馬糖 ‘horse-sugar’.
19. From Chinese mùjiàng 木匠.
20. Also means ‘to jump’.
21. Literally ‘to cover up the head’, an idiom found also in Amdo.
22. The latter compound element occurs also in the word ḫs<ba-re ḫs<ba-lu ‘buttock cheek’.
23. A word found in many Tibetan dialects of the area.
25. Also means ‘to hew’.
26. Cf. Daofu chöpæ; Guiqiong jas<to>; Muya cs<to>; Caodeng rGyalrong tʃagtri; Zhongre rGyalrong tʃagtri.
27. Cf. WT <skyung.ka>.
29. Also means ‘pick up objects on the ground, tidy up’.
30. Probably a loan from Amdo; the expected native reflex would be *ʃa.
31. With suffix -wa; Cf. WT <so.mang>.
32. Suffix form of <glang>.
34. Probably <ba.chu> (‘hoarfrost-water’); Cf. WT <zil.pa> ‘dew’; <ba.mo> ‘hoarfrost’.
35. The initial correspondence is amiss. Cf. Southern Qiang czu<ba>.
37. WT <babs>, [PFV] of <bab> ‘to descend’. The verb is invariant in Zhongu.
38. WT <bgos, [PFV/IMP] of <bgo>. The verb is invariant in Zhongu.
39. The first two syllables appear to mean ‘cuckoo’.
This verb (WT ‘to gnaw’) is attested with the meaning ‘to eat’ in many other dialects of this area and Khams, including Baima, Zhānglā 濟拉 (<lCang.la>), and Qiuji.

42 Cf. WT <’bud> ‘to fall down’.
43 Cf. WT <’leb>; but the expected reflex of -eb is -l.
44 Cf. Xiahe k’ bar.
45 Cf. Caodeng Gyalrong kolev/.
46 The probable source *phur is not attested with this meaning.
47 Cf. WT <’te’u>.
48 Wrong rhyme for WT <smug>.
49 Cf. ’khang, attested in the Amdo variety of Zangs-dkar Township, Hongyuan County (Hua 2002:213), but *’khang would have yielded *’kha in Zhongu.
50 Cf. Xiahe la.
51 The word usually means ‘to raise; to feed’ in Tibetan.
52 Cf. WT <khar.rnga>.
53 Cf. WT <so.ma.ra.dza>, an Indic loan.
54 Cf. WT <’di-ra>.
55 The first syllable is a morpheme denoting ‘round object’, cf. Northern Qiang qa ‘head; round object’.
56 From Chinese láji—ao 辣椒.
57 Cf. WT <’khyags.rom>; Xiahe te’akron, the Zhongu form bears general resemblance to the above but the vowel correspondences are wrong.
58 With instrumental suffix -ka.
59 Other Tibetan dialects usually show -mu suffix.
60 Probably a loan from Chinese xuē 学.
61 As in Amdo.
62 Cf. Xiahe b’gyon <sgron>.
63 Cf. WT <bzhugs.zhag> ‘to stay overnight’.
64 Cf. Xiāmān Amdo sa.
65 The second morpheme means ‘to be big’.
66 Cf. WT <skya.ga>.
67 From dialectal Chinese yùmài 玉麥.
68 Cf. Xiahe <kha ra>.
69 From Chinese lārōu 腿肉.
70 Cf. Xiahe <nang khoa> ‘tomorrow’; WT <nang mo> ‘morning’.
71 Cf. WT <nyog pa>.
72 WT ‘thin; slender’.
73 Cf. <drì ma> in other Tibetan dialects.
74 The would-be source of this imperfective form *’phye is unattested. Cf. WT <’byed>.
75 Cf. Xiahe kde <sde> ‘others’.
76 From Chinese táou 桃子.
77 The second syllable probably means ‘to enter hole; to insert’.
78 WT <’bur> ‘protuberance’.
79 WT and other modern dialects show a different morpheme order <sngas.mgo>.
80 Cf. Xiahe rawa.
81 An ancient alternant of the verb <sle>, of which only the perfective stem <lhas> is found in
82 WT. Cf. Xiahe blu.
83 Cf. WT <'bur.len>.
84 From Chinese mäzi 麻子.
85 Invariable verb, from WT <ldug> ([PFV/IMP] <blug>) ‘to pour’.
86 With the existential verb "ba (q.v.).
87 From "gon; cf. WT <gon>.
88 From *phrod.
89 The verb also occurs as main verbs in words meaning ‘to piss’ ‘to defecate’, as well as
90 innovatively ‘to swallow’.
91 Identical to Xiahe ësäy, WT <rtsib.ma>.
92 Semantic extension from ‘to catch’.
93 Cf. Guiqiong išu<la>.
94 Possibly a secondarily differentiated form based on di <ldad> ‘to chew’.
95 Xiahe ëje ‘a kind of sausage’, for which the non-standard written form <g.ye> is offered in
96 Hua and Longbojia 1993:522.
97 From Chinese cong 蔥.
98 Cf. Xiahe sar.
99 Not a reflex of WT <khu.ba>.
100 Cf. WT ‘day laborer’.
101 Demonstrative ‘that’.
102 Cf. Xiahe ëgog, Balti kok <bkog> ‘to pull off, strip’ (Sprigg 2002:92); WT <'gog> means ‘to
103 snatch away’.
104 Cf. Xiahe ëpoiri.
105 Cf. Xiahe ënam < *snum, WT <nom>.
106 Same as in Amdo.
107 A loan from Chinese tâng 傳.
108 From dialectal Chinese guóchánchan 拉缸罐.
109 WT ‘to whirl’; Cf. Caodeng rGyalrong ësor’to stir-fry’.
110 Probably from Chinese jiêshãng 街上.
111 This word means ‘sunlight’.
112 Semantic shift from original meaning ‘to let in’.
113 Semantic shift from original meaning ‘to be full’.
114 Literally ‘bald sun’.
115 Probably from Chinese guànzi 罐子 ‘jar’.
117 Cf. Xiahe to-na <de.na>.
118 Possibly an Amdo loan; cf. Xiahe tø.
The word means ‘daybreak’ in WT. The innovative sense of ‘tomorrow’ is also found in certain Amdo dialects, e.g. Hongyuan.

From Chinese xiāngzi 箱子.

Same as in Xiahe.

WT <nyung.ma>.

The first syllable comes from lo-du ‘turnip’.

Innovated meaning, also used in Amdo, of WT <sde> ‘tribe’.


WT <lde>.

WT <sre.mon(ng)>.

Found in many Amdo varieties, e.g. Töngrán <Thun rin> tzungma.

The form may preserve ancient prenasalization not seen in the standard written form. Cf. Aikê Amdo mtsʰuk.

Cf. Xiahe kasʰač.