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. 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-Gyarlrong borderland, this prefecture has all the necessary geographical and sociolinguistic factors conducive to linguistic divergence, sheltering obscure Tibetan dialects little known to the outside world. Zhongu is possibly the most remarkable of these dialects, and the focus of this paper.

Zhongu Tibetan is spoken in Hongtú 和土 and Hongzá 紅扎 Townships and in Ping-ān 平安, Gùnå 姑納, and Luóbùchōng 蘿卜沖 Villages of Xiăoxìng 小姓 Township in the Zhongu Valley (/ziŋkbu/, <zho ngu khog>; in Chinese, Rèwùgōu 熱務溝)3 of Sōngpān 松潘 (<zung chu>) County. The Tibetans of the neighboring Máižhágōu (麥扎溝) Valley in Hēishuī 黑水 (<khro chu>) County, with whom the Zhongu Tibetans have been in close contact, allegedly use a similar dialect, but I have not been able to verify this claim.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.


2 Written <zho ngu>, pronounced /ŋo/ at Layi Village (cf. variant pronunciations /z oŋ/ and /reŋ/ at other villages).

3 There are five townships in Zhongu Valley: Kálōng 卡龍, Yānyún 永雲, Hóngzhá 紅扎, Hongtú 和土, and Xiăoxìng 小姓. Varieties of Amdo Tibetan are used at Kálōng and Yānyún, while most villages in Xiăoxìng 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 Wènchuān 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 canonical. One type of reduction elides the /ə/ of unstressed grammatical suffixes. Frequently seen examples include the directional morpheme /ra/ (e.g., /tsʰə-rə/ → [tsʰəɾ] ‘hither’), and the imperative prefix /mə-/i, and the unstressed form /ra/ of the copula verb /ri/; the latter two often cliticize to the verb stem and become surface codas (e.g., /nədə-ra/ → [nədəɾ] ‘exist (declarative)’; /dzə-mə-χtu/ → [dzəmytu]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:

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

⁸ Imperative form of the complex verb dzə-χtu ‘to throw away’.

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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’

- /kʰu/ ‘mouth; opening’
- /qʰude/ ‘to be bitter’

- /γε/ ‘to come [PFV]’
- /σε/ ‘to scratch to stop an itch’

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

Examples of simple initial consonants are:

- /p/ /pʰ/ ‘wool’; /pə/ ‘to embrace’
- /b/ /bʰ/ ‘brewer’s yeast’; /bʰə/ ‘to undress [PFV/IMP]’
- /m/ /mə/ ‘butter’; /mə/ ‘to be much/many’
- /n/ /nə/ ‘medicine’; /nə/ ‘mole (on body)’
- /w/ /wə/ ‘nominal suffix’; /wə/ ‘nominal suffix’
- /t/ /tə/ ‘Asiatic black bear’; /te/ ‘that’
- /b/ /bə/ ‘sledgehammer’; /bə/ ‘to get’
- /d/ /də/ ‘tree’; /da/ ‘to lick’
- /s/ /sə/ ‘thought; mind’ /sə/ ‘to wake up’
- /z/ /zə/ ‘to bark’; /zə/ ‘to be good’
- /n/ /nə/ ‘oath’; /nə/ ‘to exist’
- /ɡ/ /ɡə/ ‘oil’; /ɡə/ ‘snot’
- /ɫ/ /ɫə/ ‘manure’; /lu/ ‘to fall from height’
- /ɫ/ /ɫə/ ‘god, buddha’; /ɫə/ ‘to give birth (as of animals)’
- /r/ /rə/ ‘long’; /ra/ ‘to be’
- /ɡ/ /ɡə/ ‘to touch’; /ɡə/ ‘pimple’
- /ts/ /tsə/ ‘mouse’; /tsə/ ‘to filter; to strain’

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

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

Voiced and voiceless aspirated stop/affricates may be prenasalized, symbolized in this study by a preposed raised \( \hat{n} \). The prenasal element agrees in voicing and place of articulation with the main consonant (e.g., /\( \hat{b} \)p/ → [\( \hat{b} \)p]). The prenasalized initials are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\hat{n}_p h & \quad \hat{n}_t h & \quad \hat{n}_t s h & \quad \hat{n}_t s t h & \quad \hat{n}_t f h & \quad \hat{n}_k h \\
\hat{n}_b & \quad \hat{n}_d & \quad \hat{n}_d z & \quad \hat{n}_d z t & \quad \hat{n}_d f & \quad \hat{n}_g
\end{align*}
\]

Prenasalization is contrastive, as these minimal pairs show:
Voiceless stop/affricates may be pronounced with a slight puff of glottal air preceding the closure phase of a following consonant. If the latter happens to be a voiceless affricate, the pre-aspiration acquires supraglottal coronal friction under assimilation to the following affricate (i.e., /ts/ → [ts]; /tʃ/ → [ʃ]).10 Pre-aspiration is phonologically significant on voiceless stop/affricates; many lexical pairs are minimally distinguished by this feature:

/ke/ ‘cowhide’
/ke/ ‘to be thirsty’
/tsu/ ‘rust; bird’
/tsu/ ‘pulse; grass’
/pi/ ‘wool’
/pi/ ‘brother’

The complete set of phonemic pre-aspirated consonants are:

\( h_p \quad h_t \quad h_ts \quad h_f \quad h_k \)

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:

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10 This tendency is particularly clear in the speech of Zháshí, from Láyí Village.
11 The voiceless uvular spirant ʡ- is alternatively realized as a stop ʡ-.
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/ʃa/ ‘cloud; louse’
/ʃʃa/ ‘plough [N]’

/zʃ/ ‘to bark’
/zʃʃ/ ‘leopard’

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

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

/tsa/ ‘to filter’
/ntsø/ ‘earthern wall’
/ætsø/ ‘to hang’

Examples of the complex initials:

| /nºpʰ/ | /nºpʰɛn̩/ ‘dhole’; /nºpʰa/ ‘to fly’
|-------|----------------------------------|
| /nºb/  | /nºbɛ/ ‘insect’; /nºbɛn/ ‘to burn, to be aflame’
| /nºb/  | /nºbɛ/ ‘declivity’; /nºbɛn/ ‘to drink’
| /nºd/  | /nºdɛ/ ‘color’; /nºdɛn/ ‘to chase’
| /nºtsʰ/| /nºtsʰɛ/ ‘lake’; /nºtsʰɛn/ ‘to open’
| /nºdz/ | /nºdɔz/ ‘dzo’; /nºdzɛn/ ‘to paste’
| /nºtsɛ/| /nºtsɛɛn̩/ ‘rosary’; /nºtsɛu/ ‘to snatch away, to rob’
| /nºdzɛ/| /nºdzɛɛn̩/ ‘rice’; /nºdzɛɛn̩/ ‘to drag; to pull sth heavy’
| /nºtʃʰ/| /nºtʃʰɛ/ ‘lip’; /nºtʃʰɛɛn̩/ ‘(as of sth stiff) to break’
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Palatalized consonants are found at the allophonic level. Palatalization occurs automatically with consonants preceding the non-low front vowels /i/, /e/; and /æ/; e.g., /ge/ [gje] ‘to laugh’; /pe/ [pje] ‘Tibetan’.

2.3 Rhymes

The Zhongu rhyme inventory is probably the most impoverished of all Tibetan dialects. There are no diphthongs, no consonantal codas, nor any secondary features such as nasalization or vowel length. In fact, the entire Zhongu rhyme system consists of nine simple vowels:
The mid vowels\(^{12}\) contrast two degrees of vowel height:

- /\(\text{md}\)E/ ‘demon’   /\(\text{dze}\)/ ‘eight’
- /\(\text{md}_2\)E/ ‘rice’   /\(\text{dze}\)/ ‘say [PFV]’

- /\(\text{lø}\)/ ‘year’   /\(\text{to}\)/ ‘two (in classifier phrases)’
- /\(\text{lo}\)/ ‘road’   /\(\text{tx}\)/ ‘Asiatic black bear’

Two low vowels are distinguished: a front /\(\text{ë}\)/ (phonetically centralized, hence the IPA symbol) and a more back /\(\text{a}\)/:

- /\(\text{ph}\)u/ ‘horse’   /\(\text{sh}\)/ ‘east’
- /\(\text{hula}\)/ ‘tiger’   /\(\text{sa}\)/ ‘deer’

Examples of the vowel phonemes are:

- /\(\text{i}\)/   /\(\text{ši}\)/ ‘bit’; /\(\text{li}\)/ ‘to do; to make’
- /\(\text{e}\)/   /\(\text{dze}\)/ ‘eight’; /\(\text{še}\)/ ‘to grow’
- /\(\text{e}\)/   /\(\text{re}\)/ ‘cotton cloth’; /\(\text{kʰɛ}\)/ ‘to lean’
- /\(\text{a}\)/   /\(\text{vn}\)/ ‘antler’; /\(\text{ln}\)/ ‘to lay (e.g., bricks)’
- /\(\text{o}\)/   /\(\text{tɔl}\)/ ‘mountain’; /\(\text{sa}\)/ ‘to select’
- /\(\text{u}\)/   /\(\text{phul}\)/ ‘belly’; /\(\text{ru}\)/ ‘to incubate’
- /\(\text{o}\)/   /\(\text{təl}\)/ ‘corpse’; /\(\text{zo}\)/ ‘to be slanting’
- /\(\text{s}\)/   /\(\text{ts}\)/ ‘Asiatic black bear’; /\(\text{ls}\)/ ‘to stand’
- /\(\text{a}\)/   /\(\text{ra}\)/ ‘enclosure’; /\(\text{ša}\)/ ‘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,

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\(^{12}\) The higher mid rounded vowel /\(\text{o}\)/ is actually pronounced as a centralized vowel [\(\text{ø}\)].
nor is tone lexically significant. All monosyllables in isolation are uttered in a high (variably level or slightly falling) pitch. With polysyllabic words, a system of stress accent is at work, much as we find in such Amdo dialects as Xiāmàn 西曼 (<Byams.me>; J. Sun 1986) and Hōngyuán 哈原 (<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:

\[ \chi'se-ná 'gold' \]
gold-black

\[ l'esó-no 'at/from Lhasa' \]
Lhasa-LOC

\[ h\text{tró}-tso-kə 'with an ax' \]
ax-INDEF-INST

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

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

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

\[ ná-ne 'to listen' \]
ear-listen

\[ "d\text{dgō}-go 'to want to go' \]
go-want

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mé-rə} & \quad \text{‘ideophone mimicking moving currents’} \\
\text{me-rə} & \quad \text{‘to be red’}
\end{align*}
\]

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,

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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 (*ʔ or *γ or *ω) 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. The resultant Zhongu syllable canon is (C)(C)V, a scanty remnant from its elaborate OT progenitor.

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

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

3.2 History of Zhongu onsets

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

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

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

3.2.1.1 OT sonorants

The OT sonorants include four nasals (*m, *n, *ŋ, and *ŋ), two liquids (*r, *l), and two glides (*w, *j). Except for the unusual innovations whereby the OT glides *j and *w changed respectively to spirants /z/ and /ɻ/, 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’
/tə/ <ja> ‘tea’
/zə/ <zho> ‘yogurt’
/zə/ <zug> ‘to bark’
/ɻu/ <’ong> ‘to come’

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

/do/ <rdo> ‘stone’
/go/ <sgo> ‘door’
/nɡo/ <mgo> ‘head’

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17 There is some doubt concerning the original phonetic quality of the OT w, written <w>, as some modern dialects show voiced uvular reflexes, e.g., k- (Amdo Xiamen, J. Sun 1996) or kw- (Dári <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, ḟ <zh>, and a guttural r̥ or ɾ (written with root-initial achung <’>), the dialectal reflexes of the latter include ɾ (in many Amdo varieties, while in other Amdo varieties it has dropped), ḟ (Lhasa and many Central varieties), and ɻ (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.:

/ʂɔ/ <shi> ‘to die’
/z.ɔ̃/ <zhim.po> ‘to be sweet’
/ju/ <shing> ‘firewood’
/swɔi/ <sa.zhing> ‘field’

The same shift also affected OT consonant clusters:

/ʂɔ/ <bsha> ‘to butcher’
/ʐɔ/ <bzhar> ‘to shave’

A side-effect of this sound change brought the voiced retroflex spirant /ʐ/ in contrast with the dental trill/tap /ɾ/ (from OT r-). This is a rare opposition in modern Tibetan, where [ʐ] is normally a positional variant of the /ɾ/ 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), Döngyì (東義),19 and the Dìqíng (迪慶 <bDe.chen>) dialect cluster of northwestern Yunnan (Lu 1990, Zhang 1993, Hongladarom 1996). However, retroflection 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: /ʁ/, /ʁʰ/, /ʁ/, and /u/. Some of these were secondarily derived by word-internal mutation (e.g., /ra xo/ <ra.ba.skor> ‘cowpen’, /tʰ˚u/ <brag.khungs> ‘cave’, /tʰiqa/ <phyed.ka> ‘half’), or came from original consonant clusters (e.g., /ʁo/ <dbang> ‘power’, /ʁo-ʁo/ <sgor.sgor> ‘to be round’, /ʁu/ <llam> ‘boot, shoe’). Other instances of uvulars are of mysterious origin, as they occur in lexical items of unknown ancestry (e.g., /ʁ forEach ‘hole’, /ʁʰeʃa/ ‘neck’; /qeʃa/ ‘hook’, and in the suffixes /-qo/, /-qo/ attached to many nouns, as in /ʁneq/ <rna.?> ‘ear’, /ʁnqo/ <zhwa.?> ‘hat’). It would be

19 A variety of Tibetan spoken at Daŏchéng (稻城 <’Dab.pa>) County in Gänzhā 甘孜 Prefecture (personal research).
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rash to attribute them indiscriminately to Qi angic substratal or areal influences, as very few of them are recognizable as Qi angic loanwords (e.g., /qæolo/ ‘walnut’; /qæetșa/ ‘neck’\(^{20}\)). Moreover, there are native Tibetan lexical items containing (simplex) uvular onsets, such as /χœko/ <ha.go> ‘to understand’, /qʰa/ <kha.ba> ‘snow’, and /qʰbآنde/ <khwa.?> ‘to be bitter’. Since it is perfectly normal for archaic linguistic traits to be preserved in peripheral dialects (e.g., Zhongu /kʰa/ ‘eye’ reflecting an older form <dmyig> than the standard written form <mig>), and furthermore since uvular pronunciations of these words are documented in several other conservative dialects,\(^{21}\) 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 qä³ʰtsæi\(^{45}\); Muya kʰpʰtsa\(^{45}\); Shixing kʰpʰhi\(^{45}\).

\(^{21}\) In many Tibetan dialects that distinguish uvulars from velars, these three test words often contain uvular onsets, as evidenced in the following examples from Shibazi (Hua and Duozangta 1997), Yanyn (<gNyan.yul>, personal research), and Ren’entang (仁恩塘(<zings.ngo.thang>); personal research):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shibazi</th>
<th>Yanyun</th>
<th>Ren’entang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qʰko(^{45})</td>
<td>qʰa:</td>
<td>kʰa:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʰba(^{45})</td>
<td>qʰbآنde</td>
<td>qʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>χ³p-kọ</td>
<td>χ³p-kọ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{22}\) For more evidence and further discussion of this possibility, see Huang 1991:230-235.

\(^{23}\) Some initial clusters involving one of the three continuant prefixes (r-, l-, s-) permit an additional ‘external’ prefix b-. Incidentally, the Tibetan script writes -l- in clusters like 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:

\[ /\text{n}d\text{zug}\] <mdzug.gu> ‘finger’
\[ /\text{n}d\text{z}\] <’dzug> ‘to plant (trees)’
\[ /\text{n}th\] <mthong> ‘to see’
\[ <\text{t}h\text{ung}> ‘to drink’

The nasal prefix m- (from earlier *b-), however, elided before another nasal (e.g., /n\text{v}/ <m\text{na’}> ‘oath’).

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

\[ /\text{zh}\] <zhag> ‘to stay overnight’
\[ <\text{bzhag}> ‘put [PFV]’
\[ /\text{f}\] <shig> ‘louse’
\[ <\text{bshig}> ‘to untie’

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

\[ /\text{ngul}\] <dngul> ‘silver’
\[ /\text{ngo}\] <rongo> ‘to parch’
\[ /\text{ntj}\] <lni.gu> ‘fifty’
\[ /\text{gj}\] <gein.lgang> ‘bladder’
\[ /\text{g}\] <rgan> ‘porcupine’
\[ /\text{g}k\] <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’
/dewu/ <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:

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

/ko/ <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:

/nø/ <na> ‘if’
/qnø.go/ <sna.mgo> ‘nose’

/qo/ <nga> ‘I’
/jo/ <snga> ‘early’

Also standing out for its exceptional diachrony is the velar prefix g-, which developed into a uvular spirant (χ- or k-, 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.
3.2.2.2 OT medials

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/ætsø/ &<rtsa> \text{‘pulse’} \\
/tso/ &<rnam.shes> \text{‘soul’} \\
/lo/ &<lo> \text{‘year’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 /u/, OT velar and labial stops taking the -j- medial merged and were transformed into dental affricates:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ætsæo/ &<khyod> \text{‘you [SG]’} \\
/tso/ &<gnyen> \text{‘to paste, stick’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{n}\text{ts}\text{e}/ & \quad \langle '\text{phrad} \rangle \quad \text{‘to meet’} \\
/\text{t}\text{s}\text{a}/ & \quad \langle \text{brag} \rangle \quad \text{‘rock, cliff’} \\
/\text{o}\text{d}\text{z}\text{e}/ & \quad \langle '\text{bri} \rangle \quad \text{‘female yak’} \\
/\text{t}\text{s}\text{e}/ & \quad \langle \text{dran} \rangle \quad \text{‘to think of’} \\
/\text{o}\text{d}\text{z}\text{e}/ & \quad \langle '\text{dre} \rangle \quad \text{‘goblin; ghost’} \\
/\text{t}\text{f}\text{a}/ & \quad \langle \text{bkrus} \rangle \quad \text{‘wash [PFV/IMP]’} \\
/\text{t}\text{f}\text{a}/ & \quad \langle \text{khrag} \rangle \quad \text{‘blood’} \\
/\text{t}\text{f}\text{o}/ & \quad \langle '\text{gro} \rangle \quad \text{‘wheat’} \\
/\text{o}\text{d}\text{z}\text{o}/ & \quad \langle '\text{gro} \rangle \quad \text{‘to go’}
\end{align*}
\]

The same alignment of the three OT cluster types is also reported in the neighboring Amdo, Zhuoni, and Zhōuqū (<‘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 (<sDe.dge>; [h]) and Záduō (<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 Baima\textsuperscript{29} likewise, words like \textit{lla} <\textit{hla}> ‘god’ carry the suggestive breathy register indicating a proto-sonorant cluster.\textsuperscript{30} Another remnant of *\textit{hl}- as an earlier consonant cluster is the pronunciation \textit{\textchi am} (written <\textit{lham}> ‘boot’) current in certain dialects spoken in the Amdo region.

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item /\textit{tsi}/ <\textit{tsri}> ‘younger sister’
  \item /\textit{tsa}/ <\textit{tsreg}> ‘to roast, to burn’
  \item /\textit{tsa}/ <\textit{tsran}> ‘beans’
  \item /\textit{tsi}/ <\textit{tsel}> ‘to arrive’
  \item /\textit{tsi}/ <\textit{tsla}> ‘to be easy’
  \item /\textit{tsi}/ <\textit{tsel}> ‘to teach’
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item /\textit{dza}/ <\textit{zla}> ‘month’\textsuperscript{31}
  \item /\textit{dzo}/ <\textit{zlo}> ‘to say’
  \item /\textit{dza}/ <\textit{zla}ba> ‘penis’\textsuperscript{32}
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{sky}- > /\textit{s}/
    \item /\textit{s}a/ <\textit{skyi}> ‘to borrow, to lend’
    \item /\textit{se}/ <\textit{skye}> ‘to grow’
\end{itemize}

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

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

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

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

elc- > /sl/ (before OT non-low front vowels) /j/
     /ša/ <leags> ‘iron’
     /fe/ <lce> ‘tongue’

dpy- > /ʃ/ (before OT high front vowels)\(^{33}\)
     /ʃoŋ/ <dpyi.mgo> ‘hip’
     /ʃaʊ/ <dpyid.kha> ‘spring’

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

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

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

sby- > /ʒ/
     /ʒa/ <sbyin> ‘to give’

spr- > /ʃ/\(^{35}\)
     /ʃa/ <sprin> ‘cloud’
     /ʃaʊdə/ <spa>\(^{36}\) ‘monkey’

\(^{33}\) Elsewhere OT dpy- gave /τsl/, as in /τtsɔ/ <dpyang> ‘to hang down’.

\(^{34}\) Elsewhere OT phy- gave /tsʰ/, see §3.2.2.2 above.

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

\(^{36}\) With suffix -ndə.
Jackson T.-S. Sun

`sbr-` > /ʒ/ (before OT -i and -u)\(^{37}\)

/ʒa/ <sbrul> ‘snake’
/ʒa/ <sbrid> ‘to be numb’

`rdz-` > /zd/\(^{38}\)

/zd/ <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 \(V = \{a, i, u, e, o\}\), \(C^1 = \{b, d, g, m, n, g, r, l, s\}\), and \(C^2 = \{d, s\}\).

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

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

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

\(^{38}\) A few words show /dz/ corresponding to OT `rdz-` (e.g., /dzʊ/ <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 /a/, as seen in Table 1 above.

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
/s\hat{u}/ \langle \text{sha} \rangle & \quad \text{‘flesh, meat’} \\
& \langle \text{shar} \rangle \quad \text{‘east’} \\
/t\hat{s}\hat{o}\rangle \langle \text{phyi} \rangle & \quad \text{‘outside’} \\
& \langle \text{phyir} \rangle \quad \text{‘backward’} \\
/\hat{m}\hat{b}\hat{a}\rangle \langle \text{bu} \rangle & \quad \text{‘bug’} \\
/\hat{m}\hat{b}\hat{\hat{a}} \langle \text{bur.} \text{bur} \rangle & \quad \text{‘to be protruding’} \\
/d\hat{w}\hat{\hat{r}}\rangle \langle \text{sde.ba} \rangle & \quad \text{‘village’} \\
/k\hat{\acute{r}}\hat{d}\rangle \langle \text{dkar.sder} \rangle & \quad \text{‘plate’} \\
/s\hat{\hat{o}}/ \langle \text{sho} \rangle & \quad \text{‘dice’} \\
& \langle \text{shor} \rangle \quad \text{‘to slip; to be lost’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{40}\) 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 \(a \rightarrow /ë/; \) OT \(i, u > /ø/\)), 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 \(an > /ø/; \) \(am > /ø/\)). The outcome of these sound changes is a significantly expanded modern vocalic inventory with four new vowel phonemes: \(/ë/\), \(/ø/\), and \(/ø/\).

3.4 Irregularities

It will be quite a challenge to elucidate exhaustively the phonological history of Zhongu. The lexical aberrancy of this dialect presents the first stumbling block. Many common vocabulary items are hard to identify with any known Tibetan roots, even with some knowledge of the major sound correspondences. Consider, for example: /sømo/ ‘bamboo’; /tøpu/ ‘book’; /tun/ ‘earthworm’; /χŋŋa/ ‘hole’; /pøæ/ ‘to itch’; /sir/ ‘nail (body part)’; /tsø/ ‘sand’; /tsætsø/ ‘thing, object’; /pøkν/ ‘spider’; /tøŋŋu/ ‘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., /pν/ (instead of */ŋν/) <lnga> ‘five’; /sï/ (instead of */sai/) <sλe> ‘charcoal’; /lu/ (instead of */lν/ <lhung> ‘to fall’; /sa/ (instead of */tsøa/) <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 /saro/ <lcags.?>, the normal Zhongu word for ‘iron’, and /søtaakø/ <lcags.skud> ‘wire’. The syllable /søa-/ manifests a characteristic Zhongu sound change lc- > /s/ and is therefore the genuine native reflex of <lcags>. The alternant /søta-/, on the other hand, was clearly a borrowing from Amdo where OT lc- regularly yields /æt/. Loanwords of this type usually pertain to pastoral life or plateau fauna, such as /tøarø/ (instead of */tsøarø/) <phyur.ba> ‘cheese’, /køumo/ (instead of

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

42 The Zhongu are rongpa, or traditional farming Tibetans.
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*/kʰəmo*/ <khol.mo> ‘cowhide bellows’, */htʃə/ (instead of */htsə/) <rkyang> ‘wild ass’, and */ŋja*/ (instead of */ŋza*) <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 */doṅə/ <rdo.dkar> ‘flint’, for example, has a compound element */ŋa*/ ‘white’ with a different initial */ŋ/ than the expected reflex */æk/ of <dk>. Other examples of internal voicing and spirantization include */zəye*/ <yi.ge> ‘writing; letter’, */səye*/ <sa.bon> ‘seed’, and the diminutive suffix */ŋa*/ <gu>; e.g., */lɑŋɡə* <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:

*/nətsə*/ <na.tsha> ‘illness’
*/tʃətso*/ <khri.tsho> ‘ten thousand’
*/pətsə*/ <bu.tsha> ‘son’
*/meτu*/ <me.thog> ‘flower’
*/aŋko*/ <a.khu> ‘paternal uncle’

*/tʃətə*/ <chu.thag> ‘water-barrel strap’
*/səta*/ <khal.thag> ‘leather string’

Cf. */tʃətə*/ <thag.pa> ‘rope’

---

43 This is a familiar problem in Tibetan dialectology. Huang et al (1994), for example, have to list separate correspondences for isolated versus word-internal syllables in Yushu (Yušu (<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 Huálóng 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 \[VC \underline{C} V > V \underline{C} CV\], likewise, applied with great frequency in Zhongu polysyllabic words, making the original coda part of the following onset:

\[
\begin{align*}
<lus.po> & > *lu.spo & > /l\underline{a}-\text{po}/ \text{‘body’} \\
<rus.pa> & > *ru.spa & > /\underline{r}\underline{a}-\text{pa}/ \text{‘bone’} \\
<grum.pa> & > *gru.mpa & > /t\underline{a}-\text{mpa}/ \text{‘badger’} \\
<sngon.po> & > *sngo.npo & > /\underline{i}\underline{o}-\text{bo}/ \text{‘to be blue’} \\
<sman.pa> & > *sma.npa & > /\underline{me}-\text{mpa}/ \text{‘doctor’} \\
<shog.pa> & > *sho.gpa & > /\underline{s}\underline{o}-\text{pa}/ \text{‘wing’} \\
<dron.po> & > *dro.nbo & > /\underline{t}\underline{s}\underline{o}-\text{bo}/ \text{‘hot (as of weather)’} \\
<bdun.cu> & > *bdu.ncu & > /\underline{d}\underline{a}-\text{nu}/ \text{‘seventy’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

cf. /\underline{d}\underline{i}/ <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

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

Obviously, two forms of modern Tibetan are not necessarily more closely related because they both preserve OT voiced obstruent onsets (shared retention)\(^{45}\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C-(^{47})</th>
<th>Py-</th>
<th>Ky-</th>
<th>Kr-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khams</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amdo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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\(^{45}\) Some also use the presence of consonant clusters in a similar way, with the same methodological problem.

\(^{46}\) The presence of OT prefixal consonants and development of phonemic tone have also been used by Róna-Tas as criteria for subclassifying Tibetan dialects into ‘archaic’ and ‘non-archaic’ subgroups (Róna-Tas 1966:21). I wish to show in a separate paper (J. Sun, forthcoming-a) that there are actually divergent tonogenetic paths in modern Tibetan; being such a prevalent sound change both areally and typologically, tonogenesis is a risky criterion to bank on for subclassifying modern Tibetan.

\(^{47}\) Standing for the original OT palato-alveolar affricates.
precise dialect boundaries. Thus, Zhuoni and Diqing turned OT C- to retroflexes and OT Kr- to palato-alveolars (Qu 1962, Lu 1990, Hongladarom 1996); Gáizé (改則 <sGer.rtsé>) preserved OT Ky- as true palatals; Zaduo merged OT C-, Py-, and Ky- into palatal affricates (Huang et al. 1994:117), whereas Chaṅgdū (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, Jiégú (結古 <sKye.rgu>), Nángqiàn (囊謙 <Nang.chen>) Counties of Yushu Prefecture in Qinghai Province, and Bāqìng (巴青 <sBra.chen>), Dīngqīng (丁青 <sTeng.chen>) and Suǒ 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 Qīnghái Province, which has innovated tones while remaining basically Amdo with respect to the conservative rhymes (Wang 1990).
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

hierarchical—that is, until one finds unmistakable evidence in the form of diagnostic shared innovations pointing to a period of common history between a subset of these dialects. I contend further that Zhongu be recognized as one such distinct Tibetan dialect on the grounds that, diverging sharply in phonology and vocabulary from all major Tibetan dialects, Zhongu has accumulated enough linguistic deviance to become language-like, and no definite proof has been found yet to subgroup it with any other Tibetan dialect.

5. Summary and conclusions

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

1. OT j- became /z/.
2. OT labial and velar stops with -j- merged and became dental affricates.
3. OT sky- became /s/; sgy- became /zl/.
4. OT sl-, sr- merged and became /hts/.
5. Conditioned shift of some OT palato-alveolar spirants to retroflexes.
6. OT velar prefix g- developed into distinctive uvular spirants, whereas other oral prefixes either elided or turned into pre-aspiration.
7. OT spr- became /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 /ja/ or /sw/, locative/ablative /na/, comparative /sone/) and aspect and modality markers, grammaticalization of imperative markers from OT directional terms (/tʃa/ <yar> ‘upward’; /tsa/ <mar> ‘downward’; /tsʰa/ <phyir> ‘level direction’), and the obligatory use of a specialized existential verb /ba/ for predicating the existence of stationary but growing objects (plants, hair, etc.), e.g.

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

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MED</th>
<th>mediative</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>locative</th>
<th>INDEF</th>
<th>indefinite</th>
<th>INST</th>
<th>instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirative</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{52}\) 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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Huang, Bufan (黃布凡), and Zhang Minghui (張明慧). 1995. Baimahua zhishu wenti
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Sun, Jackson T.-S. forthcoming-b. Phonological profile of Qiuji Tibetan.


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熱務溝話語音簡貌：一種川北藏語新方言

孫天心
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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 `κµα` ‘eye’, rather than the ordinary WT `<mig>`. Likewise, Zhongu `htsø` ‘to rest’ is not traced to WT `<gso>`, as WT `<gs>` regularly corresponds to Zhongu `≈s-`, and the spoken word `htsø` 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. `κµα-ŋu <me.?>` ‘fire (disaster)’, where the source of the syllable `ŋu` is unknown, or beside a tentatively offered etymon, e.g. `κµα-³pa <dmyig.lpags?> ‘eyelash; eyebrow’ where the syllable `-³pa` probably reflects `<lpags>` ‘skin, fur’. Exceptions to observed sound laws are highlighted by boldface, e.g. the first syllable in `htsø-≈u <rkyag.khung>` ‘anus’ undoubtedly came from `<rkyag>` ‘excrement’ but the rhyme is at variance with the expected correspondence `-ag > a`.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zhongu</th>
<th>Tibetan Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a bit; a little;</td>
<td><code>ŋω-µu-³tsø</code></td>
<td><code>&lt;nyung.nyung.cig&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>abdomen; pʰu tf³ø-³fu</code></td>
<td><code>&lt;pho.ba.chung.chung&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>abdominal cavity; kʰp³-p³r &lt;khog-pa&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>above; ³go-ti &lt;go.?&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>ache; be painful; m³r &lt;na&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>acorn; du³dz³ &lt;sdong.&quot;bru&quot;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>add to; gi &lt;snom&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>afternoon; ts³-lo &lt;phyi.dro&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>afterwards; to-no (with locative -no)</code></td>
<td><code>again; wu; te wu yu-k³ &lt;She has come again.</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>age; lo &lt;lo&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>ts³-to-to-t³a-lo tf³a-ts³ r³</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>What is your age this year?</code></td>
<td><code>aim; ts³r &lt;tshad&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>air; breath; b³ &lt;dbugs&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>alike; ³dz³ &lt;&quot;dra&quot;; r³ &lt;rigs&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>ŋω-³sω-⁵lo</code></td>
<td><code>all; ts³-ho &lt;tshang.m³&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>alone; single; kʰe-³de &lt;kher&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>(with suffix ³de)</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>also; -je</code></td>
<td><code>amber; ³pi-³s³ &lt;spos.shel&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>angry; kʰs³-k³r &lt;khog.?&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>ankle; p³o-³lo</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>anklebone; ts³-t³h³-p³r-t³s³</code></td>
<td><code>answer, admit, consent; kʰu-le &lt;kha.lan&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>ant</code></td>
<td><code>tf³-t³s³ &lt;grog.?&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>antler, horn; y³ &lt;rwa&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>anus; hts³-³u &lt;rkyag.khung&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>anything; tf³-f³r &lt;ci.cang&gt;; tf³-f³r ³µo-no</code></td>
<td><code>‘There is nothing.’</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>apron; ³µo-³s³ &lt;pang.?&gt;</code></td>
<td><code>argali (Ovis ammon); lo-³gi &lt;lug.rgod&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>arm</code></td>
<td><code>³λa-³ya &lt;lag.p³&gt;</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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armpit; \( ^{nt}t^fe^htse <\text{mchan.rtsa}> \)
arrive; \( ^{nts}s <\text{sleb}> \)
arrow; \( ^{nts}de <\text{mda}> \)
ashamed, embarrassed; \( go^ts\wedge <\text{ngo.tsha}> \)
ashes; \( ko^ti <\text{go.thal}> \)
ask; \( ^{n}dz\wedge <\text{dris}>, [PFV/IMP] t\wedge s <\text{dris}> \)
aunt; (uncle’s wife) \( ame <\text{a.ne}> \); (father’s
sister) \( ami <\text{a.?}> \); (mother’s sister)
\( ame <\text{a.ma}> \)
avenue; fall; \( ^{nts}bg <\text{ston.kha}> \)
avow of wheat; \( t\wedge v^q\wedge <\text{gra}^4 \) (with suffix
\( ^q\wedge \))
ax; \( ^{n}t\wedge r<\text{sta.re}> \)
bacon; \( m^rne <\text{dmar.?}> \)
back (body part); \( dz\wedge i^htse <\text{rgyab.rtsa}> \)
back (vs. front); \( ^{n}gho^t\wedge k(b)e <\text{tshang.ra.kha}> \); (back of house)
\( ^{n}gho^t\wedge lta <\text{khang.?}> \)
backward; \( ts^h<\text{phyir}> \)
bad; \( a^r<\text{a}^b<\text{a}^b<\text{ngan.pa}> \)
bad-tempered; \( k^h^tu<\text{khog.?}> \)
bagger; \( ts\wedge m^b<\text{grum.pa}> \)
bag; (generic) \( k^b^r^k<\text{kha.khug}> \); (large
woolen bag) \( ze^k<\text{sgye.khug}> \); (cloth
bag) \( re^k<\text{ras.khug}> \); (leather bag)
\( dz\wedge y<\text{sgro.ba}> \)
bake in hot ashes; \( rtsa <\text{sreg}> \)
bake in a pan; \( go <\text{ngo}> \)
bald; \( ^{n}go^td<\text{mgo.ro}> \)
bail; \( go^ru<\text{gang.bu}> \)
balloon \( go^p<\text{gang.phug}> \)
bowl of yarn; \( do^q<\text{qge} \)
bamboo; \( so^m<\text{mo}> \); (bamboo strips) \( so^\wedge \chi^fa <\text{.gshag}> \); (bamboo shoot) \( so^p<\text{p}<\text{ts}<\text{e}^htu \)
(bamboo joint) \( ts^h^e^ht<\text{tsa}> \)
beggar; \( ^{sprang} <\text{sprang}> \);
\( go^s<\text{wu} <\text{sprang.po}> \)
bar (the door); \( ^{n}te <\text{gtan}> \)
bark [V]; \( z<\text{zug}> \)
bark [N]; \( ku^t<\text{fo} \)
barley; \( ne <\text{nas}> \)
basket carried on back; \( t<\text{w-}^q<\text{go} \) (with suffix
\( ^q<\text{go} \))
bat (animal); \( t\wedge s<\text{bo}^p^e^jo \)
be; \( re <\text{red}> \); (reduced form) \( r<\sigma> \); (in
affirmative replies) \( ri; ts^h^o\ w^y^o^k<\text{po} \)
\( \text{r}o <\text{r}o<\text{r}> <\text{mgo} <\text{r}o \) ‘Are you from Zhonggu?’

be accomplished; be done; \( ^{n}dz\wedge <\text{grub}>, t\wedge o<\text{ts} <\text{gra}^4 \) (with suffix
\( ^q\wedge \))

be accustomed to; \( li <\text{lob}> \)
be allowed; may; \( pe <\text{nyan}> \)
be time for; \( re <\text{ran}> \); \( ri\ ri<\text{re-su}^ts<\text{a} > <\text{t} \) ‘It is
time to sleep now.’

beam; \( ^{n}ts^d<\text{gdung}> \)
beard; \( k^b^e^p<\text{kha.spu}> \)
beast, pound; \( du<\text{rung}> \)
beat (as of hearts and pulses); \( n^p<\text{phar}> \)

beautiful; \( ^{n}tg^k^e<\text{mo}^s<\text{go-z}<\text{?}^b<\text{rzang}> \)
become; \( \text{th} <\text{th}; \) \( te\ n<\text{ny}^e<\text{ts}<\text{e-tsa} \)
‘S/he has become deaf.’
become mildewy; \( kv<\text{bo}^t<\text{ts}<\text{a} <\text{t} \) \( .<\text{chags} > \)
become moldy; \( m<\text{o} \)
bed; \( ni<\text{ng}^k<\text{khi}<\text{y} <\text{ryak.khi} > \)
beg, \( \text{bo}<\text{bo}<\text{shang}.^d<\text{dod} > \)
beetle; \( p<\text{p}<\text{go} \)

before, formerly; \( m<\text{ny}<\text{ng} <\text{a} > <\text{g} <\text{na}> \); \( t<\text{ng}<\text{go} <\text{dang}.^g<\text{go}> \)
beg, \( h^p<\text{go} <\text{sprang}> \)

beggar; \( d<\text{ts}<\text{h}<\text{g} <\text{sprang}> \); \( o^w<\text{wu} <\text{sprang.po}> \)

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belch; *ga-bpø
believe; trust; *di-rø <dad.?>
bell; *tfø-tø <khro.dril>; (a religious instrument) *øfø-te <dar.roi>
bellow; *khø-mø <khol.mo>
belly; *pø <pho.ba>

belt; *ke-rø <ske.rags>
bend; bend down; *gø-rø <sgur.sgur>
bent; curved; *gø-rø <sgur.ru>; Ùø-ø
big; *æt-ø <tø‰
birch; *æta-mø <stag> (with suffix -ma)
bird; *tsø <bya>; (small bird) ti-tu 
<.chung>
bit; *tø <srab>
bite; *so-qø tsø <so.?.byed>
bitter; *qæë-nø <khwa> (with suffix -nde)
black; *na <nag>; (the color black) ne-ro
blacksmith; *gø-rø <mgar.ba>
blanket; rug; *te <stan>; (saddle-blanket) ge-te <sga.stan>
bleat; *øv <ba.>
blind; *ø-tø zø <mig.?.zhar>
blind person; zø-rø <zhar.ba>
blink; *ø-tø tsø <mig.?.byed>
blister; *tfø-gø <chu.sgang>
blood; *tfø <khrag>
blood vessel; *tfø-tø <khrag.?>
bloom; *gø

blow (air); *xø <spur>
blow (as of wind); *fo, *xø <spur>
blow nose; *pi *xø <snabs.spur>
blue; *fo-bø <sngon.po>
blunt; *pø-ø

board; plank; *ki-tø
boat; *tø <gru>

body; *lo-bø <lus.po>; (upper body)

kø-ø-tø <khog.stod>; (lower body)
ku-ø <khog.smad>
boil [VT]; (~ water) *tsø <sro>,
[PFV/IMP] *tsi <sros>; te tfø *tsø-ø
‘She is boiling water.’; (~ solid food)
*tsi-rø [PFV/IMP] *tsi <btsø>
boil [VI]; (as of liquid foods) *ko <gdu>;
(as of water) tfø, tfø *tfø-ø-ø *lo-pø yø re ‘Steam comes out when water boils.’

boulder; *pø-ø <pha.bong>
bone; *ro-bpø <rus.pa>
book; *tsø-pø
borrow; (~ money) so <skyi>; (~ objects) *srø <g.yar> tsø gomo so-ø-te tu sø-pø *pø-ø re ‘You borrowed money. Why haven’t you returned it yet?’
bottle; *fe-ødu <shel.mdong>
bottom; *kø <rkub>; yi <zhasbs?>
boundary; *pø-ø <bar.skabs>
bovine; *zu <zog>; (hornless ~) *gø-do <mgo.rdo>
bow (weapon); *sø <gzhu>
bowl; *ko-ø <dkar.yol>; (metal bowl)
*øa-gø <lcags.dkar>; (wooden bowl)
a-ø <a.dkar>
box; *go-ø <sgom.bu>
boy; *po-tø <bu.tsha>
bracelet; *a-ø <gdu.gu>.
brain; *kø-ø <klad.pa>
bran; *ø

branch; *lo-ø <lo.?>; (thin twig) *bo-eze <bud.?>
brass; *ra <rag>
brazier; *ø-pø

bread; *ko-tø; tsø *ko-tø tø *tfø-ø-ø yø re ‘Are you eating bread?’
break [VI]; (as of sth stiff); *tfø-a
break [VI]; (as of sth soft); \( t\text{fe} \)
break [VT]; (~ sth stiff) \( t\text{fa} \), \( \text{bcag} \), \[PFV\] \( t\text{fa} \)
break (sth soft); \( \text{gtfe} \), \[PFV\] \( t\text{fe} \)
breakfast; \( \text{ngs} \)
breast; \( \text{ngs} \)
breath; \( \text{dbugs} \)
breeze; \( \text{rlung} \) (~ suffix -\( \text{ma} \))
bottle; \( \text{ts} \)
broad bean; \( \text{rgya.sran} \)
brother; \( \text{bu.spun} \)
bubble, foam; \( \text{bs} \)
bucket; \( \text{gdpar} \)
broad bean; \( \text{rgya.sran} \)
broom; \( \text{bs} \)
brother; \( \text{bs} \)
broth; \( \text{ngs} \)
bubble; \( \text{bs} \)
build (house); \( \text{ma.rtsa} \)
build a fire; light a fire; \( \text{bs} \)
bullet; \( \text{bs} \)
burn [VI]; \( \text{bs} \)
\( \text{bs} \)
\( \text{bs} \)
burnt; \( \text{bs} \)
bury; \( \text{bs} \)

made Trashi drink the medicine.'

causative verb, make; $^\text{nd}d\text{g}j <\text{jug}>

[Pfv/Imp] $^\text{nd}j\text{fa} <\text{beug}>
cave; $\text{t}^\text{sa}-\chi\text{u} <\text{brag.khungh}>

ceiling; $\text{du}-\text{si}$

charcoal; $\text{si} <\text{sol}>

change; $d\text{g}j <\text{gyur}>

change; dash; $^\text{nd}d\text{z}o \text{ne}-\text{sw} \text{ts}^\text{ba}r\text{a}$

$^\text{nd}f\text{u}-\text{ye}-\text{te} 'The dzo charged at me.'

charmbox; $\text{ki} <\text{ga}^\text{u}>

charm; $\text{nde} <\text{ded}>, \text{[Pfv]} \text{te} <\text{ded}>

cheat; $\text{ngo} \text{U}^\text{zu} <\text{mgo.g.yog}>

cheek; $\text{nd}^\text{ndz}o \text{nb}^\text{e}-\text{ts}^\text{e} \text{t}^\text{r}^\text{e}$

(cheek bones)

$\text{t}^\text{si}-\text{r}^\text{ê}<\text{kha.r}\text{ng}^\text{u}>$; (temple)

$\text{t}^\text{æ}-\text{r}^\text{ê} <\text{phyu.r}\text{ba}>

cheese cake (a kind of sweets made from cheese);

$\text{tæ}-\text{thul} <\text{ch}^\text{th}^\text{a}>

chest;

$\text{tko}-\text{r}^\text{ê}<\text{bran}^\text{g}^\text{g}>

chew;

$\text{di} <\text{ldad}>

chicken;

$\text{te}-\text{wu} <\text{de.pho}>$ (rooster)

$^\text{ph}^\text{h}^\text{o}-\text{t}^\text{e} <\text{pho.by}a>$; (hen) $\text{mo}-\text{t}^\text{e}$

$<\text{mo.by}a>$; (chick) $\text{ts}^\text{o}-\text{ro} <\text{byi}^\text{u}.?>$

(with suffix -ro)

chickenpox; $\text{t}^\text{fo}-\text{nd}^\text{d}z^\text{u} <\text{chu.}^\text{brum}$

chieftain, king; $\text{dy}^\text{v}-\text{wu} <\text{rgyal.p}o$

child; $\text{ma}-\text{pu} <\text{nyag.nyog}>

chimney; $\text{ts}^\text{o}-\text{di} <\text{du.khungh}>;

(smoke vent)

$\text{t}^\text{si}-\text{t}^\text{e}^\text{r}^\text{ê}<\text{kha.khungh}>$; (part of a stove)

clod of earth; $\text{p}^\text{o}-\text{t}^\text{so}^\text{28}$

clogged; $\text{k}^\text{h}^\text{ê}-\text{t}^\text{e} <\text{ka}..?>$; $\text{t}^\text{fo}^\text{gy}^\text{i}-\text{d}^\text{o} \text{ko}$

$\text{k}^\text{h}^\text{ê}^\text{t}^\text{e}^\text{r}^\text{ê}-\text{d}^\text{o} \text{n}^\text{a} 'The sewer is clogged with rocks.'

close; (door) $\text{ts}^\text{o} <\text{by}^\text{ed}>, \text{[Pfv/Imp]} \text{ts}^\text{e}$

(byas); $\text{go} \text{p}^\text{h}^\text{u}^\text{r} (\text{mo}.\text{ts}^\text{a} 'Close the door!'; (close eyes, mouth) $\text{ts}^\text{u}$

(btsums); $\text{k}^\text{h}^\text{ê} \text{ts}^\text{u}-\text{di} 'Shut up!'; (close umbrellas)$ $^\text{ph}^\text{y}^\text{i}, \text{[Pfv]} \text{p}^\text{h}^\text{i} <\text{phab}>

close (vs. far); $\text{t}^\text{la}-\text{ne} <\text{thag.ny}^\text{e}$

cloth; $\text{re} <\text{ras}>

clothes; $\text{ki}^\text{ch}^\text{â} <\text{gos}.?$

cloud; $fa <\text{sprin}>
coal; do-si <rdo.sol>
coarse; htsi-mo <rtsub.mo>
coarse yak-hair; htsi-pa <rtsid.pa>
cobweb; pr-dv
cockscomb; ëze

cold; htsi-khyag; htsi-lp
<khyag.po>
collapse; ñsø (as of walls) lu <log>
collar; ku-ta <gong.?>
collect, gather; d<sdud>29

collide; du-r‰ <rdung-res>
color; ndu <mdog>

colostrum; buttermilk; first milk; ëtsà <spri>30
comb; [N] chema <shad>
come; ñsæa <'khyag>; ñsæa-æpo <'khyag.po>
collapse; ëtu; (as of walls) lu <log>
collar; ku-ta <gong.?>
collect, gather; do <sdud>29
collide; du-re <rdung-res>
color; ëdu <mdog>
colostrum; buttermilk; first milk; ëtsà <spri>30
common cattle; ëtsø <glang.bu>;32 (cow) pë-tsù <ba.?>
cold;ntsæa <'khyag>; ntsæa-æpo <'khyag.po>
collar; ku-ta <gong.?>
collect, gather; d<sdud>29

collide; du-r‰ <rdung-res>
color; ëdu <mdog>
colostrum; buttermilk; first milk; ëtsà <spri>30
common cattle; ëtsø <glang.bu>;32 (cow) pë-tsù <ba.?>
collars; ëtsø-mo <glang.mo>
collar; ku-ta <gong.?>
collect, gather; do <sdud>29

collide; du-re <rdung-res>
color; ëdu <mdog>
colostrum; buttermilk; first milk; ëtsà <spri>30
common cattle; ëtsø <glang.bu>;32 (cow) pë-tsù <ba.?>
colored; ëtsi <rtsi>
collaborate; ëtsi-ta <khal.thag>
cover up; put (lid) on; ëgi <'gebs>,
[PFV/IMP] ki <bkab>; tsìo laya-kà

patsa ma gi ‘Don’t cover up your
eyes!’
cover sth to keep it warm; tfø-o-ýi ëgi
<?.ègebs>
cowhide; ëko <ko.ba>
cowhide string; se-ta <khal.thag>
cowpen; ra-ko <ra.ba.skor>

crack [V]; ëg <'gas>
cramped, narrow; pv-ýo
crazy, mad; so; (mentally disturbed) ëo
<smyo>; (crazy person) ëo-ro
<smyo.?>; so-ro
crawl; climb; ënzw <'dzeg>; (on all fours)
bo-go tsà <?.byed>
crunch; ëh <'gar>

cream; ëh-za <?.zhag>
creek; stream; tfø-ò <chu.?>
cricket; tr-po-tfo
criss; trhi-ho
crop; lo-tu <lo.tog>; serv pi-jì lotu
χtš-jà-tsa je ‘Hailstones fell and
crop completely ruined the crop.’
crossbow; so-fi <'ur.?>
crow (bird); tsø-ru <bya.rog>33
cuckoo; kə-ku
curse, malediction; mo-je tsù
<dmob.?.byed>, [PFV] tse
cushion; ëte
cut, slice; thrust; ëtsø <gtub>
cut in two; tsìo-ýi (ùto-jì) wí tso
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

cut open; ɣsa <gshags>
cut with scissors; shear, reap; tailor; ɣdz-a <‘breg>, [PFV] ɣsa <bregs>
cut (firewood into smaller pieces); fi ɣse <shing.gse>
cut off (a piece); ɣtse <gshags>
cymbol; bo-tʃţa <bug.chal>
dance; tɕo ɭtʃţu <bro.mchong>
dandruff; ɣgo-ɭbo <mgo.'bu>
dance; ɭbo <bro.mchong>
dare; æpu; tæ —tsnto æu <bro.mchong>
dare; æpʊ <bro.mchong>
‘S/he does not dare go without company.’
dative suffix; -tsɛ ±-sɛ <be.gse>
day after tomorrow; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>
day before yesterday; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>
day; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>
day; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>
day; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>
day; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>
day; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>
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day; ɭnø-ɭwe <gnangs.nyin>

Phonological Profile of Zhongu
do business; kʰé-tʂø <khe.byed>
doctor; ɡne-pʰɛ <sman.pa>
dog; tsʰø-ŋø <khyi> (with suffix -ŋø);
(hunting dog) lʊ-tʂø <la?.khyi>;
(puppy) tsʰø-ŋø <khyi.gu>;
(mastiff) n̥dzu-tʂø <brok.khyi>
donkey; pu-tse <bong.?>
door; go <sgo>;
(door frame) go-lʊ <sgo.?>;
(yard) go-dø <sgo.?>
dove; npæ-ru <phug.ron>
down; downwards; tær <thur.rol>
doze; tu-zę <cog.?.byed>
dragon; ndø-<'brug>
dragonfly; kʰø-ækøtɕ-ɾi <.rta> (with suffix -ɾi)39
dragon deity in lakes; Naga; sɬø ~ Ḳ <klu>
drape; go-ju <sgo.jol.ba>
draw (swords); pʰbo <phud>, [PFV/IMP] pʰo <phud>
dream; pø-ɬø <rmì.lam>; [V] pø-ɬø pi <rmì.lam.rmis>
dredge; sì-sø
drink; pʰbu <'thung>, [PFV/IMP] pʰi;
ʦøfi ɣe pʰi-ʦø-te 'Trashi drank the medicine.'
drinking straw; ɡʰa-ɬø
drive; ɬe-<ded>, [PFV/IMP] te <ded>
drop [N]; bø-ŋø <thigs.pa>
drum; ɣu <rnga>
drumstick; ɣu-dø <rnga.rdeg>
drunken; zo <bzì>
dry; bku-pʰo <skam.po>;
[CAUS] bḳø <skam>;
kičø bḳø-ke 'Dry up the clothes!'
dry sth by fire; p̥e-sdʒø <me.?>
durative aspectual verb; kɛ; n̥dø <'dug>,
[PFV] de <bsdad>, [IMP] di <sdod>;
di-ke 'Remain seated!'
dusk; gu-ʰkø <dgongs.kha>
dust; Ḹi-ŋø <thal.?>; in (the air) dø <rdul>dye; Ḹø-sø <rtsi>
dzo; Ḹø <mdzo>; (female) Ḹø-mø <.mo>
eagle; ɬa <glag>
ear (of a plant); ɬø-ɬø
ear; Ḹu-ŋø <ṛma.?>
early; ɣe <sngø>
earring; ʀu-ɬø <ṛma.long>
earth; sr <sø>;
(ground) sr-ʦø <sø.rtsa>;
(soil) Ḹi-ŋø <thal.?>; te tsntso te Ḹi-ga-kʰ i-ɬu 'Cover that object with earth!'
earthworm; tu-ɲø
earwax; ɣe-ætsa <ɬma.rkyag>
est; ɣe <shar>
easy; ʦø-wu <slu.əo>
eat; ʀfø <ença>, [PFV] ʀføi <chás>, [IMP] ʀføo <'chos>;
ma-ʃø 'Eat it!'; ɣe kʰøʦø ʀfø-ɬø-do 'I am eating bread.'
edge; ɣe-ke <sne.kha>
eggs; go-ŋø <sgo.nga>
eight; dze <bryad>
eighteen; tʃø-dze <bc.s.bryad>
eighty; dze-tʃø <bryad.eu>
elapse, pass; Ḹe <thal>;
vr̥pu ɬsu
v̥e-sv-ke te tu ma-ɣe-te 'Three days are gone, and s/he still hasn’t arrived.'
elbow; tʃø-tsø <gru.tshig>
elephant; sɬø-wu-mɪfɾɪ <glang.po.che>
eleven; \( f\omega-x\omega-t\omega < {\text{beu.geig}} \)
embrace; \( p\omega < {\text{pang}} \); \( v-p\omega t\omega \)
\(< {\text{a.pang.byed}} \)
empty; \( h\omega-w\omega < {\text{stong.pa}} \)
empty out; \( s\tilde{\imath}-s\omega \)
enclosure; \( r\tilde{a} < {\text{ra.ba}} \)
end, finish; \( t\tilde{s}\tilde{h} < {\text{tshar}} \)
endure; \( h\tilde{s}e < {\text{bsran}} \)
enemy; \( d\tilde{z} e-z\tilde{v} < {\text{dgra.ya}} \)
enough; \( n\tilde{d}o < {\text{\textasciitilde{d}ang}} \)
entire; \( t\tilde{s}\tilde{h}-p\tilde{o} < {\text{tshang}} \) (with suffix -\( p\tilde{o} \))
envy; \( f\tilde{h}\tilde{i}--l\tilde{o} < {\text{nying.lang}} \)
epilepsy; \( t\tilde{a}i n\tilde{p}\tilde{a} < {\text{mid.pa}} \)
estimate; \( \chi\tilde{a}-se \tilde{h}n< {\text{.ita}} \);
\( \tilde{h}v\tilde{e} \tilde{h}n< {\text{ne}} \)
\(< {\text{prefer n}} < {\text{dgo}} \tilde{h}\tilde{t}\tilde{e} < {\text{bsets\tilde{h}o-\tilde{t}so yu-\text{dzar}}} \)
'I estimate that about fifty people will come tomorrow.'
evening; \( g\tilde{u}-k\tilde{v} < {\text{dgongs.kha}} \)
exchange, barter; \( d\tilde{z}e < {\text{rje}} \)
excrement; \( h\tilde{v}e-\chi\tilde{a} < {\text{kyag.pa}} \)
exhale; \( h\tilde{o} n\tilde{p} < {\text{\textasciitilde{d}bugs.phud}} \); [IMP] \( n\tilde{p}u \)
exhortative suffix; \( f\tilde{e} \)
exist; \( \tilde{n}d\tilde{a} < {\text{\textasciitilde{d}ug}} \); [MIR] \( n < {\text{snang}} \);
(as of plants and other stationary growing objects) \( h\tilde{b}a \); \( n\tilde{p}-s\tilde{u} \tilde{p} \tilde{a} \tilde{m} \kappa \tilde{d}\)
\( n\tilde{d}o r\tilde{o} 'I have two children.' \( t\tilde{e}-s\tilde{u} \)
\( \tilde{p} \tilde{a} \tilde{m} \kappa \tilde{n}-\kappa \tilde{\omega} 'So s/he has two children.' \( t\tilde{s} \tilde{a}-- \tilde{n} \tilde{g} \tilde{a} < {\text{bsets\tilde{h}o-\tilde{t}so \text{ba-\kappa}}} \)
'There is a hole on the wall.'; \( n\tilde{d}e \text{low} \)
\( t\tilde{e} \tilde{b} \tilde{o} \tilde{t} \tilde{f} \tilde{h} \tilde{i} e \tilde{n} \)
\( \text{ba-k\kappa} 'There is much grassland inside this valley.'
exist at a location, be present; \( n\tilde{d}o < {\text{\textasciitilde{d}ug}} \);
[MIR] \( \tilde{n}o < {\text{snang}} \); [PFV] \( d< {\text{bsdad}} \); \( n\tilde{d}z\tilde{o} p\tilde{\alpha}j\tilde{\alpha}t\tilde{d} \tilde{e}-n\tilde{o} 'There is a \text{dzo over there}.'

Phonological Profile of Zhonhu

experiential aspect; \( m\tilde{u} < {\text{myong}} \)
extinguish fire; \( \tilde{p} \tilde{e} \tilde{\chi} \tilde{e}< {\text{me.gsod}} \);
be extinguished [VI]; \( \tilde{g}< {\text{shi}} \)
eye; \( k\tilde{p}a-t\tilde{so} < {\text{dmyig.}} \)
eyeball; \( k\tilde{p}a-\tilde{d}o < {\text{dmyig.ro}} \)
eyelash; eyebrow; \( k\tilde{p}a-\tilde{h}p< {\text{\textasciitilde{d}myig.lpa}} \)
eyelid; \( k\tilde{p}a-\tilde{g} < {\text{dmyig.}} \)
eyeglasses; \( f\tilde{e}-m\tilde{a} < {\text{shel.mig}} \)
face; \( \tilde{n}o < {\text{ngo}} \); \( k\tilde{h}e-\tilde{p} < {\text{kha.ngo}} \)
fang, tusk; \( n\tilde{t} < {\text{mche.ba}} \)
fall asleep; \( k\tilde{p}a-\tilde{t} < {\text{gnyid.bro}} \);
\( n\tilde{a} \) taji \( k\tilde{p}a-\approx-t\tilde{s}< {\text{tshang}} \) 'I fell asleep a while ago.'
fall; (collapse) \( l\tilde{u} < {\text{log}} \); (fall from height) \( l\tilde{u} < {\text{\textasciitilde{l}hung}} \);
\( g\tilde{x} \) (trip and fall) \( k\tilde{v}-\tilde{l}e h\tilde{d}z\tilde{o}< {\text{.\textasciitilde{gt}}} \)
fall off; come off; \( n\tilde{p} <{\text{\textasciitilde{sh}}} \)
falling rock; \( d\tilde{o}-\tilde{l}e < {\text{\textasciitilde{dgo}} \tilde{d}} \)
family; \( t\tilde{f}< {\text{kyhim.tshang}} \)
far; \( \tilde{t} < {\text{thag.ring}} \)
fart; \( n\tilde{t} < {\text{\textasciitilde{skyag.dri}}} \); [V] + \( \chi\tilde{u} < {\text{\textasciitilde{gtong}} \}}
fast; \( d\tilde{z}u< {\text{\textasciitilde{mgyogs.po}}} \)
fat; [V]; \( t\tilde{s} < {\text{\textasciitilde{tsho}}} \) (with suffix -\( \tilde{b}o \) ); (as of livestock) \( \tilde{g} < {\text{\textasciitilde{shed}}} \)
fat meat; \( z\tilde{v} < {\text{\textasciitilde{g}}} \)
father; \( v-p\tilde{e} < {\text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{a}}.pa}} \)
fathom; \( n\tilde{d}o < {\text{\textasciitilde{doms}}} \)
fear, be afraid; \( h\tilde{t} < {\text{\textasciitilde{skrag}}} \)
feather; \( t\tilde{f} < {\text{\textasciitilde{bya.sgro}}} \)
feel dizzy; \( n\tilde{g} < {\text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{m}.kho}}} \)
\( < {\text{mgo.ju.\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{k}}hor}}} \);
(illness characterized by dizziness)
\( n\tilde{g}\tilde{o}-\approx n\tilde{v}-\tilde{d}z\tilde{o} < {\text{mgo.ju.na.}}} \)
\( t < {\text{\textasciitilde{tsho}}} \)
\( \tilde{n}\tilde{g} < {\text{\textasciitilde{na.na}}} \) 'Are you suffering from vertigo?'
fence, twig fence; \( s\tilde{a}--d\tilde{o} \)
ferment; so <skyur?>; nqo so-kø kø 'The dough has become fermented!'
fertilizer; manure; lo <lud>
fiddlehead fern; ma-ko
field; (sn)-zi <sa.zhing>
fifteen; tfø-yy <bco.lnga>
fifty; gn-tfø <lnga.bcu>
fight battles; dzø-te tsø (!((res.byed)
fight for sth; tsbu-re <phrog.res>
file (tool); sn-dn <gseg.bdar>
fill up (a hole); kbø-so
film of oil; (kbø-z)ø <zhag>
filter; tsø <btsag>
find; ri <rnyed>
fine, well; de(-mo) <bde.mo>
finger; ndzø-© <mdzug.gu>
fingerprint; ndzø-tæ <mdzug.thel>
fire; øe <me>
fire (disaster); pø-ø <phur>, [PFV/IMP]
fireplace; kø-rë
firewood; ∆i <shing>; (firewood stack)
∆i-nkæø <shing.
first; øø-wu <dang.po>; zø-ø-go <?.mgo>
fish; øv <nya>
fist; bø-dzø (!((mdzog)
five; øv <lnga
flag, banner; øø <dar>
flail; bø-ø-øø <khor.ma>
flame; pø-fe <me.ice>
flash (as of lightning); tfø-ø-øø bøø
<.glog. 'bar>
flat; le-pe, sze-øøa le43
flea; øø <lji.ba>
flee; escape; dzøi <'bros>, [PFV/IMP]
tzi <'bros>; tøø tføara ngøtø pa-tu-te
wa tsø/tsø kw dzøi-fe 'The river has overflowed the top of the dike, let's quickly run away!'
flesh; øø <sha>
flint; do-so <tso.dkar>
float; kbø <khur>44 tfømelo tfø-tøø
kbø-de-tøø 'I see that) Tea leaves are floating in the tea.'
flo, floating ice; te <dar>
floor; kø-li
flour; tsø <phye>; (wheat flour) tøø-tøø
going into (gro.phye)
flower; me-tu <me.thog>
flute; pø-ba
fly (insect); øø-gø <sbrang.bu>
fly [V]; pøø-ø <phur>, [PFV/IMP] pøøø6
foal; hø-øø7
fog; me48
fold [V]; øø <sgril>
food; zøøthu <za.'thung>
foodstuff; grain; lo-tu <lo.thog>
foot; bø-ø <rkang>
foot of mountain; ro-øtsø <ri.rtsa>
forehead; pøø-øø <thod.pa>
forest; na(-øøfe) <nags.(chen)
forget; øø <rjed>
fortune, fate; øø-øø
forty; øø-tøø <bzh.i.bcu>
foundation of house; bøø-sø <khang.sa>
four; øø <bzh.i>
fourteen; tøø-øø <bcu.bzh.i>
fox; øø <wa>
foxskin; øø-fi <wa.shun>
free, liberated; øø <thar>
freeze; bøø <khang.>49 gu
friend; (intimate friends; friends of opposite sex) zø-sø <bzang.sa>; (of same sex) po-tu <bu?.rog>
frighten; bøø-tøø <skrag.slong>
frivolous; unruly; ʰ⁶go-dzi <mgo.?>
frog; ʰ⁶wa <sbal.ba>
front; ʰ⁶jui-dzi <sngun.?>
frost; ʰ⁶pi <bad>
frost-bitten; ʰ⁶ʃəla ʰ⁶ʃə-ja-tsa ʰ⁶My hands are frostbitten.
fruit; ʰ⁶tsa-tu <.thog>
full; ʰ⁶kø <gang>
full from eating; ʰ⁶dzø <’grang>
gadfly; ʰ⁶gø-di <sbrang.rgod> ʰ⁶gale; ʰ⁶lø-li <rlung.rgod> ʰ⁶game, playing; ʰ⁶ætse-mo <rtse.mo> ʰ⁶gall; ʰ⁶ntæ-pø <mkhris.pa> ʰ⁶gap; crevice; ʰ⁶ækø-ætsa <.rkyag> ʰ⁶garbage; ʰ⁶ækø-ætsa <.rkyag> ʰ⁶garlic; ʰ⁶go-≈a <sgog.pa> ʰ⁶gather; ʰ⁶ætse-|ø ʰ⁶̆'my father' ʰ⁶get; ʰ⁶løi <thob>; ʰ⁶la-nø ©‰ <lag.nang.'ong> ʰ⁶get up; ʰ⁶lø <lang> ʰ⁶gift; ʰ⁶tæ‰ <thal> ʰ⁶go; ʰ⁶tsa-tu <.thog> ʰ⁶go back, retreat; ʰ⁶tsa-tsa ʰ⁶go to Lhasa.'
guide [V]; \(t\text{\textsuperscript{bo}}<\text{khrid}>\)  
gums; \(so-pa<so.rnyil>\)  
gun; \(pu<bo'u>\)  
gunpowder; \(pu-me<bo'u.sman>\)  
gutter; \(t\text{\textsuperscript{bo}}-\text{\textchi}<chu.?>\)  
hail; \(se-ra<ser.ba>\)  
hair; \(æp<spu>\)  
hair of head; \(æt<skra.spu>\)  
half; \(tsæi-qa<phyed.ka>\)  
hammer, sledge-hammer; \(tæu<tho.ba>\)  
hand, arm; \(la-a<lag.pa>\)  
handful; \(pë-rë<spa.ra>\)  
handspan; \(ntæo<mtho>\)  
handle; \(zu-zo<yu>(RDPL \text{form})\)  
hang (hang sth dangling); \(snot<nde>\) (with suffix \(nde\))  
hat; \(zv-go<zhwa>(with suffix -go)\)  
hatch; \(ngr, tsara-ngr-sé-tsa\) ‘The chicks have hatched.’  
have a temperature; have a fever; \(ts\text{\textsuperscript{bo}}t\text{\textsi}<tsha.?>\)  
have diarrhea; \(p\text{\textsuperscript{ho}}-fe<pho.ba.bshal>\)  
have to, must; want to; \(go<dgos>\)  
have sex; \(ts\text{\texto}<byed>, \text{\text{kj}kj}[\text{RECP}]kjo-re<?.res>\)  
he/she; \(te<de>\)  
head; \(n\text{\texto}-tsa<mgo.?>\)  
headwaters; \(t\text{\texto}-go<chu.mgo>\)  
heal; \(t\text{\textsa}<drag>\)  
heap [N]; \(p\text{\texto}-tsa,[V]\) \(p\text{\texto}-tsa\textna-tsa<?.byed>\)  
hear; \(ts\text{\texto}<tshor>(hear and understand)\)  
\(\text{\textchi}-ko<go>\)  
heart; \(se<sems>(abstract sense)\)\(ts\text{\texte}<\text{byed}>\)  
thearth; \(\text{\textth}-\text{\kud}<\text{hab.go.ra}>\)  
heavy; \(d\text{\textsuperscript{ju}}-\text{\\textmu}<\text{ljid.mo}>\)  
heel; \(t\text{\texto}-\text{\textss}<\text{phyi.tring}>\)  
hell; \(s\text{\textk}\text{\textk}<\text{dmyal.khang}>\)  
help; \(r\text{\texto}-\text{\\textsp}<\text{rogs.pa.byed}>; te-\text{\textjo}\) \(r\text{\textsp}<tsa‘Help him/her!’\)  
hemp; \(so-ta<so.?>\)  
herd; \(zu\text{\texto}<zog.’tsha>, [PFV] \(ts\text{\textti}<tshos>(go herding cattle) zu\text{\textv}<zog.’\text{gro}>\)  
herder; \(zu<rdzi.bo>\)  
here; \(\text{\textnt}5\text{\textk}\text{\textj}<\text{dys}>\)  
hero; \(\text{\texth}<\text{dp}\text{\texto}<\text{dpa.bo}>)\)  
hiccups; \(ga-\text{\textsp}<\text{sgag.?byed}>\)  
hide (oneself); \(\text{\textzv}<\text{g\textza}>; \text{\textz}<\text{di}‘Hide yourself!’\)  
hide (objects, secrets); \(be<\text{\textbed}>\)  
high; \(\text{\textnt}<\text{\textbo}>\) (with suffix \(\text{\textbo}\))  
hilt, knife-handle; \(t\text{\textfa}\text{\textpa}>\)  
hip, hip bone; \(f\text{\texta}<\text{dpyi.mgo}>\)  
hire; \(\text{\textp}<\text{p\textang}>\)  
hit (target); \(\text{\textdzi}<\text{rgyab}>, \text{\textts\texto}n\text{\textts}\text{o}n<\text{\textra}-\text{\textpa}<\text{\textswts\textse}<\text{dzi-te}‘The cup fell and hit the ground.’\)  
hit; \(\text{\textch}\)  
hither; \(ts\text{\textk}<\text{tshu рол}>\)  
hoes; \(ka<\text{\textgag}>, (\text{pickaxe}) ka-\text{\texttsf}<\text{gag.?}>\)  
hoist, lift; \(\text{\textnt-ts\textu}>\)  
hole; \(\text{\textch}<\text{\textqn}(concave; dent)\) \(qo-tu<?.\text{dong}>\)  
hold (contain); \(\text{\textg}s<\text{\textshong}>\)  
hold in the arms, embrace; \(\text{\textps}<\text{\textpang}>\)  
home; inside of the house; \(ts\text{\texto}<\text{\textn}>\) \(<\text{\textkhyim.nang}>\)
homesick; tsʰa-na tse <khyim.nang.dran>

honey; bo-hta <sbrang.rtsi>

hoof; po-ke <mig.?>

hook [N]; ge-ŋø

hoof; ln-kø

horizontal; po-ke-ke

horse; ht-ji <rta> (with suffix -ji)

horse-dung; ætæ-l<rti.lud>

horse feed; pe-ø

hot; tsæø-nde<brkhan(.pa)> (with suffix -nde);

(as of weather) tø-nbo<dron.po>

'tIt's too hot today.'

hot pepper; la-t<rtsi>

house; nkæ-w<ka> (with suffix -w);

how; tæ-a-ts<sngags>; (as of weather) tøo

'tI don’t know how to use this gun.'

how many, how much; tæ-a-ts<sngags>

'tHow much money do you have?'

hunchback; nø-g<u.lng>

hundred; dzø<bdag.po>

hundred thousand; bu-te<bum.?>

hungry; phu<pho.ba.ltog>

hunt; rd-di<drol<ri.dwags.bda>

hurry; tøo <brel.lang>

hurt, be painful; ne<brkhan(.pa)>

nø-ka ‘I have a headache.’

husband; po <mi> (= ‘person’); zw-ri<brkhan(.pa)>

‘= ‘male adult’); <pho.ba.ltog>

hybrid bovine; bo-la<trul.lu>

I; <nga>

ice; tf<pho.?>

tsæng-so<a> tf<pho<a>

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

ill; ne<brkhan(.pa)>

illness; ne-tsø<naksha> (specific kind)

nr-dzo<brkhan(.pa)>

netse ma-ŋi-ke ‘Don’t get ill!’; te ndøza kʰa-ka-tse <rta> ‘He came down with an unusual disease.’

in a moment; right away; <rta-tse-ke

in the way; ga <bgegs>

in that way; tø-tse<brkhan(.pa)>

in this way; <rta-tse

incantation; fja<sngags>

incense; <pho.ba.ltog>

incubate, sit on eggs; ru <rum>

motfe-ko go<ri-dzo-<ri-dzo-<ri-dzo

'The hen has been sitting on eggs.’

indirect evidential suffix; -ts<zig>

tøfi rne ma-ŋi-te ‘(I know indirectly that) Trashi did not drink liquor.’

industrious; diligent; ko-tfe

infest; ngø<go>; te-ka<ri.dwags.bda> yø-jo

ngø-ja-te ‘he infected me with common cold.’

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

tø

insect, bug; nbo<bu>

insert; poke into; <tsæng-so<a>

(insert sth into container) dzø<drgya>

inside; nø<brkhan(.pa)>

interest; <pho.ba.ltog>

intestine, gap; pr-<pho.ba.ltog>

<bar.skahs>

intestines; dzø-w<rgya> (with suffix -wa); (large intestines) dzø-wa bo-nbo<brkhan(.pa)>

<rgyu.sghu.sghu>, (small intestines)

dzø-wa ts<pho.?><rgyu.sghu.sghu> (with suffix -ya)

iron; sa-ro<le<sghu.sghu>

itch; zw<za>; f<pho.ba.ltog>

ivory; pe-so<brkhan(.pa)>
jar, big water container; ʧfø-)<chu.zangs>
jaw; ʧm-ʧfø <ma.mchu?>
Jew’s harp; ʧftr (play on Jew’s harp)
joint; ʧsø <tsigs>
jump; zø-nt <mchong>
juniper; çw-pw <shug.pa>
key; de-pi <lde.mig>
kick; ʧmæ-<rkang.to.?>; (as of a horse)
lander; tsø <tshigs>
jump; ntæ-<mchong>
juniper; zø-p<shug.pa>
key; de-pi <lde.mig>
kill; se <gsod>, [PFV/IMP] se <bsad;
sod>; tø-tsø <nt®æa-k <phra.rgyag>, §
[PFV/IMP] zø-nt®æa dzi <phra.brgyab>, <phra.rgyob>
knee; po-nd <pus.mo.ngar.gdong>
kneel; po-nd <pus.?>
knife; lo-tø <glo.gri>; (long sword)
laugh; gi ± ge <dgod>
lay (bricks); Ùlë ± 'lë
lay (eggs); Ia
lay (carpets); tØde <‘ding> [PFV/IMP] te <‘bing>
lead along; ʧtø <khrid>; (lead the way)
leak; ‘lø-k; (made of planks)
leaf; ﬂø-<‘xing>.lo>; (leaves with branches)
leak; Ix <te zoglo te <‘køo ‘lisu‘pho <‘køo
leak; <‘pho ‘køo ‘lisu
left-hand; zo-ʧtø <g.yon.?>
leisure; have free time; kʰɔ <khom>
leprosy; leper; ndʒe-wu <mdze.bo>
letter, writing; zɔ-ye <yi.ge>
level; de <bde>
lick; da <ldag>
lid; kʰo-le <kha.leb>61
lie (posture); (lie face down) sɛ-nt ∆ æž-tse ∆ i <sa.?.nyal>; (lie face up) tsæ-ndʒe-qe-tse ∆ i <sa.?.nyal>
lie (say falsehood); dz|ɪ-ndzu <rdzun.?>
life; ®u <srog>; (life-span) tsæe <tshe>
lift; raise; ndzu <'gyog>, [PFV] tsə <bkyags>, [IMP] tsu <khyogs>
light [N]; (sunlight) tsė-te; (ray of light) ætsi-ndæ; (lamp) t˙-ndÔa
light (vs. heavy); zø-'mo <yangs.mo>
light, kindle; ð|e-ndÔa;62 ð|e-≈ s˙ <me.?>
lightning; Úlu <glog> ± kë <dkar?>
like, love; gë <dga’>; gë tsæo-së/ji gë-k ‘I like you.’; ð|e kʰakʰkʰo ndʒege wtʃe gʊ-ɾ ‘I love to eat beef (of dzø) very much.’
lion; sɛ-ʃe <sen.ge>
lip; wʃ <mchu>; (upper lip) zɛ-wʃ <ya.mchu>; (lower lip) mɛ-wʃ <ma.mchu>
liquor; (fermented beer) wʃ <chang>; (distilled) re-kɔ <rag.?>; pi-ɾw <bod.rag>
listen; ná-ne <ra.nyan>
little, few; po-pu <nyung.nyung>; htsa
live; dwell; za <zhag>63
live, alive; ʃsɪ-bọ <gson.po>
live charcoal; pe-ndʒu <me.?>
livestock; htʊ-зу <ra.zog>
liver; tʃɔ-bọ <mchin.pa>
living room; kʰɔ-kʰ
load [N]; ɾe <khal.>,64 (leather-string for binding loads) ɾe-tʃa <khal.thag>
load [VT]; ndʒa [PFV/IMP] tʃa
locative suffix; -no, ɾe tʃe-no ye-po tʃɔntu ndʒo-go ‘I came from Lhasa and will go to Chengdu.’
lock [V]; sze, [N] sze-tʃɾ <.cha>
loft; attic; kʰo-ɾi <khang.steng>
log; sdo-wa <gdung.ba.?>; (small ones used as firewood) du-lɔ <sdong.li.?>
long; re(-wu) <ring.po>
look; ɾe-ta, [PFV] ɾe-ltas, [IMP] ɾi <lats>
loom; tʰa-tʃa <thags.ṭhag>
loose; le <lḥod>; le-le
lose (not win); ma-le <ma.lon?>
lose (cannot find); ɾo-bo <bor.>, [PFV] po <bor.>; ɾe gomo po-ɾi-ɾa ‘I’ve lost the money.’
loud; bki bʃa <skad.?>,65 ki bʃa-bọ <skad.mhon.po>
louise; ɾa <shig>
low; sær(-me) <dma’> (with suffix -me)
lower (head); gə-gə <gur.gur>
lukewarm; ɾo-bọ-tʃo-ɾu <dron.po.dro.?>
lunatic; so-ro
lunch; tʃo-tʃi <dro.?>
lungs; ɾu <glo.ba.>; ɾlo-pe <glo.?>
maggot; ɾe-bọ <sha.’bu.>; (similar sp.) ɾbọ-ɾa <bu.nag>
make (food); li <las>
make tea; tʃə-bọ <ja.sbang>
make way; lɔ-hsæ <lam.?>
man (male person); ze-ɾi <ya.rabs>
mane; tfø-za
manger; htu.khe <rta.?>68
manure; lo <lad>
mare; go-mv <rgod.ma>
mark; hta <tag>
market; nhu-ru <tshong.ra>
marmot; ts/sh <phyi.ba>
marry (a wife); pà le <bag.len>
marten; tsi-ngo-da
mask; ba-ngo <rtag>
master, host; òe-da <sbyin?.bdag>
mat (bamboo); ò-s<chu.mchig>
matter, affair; to-nda <ton.dag>; te-k<
≥ë-j<tonda-tš<.dkyil>
≥j-t‰<S/he told me a thing.>
may, be allowed; tføu ~ tfø <chog>
meadow; hpo <spang>
meal; zø-ntæu <za.'thung>
measles; s<tsib>
measure; tsæe <tshad>
measure (grain with container); dzu
meat; sh<sha>; (spareribs) so-ku
<sha.?>; (dried, salted meat) la-zø <sha>
medicine; me <sman>
meet; ñtšë <phrad>, [PFV] tšë <phrad>
melt; ñ<zhu>; [VT] ñ-ke <zhu.?>
merchant; khe-wa <khe.pa>
method, solution; lo <blo>
middle; ñ-ø-ø <.dkyil>
midnight; ntshe-øsa <mtshan.dkyil>; ntshe-gi <mtshan.?>
milk [VT]; ø <bzo.>, [PFV/IMP] øi
<mztshan.kyil>
milk; wa <o.ma>; (mother’s milk) pa-pa
mill; (watermill) tføø-ø <chu.mchig>
(handmill) la-øtføø <lag.mchig>
mind; lo <blo>
mirror; me-lu <me.long>
miss; þe <dran>
mix; ñse <sr>; phäni laph þse-re
þe-se-t‰ ‘The pigs and sheep have become mixed together.’
moan; hko-bo tse <khun.?byed>
mole (on body); ye-to <sme.>
mole (animal); ts-a-lu <byi.long>
monastery; ñse-hkø <gser.?>; go-ø <dgon.pa>
money; go-mo <sgor.mo>
monk; v-kø <a.khu>; (young disciple) ts-wu <grwa.pa>
monkey; fn-do <spr.a.?>; (year of the monkey) f±lo <spra.'lu>
month; dw-wu, dzø <zla.ba>; dwwe/ðzw
<zla.ba.gnyis> ‘two months’
moon; dw-wu <zla.ba>; tori htsén.dzw
køkø tfø-kø ‘The moon is very large tonight.’
morning; nw-øa,70 (forenoon) ñø-tø
<snga.dro>
morning star; snø-lø-kø-dži
<gnam.?skar.?>
mortar (for crushing substances in);
su-øo (with suffix -øo)
mosquito; tføø-se
moss; ø-lo-la (hanging moss, beard lichen)
ø-ø (lichen on slippery rocks)
tføø-ø <cha.?>
moth; ndøe-li-øfi <dre.?>
mother; v-mø <a.ma>
mount (horse); ndzi <dzin> [PFV/IMP]
zu <bzung>
mountain; ñø <ri>; (snow-capped
mountain; glacier) øø-ø <gangs.ri>
mountain pass; la-øgo <la.mgo>
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

dzʊŋ.go <rdza.mgo>
mountain ridge; raŋ.go <ri.mgo>
mouse; tus <byi.ba>
moustache; kʰɯŋ-pɔ <kha.spu>
mouth; kʰp <kha>;' (exterior opening)
\text{nt}ŋ-tɔ <mchu.to>
move; shake; ñdɔ
move sth to a different location; hpe
<spar>;' (move house) hɔŋ.hpe
much, many; m(-wu) <mang.po>
mud; ndɔ-wê <dam> (with suffix -wa)
mudflow; tŋ-ti <chu.?>
muddy; 'nu-po
mule; tsɔ <drel>
multicolored; tfwę-pé-le <khra.?>
mushroom; šu ~ sî <sha.mo>;' (wood-ear)
v.ˌji-nŋ-qe <a.yis.na>;' (Caesar’s mushroom) pʋŋ.de-se-rə, (matsutake mushroom) qʰw-pa-šɔ, (a kind of edible red mushroom) me-šw
musk; slu-ʦɔ <gla.ṛtsi>
musk deer; slu <gla.ba>;' (male musk deer) slu-ʦɔ <gla.ṛtsi>
myself [ADV]; puv-ŋr <nga.nغا>
nail (body part); sj-rv <sen.ŋa>
nail (tool); kɔe-ɾa <gzer> (with suffix -ɾa)
name; jũ <ming>;' (house-name, family name) ngkɔ-mi <khang.ming>
narrow, cramped; tu-pu <dog.mo>;' (as of roads) tu-ŋɔ, tʃʰw-ya <phra>;' te pʰʦɔ te kʰkʰ/wupu-ʦo ra ‘That room is very cramped.’
nauseate; sɔ-ʦɔ <skyug.bro>
navel; umbilical cord; ᷿ <l[e].ba>
near; tʰu-ŋe <thag.nye>
neck; qʰe-tɔ
necklace; kke-dʒi <ske.?>
need; go-ti <dgos.ŋa>
needle; kbi <kha>;' (large needle) bɔ-kbi
<sbom.kha>
negator; [IMPF] ṇa- <mi>, [PFV/IMP] ma- <ma>;' te go ṇa-nštʃe-ka ‘S/he doesn’t open the door.’; te go ma-štʃe-te ‘(I saw that) S/he didn’t open the door.’; go ma-nštʃe ‘Don’t open the door!’
neighbor; tsɔŋ <khyim.mtshes>
nephew; tsłu <sha.bo>
nest; tsʰ-qo <tshang> (with suffix -qo)
nettle; zv-lo <zwa.lo>
new, fresh; sɔ-wa <so> (with suffix -wa)
new year; lo-sv <lo.gsar>
next year; sɔ-ŋa <sang.ning>
niece; tsʰ-mo <tsha.mo>
night; ṇaʃe-ŋa <mtshan.nam>
nine; go <dɡu>
nineteen; tfʒ-go <bcu.dɡu>
ninety; go-tʃa <dɡu.bcu>
nipple; naŋ-go <nu.mgo>
nit; ṇo-ʦɔ <shig.sro>
nod; ṇo-ŋdu <mgo.ŋa>
nomad; ṇdɔŋ-o-ŋp <brog.pa>
noise; yɔ <’ur>;' (make noise) tfa-lo tsɔ <grags.ŋa.byed>
noodle soup; tʃhə-ŋo (with suffix -qo)
noon; dzʊŋ-w-ŋkʰ
nose; guŋ.go <sna.mgo>
nosiril; gu-çu <sna.khung>
now; te-ʃə <da.ŋa>;' gu teʃə rəkɔ ṇbʊ-dɔ ‘I am drinking liquor now.’ (just now)
τσο-τσο, τσοτσο ṇu rəkɔ ṇbʊ-ŋv te
I was drinking liquor just now when he came.

numb; ʒɔ <sbrid> ŋu ɓkɔwɛ ʒɔ-ko ‘My legs feel numb.’

number, digit; v-ŋgo <ang.ki>

oath; nɛ <jo.mo> (take an oath)

odor; t®-wa <dri> (with suffix -wa)

oil; (generic) ‘nu <snum>; (vegetable oil)

old (senile); ɡ‰-po <rgad.po> (female)

old (used, stale); ðnying.pa

old person; (male) ðgo <rgad.mo>

one; ?tsɔ <gcig>; (in classifier phrases)

onyx (banded); ƙɔ <gzi>

open [VT]; ʈʂɔ'e <byar> [PFV/IMP] tʃɔe <phye>

pasture; ?tsɔ-ś <rtswa.sa>

patch [N]; ñe <ne.tso>

pay back (loan); sɔɔ-ɓi ʒɔ <skyin.pa.shyin>

pea; ʈʂe-ŋ产妇 <sran.?>

peel; tʃɔ-e <gzhog>

pen in; dɔ

pebble; tʃɔ-do <chu.rdo>

peel [VT]; žu <gzhog>

pen off; ke-ja ło

penis; ʈʃɔ <mjɛ>; dza <zla.ba>

person; human; ɲɔ <mi>

pestle; tʃɔ-ɓo <r.do>

pheasant; rɔ-te <ri.de>

phlegm; qɓe-lo <kha.lud>
pick (flower); $\hat{u}$<‘thu>; tu <btog>
pick up; $\hat{u}$
picture; photo; $\chi$<par>
pickles; $\hat{j}$<sngo>
pierce; $\chi$<‘phig>, [PFV/IMP] $\hat{p}$<phigs>
pig; $\hat{p}$<phig> (with suffix -\-
(sow) $\hat{p}$<phigs>
piggysty; $\hat{p}$<phag.khang>
pigwash; $\hat{p}$<phag.khang>
pig; $\hat{p}$<phag> (with suffix -\-
(sow) $\hat{p}$<phag.khang>
pigsty;
pile [N]; $\hat{p}$<sder.?>; k\-
plate; de-ra <sder.?>; kv-de <dkar.sder>
plateau; $\hat{v}$<thang>
play; $\hat{h}$<tsa <sngas>86
plough [N]; $\chi$<shol>
ploughshare; sa <lcags>
plough [V]; $\hat{m}$<rmo, [PFV/IMP] $\hat{m}$<rmos>
pockmarked person; ma-ts\-
point, tip, edge; pe-k\-
point at; $\hat{d}$<dz-tsa <mdzub.?.byed>
pointed; $\hat{b}$<tsa<du
poison; ta <dug>
polyp; $\hat{s}$\-
poor; me-po <med.po>; te mepo po-t\-
‘S/he has become poor.’
op; explode; $\hat{p}$
opolar; la-p, la-wu, d\-
porcupine; g\-
pot; $\hat{z}$\-
potato; j\-
pour (liquid) into container; $\hat{l}$<blug>
pour out; $\hat{d}$<z-
pour out completely; $\hat{g}$\-
power; $\hat{d}$<bang>
prayer flag; $\hat{h}$<pho.ba.?>56
press; $\hat{m}$<sngas>
press (hide) to soften; $\hat{m}$-
(wooden tool for pressing hide) $\hat{m}$-
pretend; $\hat{t}$\-
price; $\hat{k}$<gong>
prop; $\hat{x}$<rt\-
property; $\hat{d}$<rgyu>
protruding; ʰnb-o ʰbo <'bur.'bur>; ʰv-ɡv
proud; ʰnb-ʰbo
provoke; kʰv ʰtʰv <kha.?
pry with lever; ka-lₜ sɔ <?.byed>
puddle; tʃʰ-o-qo <chu> (with suffix -qo)
pull; the <then>
pull up (e.g. weeds); ʰbi <'bal>, [PFV/IMP] bi <bal>
pull, drag; ʰndÂ ʰ<nbo> <drud>, [PFV/IMP] Âa <bzhag>, [IMP] Âu <zhog>
put in order; ɗ-s|u ts ɗ<bsdu.gsog.byed>
put (object) into container; tsø;
tæ-kø<matæø kæø-ńø m> ɗ-tø<mta.tsø-t‰
′S/he put the candy into her/his mouth.′
put (clothing) on; put (soil) on; ʰgᵩ,<gᵩ> [PFV/IMP] ki <gon>
puttee; pv-htʃo <nywa.dkri>
Qiang; ru-wv <ri.pa>
quarrel; ʰdəz-e-gto tso <?.byed>;<ŋpʰ-ɾe tʃɔ <res.byed>
quiet; q'lo-ɾí-jí-dí
quit; ʒtfɛ <geod>
rabbit; ru-yu <ri.bong>
rack on which harvested grain is placed to dry; ru-zo
rafter; kdu-fi <gdung.shing>
rain; [N] ʰnɔ <gnam>; (rain coming down on sunny day) tʃʰ-o<char>;
kv-ʰbi <'.bab>; [V] ʰnʃ ʰbi
<gnam.'bab>, [PFV] ʰnɔ pʰi
<gnam.babs>; ʰnɔ te tʰo-si-te 'The rain has stopped now.'
rainbow; ʰdʒ-e-tse <'ja.tshon'>
raise, feed; ʰʃø <gʃo>, [PFV/IMP] ʰʃi <gʃos>
raise (hand); ʰke-ʰke
rake [N]; be-ɾw <spar.ba>; ɡv-ʰbo <?.spar>;
[V] be-ré-tsɔ <?.byed>; (harrowing rake withput teeth) sa-sza <lcags.?>
rash; ʰndʒ-o ʰbo <'brum.bu>
ray; ɾi <'od>
read; ʰde <'don>, [PFV/IMP] te <bton>
reach out, extend; ʰtsu <ktṛtyʊng>
real; ʰŋ-ɾɛ <ŋo.ma>
receive; ʰtʃṭ <'phrod>, [PFV] ʰʃṭ<ŋšy³³
recognize; ɡo-fi <ŋo.shes>
recompense; ʰndʒi <'jal>
recover from illness; (ɲv-tʃɔ)n ɾɔa
<na.tsha.drag>
red; me-ɾa <dmar.?>
reduce; ɾu
regret; ɾa-ɾɛ-sɔ <?.bsam>
reheat; ɾʃɨ<ɾdɛ tʃɔ<tsha.'de.byped>; ɾʃi <dros>
rein; ʰpʰ-o-ɾdɛ <mtub.ɾda’
reincarnated buddha; ɾgɔ-ɾkɔ <sprul.sku>
relation, relative; ɾw-ɾa <sha.?>
release, ɾ²⁹ ɾɔu<gtɔng>, [PFV] ɾɔ <bt⁰n>
religious doctrine; tʃʰi <chos>
remember; se-ɾv-ɾ-ɾø <se.nɔ-ɾø
<sems.nang.?nang>
repair; tʃi <bœs.³³>
resin; ɾv-ɾʃo <thang.chu>
rest [V]; ʰtso
restaurant; zv-ɾkɔ <za.khang>
return, give back; ɾv-ɾb.reshape<skyin.pa
Below our village flows the Zhongu River.
cow) \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ts}\text{\textregistered} \text{ho} \) 'phrug
scratch; claw; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{e} \)
scream; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{b}\text{\textregistered} \text{go} \) \( ? \text{.shor} \)
scrub; \( \text{\textregistered} \)
scythe; di-zo \( ? \text{.zor} \)
sea; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ts}\text{\textregistered} \text{ho} \) \text{rgya.mtsho}
search; tsbo \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tshol} \)
seat, mat; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{stan} \)
seat for higher-ups, throne; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ts}\text{\textregistered} \text{ho} \) \text{kha.rgya}
second day after tomorrow; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{gzhes.nyin} \)
second day before yesterday; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{khas.nyin.de.khas.nyin} \)
see; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{mthong} \), \( \text{\textregistered} \text{rig} \)
'they can't see anything in the fog.'
see off; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{bsu} \)
seed; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{sa.bon} \)
seep; \( \text{\textregistered} \)
select; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{bsed} \)
sell; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ts}\text{\textregistered} \text{ho} \) \text{tshong}, [PFV/IMP] tsu
'Ve sold the horse to him/her yesterday.'
semen; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ku} \)
send; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{skur} \)
send for help; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ph} \text{\textregistered} \text{na} \) \text{rogs.pa.mngag}
separate; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{bsg} \)
sequentializer; clause linker; -\( \text{\textregistered} \text{ph} \text{\textregistered} \text{na} \) tsbo \( ? \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \text{\textregistered} \text{ho} \text{\textregistered} \) \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ts}\text{\textregistered} \text{ho} \) \text{kha.rgya}
'she came from Lhasa and will go to Chengdu.'
serow (Capricornis sumatraensis); \( \text{\textregistered} \text{kha} \text{\textregistered} \text{r} \text{\textregistered} \text{ga} \)
servant; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{b} \text{\textregistered} \text{w} \text{\textregistered} \text{r} \text{\textregistered} \text{g} \text{\textregistered} \text{a} \) \text{ngla.pa}
set (as of the sun); \( \text{\textregistered} \text{t} \text{\textregistered} \text{fi} \text{\textregistered} \text{u} \)
set fire to; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ts}\text{\textregistered} \text{ha} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{me} \text{\textregistered} ? \text{.me} \), [PFV/IMP] t\( \text{f}\)
set out; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ts}\text{\textregistered} \text{ha} \)
seven; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{fi} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshong}, [PFV/IMP] t\( \text{f}\)
seventeens; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{fi} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshong}
seventy; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshong}
sever; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{de} \)
sew, patch; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shadow, shade; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shake; quake; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsf} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \text{\textregistered} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon} \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
'The earth is shaking.'
shake (head), sway; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
share, portion; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
sharp; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
(seven) (with suffix \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon})
'she shoots slingshots well.'
short; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ph} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
(shoe, boot; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
(worn by women) \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
(Mongolian-style, worn by men) \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shoot, throw; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ph} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
'she shoots slingshots well.'
short; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ph} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
(shoulder; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shoulder-blade; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shout; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ph} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shudder; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shun; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{ph} \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shuttle; tfo-to
shrine; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
shy; \( \text{\textregistered} \text{tsho} \) \text{\textregistered} \text{tshon}
sibling; (elder brother and younger sister)
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po-za <bu.?> (elder sister and younger brother) ni-hsi <.string>
sickle; zo-re <zor.ba>
side (of body); stlo-no <glo> (with locative -no)
sieve; ts’ha-su <tshags.?>
sift; qa
silver; go <dngul>
sinew, tendon; ætsë-®u <rtsa.?>
sing; Ùl‰ l‰ <glu.len>
sink;
dë ; te dogu te ætsuæts| t∆ æ-©i
‘The stone quickly sank to the bottom of the water.’
sister; pu-æp; (elder sister) ætsi <sring>
sit;
<sit cross-legged;
shape; dzë-nd <?.’dug> sit on eggs;
ru <rum>
six; t® <drug>
sixteen; t®-t® <bcu.drug>
sixty; t®-t® <drug.cu>
skin; ®u <shun.lpags>
(whole skin, fur) pa-æpa <pags.pa>
skin; ngu <gog> 
[ku <kha.ba>]
skin dirt; t®-wa <dri> (with suffix -wa)
skirt; t®-ri <chu.ras.> 
skull; n®go-t® ro-pe <mgo.?rus.pa>
sky; k® <gnam>; k®-no fo t®ole na-ko
‘There are many clouds in the sky.’
slanting; zo <yo> ; zo
sleep; go to bed; ni <nyal>
sleeping place; ni-æv <nyal.sa>
sleeve; t®ha-mdv-q®a <chu.ma.kha.ba>
sleeve; t®hu <phu.run>
slide; s®v
slingshot; y®-do <.ur.do>
slip and fall; s®v
slippery; s®v
slow; n®go <gor>
small; t®-t®u <chung.chung>
smallpox; t®-d®u <.brum>
smear; hf®
smell [N]; t®-wa <dri> (with suffix -wa)
smell [V]; pu <snum>
smith; n®gv-r® <nagar.ba>
smoke [N]; tu <du.ba>
smoke [V]; t® <.then> (= ‘to pull’)
smooth; z®-rfa-re
snail; n®-za-ya-r® <.bu.?>
snake; ®o <brul>;
as in year-sign) d® <brul>
snare; s®-va <gla.thag>
sneeze; v-t® fo t® <.byed>
snore; ®o-p® fo t® <.byed>
snot; pi <sna.bas>
snow; q®a <kha.ba>; r®go q®a
khak-t® n®µpo ye-æ-t® ‘The snow has piled quite high on the mountain ridge.’
snub; pu-t® <sna.thag>
soak; b® <sbang>
soft; n®-qe, (soft and warm) n®v n®bo <.jam.po>
soldier, army; k®a <dmag>
sole (of foot); b®-go <rkang> (with suffix -go)
solid; sturdy; n®-æ-t® <sra> (with suffix n®)
some; t®<t®a <cha.tshig>;
sore; n®-uju-t® <nyung.nyung.tshig>; v®-di-t® <.tshig>
sen; p®-t® <bu.tsha>
son-in-law; ma-lpe <mag.pa>
song; ḥa <glu>; (love songs) ḫa-jo <la.gzhas>
soon; ṭsa-ke
soot; ḥa-lpe, (on ceiling) tu
sore, boil; ṭma-na <rma.nag>
soul; ṭsø-∆i <rnam.shes>
sound; dō <sgra>
soup; ṭæø
sour; s<skyur>; s<skyur.mo>;
|ë-s<skyur> 'Is it sour (mirative)?'; s<skyur>mo
|ë-r 'Is it sour?'
space; së-≈ë le
span; ṭm<štup> le
sparrow hawk; ḥ<štup> |khra>
spatula; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
sparrow hawk; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
speech; ṭ<štup> <gtam>
spend; ṭa <skyag>
spice; ṭ<štus> <tsha> (with suffix -nde)
spider; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
spun; ṭ<štup> <mtho>
spindle; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
spit; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
spine; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
spittle; ṭ<štup> <mchil> (with suffix -wa)
spider; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
spleen; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
spintler; ṭ<štus> <mtho>
spire; come into bud; ne-lo se
The potatoes have sprouted.'
stir; .bt≥<dkrug>
stir-fry; ɬsa<gsir?>
stirrup; ji-tʃe<job.chen>
stomach; se-hkv
stone; do<rdo>; do-gu<rdo.?>
stone reservoir beside water source;
.tfθ-hke<chu.skas>
stool; tfu-tse<lecog.tse>
story, folklore; kʰw-hpe<kha.dpe>
storey; -kʰo
stove; tš-kʰu<rgo.ra>
stool; t²ø-tse<lcog.tse>
story, folklore; kæpæ<kha.dpe>
storey; -kæø
stove; tsů-ku<?.go.ra>
straight; t³ø<drang>
strain, filter; tsa<btsag>
strike with palm; du<rdung>
string (beads); dzo<rgyus>
stroke; pat; touch; ra<reg>[PFV/IMP] 
\tya
strong; νt-tʃe<ngar.che>
strong (as of liquor); gi-hpo
stupid; sle-do<glen.rdo?>; sle-p₀v
<glen.pa>
stutterer; kʰb-hkʰa<kha.lkugs>; bʰa-pr
<lkugs.pa>
succeed; l≥V-dzʒ<las.'grub>
suck; n dzʒ<ʒib>
suckle [VI]; no<nu>; [VT]; pa-pa pi
<?, snun>
suddenly; ʃlα-dzα kʰ-no<glo.rgyag.?>
    (with locative -no)
sugar; (brown sugar) bo-hs₀
<shbrang.rtsi>; (white sugar) fe kuro
<shel.dkar.po>
sulphur; .mo-zo<mu.zi>
summer; zœ-kv<dbyar.kha>
sun; ɬo-wa<nyi> (with suffix -wa);
   ɬo-wa l-o-sv-tʃo 'The sun has come out.'
sunbathe; tsv-te<109> sdo
sunken, concave; go-go
sunlight; tsv-te, tʃo şv kɛrɔ zotʃʰv-tʃo
   tsne nà ñe go-kà 'You are too pale,
   you need to get some sunlight.'
supper; gu-tsi<dgong.?>
swallow; ʃtu<gtong>,110 [PFV] tɔ
   <btang>
swallow (bird); tʃʊ-la tʃa-lt
swear; take an oath; nɛ tʃɔ<mnà.byed>;
   nɛ ma-tʃɔ 'Don’t take an oath!'
sweet; ʃi-tʃa<mgul.chu>
sweep; ˏtsʰa<phyag>[PFV/IMP] tʃa
   <phyag>; yɔ
sweet; ʃe-mo<dn̥ar.mo>
swell; (become swollen) ˏtʃa<skrang>;
   (expand) ˏdzʃ<grang>111
swim; tʃo-hsə tʃa<chu.rkyal.byed>
sword; tʃw-htem
 tadpole; pɑ-wa-go-do<nyi.mgo.rdo>
   (with suffix -wɔ)112
tael; ʃɔ<srang>
tail; nɑ<mg̥a.ma>
tailor [N]; zo-hkʰe<bzo.mkhan>;
   zo-wɔ
   <bzo.ba>
tailor [V]; ˏdzʃ<dr₆>
take; le<le>[PFV] lɔ<blangs>[IMP]
   lɔ<longs>; sβɛsɛ gomo lʰo lú-xu
   'Pick up the money on the ground!'
take away by force; snatch; ˏtsʰu
   '<phrog>[PFV/IMP] tʃhuy<phrogs>
take in (people needing food and
   lodging); adopt; tʃa
   take off; take out (of container, of
enclosure); ṅpʰo <'phud>, [PFV/IMP] pʰo <phud>
take turns; ḥko-ḥv-tsa li <skor.? byed las>
talk, give a speech; fe <bshad>
tall; (as of people) tf'e <che>; (as of objects, buildings) ṅtʰo <mtho>
tangka; tæø-æk <thang.sku>
target; nb‰ <'ben>
tartar; so-t®a <so.dreg>
tasty; Âu <zhim>; Â-nbo <zhim.po>
tattered; t®‰-ro <hral.?>
tax; t®æ‰ <khral>
tea; t∆ë <ja>; (brick tea) t∆ë-dÔi <ja.?>
tea-churner; t∆ë-ndu <ja.mdong>
teach; ætsi <slob>
teacher; g‰-g <dge.rgan>
teapot; ko-ndze 113
tear; ðætse <slob>
tears; tø-©i <de.?>
these; (dual) ²dœ-²y<de.?>; (plural) ḥdœ-a<di.?>
they; (dual) ḥs<de.?> (with dual suffix -y); (plural) ḥs<de.?> (with plural suffix -a)

thick (as of books; hair of head); ṅtʰo-po <'thug.po>; (as of ropes) bœ <sbom> ~ bœ-²bœ <sbom.pa>; (as of soup) hts‰-qe-to

thief; ḥko-mw <rkun.ma>
thigh; lv-gœ <brla.?>
thimble; bfo-mo <lclsibs.mo>
thin (as of books); htsi-yœ <srab> (with suffix -y); (as of ropes) tsʰv-yɔ <phra> (with suffix -yɔ); (vs. fat) sν-pe <sha.med>; (watery) tʃʰ-tu <chu.?>; sœ-ra sœ-rv

think; ponder; ðætse
think of, miss; tse <dran>
thirsty; kʰv-kœ <kha.skom>
thirteen; tʃo-ţsu <bcu.gsum>
thirty; sœ-dʒ <sum.eu>
this; ²de <di>
this year; to-tœ <do.tshig>
thorn; tsʰe-mo <tsber.ma>
those; ²s<de> (with plural suffix -a)
thought; sœ <bsam>; sœ-tʃo <bsam.?>
thousand; ṅtu <stong>
thread; ḥts‰-dʒ <rtsid.sgril>; (yarn) bka-wœ <skud.pa>

threshold; go-de <sgo.?>
three; ţs<gsum>
throat; u-ra <ol> (with suffix -ra); pa-qu
throw; dzœ-ţtu ~ dzœ-ţtu <?gtong>, [PFV] tœ <btang>
thumb; ṅbo-tʃi <mte.bo.che>
thrush (bird); ḥdœ <jol.mo>
uncultivated land; gi <rgod>
under; yö-no <og> (with locative -no)
understand; xe-ko <ha.go>; xe v-ko-te
‘Do you understand?’

undress; pô-po <phud>, [PFV/IMP] pô <phud>
untie; [VT] fo <bsig>; [VI] xo <zhig>
upper jaw; zv-nô <ya.mgal>
up, upwards; lë-rô <la.rol>
urine; xô-fi <gcin>; (urine and excrement)

Put the lid on the wine urn
or the wine will vaporize.’

vegetable garden; lo-ôi <.zhing>

we all; [INCL] a-ô; [EXCL] ô-ô (with
plural suffix -ôa)
we two; [INCL] ô-ô; [EXCL] ôô-ôi
(with dual suffix -ôi)
wear, put on; ôi <gon>;
(wear rings, necklaces, etc.) ñô
weasel; ôo <skyug>
vulture; tsô-gi <bya.god>
vulva; nhô-mô <nya.ma>; xo,xô <gzhang>
wade; tô-dô <chu.rgal>

wages; ôlô <gla>
waist; bô-we <rked.pa>
wait; xo <sgug>; ôô ôô-di ‘Wait here!’
raise up; ñî <sad>
walk; ôô-ôô ôô-ro <rkang.thang.ôô>
wall; (earthen wall) tsô <gyang>;
(plain wall) pô-ro
walnut; ôô-lo123
want (to do sth); sô <bsam>
warm oneself by fire; ñe-ôô <me.'de.wa>
warm; (as of weather) tô-ôô de
<dro.tsad.bde>; (feel warm) tô-ôô ôô
<dron.pa>
wart; ñô-ro <ndzer.pa>
wash; pô-ôô <khru(d), [PFV/IMP] tô <bkrus>
wasp; bee; ôô-ôô <sbrang.bu>
wine-

wait here!’

vegetable garden; lo-ôi <.zhing>121

valley; lo-ô <lung.pa>; (gullly) lo-ô <lung>?

vaporize; lô-ô ôô <rlangs.ô>; [PFV] lô-ô ôô
dzô ki-ôô me tô-ôô lô-ô ôô
Ôô-ro-ôô ôô ‘Put the lid on the wine urn
or the wine will vaporize.’

vegetable garden; lo-ôi <.zhing>121

vein; la-tôô <lag.rtsa>
verandan; ôô
evaporation; lô-ô ôô <rlangs.ô>; [PFV] lô-ô ôô
dzô ôôô ki-ôô me tô-ôô lô-ô ôô
Ôô-ro-ôô ôô ‘Put the lid on the wine urn
or the wine will vaporize.’

vegetable garden; lo-ôi <.zhing>121

weave; ntêa <thags>, [PFV] têa, [IMP] ta

weather; ôô <gnam>;
‘The weather is not good today.’
weave; bôô <thags>, [PFV] ôô, [IMP] ta
wedge; ôô-ôô <khîô>
weed; tôô-ôô <tsaw.god>
weep; ôô <ngu>
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

weigh, measure; ts/he <tshad>

weld; bu

west; no <nub>

wet; s animate.126

what; tf'as <ci.cig>

wheat straw; su-z <sog.?>; (threshed bran of this) p/he

wheel; tkho-lo <'khor.lo>

when (Q); no <nam>

whet, sharpen; ë-rë ± ë-ra <da.ra>

which; kô-te <gang.de>

whip [N]; la-®ë <lcag>; [V] ts'ë <chu.?>

whirlpool; tsse-tse <chu.?>

white; ke-ra <dkar.ba>

who; so <su>

wide; khi-khi tf'he <.che>; (as of clothing) khi tf'he <.che>; (as of roads and rooms) gi tf'he <zheng.che>

widow; zo-sa-me <yug.?.ma>

wife; me-ri <ma.rabs>

wild ass (Equus kiang); tf's <skyang>

wild boar; pha-gi <phag.grod>

wild cat; lo-gi <li.grod>

wild duck; tf'la-la <chu.?>

wild goat, bharal (Pseudois nahoor);

willow; dzö-wa; (willow twigs) dzö-ta

win; le <lon.?>

wind [V]; tf's <dkri>

wind; slu <rlung>; ts'ös slu
tf'o-ne-ts'o-k'o 'The wind blows fiercely outside.'

window; ke-khu <dkar.khung>; (large)

wing; go-pu <gshog.pa>

winnowing basket; sx <ts'he>

winter, gi-pu <dgurn.ca>

wipe; ts'a <'phyi>, [PFV/IMP] ts'ë <'phyis>

wire; tf'la-hk'o <lcags.skud>

wisdom; lo <blo>

wither; je, metu je-sv-ts'o 'The flowers have withered.'

wok; sa-lo <lcags.?>

wolf; sv-ng <spyang.ku>

woman; female adult; me-ri <ma.rabs>

womb; pi <mngal>

wood; fi <shing>

wool; pi <bal>

woolen cloth; nqö <phrung.>; 127 χ'•<su.128

woolpecker, du-phe-yo <sdong.?>

work; le-kv <las.kha>; [V] le-kv li <las.kha.las>

worry; se-pa-de ts'o <sens.mi.bde.byed>

worship; n'øj <mjal>

wound [N]; mv-kv <ma.kha.>; (be wounded) mv-kv <p'he.> [PFV] mv-kv <p'o>

wrap; dz'o <sgril>

wrinkle; ts'o-bho

wrist; la-ts'o <lag.tshigs>

write, draw; n'dz'o <'bri.> [PFV/IMP] t'o <'bri.>; bamo t'o-te zo ye r'o 'It was a letter that the child wrote.'

wrong; nu <nor>

yak; sja <g-yag.?>; (breeding yak)
sja-n'h <g-yag.?>; (female) n'dz'o 
"s'ri.); (wild yak) n'dzu <'brong>

yarn; t'o-yo <rtsid.skud>
yawn; ๘ lí ๘ só <glal.byed>
year after the next; ๘ ý-๘ lo <gzhes.lo>
year before the last; ๘ ýe-๘ lo-๘ te-๘ ýe-๘ lo
<sn̄a.lo.de.sn̄a.lo>
year; ๘ lo <๘ lo>
yeast (brewer’s yeast); ๘ p̄ë <phabs>
yell, cry out; ๘ t̄a-๘ lo-๘ tsó <grags.?.byed>
yellow; ๘ se-๘ ro <ser.po>
yesterday; ๘ k̄h̄-๘ tsó <khar.rtsang>
yeti, legendary wild man; ๘ na-๘ j̄a-๘ gi
<n̄a.gs.?.rgod>
yield; make way; ๘ l̄s̄-๘ tsó <lam.?>; ๘ te-s̄
๘ l̄s̄-๘ tsó ‘Make way for him!’
yogurt; ๘ ŋo ~ ๘ yo <zho>
yoke; ๘ p̄ë-fi <gnya’.shing>
yonder; ๘ p̄ë-๘ yo-๘ to <pha.gi.de.?>
you; ๘ t̄s̄ João <khyod>;
(dual) ๘ t̄s̄ João-๘ j̄i
<khyod.?> (with dual suffix -๘ j̄i);
(plural) ๘ t̄s̄ João-๘ ka <khyod.?> (with plural suffix -๘ ka)
young; ๘ lo-tf̄u <lo.chung>
youngster; (male) ๘ p̄ë-๘ s̄e <pho.gsar>;
(female) ๘ mo-๘ s̄e <mo.gsar>
Zhongu Valley; ๘ yo-๘ ḡa-k̄u
<zho.ngu.khog>
Notes:

1. Amdo usage. The original meaning is ‘kind, type’.
2. Cf. Northern Qiang patše ‘round object’.
3. Cf. Qūgū 曲谷 Qiang e-mic (Huang Bufan, p.c.).
4. WT <gra.ma>.
5. Töngrén 鑫仁 <Thun rin> Amdo tan-ma <dang.ma>.
6. Cf. Baima Tibetan kʰa\textsuperscript{12} Pde\textsuperscript{54}.
8. WT ‘goods’, with semantic shift to ‘bovine’ as in Amdo and some Kham dialects.
9. As in Amdo; cf. WT <gdub>.
10. From Chinese huópén 火盆.
11. WT ‘<chad>; [PFV] <chad>.
15. Cf. variant form tsa-slo-tfI used in Laya village.
17. Amdo Xiahe (bla.brang) teg. X
18. From Chinese màiàng 馬糖 ‘horse-sugar’.
19. From Chinese mùjiàng 木枬.
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 \textsuperscript{12} P\textsuperscript{32} P\textsuperscript{36} P\textsuperscript{38} P\textsuperscript{40} ‘buttock cheek’.
23. A word found in many Tibetan dialects of the area.
25. Also means ‘to hew’.
26. Cf. Daofu chungpa, Guiqiong jas\textsuperscript{13}tu\textsuperscript{12}; Muya c\textsuperscript{13}tto\textsuperscript{12}; Caodeng rGyalrong t\textsuperscript{12}ayk\textsuperscript{12}; Zhongre rGyalrong fa\textsuperscript{12}y\textsuperscript{12}.
27. Cf. WT <skyung.ka>.
29. Also means ‘pick up objects on the ground, tidy up’.
30. Probably a loan from Amdo; the expected native reflex would be *\textsuperscript{32}P\textsuperscript{34}P\textsuperscript{36} P\textsuperscript{40}.
32. Suffixed form of <glang>.
34. Probably <ba.chu> (‘hoarfrost-water’); Cf. WT <zil.pa> ‘dew’; <ba.mo> ‘hoarfrost’.
35. The initial correspondence is amiss. Cf. Southern Qiang \textsuperscript{32}P\textsuperscript{34} P\textsuperscript{36} P\textsuperscript{40}.
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>) P\textsuperscript{32} P\textsuperscript{34} P\textsuperscript{36} P\textsuperscript{40}.
This verb (WT ‘to gnaw’) is attested with the meaning ‘to eat’ in many other dialects of this area and Khams, including Baima, Zhānglā 條臉 (<ICang.la>), and Qiuji.

Cf. WT <‘bud’> ‘to fall down’.

Cf. WT <‘leb’>; but the expected reflex of -eb is -l.

Cf. Xiahe k‘lar.

Cf. Caodeng rGyalrong kolev?.

The probable source *phur is not attested with this meaning.

Cf. WT <‘te’u’>.

Wrong rhyme for WT <smug>.

Cf. ¹khang, attested in the Amdo variety of Zangs-dkar Township, Hongyuan County (Hua 2002:213), but ²khang would have yielded ²kh in Zhongu.

Cf. Xiahe fa.

The word usually means ‘to raise; to feed’ in Tibetan.

Cf. WT <‘khar.rnga’>.

Cf. WT <‘so.ma.ra.dza’>, an Indic loan.

Cf. WT <‘di-ra’>.

The first syllable is a morpheme denoting ‘round object’, cf. Northern Qiang qa ‘head; round object’.

From Chinese lǎjiāo 辣椒.

Cf. WT <‘khyags.rom’>; Xiahe te‘akrom, the Zhongu form bears general resemblance to the above but the vowel correspondences are wrong.

With instrumental suffix -kø.

Other Tibetan dialects usually show -ma suffix.

Probably a loan from Chinese xué 學.

As in Amdo.

Cf. Xiahe ʰgyon <gron>.

Cf. WT <‘bzhugs.zhang’> ‘to stay overnight’.

Cf. Xiāmān Amdo sa.

The second morpheme means ‘to be big’.

Cf. WT <‘skya.ga’>.

From dialectal Chinese yùmài 玉麥.

Cf. Xiahe <‘kha.ra’>.

From Chinese lāròu 鞭肉.

Cf. Xiahe <‘nang.kha’> ‘tomorrow’; WT <‘nang.mo’> ‘morning’.

Cf. WT <‘nyog.pa’>.

WT ‘thin; slender’.

Cf. <‘dri.ma’> in other Tibetan dialects.

The would-be source of this imperfective form *’phye is unattested. Cf. WT <‘byed’>.

Cf. Xiahe k‘de <‘sde’> ‘others’.

From Chinese táozi 桃子.

The second syllable probably means ‘to enter hole; to insert’.

WT <‘bur’> ‘protuberance’.
Phonological Profile of Zhongu

79 WT and other modern dialects show a different morpheme order <sngas.mgo>.
80 Cf. Xiahe rawa.
81 An ancient alternant of the verb <sle>, of which only the perfective stem <lhas> is found in
82 WT. Cf. Xiahe blu.
83 Cf. WT <‘bur.len>.
84 From Chinese mäzi 麻子.
85 Invocable verb, from WT <<dug> ([PFV/IMP] <blug>) ‘to pour’.
86 With the existential verb "ba (q.v.).
87 From wgon; cf. WT <gon>.
88 From *phrod.
89 The verb also occurs as main verbs in words meaning ‘to piss’ ‘to defecate’, as well as
90 innovatively ‘to swallow’.
91 Identical to Xiahe ʰbəyə, WT <rtsib.ma>.
92 Semantic extension from ‘to catch’.
93 Cf. Guiqiong ʰsuə’lə.
94 Possibly a secondarily differentiated form based on di <ldad> ‘to chew’.
95 Xiahe ʰje ‘a kind of sausage’, for which the non-standard written form <g.ye> is offered in
96 Hua and Longbojia 1993:522.
97 From Chinese cōng 蔥.
98 Cf. Xiahe sar.
99 Not a reflex of WT <khu.ba>.
100 Cf. WT ‘day laborer’.
101 Demonstrative ‘that’.
102 Cf. Xiahe ʰgog, Baligi kok <bkog> ‘to pull off, strip’ (Sprigg 2002:92); WT <’gog> means ‘to
103 snatch away’.
104 Cf. Xiahe tpo.</p>
The word means ‘daybreak’ in WT. The innovative sense of ‘tomorrow’ is also found in certain Amdo dialects, e.g. Hongyuan.

From Chinese xiāngzi 箱子.

Same as in Xiahe.

WT <nyung.ma>.

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

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

A widespread Qiangic word, cf. Situ rGyalrong zgo-kr, Guiqiong kʰaŋ/lə, Shixing qʰa̞ŋra, Lyusu kʰaŋ, Namuzi qʰaŋla.

WT <lde>.

WT <sre.mon(ng)>.

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

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

Cf. Xiahe basʰaχ.