

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

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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.¹ 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-rGyalrong 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. Zhongu² is possibly the most remarkable of these dialects, and the focus of this paper.

Zhongu Tibetan is spoken in Hóngtǔ 紅土 and Hóngzhá 紅扎 Townships and in Píng-ān 平安, Gūnà 姑納, and Luóbǔchōng 蘿卜冲 Villages of Xiǎoxìng 小姓 Township in the Zhongu Valley (/zɔŋəkʰu/, <zho.ngu.khog>; in Chinese, Rèwùgōu 熱務溝)³ of Sōngpān 松潘 (<zung.chu>) County. The Tibetans of the neighboring Mǎizhágōu (麥扎溝) Valley in Hēishuǐ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.

¹ Nagano 1980, Qu and Tan 1983, Gesang 1985, J. Sun 1986, Qu et al. 1989, Causemann 1989, Lu 1990, Huang et al. 1994, Huang and Zhang 1995, Hongladarom 1996, Wang 1996, Hua and Duoangta 1997, Haller in press.

² Written <zho.ngu>, pronounced /ʧŋə/ at Layi Village (cf. variant pronunciations /zɔŋə/ and /reŋə/ at other villages).

³ There are five townships in Zhongu Valley: Kǎlón 卡龍, Yànyún 燕雲, Hóngzhá 紅扎, Hóngtǔ 紅土, and Xiǎoxìng 小姓. Varieties of Amdo Tibetan are used at Kǎlón and Yànyún, while most villages in Xiǎoxìng 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 Wēnchūān 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 /rə/ (e.g., /tshə-rə/ → [tshər] ‘hither’), and the imperative prefix /mə-/, and the unstressed form /rə/ of the copula verb /ri/; the latter two often cliticize to the verb stem and become surface codas (e.g., /^ʳdə-rə/ → [dər] ‘exist (declarative)’; /dzé-mə-χtu/ → [dzémχtu]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:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tɕ</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>ts^h</i>	<i>tɕ^h</i>	<i>tʃ^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	<i>q^h</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>g</i>	
	<i>s</i>		<i>ɕ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>χ</i>
	<i>z</i>		<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ʁ</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
<i>ɱ</i>	<i>ɳ</i>			<i>ɲ̥</i>	<i>ŋ̥</i>	
	<i>l</i>					
	<i>l̥</i>					
	<i>r</i>					
	<i>ɽ</i>					
<i>w</i>						

⁷ From the existential verb <’dug> plus the copula <red>.

⁸ Imperative form of the complex verb *dzé-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’

/kʰə/ ‘mouth; opening’

/qʰə¹de/ ‘to be bitter’

/ɣɛ/ ‘to come [PFV]’

/ɬɛ/ ‘to scratch to stop an itch’

For some speakers at least, the voiceless sonorant tap/trill /ɾ/ is in phonological opposition to the voiceless retroflex spirant /ʂ/. The voiceless lateral /l̥/ may be alternatively realized as a consonant cluster [ɬl] ~ [χl] ~ [ɦl]. Another conspicuous deviation from a typical Tibetan consonantal system is the complete absence of the palatal glide /j/.⁹ Examples of simple initial consonants are:

/p/	/pi/ ‘wool’; /pɔ/ ‘to embrace’
/pʰ/	/pʰi/ ‘brewer’s yeast’; /pʰə/ ‘to undress [PFV/IMP]’
/b/	/ba/ ‘goiter’; /be/ ‘to hide (an object)’
/m/	/mə/ ‘butter’; /mɔ/ ‘to be much/many’
/ŋ/	/ŋɛ/ ‘medicine’; /ŋetə/ ‘mole (on body)’
/w/	/-wa/ ‘nominal suffix’; /-wu/ ‘nominal suffix’
/t/	/tɔ/ ‘Asiatic black bear’; /te/ ‘that’
/tʰ/	/tʰu/ ‘sledgehammer’; /tʰi/ ‘to get’
/d/	/du/ ‘tree’; /da/ ‘to lick’
/s/	/sɔ/ ‘thought; mind’ /si/ ‘to wake up’
/z/	/zə/ ‘to bark’; /zɔ/ ‘to be good’
/n/	/nə/ ‘oath’; /nɔ/ ‘to exist’
/ŋ/	/ŋu/ ‘oil’; /ŋi/ ‘snot’
/l/	/lə/ ‘manure’; /lu/ ‘to fall from height’
/l̥/	/l̥ə/ ‘god, buddha’; /l̥a/ ‘to give birth (as of animals)’
/r/	/rɛ/ ‘long’; /rə/ ‘to be’
/r̥/	/r̥a/ ‘to touch’; /r̥ɛ/ ‘pimple’
/ts/	/tsu/ ‘mouse’; /tsa/ ‘to filter; to strain’

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

/ts ^h /	/ts ^h ə/ ‘grease’; /ts ^h u/ ‘marmot’
/dz/	/dza/ ‘penis’; /dzo/ ‘to say’
/tʂ/	/tʂə/ ‘boat’; /tʂa/ ‘to recover from illness’
/tʂ ^h /	/tʂ ^h ətso/ ‘ten thousand’; /tʂ ^h ɛ/ ‘to be thin (as of ropes)’
/dz _l /	/dz _l ɛzɛ/ ‘enemy’; /dz _l ə/ ‘to roll up’
/ʂ/	/ʂa/ ‘deer’; /ʂə/ ‘to die’
/z _l /	/z _l u/ ‘flea’; /z _l ə/ ‘to melt’
/tʃ/	/tʃɛ/ ‘tea’; /tʃa/ ‘to call (as of animals)’
/tʃ ^h /	/tʃ ^h a/ ‘blood’; /tʃ ^h ə/ ‘to guide, to lead along’
/dʒ/	/dʒɛmɛ/ ‘steelyard’; /dʒɛ/ ‘to exchange’
/ʃ/	/ʃə/ ‘louse’; /ʃi/ ‘to know’
/z/	/zə/ ‘snake’; /zɛ/ ‘to forget’
/ɲ/	/ɲə/ ‘person’; /ɲɛ/ ‘five’
/ʃɲ/	/ʃɲo/ ‘to be crazy’; /ʃɲi/ ‘to find’
/k/	/ka/ ‘pillar’; /kɔ/ ‘to be full’
/k ^h /	/k ^h ɛ/ ‘mouth’; /k ^h ə/ ‘to carry’
/g/	/gə/ ‘nine’; /gɛ/ ‘to be glad’
/ʎ/	/ʎɛ/ ‘fox’; /ʎɛ/ ‘come [PFV]’
/ŋ/	/ŋɛ/ ‘I’; /ŋə/ ‘to weep’
/ŋɲ/	/ŋɲa/ ‘incantation’; /ŋɲo ⁿ bo/ ‘to be blue’
/q/	/qɛŋə/ ‘hook’; /qo/ ‘to decrease’
/q ^h /	/q ^h a/ ‘snow’; /q ^h ɛ/ ‘to be bitter’
/χ/	/χɔ/ ‘shoe’; /χɛŋə/ ‘hole’
/ʁ/	/ʁɔ/ ‘power’; /ʁɛ/ ‘to scratch’

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/affricates 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., /ⁿp^h/ → [^mp^h]). The prenasalized initials are:

n ^p ^h	n ^t ^h	n ^{ts} ^h	n ^{tʂ} ^h	n ^{tʃ} ^h	n ^k ^h
n ^b	n ^d	n ^{dz}	n ^{dz_l}	n ^{dʒ}	n ^g

Prenasalization is contrastive, as these minimal pairs show:

/de/ ‘to be good’

/^ŋde/ ‘this’

/ts^ha/ ‘sweep [PFV/IMP]’

/^ŋts^ha/ ‘to be cold’

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., /^hts/ → [ˈst̪s]; /^htʃ/ → [ˈt̪ʃ]).¹⁰ Pre-aspiration is phonologically significant on voiceless stop/affricates; many lexical pairs are minimally distinguished by this feature:

/kɔ/ ‘cowhide’

/^hkɔ/ ‘to be thirsty’

/tsɐ/ ‘rust; bird’

/^htsɐ/ ‘pulse; grass’

/pi/ ‘wool’

/pə^hpi/ ‘brother’

The complete set of phonemic pre-aspirated consonants are:

^hp ^ht ^hts ^htʃ ^hk

The third type of complex initials consists of unequivocal clusters comprising a uvular pre-initial¹¹ attached to another consonant. Listed below are the attested [uvular + C] clusters, with some minimal pairs showing them in contrast with the corresponding simplex initials:

¹⁰ This tendency is particularly clear in the speech of Zháshī, from Lāyī Village.

¹¹ The voiceless uvular spirant χ- is alternatively realized as a stop q-.

χp	χt	χts	$\chi t\zeta$	$\chi tʃ$
	$\text{ʌ}d$	$\text{ʌ}dʒ$		$\text{ʌ}dʒ̥$
	χs			$\chi ʃ$
	$\text{ʌ}z$		$\text{ʌ}z̥$	
$\text{ʌ}m$	$\text{ʌ}n$			$\text{ʌ}ɲ$
	$\text{ʌ}l$			

/ʃə/ ‘cloud; louse’
/χʃə/ ‘plough [N]’

/zə/ ‘to bark’
/ʌzə/ ‘leopard’

/lu/ ‘to collapse; to fall from height’
/ʌlu/ ‘lungs’

The additional minimal pairs below confirm that the uvular pre-initial must also be kept distinct from pre-aspiration:

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

/tsɔ/ ‘earthen wall’
/ʰtsɔ/ ‘to hang’
/χtsɔ/ ‘to be clean’

Examples of the complex initials:

/ɲpʰ/	/ɲpʰɐɐ/ ‘dhole’; /ɲpʰə/ ‘to fly’
/ɲb/	/ɲbə/ ‘insect’; /ɲbɐ/ ‘to burn, to be aflame’
/ɲtʰ/	/ɲtʰə/ ‘declivity’; /ɲtʰu/ ‘to drink’
/ɲd/	/ɲdu/ ‘color’; /ɲde/ ‘to chase’
/ɲtʰʰ/	/ɲtʰʰo/ ‘lake’; /ɲtʰʰe/ ‘to open’
/ɲdz/	/ɲdzo/ ‘dzo’; /ɲdze/ ‘to paste’
/ɲtʰʰ/	/ɲtʰʰɐɲɐ/ ‘rosary’; /ɲtʰʰu/ ‘to snatch away, to rob’
/ɲdz̥/	/ɲdz̥ɛ/ ‘rice’; /ɲdz̥ə/ ‘to drag; to pull sth heavy’
/ɲtʰʰ/	/ɲtʰʰə/ ‘lip’; /ɲtʰʰa/ ‘(as of sth stiff) to break’

/ ⁿ dʒ/	/ ⁿ dʒe/ ‘penis’; / ⁿ dʒi/ ‘to worship’
/ ⁿ kʰ/	/ ⁿ kʰolo/ ‘wheel’; / ⁿ kʰu/ ‘to contract’
/ ⁿ g/	/ ⁿ go/ ‘head’; / ⁿ gø/ ‘to hatch’
/ ^h p/	/ ^h pø/ ‘picture’; / ^h pɔ/ ‘to beg’; ‘meadow’
/ ^h t/	/ ^h ta/ ‘tiger’; / ^h tu/ ‘to be hungry’
/ ^h ts/	/ ^h tsø/ ‘grass’; / ^h tse/ ‘to mix’
/ ^h tʃ/	/ ^h tʃɔ/ ‘to swell’; / ^h tʃu/ ‘to set (as of the sun)’
/ ^h k/	/ ^h kɛ/ ‘stairs’; / ^h ko/ ‘to carve’
/ ^χ p/	/ ^χ pa/ ‘dish; curry’
/ ^χ t/	/ ^χ tɔ/ ‘speech’; / ^χ tu/ ‘to release’
/ ^χ ts/	/ ^χ tsa/ ‘China fir’; / ^χ tsɔ/ ‘to be clean’
/ ^χ tʃ/	/ ^χ tʃɛ/ ‘to tear’
/ ^χ tʃi/	/ ^χ tʃi/ ‘urine’; / ^χ tʃə/ ‘to twist’
/ ^ʌ d/	/ ^ʌ də/ ‘parasol’; / ^ʌ dɔ/ ‘to open (eye, mouth, etc.)’
/ ^ʌ dʒ/	/ ^ʌ dʒi/ ‘speech, utterance’; / ^ʌ dʒə/ ‘to run’
/ ^ʌ dʒɔ/	/ ^ʌ dʒø/ ‘to be slippery’; / ^ʌ dʒɔ/ ‘to dry sth by fire’
/ ^χ s/	/ ^χ su/ ‘three’; / ^χ sɔ/ ‘to bring up; to raise’
/ ^χ f/	/ ^χ fə/ ‘plough [N]’; ‘to whip’
/ ^ʌ z/	/ ^ʌ zə/ ‘banded onyx’; / ^ʌ zø/ ‘to be steep’
/ ^ʌ zɔ/	/ ^ʌ zɔ/ ‘vulva’; / ^ʌ zə/ ‘bow (weapon)’
/ ^ʌ m/	/ ^ʌ ma/ ‘soldier’; / ^ʌ mɔ/ ‘to plough’
/ ^ʌ n/	/ ^ʌ nɔ/ ‘sky; rain’; / ^ʌ nø/ ‘to hang (in the air) [VI]’
/ ^ʌ ɲ/	/ ^ʌ ɲə/ ‘two’; / ^ʌ ɲɔ/ ‘to collapse (as of sth soft)’
/ ^ʌ l/	/ ^ʌ lə/ ‘song’; / ^ʌ lu/ ‘to rummage’

Palatalized consonants are found at the allophonic level. Palatalization occurs automatically with consonants preceding the non-low front vowels /i/, /e/, and /ɛ/; 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:

<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
<i>ɐ</i>		<i>a</i>

The mid vowels¹² contrast two degrees of vowel height:

/ ^ɲ dzɛ/ ‘demon’	/dze/ ‘eight’
/ ^ɲ dzɛ/ ‘rice’	/dzɛ/ ‘say [PFV]’
/lo/ ‘year’	/to/ ‘two (in classifier phrases)’
/lɔ/ ‘road’	/tɔ/ ‘Asiatic black bear’

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

/htɐ/ ‘horse’	/ʂɐ/ ‘east’
/hta/ ‘tiger’	/ʂa/ ‘deer’

Examples of the vowel phonemes are:

/i/	/ʂi/ ‘bit’; /li/ ‘to do; to make’
/e/	/dze/ ‘eight’; /se/ ‘to grow’
/ɛ/	/rɛ/ ‘cotton cloth’; /k ^h ɛ/ ‘to lean’
/ɐ/	/ʎɐ/ ‘antler’; /lɐ/ ‘to lay (e.g., bricks)’
/ə/	/rə/ ‘mountain’; /sə/ ‘to select’
/u/	/p ^h u/ ‘belly’; /ru/ ‘to incubate’
/o/	/ro/ ‘corpse’; /zo/ ‘to be slanting’
/ɔ/	/tɔ/ ‘Asiatic black bear’; /lɔ/ ‘to stand’
/a/	/ra/ ‘enclosure’; /ʂa/ ‘to stack’

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,

¹² The higher mid rounded vowel /o/ is actually pronounced as a centralized vowel [ə].

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 Xiámàn 轄曼 (<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:

χse-ná ‘gold’
gold-black

ʃpsé-no ‘at/from Lhasa’
Lhasa-LOC

hʈɐɾɔ-tɕə-kə ‘with an ax’
ax-INDEF-INST

dé-kə [dék] ‘It is fine/good (mirative).’
be fine-MIR

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

pá-lɛ ‘to marry a wife’
bride-take

ná-ɲɛ ‘to listen’
ear-listen

ⁿdʒó-go ‘to want to go’
go-want

ⁿtʃhɛ-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:¹³

mé-rə ‘ideophone mimicking moving currents’

me-rə ‘to be red’

3. Phonological history

This section presents a phonological history of Zhongu recovered through a comparison with the phonological structure of Old Tibetan (OT).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).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,

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

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 *achung* must have represented prenasalization as a prefix and some voiced guttural spirant (**f* or **ɣ* or **ʁ*) 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).

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.¹⁶ 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. Gě-ěr (<sGar>) Tibetan *pō*:¹³ ‘girl’ <bu.mo> Qu and Tan 1983). Some examples follow:

- /ka/ <ka.ba> ‘pillar’
- /tshu/ <tsha.bo> ‘nephew’
- /ŋa/ <rnga.ma> ‘tail’
- /ɣwa/ <’o.ma> ‘milk’
- /ʂu/ <<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.

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 (Yǎjiāng 雅江 <Nyag.chu>), whereas Hua and Duo Zhangta (1997:112) find only sixteen in Shíbàzi 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*, **ɲ*, and **ŋ*), two liquids (**r*, **l*), and two glides (**w*,¹⁷ **j*). Except for the unusual innovations whereby the OT glides **j* and **w* changed respectively to spirants /z/ and /ɣ/, 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:

/kə/ <gur> ‘tent’

/tʃɐ/ <ja> ‘tea’

/zɔ/ <zho> ‘yogurt’

/zə/ <zug> ‘to bark’

/ɣu/ <’ong> ‘to come’

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

/do/ <rdo> ‘stone’

/go/ <sgo> ‘door’

/ŋgo/ <mgo> ‘head’

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., *ɸ*- (Amdo Xiaman, J. Sun 1996) or *ɸw*- (Dārì 達日 <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*, *ʒ* <zh>, and a guttural *ʎ* or *ɸ* (written with root-initial *achung* <’>), the dialectal reflexes of the latter include *ɸ* (in many Amdo varieties, while in other Amdo varieties it has dropped), *ʎ* (Lhasa and many Central varieties), and *ɣ* (Zhongu, Baima). That the *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.:

/ʂə/ <shi> ‘to die’
/zə-ⁿbo/ <zhim.po> ‘to be sweet’
/ʂi/ <shing> ‘firewood’
/səʒi/ <sa.zhing> ‘field’

The same shift also affected OT consonant clusters:

/ʂʷ/ <bsha> ‘to butcher’
/zʷ/ <bzhar> ‘to shave’

A side-effect of this sound change brought the voiced retroflex spirant /z/ in contrast with the dental trill/tap /r/ (from OT *r*-). This is a rare opposition in modern Tibetan, where [z] is normally a positional variant of the /r/ phoneme. A few other modern dialects are known to turn all the original palato-alveolars into retroflex consonants, such as Zhuóní (卓尼 <Co.ne>, Qu 1962), Dōngyì (東義),¹⁹ and the Dìqìng (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., /raʁo/ <ra.ba.skor> ‘cowpen’, /tʂaχu/ <brag.khung> ‘cave’, /tʂʰiqa/ <phyed.ka> ‘half’), or came from original consonant clusters (e.g., /ʁo/ <dbang> ‘power’, /ʁo-ʁo/ <sgor.sgor> ‘to be round’, /χo/ <lham> ‘boot, shoe’). Other instances of uvulars are of mysterious origin, as they occur in lexical items of unknown ancestry (e.g., /χʷəŋə/ ‘hole’, /qʰetʂə/ ‘neck’; /qəŋə/ ‘hook’, and in the suffixes /-qe/, /-qo/ attached to many nouns, as in /nʷqe/ <rna.ʔ> ‘ear’, /zʷqo/ <zhwa.ʔ> ‘hat’). It would be

¹⁹ A variety of Tibetan spoken at Daòchéng (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., /q^holo/ ‘walnut’; /q^hetsə/ ‘neck’²⁰). Moreover, there are native Tibetan lexical items containing (simplex) uvular onsets, such as /χ^heko/ <ha.go> ‘to understand’, /q^ha/ <kha.ba> ‘snow’, and /q^hɛⁿde/ <khwa.ʔ> ‘to be bitter’. Since it is perfectly normal for archaic linguistic traits to be preserved in peripheral dialects (e.g., Zhongu /ɛⁿə/ ‘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,²¹ 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.²²

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-*),²³ 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.

²⁰ Cf. Jiulong Pumi qā³⁵tsei⁵⁵; Muya ɛ³⁵tsa⁵³; Shixing ɛ³³tsɰ⁵³.

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 Shībàzi (Hua and Duozangta 1997), Yànyún (<gNyan.yul>, personal research), and Rénēntáng 仁恩塘 (<zings.ngo.thang>; personal research):

Shibazi	Yanyun	Ren'entang	
q ^h a: ⁵⁵	q ^h a:	k ^h æ:	‘snow’
q ^h a: ⁵⁵	q ^h ɛ ⁿ de	q ^h ɛ	‘bitter’
---	χ ^h ɛ-ko	χ ^h ɛ-ko	‘understand’

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 *kl-*, *gl-*, *rl-* 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:

/ⁿdzəŋ/ <mdzug.gu> ‘finger’
/ⁿdzə/ <’dzug> ‘to plant (trees)’

/ⁿthu/ <mthong> ‘to see’
<’thung> ‘to drink’

The nasal prefix *m-* (from earlier **b-*), however, elided before another nasal (e.g., /nɐ/ <mna’> ‘oath’).

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

/zɑ/ <zhag> ‘to stay overnight’
<bzhag> ‘put [PFV]’

/ʃə/ <shig> ‘louse’
<bshig> ‘to untie’

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

/ŋə/ <dngul> ‘silver’
/ŋo/ <rngo> ‘to parch’
/ŋetʃə/ <lŋa.bcu> ‘fifty’

/χtʃiŋɔ/ <gcin.lgang> ‘bladder’
/gɔ/ <rgang> ‘porcupine’
/gu^hkɐ/ <dgongs.kha> ‘evening’

²⁴ Written as *achung* <’>. The prefix *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’
 /dewə/ <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:

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

/nɐ/ <na> ‘if’
 /ŋɐⁿgo/ <sna.mgo> ‘nose’
 /ŋɐ/ <nga> ‘I’
 /ŋ̥ɐ/ <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:

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.

/nɔ/ <nang> ‘inside’
/nɔ-fi/ <rnam.shes> ‘soul’
/ʁnɔ/ <gnam> ‘sky; rain’

/lo/ <lo> ‘year’
 <blo> ‘wisdom; mind’
/ʁlo/ <glo> ‘girth’

/htsɔ/ <dpyang> ‘to hang’
/χtsɔ/ <gtsang> ‘to be clean’

3.2.2.2 OT medials

Among the three OT medials, the *wazur* (i.e., -w-) dropped without compensation:

/htsɐ/ <rtsa> ‘pulse’
 <rtswa> ‘grass’

/tshɐ/ <tsha> ‘to be hot’
 <tshwa> ‘salt’

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

/tsho/ <khyod> ‘you [SG]’
/tsɔ/ <gyang> ‘wall’
/dzɐ/ <rgya> ‘Chinese’
/ʎdzu/ <'gyog> ‘to lift, hoist’

/tshɐ/ <phye> ‘flour’
/tsɐ/ <bya> ‘bird’
/ʎdzɐ/ <'byar> ‘to paste, stick’

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

²⁷ Capital *K*-, *P*-, and *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:

/^ʌtʂhe/ <'phrad> 'to meet'
 /tʂa/ <brag> 'rock, cliff'
 /^ʌdzə/ <'bri> 'female yak'

/tʂe/ <dran> 'to think of'
 /^ʌdzɛ/ <'dre> 'goblin; ghost'

/tʂə/ <bkrus> 'wash [PFV/IMP]'
 /tʂʰa/ <khrag> 'blood'
 /tʂo/ <gro> 'wheat'
 /^ʌdʒo/ <'gro> 'to go'

The same alignment of the three OT cluster types is also reported in the neighboring Amdo, Zhuoni, and Zhōuqǔ (<'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 Dégé (德格 <sDe.dge>; [hʰ]) and Zádūō (雜多 <rDza.rdo>; [hl]) reflexes (Zhang 1996:

²⁸ An interesting gap is **mr-* (which had probably turned into *rm-*); there was the extremely rare cluster *smr-*, however.

23); in Baima²⁹ likewise, words like *līa* <hla> ‘god’ carry the suggestive breathy register indicating a proto-sonorant cluster.³⁰ Another remnant of *hl- as an earlier consonant cluster is the pronunciation *χam* (written <lham> ‘boot’) current in certain dialects spoken in the Amdo region.

Unlike in most other modern dialects, OT *sl-* and *sr-* converged into the pre-aspirated dental affricate /hts/ in Zhongu:

/htsi/ <sring> ‘younger sister’
/htsa/ <sreg> ‘to roast, to burn’
/htsɛ/ <srān> ‘beans’

/htsi/ <sleb> ‘to arrive’
/htsɐ/ <sla> ‘to be easy’
/htsi/ <slob> ‘to teach’

The mysterious OT cluster *zl-* is also reflected by a Zhongu dental affricate, in this case a voiced /dz/, as in most varieties of Amdo Tibetan:

/dzɐ/ <zla> ‘month’³¹
/dzo/ <zlo> ‘to say’
/dza/ <zla.ba> ‘penis’³²

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:

sky- > /s/
/sə/ <skyi> ‘to borrow, to lend’
/se/ <skye> ‘to grow’

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).

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

³¹ The word ‘moon’ <zla.wa> /dɛwɐ/ is however always pronounced with the literary-style initial /d/.

³² The meaning ‘semen, juice’ is given in Das 1902:1099.

sgy- > /z/
 /zekə/ <sgye.khug> ‘large bag’

lc- > /ʃ/; (before OT non-low front vowels) /f/
 /ʃa/ <lcags> ‘iron’
 /fe/ <lce> ‘tongue’

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

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

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

dby- > /z/
 /zə^hkə/ <dbyar.kha> ‘summer’
 /zə/ <dbyug> ‘to sway’

sby- > /ʒ/
 /ʒə/ <sbyin> ‘to give’

spr- > /ʃ/³⁵
 /ʃə/ <sprin> ‘cloud’
 /ʃaⁿdə/ <spra>³⁶ ‘monkey’

³³ Elsewhere OT *dpy-* gave /hts/, as in /htsə/ <dpyang> ‘to hang down’.

³⁴ Elsewhere OT *phy-* gave /ts^h/, see §3.2.2.2 above.

³⁵ An apparent exception is /hpə/ ‘to beg’, which probably came from **span*, a variant of WT <sprang>. Note that cognate forms of ‘to beg’ in most Amdo varieties also reflect **span* (e.g., Labrang *hwan*) rather than <sprang>.

³⁶ With suffix -*ndə*.

sbr- > /ʒ/ (before OT *-i* and *-u*)³⁷
 /ʒə/ <sbrul> ‘snake’
 /ʒə/ <sbrid> ‘to be numb’

rdz- > /z/³⁸
 /zə/ <rdzi> ‘to knead; to tread’
 /zu/ <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 $V = \{a, i, u, e, o\}$, $C1 = \{b, d, g, m, n, ŋ, r, l, s\}$, and $C2 = \{d, s\}$.

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 1: Zhongu rhymes and their OT origins

Zhongu Rhymes	Old Tibetan Rhymes
<i>ɐ</i>	<i>a; ar</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>ag(s); eg(s); a.ba; a.ma; o.ma</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>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</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>og(s); ung(s); ong(s); um(s); i.ba; u.ba; o.ba; a.bo; i.bo; a.mo; o.mo; u.mo</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e; ad; ed; od; er</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ing(s); eng(s); em(s); an; en; on; as; al</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>o; or</i>
<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ang(s), am(s), om(s)</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>i; u; ig(s); ug(s); id; ud; in; ib(s); ub(s); im(s); is; us; ir; ur; il; ul; el; ol</i>

³⁷ Elsewhere OT *sbr-* gave /b/, as in /bəna/ <sbra.nag> ‘yak-hair tent’; /bəŋə/ <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 /ə/, 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

/ʃə/ <sha> ‘flesh, meat’
<shar> ‘east’

/tʃə/ <phyi> ‘outside’
<phyir> ‘backward’

/ᵐbə/ <’bu> ‘bug’
/ᵐbəᵐbə/ <’bur. ’bur> ‘to be protruding’

/dewə/ <sde.ba> ‘village’
/kəde/ <dkar.sder> ‘plate’

/ʃo/ <sho> ‘dice’
<shor> ‘to slip; to be lost’

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* > /ɐ/; OT *i*, *u* > /ə/), 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: /ɐ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, and /ə/.

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: /səmo/ ‘bamboo’; /tʂɔpu/ ‘book’; /tunə/ ‘earthworm’; /χvɛŋə/ ‘hole’; /ŋpʰe/ ‘to itch’; /sirɐ/ ‘nail (body part)’; /ʰtsa/ ‘sand’;⁴¹ /tsətso/ ‘thing, object’; /pəkɔ/ ‘spider’; /tʂɛqu/ ‘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., /ɲɐ/ (instead of */ŋɐ/) <lnga> ‘five’; /si/ (instead of */sə/) <sol> ‘charcoal’; /lu/ (instead of */lɔ/) <lhung> ‘to fall’; /ʂa/ (instead of */ʰtsa/) <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 /ʂaro/ <lcags.ʔ>, the normal Zhongu word for ‘iron’, and /ʰtʂaʰkə/ <lcags.skud> ‘wire’. The syllable /ʂa-/ manifests a characteristic Zhongu sound change *lc-* > /ʂ/ and is therefore the genuine native reflex of <lcags>. The alternant /ʰtʂa-/ , on the other hand, was clearly a borrowing from Amdo where OT *lc-* regularly yields /ʰtʂ/. Loanwords of this type usually pertain to pastoral life or plateau fauna,⁴² such as /tʂʰəɐ/ (instead of */tsʰəɐ/) <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 /ʰtsa/.

⁴² The Zhongu are *rongpa*, or traditional farming Tibetans.

*/k^həmo/) <khol.mo> ‘cowhide bellows’, /^htʃɔ/ (instead of */^htsɔ/) <rkyang> ‘wild ass’, and /ɛja/ (instead of */ɛza/) <g.yag> ‘yak’.

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 /dɔɐ̯/ <rdo.dkar> ‘flint’, for example, has a compound element /ɐ̯/ ‘white’ with a different initial /ɐ̯/ than the expected reflex /^hk/ of <dk>. Other examples of internal voicing and spirantization include /zəɣe/ <yi.ge> ‘writing, letter’, /səɣe/ <sa.bon> ‘seed’, and the diminutive suffix /ɣə/ <gu>; e.g., /lə-ɣə/ <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:

/nɛtsɐ̯/ <na.tsha> ‘illness’
 /tʂ^hətso/ <khri.tsho> ‘ten thousand’
 /pətsɐ̯/ <bu.tsha> ‘son’
 /metu/ <me.thog> ‘flower’
 /akə/ <a.khu> ‘paternal uncle’

/tʃ^hətə/ <chu.thag> ‘water-barrel strap’
 /ɛtə/ <khal.thag> ‘leather string’

Cf. /t^hɛɣa/ <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 Yùshù 玉樹 (<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, Xúnhuà 循化, and Huàlóng 化隆 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	>	/lə- ^h pɔ/ ‘body’
<rus.pa>	>	*ru.spa	>	/rə- ^h pæ/ ‘bone’
<grum.pa>	>	*gru.mpa	>	/tʃə- ^h bæ/ ‘badger’
<sngon.po>	>	*sngo.npo	>	/ŋjo- ^h bo/ ‘to be blue’
<sman.pa>	>	*sma.npa	>	/ŋe- ^h bæ/ ‘doctor’
<shog.pa>	>	*sho.gpa	>	/ʃo- ^h pæ/ ‘wing’
<dron.po>	>	*dro.nbo	>	/tʃo- ^h bo/ ‘hot (as of weather)’
<bdun.cu>	>	*bdu.ncu	>	/də- ^h dʒə/ ‘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 (Wèizàng <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

	Presence of Voiced Obstruent Onsets	Presence of Tone
Central	-	+
Khams	+	+
Amdo	+	-

Obviously, two forms of modern Tibetan are not necessarily more closely related because they both preserve OT voiced obstruent onsets (shared retention)⁴⁵ and both have tones (possibly convergent, but independent development).⁴⁶ 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

	C- ⁴⁷	Py-	Ky-	Kr-
Central	+	+	-	-
Khams	+	+	+	-
Amdo	+	+	+	+

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

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); Gǎizé (改則 <sGer.rtse>) preserved OT *Ky-* as true palatals; Zaduo merged OT *C-*, *Py-*, and *Ky-* into palatal affricates (Huang et al. 1994:117), whereas Chañgdū (昌都 <Chab.mdo>) flip-flopped OT palato-alveolars (*C-*) and palatals (*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 Khams 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 archaisms (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, Jiégǔ (結古 <sKye.rgu>), Nángqiàn (囊謙 <Nang.chen>) Counties of Yushu Prefecture in Qinghai Province, and Bāqīng (巴青 <sBra.chen>), Dīngqīng (丁青 <sTeng.chen>) and Suǒ 索 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 (曲麻萊 <Chu.dmar.leb>) in Qīnghǎi 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,⁵¹ 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 /z/.
4. OT *sl-*, *sr-* merged and became /hʈs/.
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 /ʃ/; *sbr-* became /ʒ/.
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 /jə/ or /sə/, locative/ablative /no/, comparative /sono/) and aspect and modality markers, grammaticalization of imperative markers from OT directional terms (/zə/ <yar> ‘upward’; /mə/ <mar> ‘downward’; /tshə/ <phyir> ‘level direction’), and the obligatory use of a specialized existential verb /^mba/ for predicating the existence of stationary but growing objects (plants, hair, etc.), e.g.

*rʰgo du jə^hkʰtʰsə ⁿba/*nɔ-kə*
 ridge tree many exist-MED
 ‘There are many trees on the mountain ridges.’

It is diagnostic innovations of the foregoing type⁵² 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

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 /- 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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熱務溝話語音簡貌：一種川北藏語新方言

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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寫記錄，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。

文末附錄有英語－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 *ʌpə* ‘eye’, rather than the ordinary WT <mig>. Likewise, Zhongu *htso* ‘to rest’ is not traced to WT <gso>, as WT <gs> regularly corresponds to Zhongu *χs-*, and the spoken word *htso* is judged to stem from a different, as yet unidentified source. Uncertain origins are indicated by question marks in the corresponding syllable slot, e.g. *pe-ŋgu* <me.ʔ> ‘fire (disaster)’, where the source of the syllable *ŋgu* is unknown, or beside a tentatively offered etymon, e.g. *ʌpə-ɸpa* <dmyig.lpagsʔ> ‘eyelash; eyebrow’ where the syllable *-ɸpa* probably reflects <lpags> ‘skin, fur’. Exceptions to observed sound laws are highlighted by boldface, e.g. the first syllable in *htsə-χu* <rkyag.khung> ‘anus’ undoubtedly came from <rkyag> ‘excrement’ but the rhyme is at variance with the expected correspondence *-ag* > *a*.

a bit; a little; <i>pə-ŋú-tsə</i>	<i>ŋə-ʂə-ŋo-lo</i>
<nyung.nyung.cig>	all; <i>tsʰɔ-mo</i> <tshang.ma>
abdomen; <i>pʰu tʃʰə-tʃʰu</i>	alone; single; <i>kʰe-ŋde</i> <kher> (with
<pho.ba.chung.chung>	suffix <i>ŋde</i>)
abdominal cavity; <i>kʰɔ-pv</i> <khog.pa>	also; <i>-je</i>
above; <i>ŋgo-ti</i> <ʔgo.ʔ>	amber; <i>ɸpi-ʂə</i> <spos.shel>
ache; be painful; <i>nv</i> <na>	angry; <i>kʰɔ ŋtsʰə</i> <khong.ʔ>
acorn; <i>du-ŋdzə</i> <sdong.ʔbru>	ankle; <i>pʰo-lo</i>
add to; <i>ŋi</i> <snon>	anklebone; <i>tsʰv-tʃʰv-pv-tʂə</i> ²
afternoon; <i>tsʰə-tʂo</i> <phyi.dro>	answer, admit, consent; <i>kʰv-lɛ</i> <kha.lan>
afterwards; <i>to-no</i> (with locative <i>-no</i>)	ant; <i>tʃu-tʂɔ</i> <grog.ʔ>
again; <i>wu; te wu ɣu-kə</i> ‘She has come	antler, horn; <i>ɣv</i> <rwa>
again.’	anus; <i>htsə-χu</i> <rkyag.khung>
age; <i>lo</i> <lo>; <i>tsʰo totsə lo tʃʰa-tsə rə</i>	anything; <i>tʃə-tʃɔ</i> <ci.cang>; <i>tʃətʃɔ pə-no</i>
‘What is your age this year?’	‘There is nothing.’
aim; <i>tsʰe</i> <tshad>	apron; <i>pɔ-ɕə</i> <pang.ʔ>
air; breath; <i>bə</i> <dbugs>	argali (<i>Ovis ammon</i>); <i>lə-gi</i> <lug.rgod>
alike; <i>ŋdzv</i> <dra>; <i>rə</i> <rigs>; ¹	arm; <i>la-χa</i> <lag.pa>

- armpit; *ᵐtʃʰɛ-htsɐ* <mchan.rtsa>
 arrive; *htsi* <sleb>
 arrow; *ᵐdɐ* <mda>
 ashamed, embarrassed; *ŋo-tsʰɐ*
 <ngo.tsha>
 ashes; *ko-ti* <go.thal>
 ask; *ᵐdzə* <'dri>, [PFV/IMP] *tʃə* <dri>
 aunt; (uncle's wife) *ane* <a.ne>; (father's
 sister) *ami* <a.?'>;³ (mother's sister)
 amɐ <a.ma>
 autumn; fall; *hti-ᵐgɐ* <ston.kha>
 awl; *ᵐbə* <'bug>
 awn of wheat; *tʃɐ-qɐ* <gra>⁴ (with suffix
 -qɐ)
 ax; *htɐ-rə* <sta.re>
 baby; *mɐ-je* <dmar.?'>
 back (body part); *dzi-htsɐ* <rgyab.rtsa>
 back (vs. front); *ᵐtʃʰɔ-rɐ-k(h)ɐ*
 <tshang.ra.kha>; (back of house)
 ᵐkʰɔ-hta <khang.?'>
 backward; *tsʰə* <phyir>
 bad; *a-ɐɐ*, *a-bɐ*, *ŋɛ-ᵐbɐ* <ngan.pa>
 bad-tempered; *kʰu-tu* <khog.?'>
 badger; *tʃəm-bɐ* <grum.pa>
 bag; (generic) *kʰɐ-kə* <kha.khug>; (large
 woolen bag) *ze-kə* <sgye.khug>; (cloth
 bag) *rɛ-kə* <ras.khug>; (leather bag)
 dʒu <sgro.ba>
 bake in hot ashes; *rtsa* <sreg>
 bake in a pan; *ŋo* <rngo>
 bald; *ᵐgo-do* <mgo.rdo>
 ball; *gɔ-wu* <lgang.bu>
 balloon *gɔ-pə* <lgang.phug>
 ball of yarn; *do-ɣpɐ*
 bamboo; *sə-mo*; (bamboo strips) *sə-ɣʂa*
 <?.gshag>; (bamboo shoot) *sə-pə*,
 (bamboo joint) *tsʰe-hta*
 bandit; *htʃɐ-hpɐ* <jag.pa>
- bar (the door); *ɣtɛ* <gtan>
 bark [V]; *zə* <zug>
 bark [N]; *ku-tʃə*
 barley; *nɛ* <nas>
 basket carried on back; *tɐ-qo* (with suffix
 -qo)
 bat (animal); *htsə-ᵐpʰɐ-jo*
 be; *rɛ* <red>; (reduced form) *r(ə)*; (in
 affirmative replies) *ri*; *tsʰo ɣoŋə-kə ɲə*
 ɛ-rə 'Are you from Zhongu?'
 be accomplished; be done; *ᵐdzə* <'grub>;
 tonda ᵐdzə-sɐ-tɛ 'The job is done.'
 be accustomed to; *li* <lob>
 be allowed; may; *ɲɛ* <nyan>
 be time for; *rɛ* <ran>; *tɐ ɲi rɛ-sɐ-tsə* 'It is
 time to sleep now.'
 beam; *htsə-du* <?.gdung>
 bear; endure; *htsɛ* <sran>
 bear; (Asiatic black bear) *tɔ* <dom>;
 (black-bear cub) *tɔ-pə* <dom.bu>;
 (brown bear) *tʃi* <dred>
 beard; *kʰɐ-hpə* <kha.spu>
 beat, pound; *du* <rdung>
 beat (as of hearts and pulses); *ᵐpʰɐ*
 <'phar>
 beautiful; *ᵐtʃʰɛ-mo*; *go-zɔ* <?.bzang>
 become; *tʰɛ* <thal>; *te nɐyi tʰɛ-sɐ-tsə*
 'S/he has become deaf.'
 become mildewy; *kɐ-ᵐbə tʃʰa* <?.chags>
 become moldy; *mə*
 bed; *ɲi-ᵐtʃʰə* <nyal.khri>
 bee; *bɔ-ᵐdu* <sbrang.'dod>
 beetle; *pa-go*
 before, formerly; *ɐnɐ* <gna'>; *tɔ-ᵐgo*
 <dang.'go>⁵
 beg; *hpɔ* ~ *ʂɔ* <sprang>
 beggar; *dzɐ-hpɔ* <?.sprang>; *ʂɔ-wu*
 <sprang.po>

- belch; *ga-hpɐ*
 believe; trust; *di-rɐ* <dad.ʔ>
 bell; *tʃʰo-tʃə* <khro.dril>; (a religious instrument) *ⁿdɛ-rə* <'dar.ri>
 bellows; *kʰu-mo* <khoh.mo>
 belly; *pʰu* <pho.ba>
 belt; *ʰke-rɐ* <ske.rags>
 bend; bend down; *gə-gə* <sgur.sgur>
 bent; curved; *gə-rə* <sgur.ru>; *ʋə-ʋə*
 big; *ʰtʃɐ-tɛ*
 birch; *ʰta-ma* <stag> (with suffix *-ma*)
 bird; *tsɐ* <bya>; (small bird) *tʃi-tʃu* <ʔ.chung>
 bit; *ʃi* <srab>
 bite; *so-ɡo tsə* <so.ʔ.byed>
 bitter; *qʰɐ-ⁿde* <khwa> (with suffix *-ⁿde*)⁶
 black; *na* <nag>; (the color black) *ne-ɣə*
 blacksmith; *ⁿgɐ-rɐ* <mgar.ba>
 bladder; *χtʃi-ɡɔ* <gcin.lgang>
 blanket; rug; *ʰtɛ* <stan>; (saddle-blanket) *gɐ-ʰtɛ* <sga.stan>
 bleat; *ⁿbɐ* <'baʔ>
 blind; *ɲə-tsə zɐ* <mig.ʔ.zhar>
 blind person; *zɐ-rɐ* <zhar.ba>
 blink; *ɲə-tsə tsu* <mig.ʔ.btsums>
 blister; *tʃʰə-ɡɔ* <chu.sgang>
 blood; *tʃʰa* <khrag>
 blood vessel; *tʃʰa-ta* <khrag.ʔ>
 bloom; *ⁿgɐ*
 blow (air); *χpə* <spur>
 blow (as of wind); *tʃo*; *χpə* <spur>
 blow nose; *ɲi χpə* <snabs.spur>
 blue; *ɲo-ⁿbo* <sngon.po>
 blunt; *pu-ʰto*
 board; plank; *ki-tʰɐ*
 boat; *tʃə* <gru>
 body; *lə-ʰpo* <lus.po>; (upper body) *kʰu-ʰti* <khog.stod>; (lower body) *kʰu-ɲi* <khog.smad>
 boil [VT]; (~ water) *ʰtso* <sro>; [PFV/IMP] *ʰtʃi* <sros>; *tɛ tʃʰə ʰtso-kə* 'S/he is boiling water.'; (~ solid food) *ⁿtʃi*; [PFV/IMP] *tsi* <btsos>
 boil [VI]; (as of liquid foods) *ʋdə* <gdu>; (as of water) *tʃʰɛ*; *tʃʰə tʃʰə-kɐ lɔʰpɐ ɣu rɐ* 'Steam comes out when water boils.'
 boulder; *pʰɐ-ʋu* <pha.bong>
 bone; *rə-ʰpɐ* <rus.pa>
 book; *tʃɔ-pu*
 borrow; (~ money) *sə* <skyi>; (~ objects) *ʋzɐ* <g.yar> *tʃʰo gomo sə-jə-tɛ tu səⁿbɐ ɲə-ʒə rɐ* 'You borrowed money. Why haven't you returned it yet?'
 bottle; *ʃe-ⁿdu* <shel.mdong>
 bottom; *ʰkə* <rku>; *ɣi* <zhab>?
 boundary; *pɐ-ʰki* <bar.skabs>?
 bovine; *zu* <zog>;⁸ (hornless ~) *ⁿgo-do* <mgo.rdo>
 bow (weapon); *ʋzə* <gzhu>
 bowl; *kɐ-zə* <dkar.yol>; (metal bowl) *ʃa-kɐ* <lcags.dkar>; (wooden bowl) *a-kɐ* <a.dkar>
 box; *go-ⁿbə* <sgom.bu>
 boy; *pə-tʃɐ* <bu.tsha>
 bracelet; *də-ɣə* <gdu.gu>⁹
 brain; *ʋlə-wɛ* <klad.pa>
 bran; *pʰɛ*
 branch; *lo-tʃo* <lo.ʔ>; (thin twig) *ⁿbə-ze* <'bud.ʔ>
 brass; *ra* <rag>
 brazier; *χu-pʰɛ*¹⁰
 bread; *ko-ʰtɛ*; *tʃʰo koʰtɛ ⁿtʃʰɐ-do rɐ* 'Are you eating bread?'
 break [VI]; (as of sth stiff); *ⁿtʃʰa*

- <'chag>
 break [VI]; (as of sth soft); *tʃe*¹¹
 break [VT]; (~ sth stiff) *χtʃu* <gcog>, [PFV] *tʃa* <bcag>
 break (sth soft); *χtʃe* <gcod>, [PFV] *tʃʰe* <chod>¹²
 breakfast; *zɐ*ⁿ*tʰu* <za.ʔ>; *nɔ*-*tsi* <nangs.ʔ>
 breast; *pɑ*-*pɑ*¹³
 breath; *bə* <dbugs>
 breeze; *βlu*-*ma* <rlung> (with suffix *-ma*); *βlu*-*sɛ*-*rɛ*,¹⁴
 brick; *sɐ*-*hpɐ* <sa.dpar>
 bride; *pɑ*-*mɐ* <bag.ma>
 bridge; *zɛ*ⁿ*bɐ* <zam.pa>
 bridle; *hʰtɐ*ⁿ*tʰə* <ɾta.mthur>
 bright; *kɐ* <dkar>; ⁿ*de* *pʰətsə* *te* *pə*-*kɐ*-*kə* 'This room is not well-lighted.'
 bring up; *χsɔ* <gso>, [PFV] *χsi* <gsos>
 bring, carry; carry on back; *kʰə* <khur>
 broad bean; *dzɐ*-*hʰtsɛ* <ɾgya.sran>
 broom; *pə*-*tʃa*
 brother; *pə*-*hpi* <bu.spun> (elder) *a*-*dzi* <a.ʔ>; (younger) *sɐ*-*ɲi*
 bubble, foam; *bu* <lbū.ba>
 bucket; pail; *tʃʰə*-*zɔ* <chu.zom>
 buckwheat; *pu*-*lə*
 build (house); ⁿ*dɛ*, [PFV/IMP] *tɛ*
 build a fire; light a fire; *ɲe* ⁿ*bə* <me.'bud> [PFV/IMP] *pə* <bus>
 bullet; *pu*-*də* <bo'u.rde'u>
 burn [VI]; ⁿ*bɐ* <'bar>; *tsiku*-*nɔ* *ɲe* ⁿ*bɐ* *ɲe*-*tsə*-*kə* 'The fire in the stove burns brightly.'
 burn [VT], set fire to; *ɲe* ⁿ*dʒə* <me.ʔ>, [PFV/IMP] *tʃə*
 burnt; scorched; *tsʰə* <tshig>
 bury; ⁿ*tsʰɔ*, [PFV/IMP] *tsɔ*, *sɐ*-*nɔ* *ro* *tsɔ*-*xu* 'Bury the dead body in the earth!'
 busy; *pə*-*kʰɔ* <mi.khom>
 butcher [V]; *sɐ* <bsha>, [PFV/IMP] *fɛ* <bshas>
 butt, ram, collide; *du* <rdung>
 butter; *mɐ* <mar>
 butterfly; *tsa*-*li*-*hʰtʃi* ~ *tsa*-*lo*-*hʰtʃi*¹⁵
 buttocks; ⁿ*tsʰɔ*-*rɐ* <tshang.ra>;¹⁶ *ɲɐ* ⁿ*tsʰɔ*-*rɐ*-*kʰɐ* *ma*-*ɲu* 'Don't follow me!'
 button; *dʒɛ*-*ɣə* <sgro.gu>
 buy; *ɲo* <nyo>, [PFV/IMP] *ɲi* <nyos>
 calf (body part); *zə*-*qu*
 call; ⁿ*bɛ* <'bod>, [PFV/IMP] *pɛ* <bas>; (as of beasts and birds) *tʃa* <grag>¹⁷
 camel; *ɲɐ*-*mo* <rnga.mong>
 cane; *tʃə*-*ta* <?.thag>
 candy; *ma*-*tʰɔ*¹⁸
 capital; *mɐ*-*hʰtsɐ* <ma.rtsa>
 careful, cautious; *sɛ*-*tʃu* <sems.chung>
 caress; *ɲɔ* <nyang>
 carpenter; *mə*-*tsɔ*¹⁹
 carpet; *sɐ*-*dɛ* <sa.gdan>
 carry; carry on back; *kʰə* <'khur>; (put load on) ⁿ*dʒə*, [PFV/IMP] *tʃə*
 cartilage; *sɯ*, *rəpɐ* *ɲɐ*-*qɐ* <rus.pa.ʔ>
 carve; *hko* <rko>, [PFV/IMP] *hki* <brkos, rkos>
 castrate; *zə* *tsə* <?.byed>
 cat; *ɐ*-*lə* <a.li>
 catch; ⁿ*dzi* <'dzin>, [PFV/IMP] *zu* <zung(s)>
 catch cold; ⁿ*tsʰa* <'khyag>
 catch fire; *ɲe* *sɔ* <me.shor>
 catch up with; *tsʰɛ*-*zi*
 cattle (generic); *so*-ⁿ*tʃʰe*, *zu* <zog>
 causative complementizer; *-ɣo*, *ɐmɐ*-*kə* *tʃɐ*-*ɲi*-*sɐ* *ɲe* ⁿ*tʰu*-*ɣo* *tʃə*-*sɐ*-*tɛ* 'Mother

- made Trashi drink the medicine.’
 causative verb, make; *ndzə* <’jug>,
 [PFV/IMP] *tʃə* <bcug>
 cave; *tʃa-χu* <brag.khung>
 ceiling; *du-si*
 charcoal; *si* <sol>
 change; *dʒə* <sgyur>
 charge; dash; *ntʃu*,²⁰ *ndzo ŋv-sv tsʰərə*
ntʃu-γɛ-tɛ ‘The dzo charged at me.’
 charmbbox; *ki* <ga’u>
 chase; *nde* <’ded>, [PFV] *te* <ded>
 cheat; *ngo ʋzu* <mgo.g.yog>²¹
 cheek; *ndʒv-ŋbv* <’gram.pa>; (cheek
 bones) *kʰv-ŋo nba-lu* <kha.ngo.?’>;²²
 (temple) *nv-du* <’.gdong>
 cheese; *tʃə-rv* <phyur.ba>
 cheese cake (a kind of sweets made from
 cheese); *thə* <thud>
 chest; *tʃə(-hkv)* <brang.?’>
 chew; *di* <ldad>
 chicken; *te-wu* <de.pho>; (rooster)
pho-tʃe <pho.byā>; (hen) *mo-tʃe*
 <mo.byā>; (chick) *tsə-rə* <byi’u.?’>
 (with suffix *-rə*)
 chickenpox; *tʃə-ndzə* <chu.’brum>
 chieftain, king; *dʒv-wu* <rgyal.po>
 child; *na-nu* <nyag.nyog>²³
 chimney; *tə-χu* <du.khung>; (smoke vent)
nə-χu <nang.khung>; (part of a stove)
*tsi-χu*²⁴ <’.khung>
 chin; *mv-ndzə* <ma.?’>
 China fir; *χtsa*
 China oak; *pe-fi* <be.shing>
 Chinese; *dzv(-ji)* <rgya.?’>
 Chinese prickly ash; *ʋze-mv* <g.yer.ma>
 chisel [V];²⁵ *χtsi*
 choma (wild sweet potato); *tʃə-wa* <gro>
 (with suffix *-wa*)
 choose, pick; *sə*
 chop off (branches); *ntʰə* <thel>,
 [PFV/IMP] *tə*
 chopper with curved blade; *ʃə-tə*²⁶
 chopsticks; *qʰa-je*
 chough (red-billed *Pyrrhocorax*
pyrrhocorax); *tʃu-ma*²⁷
 cicada; *si-si*
 cinders; *ntʰ-ndzə* <me.?’>
 claw; *bv-rv* <sbar.?’>
 clean; *χtsə ~ χtsə-wa* <gtsang> (with
 suffix *-wa*); *nde kvəzə te ɛ-χtsə-kə ~*
nde kvəzə te χtsəwa ɛ-rə ‘Is this bowl
 clean?’
 clear; *tə-mo* <dwangs.mo>; *tʃə təmo*
γɛ-sɛ-tʃə ‘The river has cleared.’
 clear; sunny; *thə* <thang>
 clever; *dʒe(-wu)* <sgrin.po>
 cliff; *tʃa-ngo* <brag.mgo>
 climb (trees); *ndzə* <’dzeg>
 cloak; (single-layered cotton cloak) *rə-la*
 <ras.lwa>; (two-layered cloak)
kʰe-itsə; (lambskin cloak) *tsʰv-rə*
 <tsha.ru>; (woolen cloak) *ntʃə*
 <phrug>
 clod of earth; *po-tʃə*²⁸
 clogged; *kʰv-tʃe* <kha.?’>; *tʃəχi-nə do-kə*
kʰv-tʃe-dɛ-nə ‘The sewer is clogged
 with rocks.’
 close; (door) *tsə* <byed>, [PFV/IMP] *tʃɛ*
 <byas>; *go phər (mə)tsə* ‘Close the
 door!’; (close eyes, mouth) *tsu*
 <btsums>; *kʰv tsú-di* ‘Shut up!’; (close
 umbrellas) *ntʃi*, [PFV] *phj* <phab>
 close (vs. far); *thə-ŋɛ* <thag.nye>
 cloth; *rɛ* <ras>
 clothes; *ki-χə* <gos.?’>
 cloud; *ʃə* <sprin>

- coal; *do-si* <rdo.sol>
 coarse; *htsə-mo* <rsub.mo>
 coarse yak-hair; *htsə-pv* <rtsid.pa>
 cobweb; *pv-dv*
 cockscomb; *vze*
 cold; *ntsʰa* <'khyag>; *ntsʰa-hpo*
 <'khyag.po>
 collapse; *vno*; (as of walls) *lu* <log>
 collar; *ku-ta* <gong.ʔ>
 collect, gather; *də* <sdud>²⁹
 collide; *du-re* <rdung-res>
 color; *ndu* <mdog>
 colostrum; buttermilk; first milk; *htsə*
 <spri>³⁰
 comb; [N] *χsə-wa*; ³¹ [V] *fe* <shad>
 come; *yu* <'ong>, [PFV] *ye*, [IMP] *xu*
 <shog>; *te* *ʃvə-no* *ye-sv-tsə* 'S/he has
 come from Lhasa.'
 come back; *və-tʃa* *yu* <'ong>; *tsʰo*
ŋv-tv *vətʃa xu* 'Come back to me!'
 come out (as of the sun); *ʃə*
 common cattle; *vɔ-ŋə* <glang.bu>;³²
 (cow) *pv-tsu* <ba.ʔ>
 common cold; *ntʃʰv-ŋbv* <cham.pa>
 companion; *rə-hpv* <rogs.pa>
 compensate; *ndʒi* <'jal>; *te-kə* *ŋv-jə*
htvni-tsə *ndʒi-sv-te* 'S/he gave me a
 horse in compensation.'
 complete, full; *tsʰɔ* <tshang>; *ntsʰɔ-mo*
 <tshang.mo>
 conch; *tu* <dung>
 cone; *du-ndzə* <sdong.'bru>
 connect; *ntʰə* <mthud>
 contract, draw in (legs); *hku* <skum>
 convex; *nbə-nbə* <'bur.'bur>
 cooked; *tsʰi* <tshos>
 cool; *sə-sə* <bsil.bsil>
 copper; *zɔ-mv* <zang.ma>
- coral; *ʃə-rə* <byi.ru; byu.ru>
 corner; *tʃə-ngo* <gru.'goʔ>; cf. (edge)
zə-ngo <zur.'goʔ>
 corpse; *ro* <ro>
 cotton cloth; *re* <ras>
 cough; *lə* <lu>
 count; *htsə* <rtsi>
 cover up; put (lid) on; *ngi* <'gebs>, [PFV/IMP] *ki* <bkab>; *tsʰo* *laχa-kə*
nətsə ma-ngi 'Don't cover up your
 eyes!'
 cover sth to keep it warm; *tʃʰo-ŋi* *ngi*
 <'gebs>
 cowhide; *kɔ* <ko.ba>
 cowhide string; *və-ta* <khal.thag>
 cowpen; *ra-vo* <ra.ba.skor>
 crack [V]; *ngv* <'gas>
 cramped, narrow; *pv-χə*
 crazy, mad; *so*; (mentally disturbed) *ŋo*
 <smyo>; (crazy person) *ŋo-ro*
 <smyo.ʔ>; *so-ro*
 crawl; climb; *ndzv* <'dzeg>; (on all fours)
bə-gə *tsə* <'byed>
 cream; *nkʰə-za* <'zhag>
 creek; stream; *tʃʰə-lu* <chu.ʔ>
 cricket; *tv-pə-tʃo*
 crisp; *tʃʰi-hto*
 crop; *lo-tu* <lo.tog>; *serv* *pí-ji* *lotu*
χtə-ja-tsə *jev* 'Hailstones fell and
 completely ruined the crop.'
 crossbow; *və-ʃi* <'ur.ʔ>
 crow (bird); *tsv-ru* <bya.rog>³³
 cuckoo; *kə-ku*
 curse, malediction; *mo-ze* *tsə*
 <dmod.'byed>, [PFV] *tse*
 cushion; *htə*
 cut, slice; thrust; *χtə* <gtub>
 cut in two; *tsʰi-qv* (*χtə-ji*) *vni* *tsə*

- <phyed.ka.gnyis.byed>
 cut open; $\chi\text{ʂa}$ <gshags>
 cut with scissors; shear, reap; tailor; $^n d\text{ʒa}$
 <'breg>, [PFV] $t\text{ʂa}$ <bregs>
 cut (firewood into smaller pieces); $f\text{i}$ $\chi\text{ʂe}$
 <shing.gse>
 cut off (a piece); χtfe <gcod>
 cymbol; $b\text{ə-tʃha}$ <sbug.chal>
 dance; $t\text{ʂó}$ $^n t\text{ʃhu}$ <bro.mchong>
 dandruff; $^n g\text{o-}^n b\text{ə}$ <mgo.'bu>
 dare; $^h p\text{u}$, $t\text{e}$ $^n j\text{ə}^n g\text{o}$ $^h t\text{ʂəy}\text{ə-t}\text{ʂə}$ $^n d\text{ʒo}$
 $^n j\text{ə-}^h p\text{u-k}\text{ə}$ 'S/he does not dare go
 without company.'
 dative suffix; $-t\text{ʂv}$ ~ $-s\text{v}$, $t\text{e}$ $t\text{ʂ}\text{ɔpu}$ $t\text{e}$ $^n j\text{v-t}\text{ʂv}$
 $t\text{su}$ 'Give that book to me!'
 daughter; $p\text{u}$ <bu.mo>
 daughter-in-law; $n\text{a}$ <mna'.ma>
 dawn [N]; $n\text{v-}\chi\text{v}$
 dawn [V]; $^n n\text{ɔ}$ $l\text{ɔ}$ <gnam.lang>
 day after tomorrow; $n\text{ɔ-}^n j\text{ə}$
 <gnangs.nyin>
 day before yesterday; $k^h\text{v-}^n j\text{ə}$ <kha.nyin>
 day; $^n j\text{ə-wa}$ <nyin> (with suffix $-wa$); $t\text{əri}$
 $^n j\text{əwa}$ $t\text{ʃha}$ $t\text{ʂə-r}\text{ə}$ 'What is the date
 today?'
 daytime (vs. night); $^n j\text{ə-}^n g\text{u}$
 <nyin.(d)gung>
 dead; $ʂ\text{ə-}\text{z}\text{ɔ}$ <shi.?'>
 deaf; $n\text{v-}\gamma\text{i}$ <rna.'on>; $t\text{e}$ $n\text{v}\gamma\text{i}$ $t^h\text{ɛ-sv-t}\text{ʂə}$
 'S/he has become deaf.'
 declivity; $^n t^h\text{ə}$ <thur>
 decrease; $q\text{o}$
 deep (water); $^n t^h\text{o-}^n b\text{o}$
 deep (as of pits); $d\text{i-na}$
 deer; $ʂ\text{a}$ <shwa.ba>; (deer-hunt) $ʂ\acute{a}-d\text{v}$
 <shwa.ba.bda>
 delicious; $z\text{ə-}^n b\text{o}$ <zhim.po>; $z\text{u}$
 <zhim.po>
- dense; χtfe
 dented; $q\text{o-tu}$
 demon; ghost; evil spirits; $^n d\text{ʒe}$ <'dre>;
 (female~) $^n d\text{ʒe-mo}$ <'dre.mo>; (devil)
 $^n d\text{ə}$ <bdud>; (demon that causes
 diseases) $^n d\text{ɛ}$ <gdon>
 dew; $z\text{ə-we}$ <zil.?'>; $p\text{v-tʃh}\text{ə}$ ³⁴
 dhole; red dog (*Cuon alpinus*); $^n p^h\text{v-rv}$
 <'phar.ba>
 dike; $t^h\text{ə-ra}$ <chu.rags>
 die; $ʂ\text{ə}$ <shi>
 dice; $ʂ\text{o}$ <sho>
 difficult, hard, tired; $^h k\text{v}$ <dka>
 dig; $^h k\text{o}$ <rko>, [PFV/IMP] $^h k\text{i}$ <rkos>;
 $^n p^h\text{ə}$, $t\text{əba}$ $t\text{ʂ}\text{vqu-t}\text{ʂə}$ $^n p^h\text{ə-}j\text{i}$ $r\text{o}$ $t\text{ʂ}\text{vqu-n}\text{ɔ}$
 $m\text{ə-t}\text{ʂo}$ 'They dug a pit and buried the
 dead body inside the pit.'
 digest; $z\text{ə}$ <zhu>
 dinner, supper; $g\text{u-t}\text{ʂi}$ <dgongs.?'>
 direct (visual) evidential suffix; $-t\text{ɛ}$
 <thal>; $t\text{ʂ}\text{vfi}$ $r\text{v}\text{k}\text{ə}$ $m\text{ə-}^n t^h\text{i-t}\text{ɛ}$ 'I saw
 that) Trashi did not drink liquor.'
 dirty; $^n j\text{ə-}\chi\text{t}\text{ʂ}\text{ɔ}$ <mi.gtsang>
 direction; $ʂ\text{u}$ <phyogs>
 discuss; $t\text{ʃi-t}\text{ʂə}$ <gros.byed>
 dish, curry; χpa <spags>³⁵
 dislike; $q^h\text{v-s}\text{ɛ}$ ³⁶
 dismount; $p\text{i}$ ³⁷
 disorderly; $v-q^h\text{v-pv-q}^h\text{v}$
 dispatch (people); $^n j\text{a}$ <mngag>
 ditch; $t^h\text{ə-}\chi\text{i}$ <chu.?'>
 distribute; divide; $g\text{i}$ <bgos>³⁸
 divine; $m\text{o}$ $^n d\text{i}$ <mo.'deb> [PFV/IMP] $t\text{i}$
 <btab>
 do (labor); $l\text{i}$ <las>
 do, make; $l\text{i}$ <las>; $t\text{ʂə}$ <byed>;
 [PFV/IMP] $t\text{ʂ}\text{ɛ}$ <byas>; $t\text{ʂ}^h\text{o}$ $k\text{o}^h\text{t}\text{ʂe}$
 $v-t\text{ʂ}\text{ɛ}$ $r\text{ə}$ 'Have you made bread?'

- do business; *kʰé-tə* <khe.byed>
 doctor; *mɛ-ⁿbv* <sman.pa>
 dog; *tshə-jɛ* <khyi> (with suffix *-jɛ*);
 (hunting dog) *lv-tshə* <la?.khyi>;
 (puppy) *tshə-γə* <khyi.gu>; (mastiff)
ⁿdzɹu-tə <'brog.khyi>
 donkey; *pu-tse* <bong.?'>
 door; *go* <sgo>; (door drape) *go-ju*
 <sgo.jol>; (door frame) *go-lv* <sgo.?'>;
 (door sill) *go-dɛ* <sgo.?'>; (yard)
go-htsv <sgo.rtsa>; (door bolt) *zɹa-ʂə*
 dove; *ⁿphə-ru* <phug.ron>
 down; downwards; *thə-rə* <thur.rol>
 doze; *tʃu-zə tə* <cog.?.byed>
 dragon; *ⁿdzə* <'brug>
 dragonfly; *kə-ku-htv-ni* <?.rta> (with
 suffix *-ni*)³⁹
 dragon deity in lakes; *Naga*; *vlə ~ lə*
 <klu>
 drape; *go-ju* <sgo.jol.ba>
 draw (swords); *ⁿphə* <'phud>, [PFV/IMP]
phə <phud>
 dream; *ɲə-lɔ* <rmi.lam>; [V] *ɲə-lɔ ɲi*
 <rmi.lam.rmis>
 dredge; *sə-sə*
 drink; *ⁿthɹ* <'thung>, [PFV/IMP] *ⁿthj*;
tʂɛʃi mɛ ⁿthi-sv-tɛ 'Trashī drank the
 medicine.'
 drinking straw; *qʰa-bə*
 drive; *ⁿdɛ* <'ded>, [PFV/IMP] *tɛ* <ded>
 drop [N]; *ⁿthə-pv* <thigs.pa>
 drum; *ɲv* <rnga>
 drumstick; *ɲv-də* <rnga.rdeg>
 drunk; *zə* <bzi>
 dry; *hkv-ⁿbo* <skam.po>; *hkw* <skam>;
 [CAUS] *hkw* <skam>; *kixɔ hkw-ke* 'Dry
 up the clothes!'
 dry sth by fire; *ɲé-ʋdʒə* <me.?'>
- durative aspectual verb; *kɛ*; *ⁿdə* <'dug>;
 [PFV] *dɛ* <bsdad>, [IMP] *di* <sdod>;
di-kɛ 'Remain seated!'
 dusk; *gu-hkv* <dgongs.kha>
 dust; *thi-qa* <thal.?'>;⁴⁰ (in the air) *də*
 <rdul>
 dye; *htsə* <rtsi>
 dzo; *ⁿdzo* <mdzo>; (female) *htə-mo*
 <?.mo>
 eagle; *vlə* <glag>
 ear (of a plant); *sə-lə*
 ear; *nv-qɛ* <rna.?'>
 early; *ɲv* <snga>
 earring; *nv-lu* <rna.long>
 earth; *sv* <sa>; (ground) *sv-htsv* <sa.rtsa>;
 (soil) *thi-qa* <thal.?'>; *tɛ tsetso tɛ*
thiqa-kə kɹi-ɹu 'Cover that object with
 earth!'
 earthenware, pot; *dzv-tə* <rdza.?'>
 earthquake; *sv-ⁿdʒə ɣu* <sa.?.'ongs>
 earthworm; *tu-nə*
 earwax; *nv-htsa* <rna.rkyag>
 east; *ʂv* <shar>
 easy; *htsv-wu* <sla.bo>
 eat; *ⁿtʃv* <'cha>, [PFV] *ⁿtʃhi* <'chas>;
 [IMP] *ⁿtʃhɔ* <'chos>;⁴¹ *mə-ⁿtʃhɔ* 'Eat
 it!'; *ɲv kohtse ⁿtʃhv-do* 'I am eating
 bread.'
 edge; *ɲɛ-kv* <sne.kha>
 egg; *go-ɲv* <sgo.nga>
 eight; *dze* <brgyad>
 eighteen; *tʃɔ-dze* <bco.brgyad>
 eighty; *dze-tʃə* <brgyad.cu>
 elapse, pass; *thɛ* <thal>; *rv^hpu ɣsu*
thɛ-sv-kv tɛ tu ma-γɛ-tɛ 'Three days
 are gone, and s/he still hasn't arrived.'
 elbow; *tʃə-tə* <gru.tshig>
 elephant; *vlɔ-wu-ntʃhi* <glang.po.che>

- eleven; *tʃə-χtsə* <bcu.gcig>
 embrace; *pɔ* <pang>; *v-pɔ tsə*
 <a.pang.byed>
 empty; *htə-wv* <stong.pa>
 empty out; *sɛ-sə*
 enclosure; *ra* <ra.ba>
 end, finish; *tsʰv* <tshar>
 endure; *htɛ* <bsran>
 enemy; *dʒv-zv* <dgra.ya>
 enough; *ndɔ* <'dang>
 entire; *tsʰɔ-mo* <tshang> (with suffix
 -*mo*)
 envy; *ʃi-lɔ* <snying.lang>
 epilepsy; *thi n pʰv*
 esophagus; *pə-pv* <mid.pa>
 estimate; *χa-se htv* <?.lta>; *ŋv χase htɛ nv*
thorɛ pəⁿgo ŋɛtʃə htsetʃʰv-tsə yu-dzər
 'I estimate that about fifty people will
 come tomorrow.'
 evening; *gu-hkʷ* <dgongs.kha>
 exchange, barter; *dʒɛ* <rje>
 excrement; *htsv-χa* <rkyag.pa>
 exhale; *bə n pʰɛ* <dbugs.phud>, [IMP]
n pʰu
 exhortative suffix; -*ʃɛ*
 exist; *ndə* <'dug>; [MIR] *nɔ* <snang>;
 (as of plants and other stationary
 growing objects) *nba*; *ŋv-sv pəpə v pə*
ndə rə 'I have two children.' *te-sv*
pəpə v pə nɔ-kə 'So s/he has two
 children.' *tsɔⁿgo χvŋə-tsə nba-kə*
 'There is a hole on the wall.'; *nde ləwv*
te hpɔ tʃhile nba-kə 'There is much
 grassland inside this valley.'
 exist at a location, be present; *ndə*
 <'dug>; [MIR] *nɔ* <snang>, [PFV] *dɛ*
 <bsdad>; *ndzo pʰajətɔ dɛ-nɔ* 'There is
 a dzo over there.'
 experiential aspect; *ŋu* <myong>
 extinguish fire; *ne χse* <me.gsod>; be
 extinguished [VI]; *ʃə* <shi>
 eye; *v pə-tsə* <dmyig.ʔ>
 eyeball; *v pə-do* <dmyig.rdo>
 eyelash; eyebrow; *v pə-hpa*
 <dmyig.lpags.ʔ>
 eyelid; *v pə-gɔ* <dmyig.ʔ>
 eyeglasses; *ʃe-mə* <shel.mig>
 face; *ŋo* <ngo>; *kʰv-ŋo* <kha.ngo>
 fang, tusk; *n tʃhi* <mche.ba>
 fall asleep; *v pə-tʃo* <gnyid.bro>; *ŋv taji*
v pə-tʃo-já-tsə 'I fell asleep a while
 ago.'
 fall; (collapse) *lu* <log>; (fall from height)
lu <lhung>; (cause to fall (as of fruits)
ʃə; (trip and fall) *kv-lv ndʒo* <?.gro>
 fall off; come off; *n pʰə*,⁴² [PFV] *pʰə*
 falling rock; *do-le* <rdo.ʔ>
 family; *tʃʰəⁿ dzɔ* <khyim.tshang>
 far; *tha-rɛ* <thag.ring>
 fart; *htsa-tʃə* <skyag.dri>; [V] + *χtu*
 <gtong>
 fast; *ndzu(-hpo)* <mgyogs.po>
 fat [V]; *tsʰo(-ⁿbo)* <tsho> (with suffix
 -*nbo*); (as of livestock) *ʃi* <shed>
 fat, grease; *tsʰə* <tshil>
 fat meat; *zv*
 father; *v-pv* <a.pa>
 fathom; *ndɔ* <'doms>
 fear, be afraid; *htʃa* <skrag>
 feather; *tʃv-dʒu* <bya.sgro>
 feel dizzy; *ngə-zə nkʰo* <mgo.ju.'khor>;
 (illness characterized by dizziness)
ngó-zə nv-dzə <mgo.ju.na.ʔ> *tsʰo*
ngó-zə nvdzə é-nɔ 'Are you suffering
 from vertigo?'
 fence, twig fence; *sa-də*

- ferment; *sə* <skyr?>; *vqv sə-kə kɔ* ‘The dough has become fermented!’
- fertilizer; manure; *lə* <lud>
- fiddlehead fern; *mə-bə*
- field; (*sv*)-*ʒi* <sa.zhing>
- fifteen; *tʃə-ŋv* <bco.lnga>
- fifty; *ŋv-tʃə* <lnga.bcu>
- fight battles; *ⁿdze-rɛ tsə* <?.res.byed>
- fight for sth; *ⁿtʃʰu-rɛ* <‘phrog.res>
- file (tool); *sv-dv* <gseg.bdar>
- fill up (a hole); *kʰv-sə*
- film of oil; (*kʰə*)-*ʒa* <zhag>
- filter; *tsa* <btsag>
- find; *ʃi* <rnyed>
- fine, well; *de(-mo)* <bde.mo>
- finger; *ⁿdzə-ɣə* <mdzug.gu>
- fingerprint; *ⁿdzə-tʰə* <mdzug.thel>
- fire; *ne* <me>
- fire (disaster); *ne-ⁿgu* <me.ʔ>
- firefly; *ⁿbə-rə-kv-rɛ* <‘bu.ʔ>
- fire-poker; *ʰkɔ-zu* <skam.ʔ>
- fireplace; *kɔ-rv*
- firewood; *ʃi* <shing>; (firewood stack)
ʃi-ⁿkʰv <shing.ʔ>
- first; *tɔ-wu* <dang.po>; *zv-ⁿgo* <?.mgo>
- fish; *ŋv* <nya>
- fist; *ⁿbə-dzu* <?.mdzog?>
- five; *ŋv* <lnga>
- flag, banner; *tv* <dar>
- flail; *ⁿkʰo-mv* <‘khor.ma>
- flame; *ne-fe* <me.lce>
- flash (as of lightning); *tʃʰə-lɔ ⁿbv*
<?.glog.‘bar>
- flat; *le-pe*; *vze-ɣtʃa le*⁴³
- flea; *ʒu* <|ji.ba>
- flee; escape; *ⁿdzɔi* <‘bros>, [PFV/IMP]
tʃi <bros>; *tʃʰə tʃʰəra ⁿgoti pə-sv-tɛ*
vba tsuʰtsə kv ⁿdzɔi-fɛ ‘The river has
overflow the top of the dike, let’s
quickly run away!’
- flesh; *ʃv* <sha>
- flint; *do-bv* <rdo.dkar>
- float; *kʰə* <khur>;⁴⁴ *tʃvɛvɛlo tʃv-nɔ*
kʰə-dɛ-nɔ ‘(I see that) Tea leaves are
floating in the tea.’
- floe, floating ice; *tv* <dar>
- floor; *kɔ-li*⁴⁵
- flour; *tsʰe* <phye>; (wheat flour) *tʃo-tsʰe*
<gro.phye>
- flower; *me-tu* <me.thog>
- flute; *pi-ba*
- fly (insect); *ʒɔ-ŋə* <sbrang.bu>
- fly [V]; *ⁿpʰə* <‘phur>, [PFV/IMP] *pʰə*⁴⁶
- foal; *ʰtə-ɣə*⁴⁷
- fog; *me*⁴⁸
- fold [V]; *tʃə* <sgril>
- food; *zv-ⁿtʰu* <za.‘thung>
- foodstuff; grain; *lo-tu* <lo.thog>
- foot; *ʰkɔ* <rkang>
- foot of mountain; *rə-ʰtsv* <ri.rtsa>
- forehead; *ⁿtʰə-wɛ* <thod.pa>
- forest; *na(-ʰtʃe)* <nags(.chen)>
- forget; *ʒe* <rjed>
- fortune, fate; *ʃə-ɣə*
- forty; *ʒə-tʃə* <bzhi.bcu>
- foundation of house; *ⁿkʰɔ-sv* <khang.sa>
- four; *ʒə* <bzhi>
- fourteen; *tʃi-ʒə* <bcu.bzhi>
- fox; *ɣv* <wa>
- foxskin; *ɣv-ʃi* <wa.shun>
- free, liberated; *tʰv* <thar>
- freeze; *ⁿkʰə* <‘khang>;⁴⁹ *gu*
- friend; (intimate friends; frinds of
opposite sex) *zv-sv* <bzang.sa>; (of
same sex) *pə-ru* <bu?.rog>
- frighten; *ʰtʃʰə-ʰtsu* <skrag.slong>

- frivolous; unruly; *n*go-dzi <mgo.?'>
 frog; *bə-we* <sbal.ba>
 front; *ʃi-n*dzi <sngun.?'>
 frost; *pi* <bad>
 frost-bitten; *ʃə*,⁵⁰ *ŋv laχa ʃə-ja-tə* 'My hands are frostbitten.'
 fruit; *htə-tu* <?.thog>
 full; *kɔ* <gang>
 full from eating; *n*dʒɔ <'grang>
 gadfly; *dʒɔ, bɔ-gi* <sbrang.rgod>
 gale; *ʋlu-gi* <rlung.rgod>
 game, playing; *htse-mo* <rtse.mo>
 gall; *n*tʃhə-pv <mkhris.pa>
 gap; crevice; *pv-hki* <bar.skabs?>
 garbage; *hkɔ-htsa* <?.rkyag>
 garlic; *gɔ-χa* <sgog.pa>
 gather; *dá-tə*
 generous; *khú-zɔ* <khog.yang>
 genitive suffix; *-kə, ŋv-kə vpv* 'my father'
 get; *thi* <thob>; *la-nɔ ʏɛ* <lag.nang.?'ong>
 get up; *lɔ* <lang>
 gift; *htʃi*
 ginger; *tʃv-gv* <skya.sga>
 girl; *pu* <bu.mo>
 girdle; (made of cloth) *hke-ra* <ske.rags>; (silver belt) *n*tʃhi-mv
 give; *zə* <sbyin>, [PFV] *tsi*, [IMP] *tsu, te htvpni te ŋv-ʃə tsu* 'Give his horse to me!'
 give birth; *χso* <gso>;⁵¹ (as of animals) *ʃa ~ ʋla*
 glass; *ʃe-go* <shel.sgo>
 glue; *pə-n*dʒə
 gnaw; *ʋɛ*
 go; *n*dʒɔ <'gro>, [PFV] *thɛ* <thal>, [IMP] *su* <song>; *ŋv ʃvsv n*dʒɔ *go-kə* 'I want to go to Lhasa.'
 go back, retreat; *tsə-htə tə* <phyir.?.byed>
 go first; *ŋv-ʃə n*dʒɔ <snga.?.?'gro>
 goat; *rə-ni* <ra> (with suffix *-ni*); (kid) *rə-tʃu* <ra.phrug>
 god; *ʃv* <lha>
 goiter; *ba* <lba.ba>
 gold; *χse-na* <gser.nag>
 gong; *qʰe-ŋv*⁵²
 good; *zɔ* <bzang> ~ *zv-ŋv* <bzang.ba>; *de* <bde>; *v-li*
 good at; *n*khɛ <mkhas>
 goods; *tʃv-ʋv* <ca.?'>
 goral; *khv-dzv*
 gore; *du* <rdung>
 gouge out; *n*dʒə <'dru>, [PFV/IMP] *tʃə* <drus>
 grain for popping; *zi* <yos>; popped grain *ze-htʃu zi* <yos.?'>
 grandfather; *v-ni* <a.mes>
 grandmother; *v-ji* <a.yis>
 grape; *gə-n*dʒu <rgun.?'brum>; (wild grape) *rə-htse*
 grass; *htsv* <rtswa>
 grasshopper; *sə-sə-pə*
 grave; *tʃv-qu*
 gravy; *khv* <khu.ba>
 green; *dʒɔ-n*gə <ljang.khu>
 greens; curry; *χpa* <spags>
 greet; welcome; *sə* <bsu>
 grey; *sv-pʰa*
 grind (flour); *n*tha <'thag>, [PFV/IMP] *ta*
 ground beetle; *kɔ-n*bə <?.?'bu>
 grouse (?); *zo-rv*
 grow [VI]; *se* <skye>
 gruel; *me-la*
 guard; *htsu* <srung>
 guest; *n*dʒi-nbo <mgron.po>

- guide [V]; *tʰə* <khrid>
gums; *so-pə* <so.rnyil>
gun; *pu* <bo'u>
gunpowder; *pu-mε* <bo'u.sman>
gutter; *tʰə-χi* <chu.ʔ>
hail; *se-ra* <ser.ba>
hair; *hpə* <spu>
hair of head; *htfə-hpə* <skra.spu>
half; *tʰi-qa* <phyed.ka>
hammer, sledge-hammer; *thu* <tho.ba>
hand, arm; *la-χa* <lag.pa>
handful; *pə-rə* <spa.ra>
handspan; *ᵐtho* <mtho>
handle; *zu-zə* <yu> (RDPL form)
hang (hang sth dangling); *ɛnə*, (hang sth against a flat surface) *htsɔ* <dpyang>; *thɔhkə tsɔ-ᵐgo htsɔ-ru* 'Hang the tangka on the wall!'; *htsɔ-já-nɔ* 'It is hanging (already).'
happy; *htfə(-po)* <skyid.po>; (glad) *gə* <dga'>
hard (not soft); *htsə(-ᵐde)* <sra> (with suffix *ᵐde*)
hat; *zə-qo* <zhwa> (with suffix *-qo*)
hatch; *ᵐgə, tsəɾə ᵐgə-sə-tsə* 'The chicks have hatched.'
have a temperature; have a fever; *tsʰə tʃi* <tsha.ʔ>
have diarrhea; *pʰú-fe* <pho.ba.bshal>
have to, must; want to; *go* <dgos>
have sex; *tsə* <byed>, *ɛjɔ*, [RECP] *ɛjɔ-rɛ* <?.res>
he/she; *te* <de>
head; *ᵐgo-tʃə* <mgo.ʔ>
headwaters; *tʰə-ᵐgo* <chu.mgo>
heal; *tʃa* <drag>
heap [N]; *pʰo-tso*, [V] *pʰo-tso mə-tsə* <?.byed>
- hear; *tsʰo* <tshor>; (hear and understand) *χé-ko* <go>
heart; *se* <sems>; (abstract sense) *tʃe-ᵐbə*
hearth; *tʰi-ku* <thab.go.ra>
heavy; *dʒə-mo* <ljid.mo>
heel; *tsʰə-htɛ* <phyi.rting>
hell; *ɛjə-ᵐkʰɔ* <dmyal.khang>
help; *rə-hpə-tsə* <rogs.pa.byed>; *te-jə* *rəhpə tsə* 'Help him/her!'
hemp; *so-ta* <so.ʔ>⁵³
herd; *zu ᵐtsʰo* <zog.'tsho>, [PFV] *ᵐtsʰi* <'tshos>; (go herding cattle) *zu ᵐdʒo* <zog.'gro>
herder; *zu* <rdzi.bo>
here; *ᵐdʒ*⁵⁴
hero; *hpə-wu* <dpa.bo>
hiccup; *ga-hpə tsə* <sgag.ʔ.byed>
hide (oneself); *zə* <gzha>; *zə-di* 'Hide yourself!'
hide (objects, secrets); *bə* <sbəd>
high; *ᵐtho(-ᵐbo)* <mtho> (with suffix *ᵐbo*)
hilt, knife-handle; *tʃa-pa*
hip, hip bone; *ʃə-ᵐgo* <dpyi.mgo>
hire; *ŋa*
hit (target); *dzi* <rgyab>; *tʃontʃon* *lu-pə-tʰɛ səʰtsə dzi-tɛ* 'The cup fell and hit the ground.'
hit; *χtə*
hither; *tsʰə-rə* <tshu.rol>
hoe; *ka* <gag>; (pickaxe) *ka-tʃu* <gag.ʔ>
hoist, lift; *nɔ-tsu*
hole; *χə-ŋə*, (concave; dent) *qo-tu* <?.dong>⁵⁵
hold (contain); *ʃu* <shong>
hold in the arms, embrace; *pɔ* <pang>
home; inside of the house; *tsʰə-nɔ* <khyim.nang>

- homesick; *tsʰə-nɔ tʂɛ* <khyim.nang.dran>
honey; *bɔ-htsə* <sbrang.rtsi>
hoof; *ɲə-ke* <rmig.ʔ>
hook [N]; *qe-ŋə*
hoop; *lɐ-kə*
horizontal; *thi-kɐ-kɐ*
horse; *ʰtɐ-ɲi* <rta> (with suffix *-ɲi*)
horse-dung; *ʰtɐ-lə* <rta.lud>
horse feed; *pe-ɲə*
hot; *tsʰɐ-ɲde* <tsha> (with suffix *-ɲde*);
(as of weather) *tʂo-ɲbo* <dron.po>; *təri*
tɐ tʂo-kə ‘It’s too hot today.’
hot pepper; *la-tʂə*⁵⁶
house; *ɲkʰə-wɐ*, *ɲkʰɔ* <khang(.pa)>
how; *tʂʰá-tsə-jə* <?.cig.ʔ>; *ɲde pu te ŋɐ*
tʂʰátsəjə ʂəɐ́-tsə go ɲə-fi-kə ‘I don’t
know how to use this gun.’
how many, how much; *tʂʰá-tsə* <?.cig>;
tsʰo(-sɐ) gomo tʂʰatsə ɲdɔ-rə ‘How
much money do you have?’
hunchback; *ɲɐ-gə* <?.sgur>
hundred; *dzɐ* <brgya>
hundred thousand; *ɲbu-hte* <’bum.ʔ>
hungry; *pʰu ʰtu* <pho.ba.ltog>
hunt; *rə-da dɛ-ɲdʒo* <ri.dwags.bda’.gro>
hurry; *tʂə lɔ* <brel.lang>
hurt, be painful; *ɲɐ* <na>; *ŋɐ ɲgotʂə*
ɲɐ-kə ‘I have a headache.’
husband; *ɲə* <mi> (= ‘person’); *zɐ-ri*
<ya.rabs> (= ‘male adult’); *dɐ-ɲpo*
<bdag.po>
hybrid bovine; *ʰtə-lə* <rtul.lu>
I; *ŋɐ* <nga>
ice; *tʂʰɔ-ru*,⁵⁷ *tʂɔŋtʂɔŋ-nɔ tʂʰə tʂʰoru*
gu-sɐ-tsə ‘The water in the cup has
turned into ice.’
ill; *ɲɐ* <na>
illness; *ɲɐ-tsɐ* <na.tsha>; (specific kind
ɲɐ-dzə <na.ʔ> *ɲɐtsɐ ma-ɲi-kɛ* ‘Don’t
get ill!’; *te ɲɐdzə kʰəkʰɐ-tsə ɲi-tsə* ‘He
came down with an unusual disease.’
in a moment; right away; *ʰtsu-tsə-kɐ*
in the way; *ga* <bgegs>
in that way; *tɐ-tse* <de.ʔ>
in this way; *ɲdɛ-tse* <’di.ʔ>
incantation; *ŋa* <sngags>
incense; *ɲpi* <spos>
incubate, sit on eggs; *ru* <rum>;
motʂe-kə goŋɐ ru-de-nɔ ‘The hen has
been sitting on eggs.’
indirect evidential suffix; *-tsə* <zig>;
tʂɐʂi rɛkə mə-ɲthi-tsə ‘(I know
indirectly that) Trashi did not drink
liquor.’
industrious; diligent; *ko-tʂe*
infect; *ɲgo* <’go>; *te-kə ɲtʂʰɐ ɲbɐ ɲɐ-jə*
ɲgɔ-ja-tɛ ‘he infected me with
common cold.’
inhale; *bə ɲdzɛ* <dbugs.ʔ>; [PFV/IMP]
tʂɛ
insect, bug; *ɲbə* <’bu>
insert; poke into; *ɲze* <gzer>; (insert sth
into container) *dzə* <’dzud>
inside; *ɲɔ* <nang>
interest; *ɲpʰə* <’phel>
interstice, gap; *pɐ-ɲɐ* <bar.ʔ>; (space
between two objects) *pɐ-ɲki*
<bar.skabs>
intestines; *dzə-wa* <rgyu> (with suffix
-wa); (large intestines) *dzə-wa bɔ-ɲbo*
<rgyu.sbom.bo>; (small intestines)
dzə-wa tʂʰɐ-ɲə <rgyu.phra> (with
suffix *-ɲə*)
iron; *ʂa-ro* <lcags.ʔ>
itch; *zɐ* <za>; *ʂə-ɲpʰe*
ivory; *pɐ-so* <ba.so>

- jar, big water container; *tʃʰə-zɔ*
<chu.zangs>
jaw; *mɐ-ⁿtʃʰə* <ma.mchu?>
Jew's harp; *χtʃɐ*, (play on Jew's harp)
χtʃɐ χtʃə
joint; *tʃʰə* <tshigs>
jump; *ⁿtʃʰu* <mchong>
juniper; *ʃə-pɐ* <shug.pa>
key; *de-ⁿi* <lde.mig>
kick; *hʰkɔ-to χtə* <rkang.to.??>; (as of a
horse) *ⁿtʃʰa-kə dza* <'phra.rgyag>;⁵⁸
[PFV/IMP] *ⁿtʃʰa dzi* <'phra.brgyab>;
<'phra.rgyob>
kidney; *ⁿtʃʰi-lə* <mkhal.??>⁵⁹
kill; *χse* <gsod>, [PFV/IMP] *se* <bsad;
sod>; *tʃi tʃɐʃə-kə se-sɐ-tsə* 'The brown
bear, Trashi killed it.'
kite; *tʃʰɐ* <khra>
kiss; *htʃi*
knead; *zə* <rdzi>.
knee; *po-mo* <pus.mo>
kneecap; *po-mo ηv-du*
<pus.mo.ngar.gdong>
kneel; *po-ⁿdə tsə* <pus.?.byed>; *poⁿdə*
tsə ma-ⁿdə 'Don't keep kneeling!';
poⁿdə tʰər mə-tsə 'Kneel down!'
knife; *lo-tʃə* <glo.gri>; (long sword)
hʰtsɐ-χto
knock; *χtə*
knot; *ⁿdə-pɐ* <mdud.pa>
know; *ʃi* <shes>; (be familiar with)
tʃʰɐ-zi <cha.yod>; (be acquainted with,
recognize) *ηo-ʃi* <ngo.shes>
know how; *ʃi* <shes>
ladder; (log-ladder) *hʰkɛ-ⁿkʰa* <skas.??>;
(made of planks) *dzɐ-hʰkɛ* <rgya.skas>
ladle [N]; *tʰo-ⁿbə* <thom.bu>; (big ladle)
lə-tʰɔ <?.thom>
ladle [V]; *tʃə* <bcu>
lake; *ⁿtʃʰo* <mtsho>
lama; *lɐ-mɐ* <bla.ma>
lame person; *zɛ-wu* <zha.bo>
lamb; *lə-γə* <lug.gu>
landslide; *tʃʰə-rɐ* <chu.??>
language; *hʰki* <skad>
lap; *po-nɔ* <pang.nang>; (lap part of
cloak) *po-ⁿtʃʰə* <pang.??>
larder; *tʃʰɔ*
lasso; *ʃə-so*
last night; *ⁿdɔ-ⁿtʃʰɛ-nɔ*
<'di.ru.mtshan.nam>
last year; *nɐ-ⁿə* <na.ning>; *ηv-lo*
<snga.lo>
late; *ⁿtʃʰə* <'phyi>
later; in a while; *na-ⁿdə-ⁿə, tə-kɐ-ⁿdə-ⁿə*
laugh; *gi ~ ge* <dgod>
lay (bricks); *ɐlɐ ~ lɐ*, [PFV/IMP] *ɐlɛ*
lay (eggs); *la*
lay (carpets); *ⁿdɛ* <'ding> [PFV/IMP] *tɛ*
<bting>
lead along; *tʃʰə* <khrid>; (lead the way)
lɔ-tʃʰə <lam.khrid>
leaf; *nɐ-lo* <?.lo>; (leaves with branches)
ⁿbə-lo <?.lo>; *tsɐtɛ γɛ-sɐ-kɐ nɐlo-ⁿgo*
pɐtʃʰə po-ja-tɛ 'Sunlight came out, and
the dew on the leaves disappeared.'
leak; *lɛ, tɛ zoηv tɛ lə-kə* 'This pot is
leaking.'
lean on sth., recline supported by one
elbow; *hʰkɛ* <khen>
learn; *ʃɔ*⁶⁰
leave sth behind; *lə* <lus>
leave unused or unconsumed, remain; *ɐla*
<lhag>; (remainder, leftover) *ɐla-mɐ*
<lhag.ma>
left-hand; *zo-tʃə* <g.yon.??>

- leg; *hkə-wv* ~ *hkɔ-wv* <rkang.ba>
 leisure; have free time; *kʰɔ* <khom>
 leopard; *ʋzə* <gzig>
 leprosy; leper; *ⁿdze-wu* <mdze.bo>
 letter, writing; *zə-ye* <yi.ge>
 level; *de* <bde>
 lick; *da* <ldag>
 lid; *kʰv-le* <kha.leb>⁶¹
 lie (posture); (lie face down) *sv-ⁿtʰə-tse*
ni <sa.?.nyal>; (lie face up)
tʰə-dze-qe-tse ni <?.nyal>
 lie (say falsehood); *dzi-ⁿdzu* <rdzun.?)>
 life; *su* <srog>; (life-span) *tʰe* <tshe>
 lift; raise; *ⁿdzu* <'gyog>, [PFV] *tʰa*
 <bkyags>, [IMP] *tsu* <khyogs>
 light [N]; (sunlight) *tʰv-te*; (ray of light)
ⁿtsi-ⁿdv, (lamp) *tə-ⁿdʒa*
 light (vs. heavy); *zɔ-mo* <yangs.mo>
 light, kindle; *je-dʒa*,⁶² *je-χsə* <me.?)>
 lightning; *ʋlu* <glog> ~ *kv* <dkar.?)>
 like, love; *gv* <dga'>; *ⁿv tʰo-sv/ji gv-kə*
 'I like you.'; *ⁿv kʰəkʰv ⁿdzosv ⁿtʰv*
gv-rə 'I love to eat beef (of dzo) very
 much.'
 lion; *se-ⁿge* <sen.ge>
 lip; *ⁿtʰə* <mchu>; (upper lip) *zv-ⁿtʰə*
 <ya.mchu>; (lower lip) *mv-ⁿtʰə*
 <ma.mchu>
 liquor; (fermented beer) *tʰɔ* <chang>;
 (distilled) *rə-kə* <rag.?)>; *pi-rə*
 <bod.rag>
 listen; *ná-ⁿe* <rna.nyan>
 little, few; *ⁿə-ⁿu* <nyung.nyung>; *ⁿtsa*
 live; dwell; *za* <zhag>⁶³
 live, alive; *χsi-ⁿbo* <gson.po>
 live charcoal; *ⁿe-ⁿdzu* <me.?)>
 livestock; *ⁿtʰv-zu* <rta.zog>
 liver; *tʰə-ⁿbv* <mchin.pa>
- living room; *kɔ-kv*
 load [N]; *ʋe* <khal>;⁶⁴ (leather-string for
 binding loads) *ʋe-ta* <khal.thag>
 load [VT]; *ⁿdʒə*, [PFV/IMP] *tʰə*
 locative suffix; *-no*; *ⁿv ʋesv-no ʋe-ⁿə*
tʰəntu ⁿdʒo-go 'I came from Lhasa
 and will go to Chengdu.'
 lock [V]; *ʋze*; [N] *ʋze-tʰv* <?.cha>
 loft; attic; *ⁿkʰɔ-ⁿti* <khang.steng>
 log; *ʋdə-wa* <gdung.ba.?)>; (small ones
 used as firewood) *du-lə* <sdong.li.?)>
 long; *rɛ(-wu)* <ring.po>
 look; *ⁿtʰv* <lta>, [PFV] *ⁿtʰv* <ltas>, [IMP]
ⁿti <ltos>
 loom; *tʰə-ⁿtʰa* <thags.'thag>
 loose; *ʋe* <lhod>; *ʋv-ʋv*
 lose (not win); *ma-le* <ma.lon.?)>
 lose (cannot find); *ⁿbo* <'bor>, [PFV] *po*
 <bor>; *ⁿv gomo po-ⁿv-tʰə* 'I've lost the
 money.'
 loud; *ⁿki ⁿtʰa* <skad.?)>;⁶⁵ *ki ⁿtʰo-ⁿbo*
 <skad.mthon.po>
 louse; *fə* <shig>
 low; *ʋmv(-mv)* <dma'> (with suffix *-mv*)
 lower (head); *gə-gə* <sgur.sgur>
 lukewarm; *tʰo-ⁿbo-tʰo-ʋlu*
 <dron.po.dro.?)>
 lunatic; *so-ro*
 lunch; *tʰo-tʰi* <dro.?)>
 lungs; *ʋlu* <glo.ba>; *ʋlo-pe* <glo.?)>
 maggot; *ʋv-ⁿbə* <sha.'bu>; (similar sp.)
ⁿbə-na <'bu.nag>
 magpie; *kv-ⁿkv*⁶⁶
 maize; *ji-mɛ*⁶⁷
 make (food); *li* <las>
 make tea; *tʰv-bɔ* <ja.sbang>
 make way; *lɔ-ⁿtsə* <lam.?)>
 man (male person); *zv-ri* <ya.rabs>

- mane; *tʃo-zə*
 manger; *hʈv-ŋkʰv* <rtə.ʔ>⁶⁸
 manure; *lə* <lud>
 mare; *go-mv* <rgod.ma>
 mark; *hta* <rtag>
 market; *ŋtsʰu-rv* <tshong.ra>
 marmot; *tsʰu* <phyi.ba>
 marrow; *hʰkɔ* <rkang>
 marry (a wife); *pá lɛ* <bag.len>
 marten; *tsi-ŋgo-da*
 mask; *ba-ŋgo* <'bag.mgo>
 master, host; *ʒe-da* <sbyin?.bdag>
 mat (bamboo); *tʃv-sə*
 matter, affair; *to-ŋda* <ton.dag>; *te-kə*
ŋv-jə to-ŋda-tsə dzɛ-tɛ 'S/he told me a
 thing.'
 may, be allowed; *tʃʰv ~ tʃʰu* <chog>
 meadow; *hpɔ* <spang>
 meal; *zv-ŋtʰu* <za.'thung>
 measles; *sə* <sib>
 measure; *tsʰe* <tshad>
 measure (grain with container); *dzʉ*
 meat; *ʂv* <sha>; (spareribs) *ʂə-ku*
 <sha.ʔ>; (dried, salted meat) *la-zo*⁶⁹
 medicine; *mɛ* <sman>
 meet; *ŋtsʰe* <'phrad>, [PFV] *tsʰe*
 <phrad>
 melt; *zə* <zhu>; [VT] *zə-kɛ* <zhu.ʔ>
 merchant; *kʰe-wv* <khe.pa>
 method, solution; *lo* <blo>
 middle; *zə-htsə* <?.dkyil>
 midnight; *ŋtsʰɛ-htsə* <mtshan.dkyil>;
ŋtsʰɛ-gj <mtshan.ʔ>
 milk [VT]; *zə* <bzho>, [PFV/IMP] *zɪ*
 <bzhos>
 milk; *wa* <'o.ma>; (mother's milk) *pa-pa*
 mill; (watermill) *tʃʰə-ŋtʃʰə* <chu.mchig>;
 (handmill) *la-ŋtʃʰə* <lag.mchig>
- mind; *lo* <blo>
 mirror; *me-lu* <me.long>
 miss; *tʂɛ* <dran>
 mix; *htse* <sre>; *pʰajɪ ləŋɛ htse-rɛ*
thɛ-sv-tə 'The pigs and sheep have
 become mixed together.'
 moan; *ŋkʰə-ŋbə tse* <'khun.ʔ.byed>
 mole (on body); *mɛ-tə* <sme.ʔ>
 mole (animal); *tsə-lu* <byi.long>
 monastery; *χse-hkɔ* <gser.ʔ>; *go-ŋbv*
 <dgon.pa>
 money; *go-mo* <sgor.mo>
 monk; *v-kə* <a.khu>; (young disciple)
tʂv-wv <grwa.pa>
 monkey; *ʃv-ŋdə* <spra.ʔ>; (year of the
 monkey) *ʃə-lo* <spri'u.lo>
 month; *dɛ-wv*, *dzv* <zla.ba>; *dɛwɛ/dzv*
ɛpə <zla.ba.gnyis> 'two months'
 moon; *dɛ-wv* <zla.ba>; *təri ŋtsʰɛnɔ dɛwɛ*
kʰəkʰv tʃʰe-kə 'The moon is very large
 tonight.'
 morning; *nv-χa*,⁷⁰ (forenoon) *ŋv-tʂo*
 <snga.dro>
 morning star; *vnɔ-lɔ-hkʰv-dʒi*
 <gnam.ʔ.skar.ʔ>
 mortar (for crushing substances in);
su-qo (with suffix *-qo*)
 mosquito; *tʃʰə-se*
 moss; *tho-lə*, (hanging moss, beard lichen)
lə-ma, (lichen on slippery rocks)
tʃʰə-ma <chu.ʔ>
 moth; *ŋdzɛ-lj-htʃi* <'dre.ʔ.ʔ>
 mother; *v-mv* <a.ma>
 mount (horse); *ŋdzi* <'dzin> [PFV/IMP]
zu <bzung>
 mountain; *rə* <ri>; (snow-capped
 mountain; glacier) *qɔ-rə* <gangs.ri>
 mountain pass; *lv-ŋgo* <la.mgo>;

- dzvⁿgo* <rdza.mgo>
 mountain ridge; *rəⁿgo* <ri.mgo>
 mouse; *tsu* <byi.ba>
 moustache; *k^hv-lpə* <kha.spu>
 mouth; *k^hv* <kha>; (exterior opening)
ⁿtʃ^hə-to <mchu.to>
 move; shake; *ⁿdʒə*
 move sth to a different location; *hpv*
 <spar>; (move house) *h^kh^o hpv*
 <khang.spar>
 much, many; *mɔ(-wu)* <mang.po>;
tʃ^hə-lɛ, jə-h^kv
 mud; *ⁿdθ-wa* <'dam> (with suffix *-wa*)
 mudflow; *tʃ^hə-ti* <chu.?'>; *sv-tʃi* <sa.?'>
 muddy; *ŋu-po⁷¹*
 mule; *tʂə* <drel>
 multicolored; *tʃ^hv-pv-le* <khra.?'>
 muntjac; *na-ʒə* <nags.?'>
 mushroom; *ʂu ~ ʂi* <sha.mo>; (wood-ear)
v-ji-nv-qe <a.yis.rna.?'>; (Caesar's
 mushroom) *pvⁿde-se-rv*, (matsutake
 mushroom) *q^hv-pa-ʂə*; (a kind of
 edible red mushroom) *mv-ʂv*
 <dmar.sha>
 musk; *ʂlv-h^tsə* <gla.rtsi>
 musk deer; *ʂla* <gla.ba>; (male musk
 deer) *ʂlv-h^tsə* <gla.rtsi>
 myself [ADV]; *ŋv-ŋv* <nga.nga>
 nail (body part); *sɿ-rv* <sen.?'>
 nail (tool); *ʂze-rə* <gzer> (with suffix
-rə)
 name; *ŋi* <ming>; (house-name, family
 name) *ⁿk^ho-ŋi* <khang.ming>
 narrow, cramped; *tu-mo* <dog.mo>; (as
 of roads) *tu-mo; tʂ^hv-ʒə* <phra>;⁷² *te*
p^hətsə te k^hək^hv tu-mo-tʂə rə 'That
 room is very cramped.'
 nauseate; *sə-tʂo* <skjug.bro>
- navel; umbilical cord; *htj* <lte.ba>
 near; *tha-ŋɛ* <thag.nye>
 neck; *q^he-tʂə*
 necklace; *h^ke-dʒi* <ske.?'>
 need; *go-ti* <dgos.?'>
 needle; *k^hi* <khab>; (large needle) *bo-k^hi*
 <sbom.khab>
 negator; [IMPF] *ŋə* <mi>, [PFV/IMP]
ma- <ma>; *te go ŋəⁿts^he-kə* 'S/he
 doesn't open the door.'; *te go*
ma-tʂe-tɛ '(I saw that) S/he didn't
 open the door.'; *go maⁿts^he* 'Don't
 open the door!'
 neighbor; *tʂəⁿdzi* <khyim.mtshes>
 nephew; *tʂu* <tsha.bo>
 nest; *tʂə-qo* <tshang> (with suffix *-qo*)
 nettle; *zv-lo* <zwa.lo>
 new, fresh; *sə-wa* <so> (with suffix *-wa*)
 new year; *lo-sv* <lo.gsar>
 next year; *sə-ŋə* <sang.ning>
 niece; *tʂv-mo* <tsha.mo>
 night; *ⁿts^he-nɔ* <mtshan.nam>
 nine; *gə* <dgu>
 nineteen; *tʃə-gə* <bcu.dgu>
 ninety; *gə-tʃə* <dgu.bcu>
 nipple; *nəⁿgo* <nu.mgo>
 nit; *fə-h^tso* <shig.sro>
 nod; *ⁿgó-du* <mgo.?'>
 nomad; *ⁿdzo-h^pv* <'brog.pa>
 noise; *ʒə* <'ur>; (make noise) *tʃə-lo tʂə*
 <grags.?.byed>
 noodle soup; *tʂə-qo* (with suffix *-qo*)
 noon; *ⁿdzv-rv-k^hv*
 nose; *ŋvⁿgo* <sna.mgo>
 nostril; *ŋv-χu* <sna.khung>
 now; *tv-jə* <da.?'>; *ŋv tvjə rəkəⁿthu-do* 'I
 am drinking liquor now.' (just now)
tʂo-tʂo; tʂotʂo ŋv rəkəⁿthu-kv te

- ye-sv-te* ‘I was drinking liquor jus now when he came.’
 numb; *ʒə* <sbrid> *ŋv hkwv ʒə-kə* ‘My legs feel numb.’
 number, digit; *vⁿgə* <ang.ki>
 nun; *tfo-mo* <jo.mo>
 oath; *nv* <mna’>; (take an oath) *nv tsə* <mna’.byed>
 oats; *pu-lə*
 object, thing; *tsv-tso*
 observe; *no-lə* <?.len>
 odor; *tə-wa* <dri> (with suffix *-wa*)⁷³
 often; *zə-kə*
 oil; (generic) *ŋu* <snum>; (vegetable oil) *mv-hkə* <mar.khu>
 old (senile); *ge* <rgas>; *lo-lə* <lo.lon>
 old (used, stale); *no-we* <rnying.pa>
 old person; (male) *ge-po* <rgad.po>; (female) *ge-mo* <rgad.mo>
 one; *χtsə* <gcig>; (in classifier phrases) *ka ~ ba* <gang>
 onyx (banded); *vzə* <gzi>
 open [VT]; *nⁿtshe*; ⁷⁴ [PFV/IMP] *tshe* <phye>; *ts^hənc-kə tu ta mɔ-kə kv^hku tsə-tshē* ‘There is too much smoke in the house, open the window a bit!’; (open eye, mouth, openings of bags, etc.) *vdɔ* <gdang>; *khv ma-vdɔ* ‘Don’t open your mouth!’; (open umbrella) *phj*
 other; *v-rú-kv, sv-kə*
 others; *dí-rə-kv*⁷⁵
 otter; *ʒɔ* <sram>
 otter-skin; *ʒɔ-fi* <sram.shun>
 outside, outdoors; *ts^hə-so* <phyi.sor>; *ts^həso vncⁿ bi-lə ma-lə tsə-kə* ‘It’s raining outside.’
 overflow; *lv*
- owe; *səⁿbv go*
 owl; *yə-we* <’ug.pa>
 pad; *nⁿdə* <’ding>, [PFV/IMP] *tə* <bting>
 paint; color; *htsə* <rtsi>
 pair; *t^hə* <cha>
 palate; *zvⁿgə* <ya.mgal>
 palm (body part); *nⁿthj-ʒa* <mthil.sha?>
 pan (for baking bread); *ko-lə* <go.?’>
 paper; *ʒu-ʒu* <shog.shog>
 parasol, umbrella, canopy; *vdə* <gdugs>
 parch; *ŋo* <rngo>, [PFV/IMP] *ŋi* <(b)rngos>
 parched barley flour; *htsvⁿbv* <rtsam.pa>
 parrot; *ne-tso* <ne.tso>
 part company; be separated; *khv-k^hvⁿtho* <kha.kha.’thor>; *nⁿdə-kə te gagi-jə kv^hkv^hvⁿtho-γɔ tʃə-já-tsə* ‘He caused this couple to get divorced.’
 paste [V]; *nⁿdze* <’byar>
 pasture; *htsv-sv* <rtswa.sa>
 patch [N]; *vleⁿbv* <lhan.pa>
 pay back (loan); *səⁿbé ʒə* <skyin.pa.sbyin>
 pea; *htseⁿdʒu* <srán.?’>
 peach; *thɔ-tsə*⁷⁶
 peacock; *tsv-mv-ʒv* <bya.rma.bya>
 peak; *rəⁿgo-tʃə-k^hv* <ri.mgo.?.kha>
 peck; *gu*
 pebble; *t^hə-do* <chu.rdo>
 peel [VT]; *zu* <gzhog>
 peel off; *kv-ja lo*
 pen in; *də*
 penis; *nⁿdʒe* <mje>; *dza* <zla.ba>
 person; human; *no* <mi>
 pestle; *ts^hv-do* <?.rdo>
 pheasant; *rə-te* <ri.de>
 phlegm; *q^hv-lə* <kha.lud>

- pick (flower); *n^hə* <'thu>; *tu* <btog>
 pick up; *də*
 picture; photo; *χpə* <dpar>
 pickles; *ŋo* <sngo>
 pierce; *χv-ŋə* *n^hp^hə* <'phig>, [PFV/IMP]
p^hə <phigs>
 pig; *p^ha-ni* <phag> (with suffix *-ni*);
 (sow) *p^hi-gə*; (piglet) *v-gu*
 pigsty; *p^ha-n^hkhə* <phag.khang>
 pigwash; *p^ha-tfi* <phag.?'>
 pika (*Ochotonidae*); *tʂa-kze*
 <brag.gzer?>⁷⁷
 pile [N]; *n^hbə-rə*⁷⁸
 pile up; *hpu* <spung>
 pillar; *ka* <ka.ba>
 pillow; *n^hgo-ŋə* <mgo.sngas>⁷⁹
 pimple; *rə*
 pinch with fingernail; *se-n^hdu tsə*
 <?.byed>
 pinch and twist; *se-n^hdu χtfə-tʂə tsə*
 <?.byed>
 pine; *lə-tsə*
 pipe; *ŋe-n^hgə* <me.?'>
 pit, grave; *tʂv-qu*; (site of
 cremation) *tə-mi*
 pit, stone; *n^hdzə* <'bru>; (of peaches)
q^hə-lo
 pitch (tent); *n^hpi*; [PFV/IMP] *p^hi*
 place; *sv-tfv* <sa.cha>
 plains; flat ground; *gə-nə*
 plait; *rwe*⁸⁰
 plait [V]; *lv* <lha>; [PFV/IMP] *lə*
 <lhas>⁸¹
 placenta; *vdⁱ*
 plane (tool); *pi-lə* <?.len>⁸²
 plant [V]; (sow seeds) *n^hdi* <'debs>;
 [PFV/IMP] *ti* <btab>; (plant seedlings);
n^hdzə <'dzugs>, [PFV/IMP] *tsə*
 <btsugs>
 plate; *de-rə* <sder.?'>; *kv-de* <dkar.sder>
 plateau; *t^hə* <thang>
 play; *htse* <rtse>; *tʂv-la tsə* <?.byed>
 plough [N]; *χfə* <gshol>
 ploughshare; *ʂa* <lcags>
 plough [V]; *kmə* <rmo>, [PFV/IMP] *kmⁱ*
 <rmos>
 pockmarked person; *ma-tsə*⁸³
 point, tip, edge; *ŋe-kv* <sne.kha>
 point at; *n^hdzə-tə tsə* <mdzub.?.byed>
 pointed; *htsə-n^hdu*
 poison; *tə* <dug>
 polyp; *ʂv-na* <sha.nag?>
 poor; *mə-po* <med.po>; *te mepo pə-t^hə*
 'S/he has become poor.'
 pop; explode; *pə*
 poplar; *la-pə*; *la-wu*; *dʒo*
 porcupine; *gə* <rgang>
 pot; *zo-ŋv* <zangs.pa>; (large pot) *zə-də*
 <zangs.?'>
 potato; *jə-ji*⁸⁴
 pour (liquid) into container; *lə* <blug>⁸⁵
 pour out; *dzu*
 pour out completely; *kvə* <gzan>
 power; *kvə* <dbang>
 prayer flag; *htv-htfu* <rta.?'>
 pregnant; *p^hú n^hba* <pho.ba.?'>⁸⁶
 press; *vnə* <gnon>
 press (hide) to soften; *ŋe* <mnyed>;
 (wooden tool for pressing hide) *ŋe-kə*
 <mnyed.?'>
 pretend; *t^hə-kə*; *n^hde n^haju te t^hékə*
ŋə-kə 'This child is pretending to be
 crying.'
 price; *ku* <gong>
 prop; *χtə* <rten>
 property; *dʒə* <rgyu>

- protruding; *ⁿbə-ⁿbə* <'bur.'bur>; *gv-gv*
proud; *ⁿbo-ⁿbo*
provoke; *k^hv ⁿts^hv* <kha.?'>
pry with lever; *ka-lɔ̄ tsə* <?.byed>
puddle; *t^hə-qo* <chu> (with suffix *-qo*)
pull; *t^hɛ* <then>
pull up (e.g. weeds); *ⁿbi* <'bal>,
[PFV/IMP] *bi* <bal>
pull, drag; *ⁿdzə* <'drud>, [PFV/IMP] *tɕə*
<drud>
pulse; *htsv* <rtsa>
purposive complementizer; *-jə*, *ŋv t^hɔ̄*
ⁿt^hu-jə ⁿdʒo go 'I want to go and drink
wine.'
pus; *na-qo* <rnag> (with suffix *-qo*)
pustule; *mɛ-na* <rma.?'>
push; *χtɛ*
put; put aside for future use; *ⁿdʒu* <'jog>,
[PFV] *zə* <bzhag>, [IMP] *zɔ̄* <zhog>
put in order; *də-sú tsə* <bsdu.gsog.byed>
put (object) into container; *tsɔ̄*, *tɛ-kə*
mathɔ̄ k^hv-nɔ̄ mə-tɔ̄-tɛ 'S/he put the
candy into her/his mouth.'
put (clothing) on; put (soil) on; *ⁿgi*;⁸⁷
[PFV/IMP] *ki* <gon>
puttee; *ŋv-htfə* <nywa.dkri>
Qiang; *rə-wv* <ri.pa>
quarrel; *ⁿdze-ŋo tsə* <?.byed>; *ⁿp^há-rɛ*
tsə <?.res.byed>
quiet; *q^hə-rá-ji-di*
quit; *χt^hɛ* <gcod>
rabbit; *rə-γu* <ri.bong>
rack on which harvested grain is placed
to dry; *rɛ-zə*
rafter; *vdu-fi* <gdung.shing>
rain; [N] *ɛnɔ̄* <gnam>; (rain coming
down on sunny day) *t^hv* <char>;
kɛ-ⁿbi <?.'bab>; [V] *ɛnɔ̄ ⁿbi*
<gnam.'bab>, [PFV] *ɛnɔ̄ pi*
<gnam.babs>; *ɛnɔ̄ tɛ t^ho-sɛ-tɛ* 'The
rain has stopped now.'
rainbow; *ⁿdʒv-tse* <'ja.tshon?'>
raise, feed; *χso* <gso>, [PFV/IMP] *χsi*
<gsos>
raise (hand); *hke-hke*
rake [N]; *bv-rv* <spar.ba>; *ɕv-bv* <?.spar>;
[V] *bv-rɛ-tɛ* <?.byed>; (harrowing
rake without teeth) *ɕa-ɛza* <lcags.?'>
rash; *ⁿdzə-ⁿbə* <'brum.bu>
ray; *γi* <'od>
read; *ⁿdɛ* <'don>, [PFV/IMP] *tɛ* <btɔ̄n>
reach out, extend; *htsu* <rkyong>
real; *ŋo-mv* <ngo.ma>
receive; *ⁿtɕ^hɛ* <'phrod>, [PFV] *tɕ^hɛ*⁸⁸
recognize; *ŋo-fi* <ngo.shes>
recompense; *ⁿdʒi* <'jal>
recover from illness; (*nv-tsv*) *tɕa*
<na.tsha.drag>
red; *mɛ-rə* <dmar.?'>
reduce; *lu*
regret; *xə-rɛ-sɔ̄* <?.bsam>
reheat; *t^hv-ⁿdɛ tsə* <tsha.'de.byed>; *tɕi*
<dros>
rein; *ⁿt^hə-ⁿdɛ* <mthur.mda?'>
reincarnated buddha; *tɕə-hkə* <sprul.sku>
relation, relative; *ɕv-ta* <sha.?'>
release;⁸⁹ *χtu* <gtong>, [PFV] *tɔ̄*
<btang>
religious doctrine; *t^hji* <chos>
remember; *sɛ-nɔ̄ ɛ-nɔ̄*
<sems.nang.'nang>
repair; *t^hji* <bcos?'>
resin; *t^hɔ̄-t^hɔ̄* <thang.chu>
rest [V]; *htso*
restaurant; *zv-ⁿkhɔ̄* <za.khang>
return, give back; *sə-ⁿbv ʒə* <skyin.pa>

- sbyin>
 rGyalrong; *tsʰv-kʰo* <tsha.kho>
 ribs; *htsə-γə* <rtsig.gu>⁹⁰
 rice; *ⁿdzɛ* <'bras>
 rich; *ʂə-po* <phyug.po>
 ride; *ⁿdzi* <'dzin>, [PFV/IMP] *zu*
 <zung(s)>⁹¹
 right-hand; *tʂə-la*⁹²
 rim; *ⁿthv-γv-ʒi* <mtha.?.?>
 rinse; *ʃe* <bshal>
 ring; *htʃə-mə* <dkris.??>; *ⁿdzə-htʃə*
 <mdzug.dkris>
 ringworm; *tʂa*
 ripe; *sə*
 rise (as of the sun); *ʂv* <shar>
 river; *tʃʰə* <chu>; *ŋəʂa-kə dewv kʰvɣi*
γŋətʃʰə rə 'Below our village flows
 the Zhongu River.'
 road; way; *lə* <lam>
 roam; *ⁿtʃʰə* <'khyam>
 roast, bake, scald; *htsa* <sreg>
 rob; *ⁿtʂʰu* <'phrog>, [PFV/IMP] *tʂʰu*
 <phrogs>
 rock; cliff; *tʂa* <brag>
 roll [VI]; *ⁿtʂʰa, gəwu səʰtsv ⁿtʂʰa-kə*
 'The ball is rolling on the ground.'
 roll [VT]; *gv-lu tsə* <?.log.byed>;
ŋaŋu-kə gəwu səʰtsv gv-lu-tsə-kə 'The
 child is rolling the ball on the ground.'
 roll up; *dzə* <sgril>
 roof (slab-covered roof); *ⁿdʒə*
 room; *pʰə-tsə*
 root; *htsv-hko* <rtsa.rkang>
 rope; *tʰv-ɣa* <thag.pa>
 rosary; *ⁿtʂʰe-ŋv ~ ⁿtʂʰo-ŋv* <'phreng.ba>
 rot; *rə* <rul>
 rough; *rɛ-rɛ*
 round; *ʂo-ʂo* <sgor.sgor>
- rub (hide); *zə*
 rub (skin); *ⁿpʰə* <'phur>, [PFV/IMP] *pʰə*
 <phur>
 ruminant; *ʂdi* <ldad>⁹³
 rummage; *ɛlu*⁹⁴
 run; *ʂdzə* <rgyug>
 rust; *tsv* <btsa>; [V] *tsv tʃʰa*
 <btsa.chags?>
 row [V]; *tʂə-dza* <gru.rgyag>
 sad; *sɛ-də* <sems.sdug>
 saddle; *htv-gv* <rta.sga>
 saffron; *kə-ku me-tu* <gru.kum.me.thog>
 salamander; *tʃʰə-ʒə* <chu.sbrul>
 saliva; *kʰv-tʃə* <kha.chu>
 salt; *tsʰv* <tshwa>
 salt; *tsʰv* <tshwa>
 salty; *tsʰv-qʰv* <tshwa.khwa>
 same; *ŋə-ʂə-ŋo-lo, ⁿdzv-ⁿdzv*
 <'dra.'dra>
 sand; *htsa*, (fine sand) *htsa htsv-ⁿbv*
 <?.srab.pa>
 sausage; *ɛjə*⁹⁵
 saw [N]; *su-le* <sog.le>
 say, tell, speak; *dzo* <zlo>, [PFV] *dze*
 <bzlas>, [IMP] *dzi* <zlos>; *te-kə*
dzo-kə kə te tʰorɛ γu-rə dzo-ka: 'S/he
 says that (another) s/he will come
 tomorrow.'; *te piʰki dzo fi-rə* 'S/he can
 speak Tibetan.'
 scabies; *ŋo* <rngo>
 scallion; *v-tsu* <a.??>⁹⁶
 scar; *mɛ-dʒi* <rma.rjes>
 scatter; *χto* <gtor>; (become scattered,
 e.g. beads) *ⁿtʰo* <'tor>
 scissors; *ⁿtʃʰe-ⁿbv*
 scold; *ⁿpʰa*
 scrape; *zɛ*
 scratch to stop an itch; *(ʃə)ʂɛ*⁹⁷ (as of a

cow) *n̄tʂʰə* <'phrug>
 scratch; claw; *ʁɛ*
 scream; *n̄b̄ɛ-ʂo* <?.shor>
 scrub; *ɣə*
 scythe; *di-zo* <?.zor>
 sea; *dʒv-n̄tʂʰo* <rgya.mtsho>
 search; *tʂʰə* <'tshol>
 seat, mat; *htɛ* <stan>
 seat for higher-ups, throne; *n̄tʂʰə* <khri>
 second day after tomorrow; *ɣi-n̄ə*
 <gzhes.nyin>
 second day before yesterday; *kʰv-n̄ə te*
kʰv̄n̄ə <khas.nyin.de.khas.nyin>
 see; *n̄thu* <mthong>, *rə* <rig>; *ɣɛ-no*
tʂitʂo tu n̄ə-n̄thu-kə 'One can't see
 anything in the fog.'
 see off; *sə* <bsu>
 seed; *sə-ɣɛ* <sa.bon>
 seep; *hti*
 select; *sə* <bsed>
 sell; *n̄ts̄hu* <'tshong>, [PFV/IMP] *tsu*
 <btsongs>; *ɣv̄ ht̄v̄ni kʰv̄ht̄s̄o t̄ɛ-sv̄ tsu-sv̄*
 'I sold the horse to him/her yesterday.'
 semen; *k̄v-wu*⁹⁸
 send; *hkə* <skur>
 send for help; *rə-pv̄ ɣa* <rogs.pa.mngag>
 separate; *gi* <bgos>
 sequentializer; clause linker; *-n̄ə, ɣv̄*
ʂv̄ɛ-no ɣɛ-n̄ə tʂʰəntu n̄dʒó-go 'I came
 from Lhasa and will go to Chengdu.'
 serow (*Capricornis sumatraensis*);
kʰv-dzv̄ <kha.rgya>
 servant; *ʁv-wv̄* <gla.pa>⁹⁹
 set (as of the sun); *l̄ɛ-ht̄fu*
 set fire to; *n̄ɛ-n̄dʒə* <me.?'>, [PFV/IMP]
tʂə
 set out; *n̄ts̄ha*
 seven; *di* <bdun>

seventeen; *tʂi-di* <bcu.bdun>
 seventy; *də-n̄dʒə* <bdun.cu>
 sever; *kdv̄*
 sew, patch; *n̄dzə* <'drub>, [PFV/IMP]
tʂə <drub>; *bi*
 shadow, shade; *tʂə-so* <grib.so>; *ɣi*
 shake; quake; *n̄dʒə* <'gul?'>; *sv̄ n̄dʒə-kə*
 'The earth is shaking.'
 shake (head), sway; *zə* <dbyug>
 share, portion; *htʂi-la* <skal.?'>
 sharp; *no* <rno>; *no-n̄bo* <rno> (with
 suffix *-n̄bo*)
 sharpen; *dv̄* <rdar>
 shave; scrape; *z̄v̄* <bzhar>
 she, he; *te* <de>¹⁰⁰
 sheath (of knife); *k̄ə-ʂə* <gri.shubs>
 sheep; *l̄ə-n̄ɛ* <lug> (with suffix *-n̄ɛ*)
 shin; *ɣv̄-du* <ngar.gdong>
 shine; *ʂv̄* <shar>
 shoe, boot; *χɔ* <lham>; (worn by women)
n̄ba-χɔ <?.lham>; (Mongolian-style,
 worn by men) *su-χɔ* <sog.lham>
 shoot, throw; *n̄p̄ɛ* <'phen>, [PFV] *n̄p̄ɔ*
 <'phangs> [IMP] *p̄hu* <phong>; *te*
ɣədo n̄p̄ɛ-n̄ə de-kə 'S/he shoots
 slingshots well.'
 short; *thu* <thung>; (as of a person)
(tʂə-)tʂhu <chung>
 shoulder; *n̄tʂʰa-wv̄* <phrag.pa>
 shoulder-blade; *su-h̄pv̄* <sog.pa>
 shout; *n̄be* <'bod>
 shrink; *n̄k̄hu* (<n̄dʒo>) <'khum.(?'gro)>
 shudder; *n̄ts̄ha-n̄dv̄* <'khyag.'dar>
 shun; *z̄v̄*
 shuttle; *tʂo-to*
 shrine; *n̄tʂʰi-h̄k̄ɔ* <mchod.khang>
 shy; *ɣó-tʂv̄* <ngo.tsha>
 sibling; (elder brother and younger sister)

- pə-za* <bu.ʔ>; (elder sister and younger brother) *ni-hʈsi* <ʔ.sring>
 sickle; *zo-rv* <zor.ba>
 side (of body); *ʈlɔ-no* <glo> (with locative *-no*)
 sieve; *tʂa-su* <tshags.ʔ>
 sift; *qa*
 silver; *ŋə* <dnɡul>
 sinew, tendon; *ʂu*, *hʈsv-su* <rtsa.ʔ>
 sing; *ʈlɔ le* <glu.len>; *hʈtʂe*, [PFV/IMP] *tʂe*
 sink; *hʈdv*, *te dogu te hʈsu/hʈsɔkʈv tʂhə-γi* *hʈdv-pə-thɛ* ‘The stone quickly sank to the bottom of the water.’
 sister; *pu-hpə*, (elder sister) *v-mi/v-dv*, (younger sister) *hʈsi* <sring>
 sit; *hʈdə* <’dug>, [PFV] *dɛ* <bsdad>, [IMP] *dɪ* <sdod>; *hʈɔrə zə/mə-dɪ*; *sv-ki dɪ* ‘Sit down!’
 sit cross-legged; *dzv-hʈdə* <ʔ.ʔ.dug>
 sit on eggs; *ru* <rum>
 six; *tʂə* <drug>
 sixteen; *tʂə-tʂə* <bcu.drug>
 sixty; *tʂə-tʂə* <drug.cu>
 skin; *ʂə-hʈba* <shun.lpags>; *ʂi* <shun>; (whole skin, fur) *pa-hpa* <pags.pa>
 skin, flay; *hʈgu* <’gog>;¹⁰¹ [PFV/IMP] *ku* <bkog>
 skin dirt; *tʂə-wa* <dri> (with suffix *-wa*)
 skirt; *tʂhə-rj* <chu.ras>¹⁰²
 skull; *hʈgo-tʂə rə-pv* <mgo.ʔ.rus.pa>
 sky; *ʈnɔ* <ɡnam>; *ʈnɔ-no fə tʂhəle nɔ-kə* ‘There are many clouds in the sky.’
 slanting; *zo* <yo>; *zə*
 sleep; go to bed; *ni* <nyal>
 sleeping place; *ni-sv* <nyal.sa>
 sleet; *tʂhə-mv-qha* <chu.ma.kha.ba>
 sleeve; *hʈpə-ru* <phu.rung>
 slide; *ʈdʂv*
 slingshot; *γə-do* <’ur.do>
 slip and fall; *ʈdʂv*
 slippery; *ʈdʂv*
 slow; *hʈgo* <’gor>
 small; *tʂhə-tʂhu* <chung.chung>
 smallpox; *tʂə-hʈdzu* <ʔ.’brum>
 smear; *hʈfə*
 smell [N]; *tʂə-wa* <dri> (with suffix *-wa*)
 smell [V]; *pu* <snum>¹⁰³
 smith; *hʈgv-rv* <mgar.ba>
 smoke [N]; *tu* <du.ba>
 smoke [V]; *hʈɛ* <’then> (= ‘to pull’)
 smooth; *ze-hʈfa-re*
 snail; *hʈbə-za-γv-rɛ* <’bu.ʔ>
 snake; *zə* <sbrul>; (as in year-sign) *dzə* <sbrul>
 snare; *ʈv-ta* <gla.thag>
 sneeze; *v-thə fə tsə* <ʔ.byed>
 snore; *χə-pv tsə* <ʔ.byed>
 snot; *ni* <snabs>
 snow; *qha* <kha.ba>; *rə-hʈgo qha* *kʈəkhv-tsə hʈthəpo γɛ-sv-tsə* ‘The snow has piled quite high on the mountain ridge.’
 snub; *γv-tɔ* <sna.thag>
 soak; *bɔ* <sbang>
 soft; *γv-qv*, (soft and warm) *hʈdʂv-hʈbo* <’jam.po>
 soldier, army; *ʈma* <dmag>
 sole (of foot); *hʈkɔ-qo* <rkang> (with suffix *-qo*)
 solid; sturdy; *hʈsv-hʈde* <sra> (with suffix *-hʈde*)
 some; *tʂhə-tsə* <cha.tshig>;¹⁰⁴ *γə-nj-ʈtsə* <nyung.nyung.tshig>; *v-hʈdɪ-tsə* <ʔ.tshig>
 son; *pə-tsv* <bu.tsha>

- son-in-law; *ma-hpə* <mag.pa>
 song; *ɛlə* <glu>; (love songs) *lə-jə*
 <la.gzhas>
 soon; *tʂə-ke*
 soot; *htʂə-hpə*, (on ceiling) *tu*
 sore, boil; *mə-na* <rma.nag>
 soul; *nə-fi* <rnam.shes>
 sound; *dʒə* <sgra>
 soup; *thə*¹⁰⁵
 sour; *sə* <skyur>; *sə-mo* <skyur.mo>;
é-sə-kə ‘Is it sour (mirative)?’; *səmo*
é-rə ‘Is it sour?’
 spacious; *sə-χə le*
 span; *ntho* <mtho>
 spark; *je-hta* <me.stag>
 sparrow hawk; *tʃhə* <khra>
 spatula; *ku-tʂhə-tʂhə*¹⁰⁶
 spear; *ndu* <mdung>
 speech; *χtə* <gtam>
 spend; *χtsa* <skyag>
 spicy; *tʂhə*, *tʂhə-ndə* <tsha> (with suffix
-ndə)
 spider; *pə-kə*
 spin; *ntʃhi*, *pi nthə* <bal.’thag>
 spindle; *npʰə* <’phang>; *npʰə-lo*
 <’phang.lo>
 spine; *dʒi-tsə* <rgyab.tshigs>
 spittle; *ntʃhə-wa* <mchil> (with suffix
-wa)
 spleen; *tʂhə-hpə* <mtsher.ba>
 splinter; *ʂa-zə*
 split [VT]; *χʂa* <gshag>
 spoon; *thə-qo* <thom> (with suffix *-qo*)
 spring; *fə-hkə* <dpyid.kha>
 sprinkle; *tʃhə-χto* <chu.gtor>
 sprout; come into bud; *nə-lo se*
 <?.lo.skye>; *ndə jəji təvə no nəlo se-kə*
 ‘The potatoes have sprouted.’
- sputum; *qʰə-lə* <kha.lud>
 squat; *hku-hku*
 square; *tʂə-ʒə* <gru.bzhi>; *tʂə-ʒə-gv-le*
 <gru.bzhi.?’>
 squeeze; *χtʃə* <gcu>
 squirrel; *du-pʰə-ŋə* ~ *du-pʰə-γə*
 <sdong.?’>
 stack up; *ʂa* <rtseg>; *mate mə-ʂa* ‘Stack
 up the sacks.’
 stairs; *hkə* <skas>
 stallion; *htə-χsi* <rta.gseb>
 stamp (foot); *hkə-ndʂha-la-ndʂha*
 <rkang.’phra.?’phra>
 stand; *lə* <lang>; *lérə mə/zə-lə* ‘Stand
 up!’; *lə-di* ‘Keep standing!’
 star; *hkə-mə* <skar.ma>; *təri ndʂhénə*
hkəmə tʃhəle nthu-kə ‘Many stars can
 be seen tonight.’
 startle; *htʃa* <skrag>
 stay (= sit); *ndə* <’dug>, [PFV] *də*
 <bsdad>, [IMP] *di* <sdod>
 stay overnight; *ʒa* <zhag>
 steal; *hkə* <rku>
 steam; *lə-hpə* <rlangs.pa>
 steelyard; *dʒə-mə* <rgya.ma>
 steep; *ɛzvə* <gzar>
 step; make a step; *hkə hpi* <rkang.spos>
 stepmother; *mə-zvə* <ma.g-yar>
 stick, rod; *la-to*; (thick firewood stick)
fi-tsu <shing.?’>
 stick, paste; *ndzvə* <’byar>
 sticky; *ndzvə* <’byar>
 sting [V]; *npʰə*, [PFV] *pʰə*
 stingy, narrow-minded; *khə-ŋə*
 <khog.ngan>
 stinky; *tʂə-wa ŋə* <dri.ngan> (with suffix
-wa), *tʂə-wa a-bvə/v-ɛvə* <dri.?’> (with
 suffix *-wa*)

- stir; *htʃə* <dkrug>
 stir-fry; *χsə* <gsir?>¹⁰⁷
 stirrup; *ji-tʃɛ* <job.chen>
 stomach; *sɛ-hkʷ*
 stone; *do* <rdo>; *do-gu* <rdo.ʔ>
 stone reservoir beside water source;
 tʃʰə-hkɛ <chu.skas>
 stool; *tʃu-tse* <lcoɡ.tse>
 story, folklore; *kʰv-hpɛ* <kha.dpe>
 storey; *-kʰɔ*
 stove; *tsi-ku* <?.go.ra>
 straight; *tʃɔ* <drang>; *tʃɔ-mo*
 <drang.mo>
 strain, filter; *tsa* <btsag>
 street; *ki-ʃɔ*¹⁰⁸
 strength; *ʃi* <shed>
 stretch out; make taut; *dzɔ* <rgyang>;
 thvχa zə-dzɔ ‘Stretch out the rope!’
 stride over; *ɡɔ* <bgom>
 strike with palm; *du* <rdung>
 string (beads); *dzə* <rgyus>
 stroke; pat; touch; *ra* <reg> [PFV/IMP]
 ra
 strong; *ŋv-tʃʰe* <ngar.che>
 strong (as of liquor); *gi-hpo*
 stupid; *ʋɛ-do* <glen.rdo?>; *ʋɛ-ŋbv*
 <glen.pa>
 stutrer; *kʰv-hkə* <kha.lkugs>; *hkə-pv*
 <lkugs.pa>
 succeed; *lɛ-ŋdzɛ* <las.ʔgrub>
 suck; *ŋdzɛ* <ʔjib>
 suckle [VI]; *nə* <nu>; [VT]; *pa-pa ɲi*
 <ʔ.snun>
 suddenly; *ʋɔ-dzu kə-no* <glo.rgyag.ʔ>
 (with locative *-no*)
 sugar; (brown sugar) *bɔ-hsə*
 <sbrang.rtsi>; (white sugar) *ʃɛ kɛro*
 <shel.dkar.po>
- sulphur; *mə-zə* <mu.zi>
 summer; *zv-hkʷ* <dbyar.kha>
 sun; *ɲə-wa* <nyi> (with suffix *-wa*);
 ɲəwa [ə-sv-tsə ‘The sun has come out.’
 sunbathe; *tsv-te*¹⁰⁹ *ʋdʒə*
 sunken, concave; *qo-qo*
 sunlight; *tsv-te*; *tsʰo ʃv kɛrə zətʃʰv-tsə*
 tsvte ɲa ŋdɛ go-kə ‘You are too pale,
 you need to get some sunlight.’
 supper; *gu-tsi* <dgong.ʔ>
 swallow; *χtu* <gtong>;¹¹⁰ [PFV] *tɔ*
 <btang>
 swallow (bird); *tʃv-la tʃə-lɛ*
 swear; take an oath; *nv tsə* <mnaʔ.byed>;
 nv ma-tsə ‘Don’t take an oath!’
 sweat; *ɲi-tʃə* <rngul.chu>
 sweep; *ŋtsʰa* <ʔphyag>, [PFV/IMP] *tsʰa*
 <phyag>; *ɣə*
 sweet; *ŋv-mo* <dnɡar.mo>
 swell; (become swollen) *htʃɔ* <skrang>;
 (expand) *ŋdzɔ* <ʔgrang>¹¹¹
 swim; *tʃʰə-htse tsə* <chu.rkyal.byed>
 sword; *tsv-hto*
 tadpole; *ɲə-wa-ŋgo-do* <nyi.mgo.rdo>
 (with suffix *-wa*)¹¹²
 tael; *ʃɔ* <srang>
 tail; *ɲa* <rnga.ma>
 tailor [N]; *zo-ŋkʰɛ* <bzo.mkhan>; *zo-wɛ*
 <bzo.ba>
 tailor [V]; *ŋdzɛ* <ʔdra>
 take; *lɛ* <len>, [PFV] *lɔ* <blangs>, [IMP]
 lu <longs>; *svʰtsv gomo lɛrə lú-xu*
 ‘Pick up the money on the ground!’
 take away by force; snatch; *ŋtsʰu*
 <ʔphrog>, [PFV/IMP] *tsʰu* <phrogs>
 take in (people needing food and
 lodging); adopt; *tʃɔ*
 take off; take out (of container, of

enclosure); *n̄pʰə* <'phud>, [PFV/IMP] *pʰə* <phud>
 take turns; *h̄ko-h̄tʰ-tʰə li* <skor.?.byed las>
 talk, give a speech; *ʃe* <bshad>
 tall; (as of people) *tʃʰe* <che>; (as of objects, buildings) *n̄tho* <mtho>
 tangka; *th̄ɔ-h̄kə* <thang.sku>
 target; *n̄be* <'ben>
 tartar; *so-tʃa* <so.dreg>
 tasty; *ʒu* <zhim>; *ʒə-n̄bo* <zhim.po>
 tattered; *χtʃe-ro* <hral.??>
 tax; *tʃʰe* <khral>
 tea; *tʃe* <ja>; (brick tea) *tʃe-dʒi* <ja.??>
 tea-churner; *tʃe-n̄du* <ja.mdong>
 teach; *h̄tsi* <slob>
 teacher; *ge-gən* <dge.rgan>
 teapot; *ko-n̄dze*¹¹³
 tear; *χtʃe* <hral>, [PFV/IMP] *tʃe* <dral>¹¹⁴
 tears; *ʋpə-n̄ɔ tʃʰə* <myig.nang chu>
 tease (wool); *si* <bsed>
 tell fortune; *mo-n̄di* <mo.'debs>, [PFV/IMP] *mo ti* <mo.btab>
 temple; *ʋnʋ-du*
 ten; *tʃə-th̄a-n̄bʋ* <bcu.tham.pa>
 ten thousand; *tʃʰə-tso* <khri.tsho>
 tender; *n̄dʒʋ-n̄bo* <'jam.po>
 tendon; *rtʃʋ-ʃu* <rtsa.??>
 tent; *kə* <gur>; *bə-kʋ* <?.dkar>; (yak-hair tent) *bʋ-na* <sbra.nag>
 testicles; *qʰʋ-do* <?.rdo>
 tether; *n̄du* <'dogs>, [PFV] *ta* <btags>, [IMP] *tu* <thogs>
 than; *so-no* (with locative *-no*); *tʃʰə-n̄də dzənɔ-sono na tʃo-kə* 'Chengdu is a little hotter than Songpan.'
 that; *te* <de>

there; *tə*¹¹⁵
 these; (dual) *n̄də-γi* <de.??>; (plural) *n̄də-ʋa* <'di.??>
 they; (dual) *tə-γi* <de.??> (with dual suffix *-γi*); (plural) *tə-ʋa* <de.??> (with plural suffix *-ʋa*)
 thick (as of books; hair of head); *n̄thə-po* <'thug.po>; (as of ropes) *bɔ* <sbom> ~ *bɔ-n̄bo* <sbom.pa>; (as of soup) *h̄tsə-qʋ-to*
 thief; *h̄kə-mʋ* <rkun.ma>
 thigh; *lʋ-gɔ* <brla.??>
 thimble; *h̄tʃə-mo* <lcibs.mo>
 thin (as of books); *h̄tsi-γə* <srab> (with suffix *-γə*); (as of ropes) *tʃʰʋ-γə* <phra> (with suffix *-γə*); (vs. fat) *ʃʋ-ɲe* <sha.med>; (watery) *tʃʰə-h̄tu* <chu.??>; *ʃə-rə ʃʋ-rʋ*
 think; ponder; *χtʃe*
 think of, miss; *tʃe* <dran>
 thirsty; *kʰʋ-h̄kɔ* <kha.skom>
 thirteen; *tʃə-χsu* <bcu.gsum>
 thirty; *sə-n̄dʒə* <sum.cu>
 this; *n̄de* <'di>
 this year; *to-tʃə* <do.tshig>
 thorn; *tʃʰe-mo* <tsher.ma>
 those; *tə-ʋa* <de> (with plural suffix *-ʋa*)
 thought; *sɔ* <bsam>; *sɔ-tʃɔ* <bsam.??>
 thousand; *h̄tu* <stong>
 thread; *h̄tsə-n̄dʒə* <rtsid.sgril>; (yarn) *h̄kə-wʋ* <skud.pa>
 threshold; *go-de* <sgo.??>
 three; *χsu* <gsum>
 throat; *u-rə* (with suffix *-rə*); *ɲa-qu*
 throw; *dzʋ-χtu* ~ *dzó-χtu* <?.gtong>, [PFV] *tɔ* <btang>
 thumb; *n̄thi-tʃi* <mte.bo.che>
 thrush (bird); *n̄dʒu* <'jol.mo>

- thunder; *ⁿdzə* <'brug>; *ⁿbək^hɔⁿdzə*
tfa-tɛ nu-kə 'It rarely thunders at
 Ma'erkang.'
 thunderbolt; *t^hu* <thog>
 Tibet; Tibetan; *pi* <bod>
 Tibetan eared pheasant; *tsv-jɔ*
 <bya.wang>
 tick; *se-tv kv-le*
 tie up, bind (people or animals); *gu*; (tie
 up objects) *ɣdɔ* <sdom>
 tiger; *hta* <stag>
 tight; *t^hu*, *χt^hfə*
 time, watch; *tə-tsh^he* <dus.tshod>
 tin; *z v-ji* <zha.nye>
 tinder; *je-bə* <me.ʔ>
 tinderbox; *je-t^hv* <me.cha>
 tired; *hts^hv-ⁿt^hf^he* <rtsaʔ.ʔchad>;
 (exhausted) *ɲə-lɛ*; *ɲə-lɛ ʂu-χt^hf^he*
 toad; *se-rv-qo* (with suffix *-qo*)
 tobacco, cigarette; *tɔ*
 <du.ba>;¹¹⁶ *t^hv-ma-χɛ* <tha.ma.kha>
 today; *tə-ri* <de.ring>
 together; *fiɛ*
 tomorrow; *t^ho-rɛ* <tho.rengs>¹¹⁷
 tomorrow morning; *t^ho-rɛ-nv-χa*
 <tho.reng.ʔ.ʔ>; *t^ho-rɛ-zv-γɔ*
 <tho.rengs.ʔ.ʔ>
 tomorrow night; *t^ho-rɛ-ⁿts^hɛ-nɔ*
 <tho.rengs.mtshan.nam>
 tongs; *hk^v-ⁿbv* <skam.pa>
 tongue; *fe* <lce>
 tonight; *tə-ri-ⁿts^hɛ-nɔ*
 <de.ring.mtshan.nam>
 tool; *la-t^hv* <lag.cha>
 tooth; *so* <so>
 torch; *je-dʒə* <me.ʔ>
 torn (as of clothing); *tʂɛ* <dral>
 touch; *hke*
 trace; *dʒi* <rjes>
 track [N]; *hkɔ-dʒi* <rkang.rjes>
 tread; *hkɔ-zə* <rkang.rdzi>, [PFV/IMP]
hkɔ-zi <rkang.brdzis, rdzis>
 treasure; *no-ⁿbv* <nor.ʔ>
 tree; *du* <sdong>
 tree trunk; *du-fi* <sdong.shing>
 tremble; *ⁿdv* <'dar>
 trivet; *nk^ho-ht^hfu*, (makeshift trivet
 comprising three pieces of rock) *pi-ku*
 trough; water conduit; *γv-tsu*
 trousers; *hkɔ-ɲɔ* <rkang.snam>
 true; *ɲo-mv* <dngos> (with suffix *-mv*)
 trunk; *ʂɔ-ⁿdzə*,¹¹⁸ (containing clothing)
ki-tsh^he <gos.ʔ>
 tsampa; *htsv-ⁿbv* <rtsam.pa>
 tsampa dough; *tʂu*
 turban; haircloth; *ɲgo-ht^hfə* <mgo.dkri>¹¹⁹
 turn, spin; *nk^ho* <'khor>
 turn around; *tsh^hə-lá tsə* <phyi.ʔ.byed>
 turn corner; *ɣv-rv nk^ho* <ʔ.ʔ.ʔ.khor>
 turnip; *lo-dur*,¹²⁰ (turnip greens) *lo-ka*;
 (pickled turnip greens) *lo-sə* <ʔ.skyur>;
 (turnip tuber) *lo-du*
 turquois; *vjə* <g.yu>
 tusk; *so-ⁿt^hʂi* <so.mche.ba>
 twelve; *tʂə-ɲi* <bcu.gnyis>
 twenty; *ɲə-ʂə* <nyi.shu>
 twenty-one; *ɲə-ʂə-htsa-tsə*
 <nyi.shu.rtsa.gcig>
 twin; *tsh^hi-χso* <mtshe.gsoʔ>
 twist (two strands of yarn into one); *dʒə*
 <sgrim>
 twist (towels); *χt^hfə* <gcu>
 two; *vɲə* <gnyis>; (in classifier phrases)
to <do>
 ugly; *go-je* <ʔ.ngan>
 uncle (maternal); *a-zɔ* <a.zhang> ~

- ʒɔ-wu <zhang.po>; (paternal) *v-kə*
 <a.khu>
 uncultivated land; *gi* <rgod>
 under; *γǎ-no* <'og> (with locative *-no*)
 understand; *χv̄-ko* <ha.go>; *χv̄ v̄-ko-te*
 'Do you understand?'
 undress; *ᵐpʰə* <'phud>, [PFV/IMP] *pʰə*
 <phud>
 untie; [VT] *fə* <bshig>; [VI] *ʒə* <zhig>
 upper jaw; *zʷ-ᵐgə* <ya.mgal>
 up, upwards; *l̄-rə* <la.rol>
 urine; *χtʃi* <gcin>; (urine and excrement)
tʃʰə-h̄tsa <chu.rkyag>
 urn; *dzv̄-tə* <rdza.?'>; *dzv̄-mv̄* <rdza.ma>
 use; *ʒə-z̄v̄*
 uvula; *f̄e-ka* <lce.?'>
 valley; *l̄ə-wv̄* <lung.pa>; (gully) *lu-χə*
 <lung.?'>
 vaporize; *l̄s-ᵐbə* <rlangs.?'> [PFV] *l̄s-pə*,
dzv̄tə kʰv̄le ki-xu m̄ tʃʰɔ l̄s-ᵐbə
ᵐdʒo-rə kɔ 'Put the lid on the wine urn
 or the wine will vaporize.'
 vegetable garden; *lo-ʒi* <?.zhing>¹²¹
 vein; *la-h̄tsv̄* <lag.rtsa>
 verandah; *v̄d̄e*
 vermilion; *ᵐtsʰi* <mtshal>
 vertical; *h̄ke-h̄ke*
 very; *kʰə-kʰv̄*, *ʒə-h̄k̄v̄(-tsə)*
 village headman; official in general;
ᵐgo-tʃə <mgo.khrid>
 village; *de-wv̄* <sde.ba>¹²²
 vinegar; *tsʰu* <tshu'u>
 vital organs; *nɔ-tʃə* <nang.cha>
 voice; *h̄ki* <skad>
 vomit; *sə* <skyug>
 vulture; *tsv̄-gi* <bya.rgod>
 vulva; *ᵐv̄-mə* <nya.ma>; *v̄zɔ* <gzhang>
 wade; *tʃʰə dʒi* <chu.rgal>
 wages; *v̄v̄* <gla>
 waist; *h̄kə-w̄e* <rked.pa>
 wait; *gə* <sgug>; *ᵐdɔ gǎ-di* 'Wait here!'
 wake up; *si* <sad>
 walk; *h̄kɔ-tʃᵐ dʒo* <rkang.thang.'gro>
 wall; (earthen wall) *tsɔ* <gyang>; (plank
 wall) *ᵐpʰu-rv̄*
 walnut; *qʰo-lo*¹²³
 want (to do sth); *sɔ* <bsam>
 warm oneself by fire; *ᵐé-ᵐd̄e*
 <me.'de.wa>¹²⁴
 warm; (as of weather) *tʃo-tse de*
 <dro.tsad.bde>; (feel warm) *tʃo-ᵐbo*
 <dron.po>
 wart; *ᵐdze-rv̄* <mdzer.pa>
 wash; *ᵐtʃʰə* <'khru(d)>, [PFV/IMP] *tʃə*
 <bkrus>
 wasp; bee; *bɔ-ᵐə* <sbrang.bu>
 watch tower; *ᵐkʰv̄* <mkhar>
 water-barrel; *tʃʰə-zo* <chu.zo>; (its
 carrying strap) *tʃʰə-ta* <chu.thag>;
 (support in the back) *lv̄-xə*
 water; *tʃʰə* <chu>
 wave [N]; *tʃʰə-ʒv̄* <chu.?'>
 we all; [INCL] *a-ba*; [EXCL] *ᵐə-ba* (with
 plural suffix *-ba*)
 we two; [INCL] *v̄-yi*; [EXCL] *ᵐə-yi*
 (with dual suffix *-yi*)
 wear, put on; *ki* <gon>; (wear rings,
 necklaces, etc.) *tʰu*
 weasel; *h̄tse-h̄tə* <sre.?'>¹²⁵
 weather; *v̄nɔ* <gnam>; *təri v̄nɔ ᵐə-de-kə*
 'The weather is not good today.'
 weave; *ᵐtʰa* <'thags>, [PFV] *tʰa*, [IMP]
ta
 wedge; *tsʰə* <khyi>
 weed; *h̄tsv̄-gi* <rtswa.rgod>
 weep; *ᵐə* <ngu>

- weigh, measure; *tsʰe* <tshad>
weld; *bv*
west; *nə* <nub>
wet; *ɛlɛ-ⁿbv* <rlon.pa>
what; *tʃʰə(-tsə)* <ci.cig>
wheat straw; *su-zə* <sog.ʔ>; (threshed
bran of this) *pʰe*
wheat; *tʃo* <gro>
wheel; *ⁿkʰo-lo* <'khor.lo>
when (Q); *nɔ* <nam>; *tʃʰá-tsə-kí; te*
tʃʰátsəki yu-rə 'About what time will
s/he come back?'
where (Q); *kɔ-no* <gang> (with locative
-no)
whet, sharpen; *dv* <rdar>
whey; *tɐ-rɐ ~ tɐ-rə* <da.ra>
which; *kɔ-te* <gang.de>
whip [N]; *la-ʂv* <?.lcag>; [V] *ɣʃə*
whirlpool; *tʃʰə-fi* <chu.ʔ>
whirlwind; *tse-ɣtʃə*
white; *ke-rə* <dkar.ba>
who; *sə* <su>
wide; *kʰi-kʰi tʃʰe* <?.che>; (as of clothing)
kʰi tʃʰe <?.che>; (as of roads and
rooms) *ʒi tʃʰe* <zheng.che>
widow; *zə-sa-mv* <yug.?.ma>
wife; *mv-ri* <ma.rabs>
wild ass (*Equus kiang*); *htʃɔ* <skyang>
wild boar; *pʰa-gi* <phag.rgod>
wild cat; *lə-gi* <li.rgod>
wild duck; *tʃʰə-la* <chu.ʔ>
wild goat, bharal (*Pseudois nahoor*);
rɐ-gi <ra.rgod>
willow; *dʒə-wa*; (willow twigs) *dʒə-ta*
win; *lɛ* <lonʔ>
wind [V]; *htʃə* <dkri>
wind; *ɛlu* <rlung>; *tsʰəso ɛlu*
tʃo-ɲé-tsə-kə 'The wind blows fiercely
outside.'
window; *kv-^hku* <dkar.khung>; (large)
*pʰu-ɣv, tʃv-mə*¹²⁶
wing; *ʂo-^hpɐ* <gshog.pa>
winnowing basket; *sə; ⁿtsʰv*
winter; *gi-ⁿgv* <dgun.ka>
wipe; *ⁿtsʰə* <'phyi>, [PFV/IMP] *tsʰə*
<phyis>
wire; *htʃa-^hkə* <lcags.skud>
wisdom; *lo* <blo>
wither; *je; metu je-sv-tsə* 'The flowers
have withered.'
wok; *ʂa-lə* <lcags.ʔ>
wolf; *sv-ⁿgə* <spyang.ku>
woman; female adult; *mv-ri* <ma.rabs>
womb; *ɲi* <mngal>
wood; *ʃi* <shing>
wool; *pi* <bal>
woolen cloth; *ⁿtsʰə* <phrug>;¹²⁷ *ɣv-sv*¹²⁸
woolpecker; *du-pʰe-ɣə* <sdong.ʔ.ʔ>
work; *lɛ-^hkv* <las.kha>; [V] *lɛ-^hkv li*
<las.kha.las>
worry; *sɛ-ɲə-de tsə* <sems.mi.bde.byed>
worship; *ⁿdʒi* <mjal>
wound [N]; *mv-kv* <rma.kha>; (be
wounded) *mv-kv ⁿpʰə*, [PFV] *mv-kv*
pʰə
wrap; *dzə* <sgril>
wrinkle; *tsə-ⁿbə*
wrist; *la-tsʰə* <lag.tshigs>
write, draw; *ⁿdzə* <'bri>, [PFV/IMP] *tʃə*
<bri>; *ɲaɲu tʃə-jə-te zəɣe rə* 'It was a
letter that the child wrote.'
wrong; *nu* <nor>
yak; *ɛja* <g-yag>; (breeding yak)
ɛja-ⁿtʃʰɔ <g-yag.ʔ>; (female) *ⁿdzə*
<'bri>; (wild yak) *ⁿdzə* <'brong>
yarn; *tʃə-ɣə* <rtsid.skud>

yawn; *ʌli tsə* <glal.byed>
year after the next; *ʎi-lo* <gzhes.lo>
year before the last; *ŋv-lo-te-ŋv-lo*
<snga.lo.de.snga.lo>
year; *lo* <lo>
yeast (brewer's yeast); *pʰi* <phabs>
yell, cry out; *tʃa-ló-tsə* <grags.?.byed>
yellow; *se-rə* <ser.po>
yesterday; *kʰv-htsɔ* <khar.rtsang>
yeti, legendary wild man; *na-jə-gi*
<nags.?.rgod>
yield; make way; *lɔ-htsə* <lam.?.>; *te-sv*
lɔ-htsə 'Make way for him!'
yogurt; *zɔ ~ ʎɔ* <zho>
yoke; *ŋv-fi* <gnya'.shing>
yonder; *pʰə-ʎə-tɔ* <pha.gi.de.?.>
you; *tsʰo* <khyod>; (dual) *tsʰo-ʎi*
<khyod.?.> (with dual suffix *-ʎi*);
(plural) *tsʰo-ba* <khyod.?.> (with plural
suffix *-ba*)
young; *lɔ-tʃu* <lo.chung>
youngster; (male) *pʰo-sv* <pho.gsar>;
(female) *mo-sv* <mo.gsar>
Zhongu Valley; *ʎo-ŋə-kʰu*
<zho.ngu.khog

Notes:

- ¹ Amdo usage. The original meaning is ‘kind, type’.
- ² Cf. Northern Qiang *patʂ* ‘round object’.
- ³ Cf. Qūgǔ 曲谷 Qiang *ε-miε* (Huang Bufan, p.c.).
- ⁴ WT <gra.ma>.
- ⁵ Tóngrén (同仁 <Thun.rin>) Amdo *taŋ-ma* <dang.ma>.
- ⁶ Cf. Baima Tibetan *kʰa¹³ndε³⁵*.
- ⁷ Cf. Amdo <btso> ‘to boil (solid food)’. The Zhongu form violates expected correspondences.
- ⁸ WT ‘goods’; with semantic shift to ‘bovine’ as in Amdo and some Khams dialects.
- ⁹ As in Amdo; cf. WT <gdub>.
- ¹⁰ From Chinese *huǒpén* 火盆.
- ¹¹ WT <’chad>; [PFV] <chad>.
- ¹² WT [IMP] stem. Cf. WT [PFV] <bcad>.
- ¹³ Cf. Northern Qiang *papa*.
- ¹⁴ With optional suffix *-ma*.
- ¹⁵ Cf. variant form *tsa-blo-tʃ* used in Layi village.
- ¹⁶ Standard WT <tshang.ra> ‘hinder part, rump’.
- ¹⁷ Amdo Xiahe (*bLa.brang*) *tcaχ*.
- ¹⁸ From Chinese *mǎtáng* 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 *n¹³tsʰɔ-rv n¹³bə-lu* ‘buttock cheek’.
- ²³ A word found in many Tibetan dialects of the area.
- ²⁴ Cf. ‘stove’ *tsi-ku*.
- ²⁵ Also means ‘to hew’.
- ²⁶ Cf. Daoфу *çʰoŋtʰu*, Guiqiong juɔ⁵⁵tu⁵⁵; Muya *çv⁵⁵to³³*, Caodeng rGyalrong *tʃaŋtwe?*, Zhongre rGyalrong *ʃaŋtwe?*.
- ²⁷ Cf. WT <skyung.ka>.
- ²⁸ Cf. Amdo Tibetan *wotə* <bo.ti>.
- ²⁹ Also means ‘pick up objects on the ground, tidy up’.
- ³⁰ Probably a loan from Amdo; the expected native reflex would be **fə*.
- ³¹ With suffix *-wa*; Cf. WT <so.mang>.
- ³² Suffixed form of <glang>.
- ³³ Cf. Standard Tibetan <pho.rog> ‘large-billed crow’.
- ³⁴ Probably <ba.chu> (‘hoarfrost-water’); Cf. WT <zil.pa> ‘dew’; <ba.mo> ‘hoarfrost’.
- ³⁵ The initial correspondence is amiss. Cf. Southern Qiang *χu³³ba³³*.
- ³⁶ Cf. Situ rGyalrong *kʰa*; Caodeng rGyalrong *qʰv* ‘dislike’.
- 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’.
- ⁴⁰ Cf. Bātháng 巴塘 (<’ba’.thang>) *tʰej¹³-ka⁵⁵*.

- 41 This verb (WT ‘to gnaw’) is attested with the meaning ‘to eat’ in many other dialects of this area and Khams, including Baima, Zhānglà 漳臘 (<|Cang.la>), and Qiuji.
- 42 Cf. WT <’bud> ‘to fall down’.
- 43 Cf. WT <leb>; but the expected reflex of -eb is -i.
- 44 Cf. Xiahe *k^hər*.
- 45 Cf. Caodeng rGyalrong *kolev?*
- 46 The probable source **phur* is not attested with this meaning.
- 47 Cf. WT <rte’u>.
- 48 Wrong rhyme for WT <smug>.
- 49 Cf. *ⁿkhaŋ*, attested in the Amdo variety of Zangs-dkar Township, Hongyuan County (Hua 2002:213), but **ⁿk^haŋ* would have yielded **ⁿk^h* in Zhongu.
- 50 Cf. Xiahe *fə*.
- 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-ru>.
- 55 The first syllable is a morpheme denoting ‘round object’, cf. Northern Qiang *qə* ‘head; round object’.
- 56 From Chinese *làjiāo* 辣椒.
- 57 Cf. WT <’khyags.rom>; Xiahe *t^hakrom*, the Zhongu form bears general resemblance to the above but the vowel correspondences are wrong.
- 58 With instrumental suffix -*kə*.
- 59 Other Tibetan dialects usually show -*ma* suffix.
- 60 Probably a loan from Chinese *xué* 學.
- 61 As in Amdo.
- 62 Cf. Xiahe *^hdʒon* <sgron>.
- 63 Cf. WT <bzhugs.zhag> ‘to stay overnight’.
- 64 Cf. Xiámàn Amdo *ʌa*.
- 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 *làròu* 臘肉.
- 70 Cf. Xiahe <nang.kha> ‘tomorrow’; WT <nang.mo> ‘morning’.
- 71 Cf. WT <nyog.pa>.
- 72 WT ‘thin; slender’.
- 73 Cf. <dri.ma> in other Tibetan dialects.
- 74 The would-be source of this imperfective form **’phye* is unattested. Cf. WT <’byed>
- 75 Cf. Xiahe *^hde* <sde> ‘others’.
- 76 From Chinese *táozǐ* 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 WT. Cf. Xiahe *hla*.
82 Cf. WT <'bur.len>.
83 From Chinese *mázi* 麻子.
84 From Chinese *yángyù* 洋芋.
85 Invariable verb, from WT <ldug> ([PFV/IMP] <blug>) 'to pour'.
86 With the existential verb *nba* (q.v.).
87 From **n 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 innovatively 'to swallow'.
90 Identical to Xiahe *htsəyɔ̄*, WT <rtsib.ma>.
91 Semantic extension from 'to catch'.
92 Cf. Guiqiong *tʂuā³la⁵⁵*.
93 Possibly a secondarily differentiated form based on *di* <ldad> 'to chew'.
94 Cf. WT <slog> 'to turn upside down', but the initial correspondence is wrong.
95 Xiahe *hje* 'a kind of sausage', for which the non-standard written form <g.ye> is offered in Hua and Longbojia 1993:522.
96 From Chinese *cōng* 葱.
97 Cf. Xiahe *kar*.
98 Not a reflex of WT <khu.ba>.
99 Cf. WT 'day laborer'.
100 Demonstrative 'that'.
101 Cf. Xiahe *n goχ*; Balti *kok* <bkog> 'to pull off, strip' (Sprigg 2002:92); WT <'gog> means 'to snatch away'.
102 Cf. Xiahe *tʃhəri*.
103 Cf. Xiahe *hɲəm* <**snum*>, WT <snom>.
104 Same as in Amdo.
105 A loan from Chinese *tāng* 湯.
106 From dialectal Chinese *guōchǎnchan* 鍋鏟鏟.
107 WT 'to whirl'; Cf. Caodeng rGyalrong *χsər* 'to stir-fry'.
108 Probably from Chinese *jiēshàng* 街上.
109 This word means 'sunlight'.
110 Semantic shift from original meaning 'to let in'.
111 Semantic shift from original meaning 'to be full'.
112 Literally 'bald sun'.
113 Probably from Chinese *guànzǐ* 罐子 'jar'.
114 Cf. Xiahe stem alternants [IMPF] <'dral>; [PFV] <dral>; [IMP] <phrol>.
115 Cf. Xiahe *tə-na* <de.na>.
116 Possibly an Amdo loan; cf. Xiahe *tə*.

- ¹¹⁷ The word means ‘daybreak’ in WT. The innovative sense of ‘tomorrow’ is also found in certain Amdo dialects, e.g. Hongyuan.
- ¹¹⁸ From Chinese *xiāngzi* 箱子.
- ¹¹⁹ Same as in Xiahe.
- ¹²⁰ WT <nyung.ma>.
- ¹²¹ The first syllable comes from *lo-du* ‘turnip’.
- ¹²² Innovated meaning, also used in Amdo, of WT <sde> ‘tribe’.
- ¹²³ A widespread Qiangic word, cf. Situ rGyalrong *ʒgo-lo*; Guiqiong *k^hũ³¹lũ⁵⁵*; Shixing *q^ha³³ra⁵³*; Lyusu *k^ha³⁵e^lʃ³³*; Namuzi *q^ha³³la⁵⁵*.
- ¹²⁴ WT <lde>.
- ¹²⁵ WT <sre.mon(ng)>
- ¹²⁶ Found in many Amdo varieties, e.g. Tóngrén <Thun.rin> *tʃama*.
- ¹²⁷ The form may preserve ancient prenasalization not seen in the standard written form. Cf. Aikè Amdo *mtʃ^huk*.
- ¹²⁸ Cf. Xiahe *has^haχ*.