The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

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The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

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1. Introduction

This paper aims to provide noun, pronoun and numeral examples of non-Tibetan words in Tibetan dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan [川西民族走廊] (ECWS) or the Tibeto-Lolo Corridor [藏彝走廊], and to discuss their origin. In the appendix, uvular phonemes in Tibetan will be briefly discussed with reference to Tibetan dialectology.

One of the traditional methods of historical study in Tibetan linguistics is to compare the oral form and Written Tibetan forms (WrT) of Tibetan words. Generally speaking, most words of a dialect can be compared with WrT (cf. Tournadre 2005: 38–44). If one can obtain a correspondence between an oral form and WrT, one may judge that this word has a Tibetan origin. Based on this method, many words with a Tibetan origin will be discovered with ease. The problem is the existence of the words which do not correspond to WrT. Some of them may be remnants of unobvious substratum languages, some may be loanwords. If they are borrowed from Chinese or other modern languages, one can easily distinguish them, but there
are surely some words whose origin is mysterious.

According to many historical studies (Yamaguchi 1969, dGe-legs 2006, etc.), it is evident that there existed multiple non-Tibetan ethnic groups called Qiang [羌] and Di [氐] (Tibetan or Qiangic) in the ECWS that have been “Tibetanised” slowly or drastically. This phenomenon can be attested with the existence of rGyalrong and Baima Tibetan ethnic groups. About the linguistic aspect, there may have been more so-called Qiangic languages spoken inside the ECWS than now and they may have originally spoken non-Tibetan languages, but they are almost all Tibetanised now (cf. Nishida 2000: 23), but the chronological facts are scarcely known because of the lack of historical documents.

Therefore, non-Tibetan words in Tibetan dialects can provide proof of the existence of their substratum languages. The search for the origin of these words is therefore a necessary process for understanding history as well as for understanding linguistic contact.

2. Contents

This paper treats three regions: Sharkhog with its surrounding region, the rGyalrong region, and the Shangri-La region. On the detailed dialectal classification of Tibetan spoken in the ECWS, see Suzuki (2008c, forthcoming).

2.1 Background of the Discussion

2.1.1 Sharkhog with its surrounding region

Sharkhog is located in Songpan County, Aba Prefecture. Tibetan dialects spoken in this region belong to Shar or Amdo. Sharkhog is now populated mainly by Bonpos, but linguistic influence from Zhangzhung is hardly found in actual Tibetan dialects (Suzuki 2008a).

Related ethnic groups cited in previous studies are:

- Yamaguchi (1969): rLangs clan, previously lived in the dPalskyid area (ancient Panzhou)
- Sun Hongkai (1987): Baima (ancient Di), previously lived in the Songpan-Jiuzhaigou area
- Nishida (2007): Tangut-Qiang, previously lived in the Songpan area (ancient Songzhou)

This paper treats the Sharkhog, Khodpokhog and dPalskyid subgroups of Shar Tibetan as well as the settlement variation of Amdo Tibetan.

2.1.2 rGyalrong region

rGyalrong is the name of both an ethnic group as well as the region where they live. This area is historically famous as ancient Dongnüguo [東女国] (Eastern Matriarchate Region) and the Minyag ethnic group (see Yang Jiaming 2005 for details).

Actually, Khams and Amdo (nomadic) Tibetan are also spoken in this area. This paper will discuss only two subgroups of Khams Tibetan: Rongbrag and Minyag. The Rongbrag subgroup is normally known as Ershisi cun hua [二十四村話] (Twenty-four villages’ patois)
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(Lin Junhua 2006, etc.), and the Minyag subgroup is also known as “Middle Route dialect” (sKal-bzang ’Gyur-med 1985).

2.1.3 Shangri-La region
Shangri-La mainly indicates Diqing Prefecture, and the Deirong, Xiangcheng, and Daocheng Counties in Ganzi Prefecture, and Muli County in Liangshan Prefecture, a part of sPo-'bor-sgang in the traditional Tibetan area (Suzuki 2008b). Historically, this area has been in contact with non-Tibetan groups, but the ethnic substrata are not obvious, because it is almost completely Tibetanised. Some linguistic studies of Tibetan mention the influence of Naxi language.

There are several Khams Tibetan dialect subgroups, among which the Chaphreng, rGyal-thang and sDerong-nJol subgroups will be discussed in this paper.

2.2 Dialect Location
Detailed information on the dialects is provided at the end of the article.

Map 1  Distribution of Tibetan dialects treated in this paper

2.3 Linguistic Materials
All modern dialect items (the main words to be discussed) are based on the description of my primary data obtained during field research. Citations from previous works, except for the sources indicated at the end of this paper, will be noted when necessary.

Few historical documents of Tibetan dialects exist, but the following will be used in the discussion:
XYT : Xifangkan Yiyu (Tianchuan), a record of a Dartsendo/Minyag dialect?
XY1 : Xifan Yiyu 1 (Songpan), a record of a kind of Sharkhog Tibetan
XY6 : Xifan Yiyu 6 (Muping), a record of a kind of Rongbrag Tibetan
XY7 : Xifan Yiyu 7 (Dartsendo), a record of Minyag Tibetan
XY9 : Xifan Yiyu 9 (Muli), a record of Shangri-La Tibetan

XYT is supposed to have been edited in the 16th century, and XY1–XY9 are supposed to have been edited in the middle of the 18th century. For detailed information, see Nishida (1963), Nishida & Sun Hongkai (1990) and Sun Hongkai et al. (2007: 138–144). The texts to be used are the Gugong edition of XY1–XY9 and the Seikadoo edition of XYT (Ota 1986). Reconstructed forms are provided by the present author with the methodology discussed in Suzuki (2007a: 363–369).

3. Examples Arranged by Semantic Field

**Description**

The description of the linguistic data collected by the present author is mainly based on IPA with an arrangement proposed in Suzuki (2005) except for suprasegmentals. Register in Shar Tibetan is analysed as an opposition between tense (marked as “’”) and lax (unmarked), and tone is analysed as a word-tone in all Khams Tibetan dialects, the tonal signs are:

- : high-level       ` : falling       _ : low-level
  ` : rising        ^ : rising-falling

**Abbreviations**

UIE = unidentified etymon  
PTB = Proto-Tibeto-Burman
OT = Old Tibetan

3.1 Natural Phenomena

1. ‘sky’
   `nna (Ragwo): probably related to WrT gnam.

2. ‘sun’
   nuo (Phyugtsi): related to WrT nyi ma but directly connected to Baima/Pingwu /hye35/ ‘sun.’

3. ‘star’
   `ggu ma (Daan): UIE, cf. the second syllable of Situ-rGyalrong/Chuchen-shar /tsɔ gri/ ‘star’ and PTB *gray ‘star.’ In Daan, the omission of the oral reflex of the WrT glide r is normal (Suzuki 2008b).

4. ‘light’
   `hfa (Nyishe): UIE, cf. XY9 法*fa ‘thunder,’ original meaning ‘lightning’?
5. ‘cloud’
   ‘nö jo? (Qidzong): UIE
   ‘xū ja (Daan): probably related to /nö jo?/ above.

6. ‘rainbow’
   ña tsʰe (Babzo): related to both WrT ‘ja’ tshon and OT gzha ‘rainbow.’
   ñe me (Nyersul): UIE
   zo wa (sPointserag/G): ditto
   zo wa (sPointserag/S): ditto
   zwa (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   nö za (Byagzhol/B): UIE, the first syllable is probably related to WrT gnam ‘sky,’ and
   the second one to /za/ below.
   za: cje (nJol): the first syllable is probably related to /za/ above.
   za (Yanmen, Budy/J): UIE
   zo teʰui (Budy/L): UIE

7. ‘frost’
   nö je: (gZhungwa): UIE
   po xö (Nyersul): UIE
   şö: (Yanmen): UIE

8. ‘ice’
   ñs (Nyishe): UIE
   ñdɔw? (sPointserag/S): UIE
   kʰe dzo (Thoteng): UIE
   nɔ? (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   njo? (Byagzhol/S): UIE, probably related to /nɔ?/ above.
   ñjo? (Qidzong): UIE, probably related to /nɔ dɔ?/ below.
   tsɔw? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /tɔw?/ above.
   ñdɔr? (Yanmen): UIE, comparable to WrT ’khyags - *’gyags?
   ñjo? (Budy/J): UIE, probably related to /nɔ dɔ?/ above.

9. ‘smoke’
   ta bpo (dGudzong): UIE

10. ‘land’
    ka tsa (Daan): UIE

11. ‘river’
    ñu ma (Budy/L): UIE

12. ‘lake’
    na nu (gZhungwa): UIE
13. ‘stone’
   \( \text{da} \quad \text{da} \) (Rongbrag): UIE
   \( \text{da} \quad \text{lu} \) (Daan): UIE

14. ‘sand’
   \( \text{saq} \quad \text{ma} \) (dMarthang): UIE

15. ‘silver’
   \( \text{nu} \) (mThachu): probably related to WrT dngul.

16. ‘copper’
   \( \text{s} \) (Phyugtsi): UIE

17. ‘bridge’
   \( \text{tsi} \quad \text{bo} \) (Gudzong): probably related to \( /dZ\quad \text{ba/} \) below, cf. STau/Morim \( /\text{tso/} \) ‘bridge,’ Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis \( /\text{tsu/} \) ‘bridge,’ PTB *dzam ‘bridge.’
   \( \text{dzâ} \quad \text{ba} \) (rGyalhang): cf. Naxi/Yongchun /dzo\(^2\)/, Minyag/Phungposhi \( /a\quad \text{dzo/} \) ‘bridge,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /ndzom/ ‘bridge.’
   \( \text{dzâ} \quad \text{ma} \) (Pomtserag/S): ditto
   \( \text{dzâ} \quad \text{ma} \) (Daan): ditto
   \( \text{b} \quad \text{l} \) (Yungling): UIE

3.2 Body Parts and Human Beings

18. ‘ear’
   \( \text{nû} \) (Nishe): UIE

19. ‘breast’
   \( \text{mê} \) (Nishe): UIE
   \( \text{pe} \quad \text{tsa} \) (Byagzhol/S): UIE

20. ‘shoulder’
   \( \text{ja} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ra} \) (gTsangtsa): UIE
   \( \text{dzâ} \quad \text{to} \) (Phyugtsi): UIE
   \( \text{ru} \quad \text{to} \) (Zulung): UIE
   \( \text{tâ} \quad \text{je} \) (nJol): UIE
   \( \text{sh} \quad \text{gu} \quad \text{gû} \) (Daan): UIE

21. ‘back’
   \( \text{mba} \) (mPhagri): UIE
   \( \text{gu} \quad \text{dî} \) (Daan): UIE

22. ‘waist’
   \( \text{kô} \quad \text{ga} \) (Yanmen): UIE
   \( \text{k hô} \quad \text{ga} \) (Budy/L): UIE, probably related to \( /kô\quad \text{ga/} \) above.
23. ‘thigh’
   'zê pa (nJol): UIE
   'zo nā? (Yanmen): UIE
   "wzwo (Budy/J): UIE
   'zo (Daan): UIE

24. ‘knee’
   tsʰaugo (Phyugtsi): maybe WrT tshigs 'go?
   tshingo (gZhungwa): ditto
   'tsʰĩugo (sKyangtshang): ditto
   'pa phi: (dGudzong): UIE
   'pho lo (Daan): UIE

25. ‘stomach’
   si ḷka (Phyugtsi): UIE
   'pʰro: (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/sTongdu /pru/.
   'ci nga (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   'ró kʰa (Daan): UIE

26. ‘life’
   'mja (Daan): UIE

27. ‘person’
   'no (Nyishe, Qidzong): UIE, cf. Zhangzhung ni
   'no (Byagzhol/B): ditto
   'no (Thoteng, Budy/L, sPomtserag/G, Byagzhol/S): ditto
   'no (Daan): ditto

28. ‘child’
   'ʔa ka (Ragwo, mPhagri): UIE
   'či (rGyalthang): UIE
   'go ga (Byagzhol/S): UIE
   'ra ro (Yungling, sPomtserag/G/S, Budy/L): UIE
   'ra ro (Yanmen): UIE, related to /'ra ro/ above.

29. ‘baby’
   ko ḷli: (gZhungwa): UIE
   sʰa põ (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Lavrung/Khroskyabs /cr³³Ipõ³³/ ‘baby’
   'ka tsʰi (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   'kā sā (Budy/J): UIE
   'kê sa (Budy/L): UIE, related to /'kā sā/ above.

30. ‘friend’
   ḷde mo (Phyugtsi): UIE
31. ‘Hui nationality’
    ‘lwe ljo (dGudzong): UIE, cf. sTau/Mazur /lo lo/ ‘Hui nationality,’ OT gla lwo, kla klo
    ‘Persian, Muslim’ in Yamaguchi (1968:42)
    ‘lo lo (Rangakha): ditto
    ‘two lwo (rGyalthang): ditto

32. ‘son-in-law’
    ‘bo wa (rGyalthang): UIE

33. ‘father’
    ‘a po (gZhungwa): UIE
    ‘a bo (sProsnang): UIE
    ‘a ju (Nyersul): UIE
    ‘a ku (nJol): cf. WrT a khu ‘uncle’
    ‘a di (Daan): cf. Weixi Chinese ἕ /tir/ ‘father’?

34. ‘mother’
    ‘a mo (gZhungwa): UIE
    ‘a mû (Daan): cf. Weixi Chinese म /mu/ ‘mother’?

35. ‘grandfather’
    ‘pû pû (gZhungwa): UIE
    ‘o ni (Byagzhol/S): UIE, the second syllable may be related to that of WrT a myes
    ‘grandfather’?
    ‘a pûu (Qidzong): UIE
    ‘a je (nJol): UIE

36. ‘grandmother’
    ‘a jo (gTsangtsa): UIE
    ‘a tchû (gZhungwa): UIE
    ‘a ji (Serpo): UIE
    ‘a mó (Ragwo): UIE
    ‘a dza (mPhagri): UIE
    ‘a sh (Nyishe): UIE
    ‘a ja (sPontserag/S): UIE
    ‘a da (Thoteng): UIE
    ‘o bu (Byagzhol/S): UIE
    ‘a dzû (Qidzong): UIE
    ‘a ju (Melung): UIE
    ‘a tsa (nJol): UIE
    ‘a da (Yungling): related to /a dza/ above.
    ‘a za (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /a55 zwa/ ‘grandmother’
    ‘o je (Budy/J): UIE
    ‘a js (Budy/L): UIE
37. ‘elder brother’
   *ʔa⁶⁵gা (Thangskya): UIE
   ʔa⁶³dzι (Serpo): UIE
   ʔa⁶⁵zeʔ (Nyersul): UIE
   ja (rGyalthang): UIE
   ʔa (Nyishe): UIE, related to /ja/ above.
   ju: (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   ʔa: (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ʔa ke (Thoteng): UIE
   ʔa jwʃ (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   ʔa to: (nJol): UIE

38. ‘elder sister’
   me me (Phyugtsi): UIE
   ʔa ziʔ (Nyersul, Ragwo): UIE
   ʔa ms ms (Nyishe): UIE
   ʔa zə (sPomtserag/G/S, Byagzhol/B/S): UIE
   ʔa je (Qidzong): UIE
   ʔa ps (nJol): UIE
   ʔa qo (Yungling): UIE
   ʔa bu (Yammen): UIE, related to /ʔa ps/ above.
   ʔa zə (Budy/J): UIE, related to /ʔa zə/ above.
   ʔa bs (Budy/L): UIE, related to /ʔa ps/ above.
   ʔa mjə (Daan): UIE, maybe related to /ʔa ms/ above.

39. ‘younger brother’
   ʔu tʃwɜ: (Melung): UIE
   ʔo do dzι (Daan): UIE

40. ‘younger sister’
   ʔe wu (Phyugtsi): UIE
   ʔe ra (Yungling): UIE
   ʔe (Daan): UIE

41. ‘paternal elder uncle’
   ʔa ta (Daan): UIE

42. ‘paternal elder uncle’s wife’
   ʔmʃ (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ʔa ʃʃ (Budy/J): UIE

43. ‘paternal younger uncle’
   ʔo mu (Nyersul): UIE
   ʔo mu (mPhagri): UIE
44. ‘paternal younger uncle’s wife’
   ~ʔa suʔ (Nyersul): UIE

45. ‘maternal uncle’
   xo γɔ (gZhungwa): UIE

46. ‘maternal uncle’s wife’
   tu tu (rGyalthang): UIE
   ~ʔa mɔ (nJol): UIE

47. ‘who’
   ~cʰu (sPomtserag/G, Yungling): comparable to Prinmi/Maoniuping /-cols/ ‘who,’ Japhug-
   rGyalrong/Kamnyo /cu/ ‘who.’
   ~cə (sPomtserag/S): ditto

3.3 Animals and Plants
The words ‘pig,’ ‘boar,’ ‘sow’ and ‘piglet’ below have been discussed in Suzuki (2007e).

48. ‘cow’
   ~co ta / ~cwo ta (rGyalthang): UIE
   ~cwo (Daan): UIE

49. ‘calf’
   u⁴⁷a r (Serpo): UIE

50. ‘pig’
   ~a gu (Serpo): UIE, cf. Lyzu/Kala /ɾu³⁵/ ‘pig’

51. ‘boar’
   ~pʰo liʔ (dGudzong): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’
   ~pʰo wa (gDongsum, Rwata): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT pho ‘male.’
   ~pʰo wa (Nyersul): ditto
   ~n⁴⁷i gu lu (Yanmen): UIE
   ~pʰje hû / ~pʰje ʰtʰu (Budy/L): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag
   ‘pig.’

52. ‘sow’
   ~mo wa (Sagong, Nyersul): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT mo ‘female.’
   ~ji ma (Ragwo): UIE, maybe related to the last two syllables of ~pʰa? ji ʰma/ ‘sow’ in
   Chaphreng?
   ~je tʰoʔ (Yanmen): UIE

53. ‘piglet’
   ~pʰw γu (gZhungwa): UIE
   ?e tʰuʔ (Thangskya): the second syllable is probably related to WrT phrug ‘child.’
   ~ʔa nɔŋ (Astong): UIE
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?a yu (Serpo): UIE

go dqi: (Askyirong): UIE

g? go: di (Babzo): UIE, related to /go dqi:/ above.

p?u? wo hts (sPointserag/G): the first syllable may be related to WrT phag, whereas the third element may be related to the morpheme ‘child of the animal’ as in Guiqiong /pa55tsi55tsi55/ ‘piglet,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /partsa/.

p?u k?a (Sagong, gDongsum, Rwata): UIE


ko ts (sPointserag/G): ditto

kw? hte (sPointserag/S): ditto

ko tu: (Yungling): ditto

ks tu (Budy/J): ditto

54. ‘sheep’

s?dze (Phyugtsi): UIE

55. ‘cock’


ko ts: (sPointserag/G): ditto

kw? hte (sPointserag/S): ditto

ko tu: (Yungling): ditto

ks tu (Budy/J): ditto

56. ‘mule’

tim pa (Lhagang): maybe related to WrT drel ‘mule.’


?a ku lu (Nyersul): UIE

ko ro (dGudzong): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /?ku ri/ ‘donkey’

ko ru (Dartsendo): ditto

h? tchu (Nyersul): UIE

h? tchu (Phrengme, Yungling): UIE

h? tchu (gDongsum, Ragwo): UIE

h? tchu (Rwata): UIE

h? tchu: (sPointserag/G): UIE, probably comparable to /?tchu; tchu:/ above.

57. ‘donkey’

?a ?ga (Babzo): UIE

?a (sProsanang): UIE

ko ro (dGudzong): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /?ku ri/ ‘donkey’

ko ru (Dartsendo): ditto

h? tchu: (Nyersul): UIE

h? tchu (Phrengme, Yungling): UIE

h? tchu (gDongsum, Ragwo): UIE

h? tchu (Rwata): UIE

h? tchu: (sPointserag/G): UIE, probably comparable to /?tchu; tchu:/ above.
58. ‘cat’
- *mō *dzo (Rangakha, Phungposhis): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwrdei /mŏ btsi/, XYT 莽
節*ma dze ‘cat’
- *mō bts (Dartsendo): ditto
- *mŏ bts (Yanmen): ditto
- *moj zi (Lhagang): ditto
- *wo *dz (Grongsum): UIE
- *nā li (Chaphreng): UIE
- *nā mj (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Nusu /m33 ne31/

59. ‘rabbit’
- *ro γū (Ragwo): UIE, maybe related to WrT ri bong.

60. ‘fox’
- *jā (Ragwo): UIE

61. ‘monkey’
- *fia *gi / *faj (Grongsum): UIE, cf. the first two syllables of Lhagang /ʔō jɛʔ hul, the third corresponds to WrT spre’u.

62. ‘eagle’
- *hlaj (Rangakha): comparable to WrT glag, maybe directly connected to *hklag < PTB *g-laj / *g-lak (Matisoff 2003:263) < Mon-Khmer *laŋ or *klaŋ ‘eagle’ (Shorto 2006:221), cf. XY7 哈*la ‘eagle,’ Qiang/Yadu /ɡlu/ or /ɡhlu/ ‘eagle.’
- *hl (Dartsendo): ditto
- *hl (sProsnnang): ditto
- *hl (dGudzong): ditto
- *hla (Ragwo, mPhagri, sPomtserag/S): ditto

63. ‘goose’
- *gō (Rongbrag): probably related to WrT gag ‘wild goose,’ cf. XY7 猙*ka / *gga, XY7 阿*ga ‘goose.’

64. ‘wolf’
- *hswaj (Daan): UIE

65. ‘fly’
- tō ne (Serpo): UIE
- *dā n (sPomtserag/G): UIE

66. ‘spider’
- ŋō ř (Hamphen): UIE
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'bā çō (Babzo): UIE

'kro ɣo (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/brGyargyud /gru ɣru/ and the first syllable of Situ-rGyalrong/bZhilung /krə: fnə?/ ‘spider.’

67. ‘horn’

ɣa bʰtsē (Phyugtsi): UIE, maybe *wa rtse < WrT rwa rtse, cf. /ɣa/ ‘fox’ (WrT wa) in Phyugtsi

'wo tʰbo (Rongbrag): UIE

68. ‘claw’

bʰa bʱde (sKyangtshang): UIE

tʰswa (mPhagri): UIE

kū mʰba (rGyalthang): UIE

bʱbe: sɨ (sPomtserag/S): UIE

69. ‘flower’

mɛ ru: (gZhungwa): probably related to WrT me tog, but the condition of the sound change on the second initial is unclear.

mɔ rə? (gDongsum, Phrengme): ditto

mʰbo ru? / mə ru? (Nyersul): ditto

mə ru? (mPhagri): ditto

mɔ ru? (sPomtserag/G): ditto

mə ru? (sPomtserag/S): ditto

mʰbu de? (dGudzong): probably related to WrT me tog.


mɛ bʰdu? (Nyishe): probably related to WrT me tog. cf. XY8 明都*mǐn du ‘flower,’ Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /mən tɔ:/, mTshosna-Monpa /min³⁵tʰɔ?³⁵/ ‘flower.’

70. ‘leaf’

mʰba (Phyugtsi): UIE, cf. Baima/Pingwu /hlɔ³⁵gɛ⁵³/ ‘leaf’

mʰde lk (gZhungwa): UIE

mʰlo (Babzo): UIE

na lo (sKyangtshang, Thangskya): UIE

mə mə (Rangakha): UIE, but perhaps related to the oral forms below /mʰla mə?, /mʰla mə/, etc.

mʰde mə (Grongsum): ditto

mʰda mə? (Sagong): probably related to WrT *dab ma ‘leaf.’

mʰde mə (Nyersul): ditto

mʰta mə (gDongsum): ditto

mʰna mə (Rwata): ditto

mʰda nə (Ragwo): UIE, probably related to the first syllable of WrT *dab ma ‘leaf.’

mʰdə le (Zulung): UIE

mʰdə lh (mPhagri): UIE, related to /də le/ above.

mʰa kə? (rGyalthang): UIE

mə mba (sPomtserag/S): UIE
‘na ma (Thoteng): UIE
‘ci ls (Byagzhol/S): UIE
‘a du? pa (Qidzong): UIE, probably related to the first syllable of WrT ‘dab ma ‘leaf.’
‘na ma (sPomtserag/G): UIE
‘ne ma (nJol): UIE, probably related to ‘na ma above.
‘wu, ‘pu lu (Yanmen): UIE
‘ns ma (Budy/J): UIE, probably related to ‘na ma above.
‘dô ma (Daan): UIE

71. ‘root’
‘ka ru (Grongsum): UIE
‘jo? (Nyersul): UIE
‘zi kwa (sPomtserag/S): UIE
‘tsaj dzô (Byagzhol/S): UIE
‘dze wa (nJol): UIE

72. ‘twig’
ni kʰa (rNgawa): UIE, maybe related to WrT myu ‘sprout’ and kha ‘mouth’?

3.4 Foods, Clothes and Tools

73. ‘highland barley (qingke)’
‘go rô (Sogpho): comparable to /kə rə/ below.
‘go ru (Rongbrag): ditto
‘ko rô (Nyersul, gDongsum, Thoteng): probably related to OT krungs ‘ear of qingke’
‘barley,’ Syang /ga1ruu2/ [ka55ru 53/42] ‘barley,’ Chantyal /kəru/ ‘barley.’
‘ko ru (Zulung, Byagzhol/S): ditto
‘kə ru (mPhagri): ditto
‘ku ru (Byagzhol/B): ditto
‘ku ru (Qidzong): ditto
‘ka ru (Yungling, sPomtserag/S): ditto, the most similar sound correspondence is with
Seke/Tangbe /kʰaru/ ‘barley.’
‘ko ru (Budy/L): ditto
‘ka (Yanmen): comparable to the first syllable of Yungling /ka ru/, cf. Lisu/Kangpu
/gwa 31/ ‘highland barley.’

74. ‘wheat’
‘jo (rNgawa): maybe related to WrT sngo ‘grass.’
‘noon (Ragwo): UIE
‘sêj (rGyalhang): UIE

75. ‘barley’
76. 'pear'
   ˆla ro? (Grongsum): UIE
   ˘sbi hﬁ (Budy/L): UIE
   ˘so ljaw, ˘so ljø: (Daan): UIE

77. 'corn'
   ˘kha˘zø (sPomtserag/G): UIE, related to /˘kha˘zi/ below.
   ˘ka dze (sPomtserag/S): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /ka2¹dze33/ 'corn'
   ˘kha˘zi (Thoteng): UIE
   ˘kha˘za (Byagzhol/B): UIE, related to /˘kha˘zi/ above.
   ˘kha˘za (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ˘kha˘dze: (Qidzong): ditto

78. 'hot pepper'
   ˘he zo (Sogpho): maybe related to Sichuan Chinese 海椒 /xai tciau/ 'hot pepper,' cf.
   Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /˘xø tsø/, 'haj tsø'/' hot pepper.’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo
   /˘xøtsø/ 'hot pepper'
   ˘xe: dzø? (Rongbrag): ditto
   ˘fu tso (Lhagang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /˘fu tsø/ 'hot pepper,' Nyagrong-Minyag/
   rGyarwagshis /˘xo tsø/ 'hot pepper'
   ˘fu tso (Rangakha): ditto
   ˘fu tsbø (Dartsendo): ditto
   ˘go njø (rGyalthang): UIE
   ˘bø˘gu (sPomtserag/S): UIE, related to /˘bø˘gu/ below.
   ˘bø˘gu (Thoteng): UIE, related to /˘bø˘gu/ below.
   ˘pø˘gu? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /˘bø˘gu/ below.
   ˘bø˘gu (Yungling): UIE, cf. Dulong /˘bo3¹kø55/ 'hot pepper'
   ˘bu˘gu (Budy/J): ditto
   ˘bu˘gu (Budy/L): ditto
   ˘pø˘gu? (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ˘thø tcbo: (Daan): UIE

79. 'oil'
   ˘ðu: (Budy/L): UIE
   ˘tcbo: (Daan): UIE

80. 'noodle'
   ˘mu da (sProsnang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /˘mu ta/ 'noodle'
   ˘po da? (Sogpho): UIE, related to /˘mu da/ above.
   ˘po te (dGudzong): ditto
   ˘mu tba: (Rangakha): ditto
   ˘mø bko (Budy/J): UIE
81. ‘lunch’
   _CLIHIHI_ (Rongbrag): UIE
   sTαu/Mazur /'dzo/ ‘lunch.’
   CLIHIHI_ (Thoteng, Budy/J/L): UIE, related to /'dza:/ above.
   CLIHIHI_ (Qidzong): ditto
   CLIHIHI_ (Daan): UIE

82. ‘dinner’
    CLIHIHI_ (Rongbrag): UIE
    CLIHIHI_ (Yungling): UIE

83. ‘clothes’
    CLIHIHI_ (Rongbrag): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ CLIHIHI_ (gDongsum): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ (rGyalthang): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ CLIHIHI_ CLIHIHI_ (gTorwa): UIE, probably related to /'kham/ above.

84. ‘pearl’
   CLIHIHI_ (rGyalthang): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ (nJol): UIE

85. ‘bloom’
   CLIHIHI_ (Hamphen): probably related to WrT phyags ma.
   CLIHIHI_ CLIHIHI_ (Thoteng): UIE

86. ‘knife’
   CLIHIHI_ (Thoteng): UIE

87. ‘cooking stove’
   CLIHIHI_ (Yungling): UIE

88. ‘chopsticks’
   CLIHIHI_ (Babzo): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ (Budy/J): UIE

3.5 Time and Space

89. ‘today’
   CLIHIHI_ (Daan): UIE

90. ‘day before yesterday’
   CLIHIHI_ (Nyersul): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ (Ragwo): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ (gTorwa): UIE
   CLIHIHI_ CLIHIHI_ (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /kʰa mē/ above.
   CLIHIHI_ CLIHIHI_ CLIHIHI_ (Melung): UIE
91. ‘tomorrow’
   ‘n5 ḥka (Rongbrag): UIE
   ‘naw nr: (Melung): UIE

92. ‘morning’
   n6 na (gZhungwa): UIE
   hza: (Babzo): UIE
   za γο (Thangskya): UIE
   ‘sa: ‘xu mo (Daan): UIE, the part ‘xu mo/ may be related to WrT snga mo.

93. ‘noon’
   *n dza rwø (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Qiang/Yadu /dʒɛː/. 
   hpa za (Lhagang): UIE
   *n za ri (sPomtsar/S): UIE
   *n dze li (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   *de: sa: dzø (Daan): UIE

94. ‘evening’
   *m a kʰa (nJol): UIE
   *m a jā (sPomtsar/S): UIE, probably related to /ˈm a kʰa/ above.
   *mā kʰa (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /ˈm a kʰa/ above.
   *ma: kʰa tʰu (Thoteng): UIE, probably related to /ˈm a kʰa/ above.
   *nu mu: (Daan): UIE

95. ‘this year’
   to hṭçi: (gZhungwa): UIE
   *tsa tce (Rongbrag): UIE
   *ʔa dzu? (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   *tə tçu (Melung): UIE

96. ‘next year’
   ta hṭl (gZhungwa): UIE
   sō tʰe (Rangakha): UIE
   *ta zâ? (Nyersul): UIE
   *ʔa zɑ? (Zulung): UIE
   *ʔa zɑ? (gTorwa, Yungling): UIE, probably related to /ˈʔa zɑ?/ above.

3.6 Numbers
Several examples have been discussed in Suzuki (2007d).

97. ‘one’
   *hṭsif (Hamphen, sKyangtshang): UIE, this form is also attested in the second initial ‘eleven’ in many Amdo Tibetan dialects, cf. Pad-ma Lhun-grub (2006)
   *hṭsi: (Serpo, Astong): ditto
98. ‘two’
   _mB (Thoteng, Byagzhol/B): probably related to PTB root *ni ‘two’ rather than WrT gnyis. cf. Zhangzhung ni ‘two’
   _mB (sPomtserag/G): ditto
   _mB (sPomtserag/S): ditto
   _mB (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   _m (Qidzong): ditto
   _m (Melung, Yanmen): probably related to Nusu /ŋ/ ‘two’ rather than WrT gnyis.
   _m (Qidzong): ditto

99. ‘five’
   _a (Zhongu): probably < *ŋ-j-a < PTB *ŋa
   _na / _na (Phungposhis): cf. Minyag/Phungposhis /na/ ‘five.’ See the appendix.

100. ‘six’
   _s? (sProsnnang): a high-tone ‘six’ problem, a direct relation with WrT drug is unexpected, cf. PTB *k-d-ruk or *d-k-ruk in Matisoff (1997: 82–83)
   _u? (Sogpho): ditto
   _u? (Rongbrag): ditto
   _u? (dGudzong): ditto
   _o? (Nyersul, Sagong, Phrengme, Ragwo): ditto
   _o? (Zulung): ditto
   _o? (gTorwa, Byagzhol/B, Qidzong): ditto
   _u? (gYagraw): ditto
   _s? (nJol, Thoteng): ditto
   _s? (sPomtserag/G/S, Yanmen, Melung): ditto
   _s? (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   _swo? (Budy/L): ditto
   _tn: (Daan): comparable to the high-tone ‘six’ in other dialects possessing the retroflex initial, because the omission of the oral reflex of the WrT glide r is normal in Daan (Suzuki 2008b).

Acknowledgements

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Appendix: On the Origin of Uvular Phonemes in Tibetan

Uvular phonemes in Tibetan, especially uvular plosives, have been discussed in Sun Hongkai and Wang Xianhai (1987) with reference to the dialects spoken in Aba Prefecture. The existence of these phonemes is not attested in WrT, thus their origin is an interesting problem for Tibetan dialectology.

In recent studies of individual Tibetan dialects, the existence of uvular phonemes is attested in Kusngo (Hua Kan & sKal-bzang-thar 1997), Zhongu (Sun T.-S. 2003), gSerpa (Sun T.-S. 2005), Babzo (Suzuki 2007c) as well as Rangakha (Suzuki 2007b). The last one is a surprising report because this dialect is one of the Minyag group of Kham Tibetan. Other than these, uvular phonemes are attested in the Serpo, Astong, Thangskya, sKyangtshang, Hamphen, Phungposhis and Budy/Jieyi dialects. Moreover, Sun T.-S. (2007) reports that the Khalong dialect has uvular plosive phonemes, but several examples with them are related to words of the neighboring language Showu-rGyalrong. In addition to these, Ye-shes ’od-gsal A-tshogs (2008) provides a phonological analysis of Chengzhang Tibetan, a dialect spoken in the neighboring area of the Minyag region, in which the number of words with a uvular initial is abundant.

The following are examples with a uvular plosive or nasal attested in ten dialects:

1. Babzo
   /qʰɑ/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa da/ ‘crow,’ /qʰa n-de/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰa cʰɑ?/ ‘hot (taste),’ /qu?/ ‘make a hole,’ /qɔ/ ‘embroider,’ /ʃʰɔn/ ‘lion,’ etc.

2. Hamphen

3. sKyangtshang
   /qʰɑ; qʰa wa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa n-de/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰa bʰɑ/ ‘hot (taste),’ etc.

4. Thangskya

   /qʰa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰu/ ‘bitter,’ /qerɔ/ ‘hook,’ /qo/ ‘diminish,’ etc.

6. rNgawa
   /qʰɑ lʊt/ ‘sputum,’ /qʰo nø/ ‘pack-horse,’ /qʰa tɑ/ ‘crow,’ /qø mo/ ‘thick,’ etc.

7. dMarthang
   /qʰø/ ‘snow,’ /bʰo qɑ/ ‘shoulder,’ etc.

8. Rangakha
9. Phungposhis
\[
'q^\alpha_mu/ 'bitter,' 'q^\alpha_wa/ 'astringent,' 'q\alpha/ 'crawl,' 'n\alpha/ 'five,' 'n\alpha/ 'send,' etc.
\]

10. Budy/Jieyi
\[
'q^h_e/ 'tsel/ 'they,' 'q^h_e/ ni/ 'they two,' etc. (cf. Budy/Lothong '/k^h_wi ts^h_i/ 'they')
\]

As indicated above, the number of words with uvular plosives and nasals is not large, but many of the words have similar meanings, e.g. ‘snow’ and ‘bitter.’ Thus, these elements possibly point to the existence of a common linguistic substratum. The treatment of uvular plosives in the rMachu dialect in ’Brug-mo-mtsho (2003: 28), which claims that uvulars are not phonemic but phonetic because of the small number of examples, should not be accepted.

Previous works such as Sun Hongkai & Wang Xianhai (1987) regard the origin of the uvular phonemes in Tibetan as resulting from the influence of Qiang, one of the neighboring languages of Aba Tibetan. This explanation is probably true for uvular plosives, but uvular fricatives are attested in many Amdo Tibetan dialects of Gansu and Qinghai alike. These uvular fricatives originated from WrT wa and pre-initial g (cf. Suzuki 2004). On the other hand, almost all words with a uvular plosive in Tibetan do not directly correspond to a WrT form. If the uvular plosive has a Qiang origin, why do the gSerpa, Babzo and Rangakha dialects spoken in the region far from the Qiang language area have it? Qiang certainly influenced these dialects, but it may be more accurate to say that it was the influence of languages spoken by the ethnic groups called Qiang by Han Chinese in historical documents. If uvular sounds have a non-Tibetan origin, they are maybe related to non-Tibetan ethnic substrata in which languages near to Qiang were spoken.

Even though the examples of the Budy/Jieyi dialect can attest to the independent development of uvular plosives in Tibetan (Suzuki 2007a: 281), what is remarkable is that there are common words with a uvular plosive such as ‘snow,’ ‘crow’ and ‘hot (taste).’ These phenomena cannot be regarded as independent developments. This problem should be discussed with linguistic data from a wider range of dialects.

**Information for Tibetan Dialects**

_dialect name:_ Village/(sub-village), County

_Asxyirong: _Axirong, Ruoergai  
_Babzo:_ Baozuo, Ruoergai  
_gZhungwa: _Yuwa, Jiuzhaigou  
_gTsangtsa:_ Zhangza/Dajisi, Jiuzhaigou  
_Phuygtsi:_ Zhangza/Shuzheng, Jiuzhaigou  
_rNgawa:_ Zhong-Aba, Aba  
_dMarthang:_ Qiongxi, Hongyuan  
_Hamphen:_ Shuijing/Hanpan, Songpan  
_sKyangtshang:_ Shanba, Songpan  
_Ketshal:_ Shili/Gaotunzi, Songpan  
_Thangskya:_ Shili/Datun, Songpan
### The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

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<th>Place</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>Daan</td>
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</table>

The dialectal classification of the dialects above:

1. Shar Tibetan: Askyirong, Babzo, gZhungwa, gTsangtsa, Phyugtsi, Hamphen, sKyangtshang, Ketshal, Thangskya, Astong, Serpo
2. Amdo Tibetan: rNgawa, dMarthang, Zhongu

3. Khams Tibetan: the others

Information for Non-Tibetan Languages

Present author’s data:

language name/dialect name: Village(sub-village), County

Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo: Jiaomuzu/Shijiangzui, Maerkang
Situ-rGyalrong/Chuchen-shar: Hedong, Jinchuan
Situ-rGyalrong/bZhilung: Rilong/Changping, Xiaojin
Geshitsa/brGyargyud: Niega/Jiaju, Danba
Geshitsa/sTongdgu: Donggu, Danba
sTau/Mazur: Mazu/Guoerpu, Daofu
sTau/Morim: Muru, Daofu
nDrapa/Ngwirdei: Hongding, Daofu
Nyarong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis: Jialaxi/Heiri, Xinlong
Minyag/Phungposhis: Pengbuxi/Lazixi, Kangding
Prinmi/Maoniuping: Maoniuping, Muli
Nazi: Qiaowa, Muli
Naxi/Yongchun: Yongchun, Weixi
Lisu/Kangpu: Kangpu, Weixi

Data from previous works:

language name/dialect name: Village(sub-village), County, Prefecture (in China)

Baima/Pingwu: Baima, Pingwu, Mianyang; from Sun Hongkai et al. (2007)
Qiang/Yadu: Yadu, Mao, Aba; from Huang Bufan (ed.) (1992)
Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo: Longerjia/Ganmuniao, Maerkang, Aba; from Jacques (2008)
Laozung/Khoskyabs: Guanyinqiao, Jinchuan, Aba; from Huang Bufan (2007)
Guiqiong: Maibong, Kangding, Ganzi; from Huang Bufan (ed.) (1992)
Minyag/Lugpa: Gonggashan, Kangding, Ganzi; from Huang Bufan (ed.) (1992)
Lyzu/Kala: Kala, Muli, Liangshan; from Huang Bufan (ed.) (1992)
Nosu: Miangu, Bijiang, Nujiang; from Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu (1986)
Dulong: Mengdi, Gongshan, Nujiang; from Huang Bufan (ed.) (1992)
mtShosna-Monpa: Mama, Cuona, Shannan; from Huang Bufan (ed.) (1992)
Seke/Tangbe: Nepal; from Honda (2002)
Seke/Chuksang: Nepal; from Honda (2002)
Chantyal: Nepal; from Noonan et al. (1998)
Syang: Nepal; from Nagano (1990)
Zhangzhung: extinct; from Nagano & Karmay (2008)
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