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 Nishida 2000: 23), but the chronological facts are scarcely known because of the lack of historical documents.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)
(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.

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 : Xifanguan 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
ʾ: rising ^: rising-falling

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

3.1 Natural Phenomena

1. ‘sky’
   ʾmnu (Ragwo): probably related to WrT gn̂m.

2. ‘sun’
   n̂bu: (Phyugtsi): related to WrT nyi ma but directly connected to Baima/Pingwu /ĥye35/ ‘sun.’

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

4. ‘light’
   ʾb̄fa? (Nyishe): UIE, cf. XY9 法*fa ‘thunder,’ original meaning ‘lightning’?
   ʾm̄bu / ʾm̄bu m̄bu (Daan): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /bu33/ ‘light.’
5. ‘cloud’
  `nö jo? (Qidzong): UIE
  `xū ja (Daan): probably related to /nö jo?/ above.

6. ‘rainbow’
  ¹ca tsʰe (Babzo): related to both WrT ‘ja’ tshon and OT gzha’ ‘rainbow.’
  am me (Nyersul): UIE
  zo wa (sPomtserag/G): ditto
  zo wa (sPomtserag/S): ditto
  zwa (Byagzhol/S): ditto
  nö za (Byagzhol/B): UIE, the first syllable is probably related to WrT gn̪am ‘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 tʰɯ (Budy/L): UIE

7. ‘frost’
  nö je: (gZhungwa): UIE
  po xō (Nyersul): UIE
  şo: (Yanmen): UIE

8. ‘ice’
  ⁿx (Nyishe): UIE
  ⁿqʰw? (sPomtserag/S): UIE
  kʰe ⁿdzô (Thoteng): UIE
  ⁿo? (Byagzhol/B): UIE
  ⁿjo? (Byagzhol/S): UIE, probably related to /ⁿjo?/ above.
  ⁿjo? (Qidzong): UIE, probably related to /ⁿdzɑʔ/ below.
  t̚qʰw? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /ⁿqʰw?/ above.
  ⁿdzɑʔ (Yanmen): UIE, comparable to WrT ’khyags - *’gyags?
  ⁿjoʔ (Budy/J): UIE, probably related to /ⁿdzɑʔ/ above.

9. ‘smoke’
  ta ṭpo (dGudzong): UIE

10. ‘land’
   ka tsa (Daan): UIE

11. ‘river’
    ¹lu ma (Budy/L): UIE

12. ‘lake’
    na Ṯnu (gZhungwa): UIE
13. ‘stone’
   ‘đđa bđa (Rongbrag): UIE
   ‘đđa lu (Daan): UIE

14. ‘sand’
   ‘sőq ma (dMarthang): UIE

15. ‘silver’
   ‘mʊ: (mThachu): probably related to WrT dngul.

16. ‘copper’
   ‘si: (Phyugtsi): UIE

17. ‘bridge’
   ‘nitsi mbo (dGudzong): probably related to /nţā mba/ below, cf. sTao/Morim /hţso/
   ‘bridge,’ Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis /tsu/ ‘bridge,’ PTB *dzam ‘bridge.’
   ‘ndzā mba (rGyalhag): cf. Naxi/Yongchun /dzo/21/, Minyag/Phungposhis /dzo/
   ‘bridge,’ Japhug/rGyalrong/Kamnyo /ndzom/ ‘bridge.’
   ‘ndzā mba (sPomtserag/S): ditto
   ‘ndzā mba (Daan): ditto
   ‘bu lu (Yungling): UIE

3.2 Body Parts and Human Beings

18. ‘ear’
   ‘nū: (Nyshe): UIE

19. ‘breast’
   ‘mē (Nyshe): UIE
   ‘pi tsa (Byagzhol/S): UIE

20. ‘shoulder’
   ‘ja? wa ra (gTsangsa): UIE
   ‘dza to (Phyugtsi): UIE
   ‘rō tţu (Ragwo): UIE
   ‘ru tō? (Zulung): UIE
   ‘htā nje (nJol): UIE
   ‘shu ēgū (Daan): UIE

21. ‘back’
   ‘mba (mPhagri): UIE
   ‘gu di (Daan): UIE

22. ‘waist’
   ‘kō ga (Yanmen): UIE
   ‘kʰō ga (Budy/L): UIE, probably related to /kō ga/ above.
23. ‘thigh’
   ’zhê pa (nJol): UIE
   ’zo nā (Yanmen): UIE
   "zwo (Budy/J): UIE
   ’zo (Daan): UIE

24. ‘knee’
   tsʰə/go (Phuygtsi): maybe WrT tshigs ’go?
   tsʰi/go (gZhungwa): ditto
   ’tsʰi/go (sKyangtshang): ditto
   ’pa φu: (dGudzong): UIE
   ’pho lo (Daan): UIE

25. ‘stomach’
   si bka (Phuygtsi): UIE
   ’pʰro: (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/sTongdu /pru/.
   ’ci nga (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ’rō 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
   ’nɔ (Daan): ditto

28. ‘child’
   ’a ka (Ragwo, mPhagri): UIE
   ’cĩ (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 bli: (gZhungwa): UIE
   sʰa nɔ (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Lavrung/Khroskyabs /cx³³lɔo⁵⁵/ ‘baby’
   ’ka tsʰi (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   ’kā sā (Budy/J): UIE
   ’kê sa (Budy/L): UIE, related to /’kā sā/ above.

30. ‘friend’
   q′de mo (Phuygtsi): UIE
31. ‘Hui nationality’
   ˊlwe ˀljo (dGudzong): UIE, cf. sTau/Mazur /lo lo/ ‘Hui nationality,’ OT gla lwo, kla kla
   ‘Persian, Muslim’ in Yamaguchi (1968:42)
   ˊlo lo (Rangakha): ditto
   ˊtwo lwo (rGyalthang): ditto

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

33. ‘father’
   ˋa po (gZhungwa): UIE
   ˋa ʰbo (sProsnang): UIE
   ˋa ju (Nyersul): UIE
   ˋa ku (nJol): cf. WrT a khu ‘uncle’
   ˋa di (Daan): cf. Weixi Chinese ㄆ/mu53/ ‘father’?

34. ‘mother’
   ˋa mo (gZhungwa): UIE
   ˋa mû (Daan): cf. Weixi Chinese ㄆ/mu53/ ‘mother’?

35. ‘grandfather’
   ˋpø po (gZhungwa): UIE
   ˋo ni (Byagzhol/S): UIE, the second syllable may be related to that of WrT a myes
   ‘grandfather’?
   ˋa phu (Qidzong): UIE
   ˋa je: (nJol): UIE

36. ‘grandmother’
   ˋa jo: (gTsangtsa): UIE
   ˋa tcʰa: (gZhungwa): UIE
   ˋa ji (Serpo): UIE
   ˋa mò (Ragwo): UIE
   ˋa ʰdz a (mPhagri): UIE
   ˋa sʰ₁ (Nyishe): UIE
   ˋa ja (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ˋa da (Thoteng): UIE
   ˋo bu (Byagzhol/S): UIE
   ˋa dzu (Qidzong): UIE
   ˋa ji: (Melung): UIE
   ˋa tec: (nJol): UIE
   ˋa dz a (Yungling): related to /ˋa ʰdz a/ above.
   ˋa za (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /tʰ55 zwa22/ ‘grandmother’
   ˋo je: (Budy/J): UIE
   ˋa js (Budy/L): UIE
37. ‘elder brother’
   Ḡa (Thangskya): UIE
   Ḡar (Serpo): UIE
   Ḡa (Nyersul): UIE
   Ḡar (Nagrang-Minag/rGyarwagshis/’ma/ ‘elder brother’
   Ḡa (rGyalthang): UIE
   Ḡa (Nyishe): UIE, related to Ḡa above.
   Ḡar (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   Ḡar (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   Ḡar (Qidzong): UIE
   Ḡar (Yungling): UIE
   Ḡar (Yanmen): UIE, related to Ḡa above.
   Ḡar (sPomtserag/S, Byagzhol/B/S): UIE
   Ḡar (Daan): UIE, maybe related to Ḡar above.

38. ‘elder sister’
   Ḡr (Phyugtsi): UIE
   Ḡr (Nyisul, Ragwo): UIE
   Ḡr (Nyishe): UIE
   Ḡr (Nyishe): UIE
   Ḡr (sPomtserag/G, Byagzhol/B/S): UIE
   Ḡr (Qidzong): UIE
   Ḡr (nJol): UIE
   Ḡr (Yungling): UIE
   Ḡr (Yanmen): UIE, related to Ḡr above.
   Ḡr (Budy/J): UIE, related to Ḡr above.
   Ḡr (Budy/L): UIE, related to Ḡr above.
   Ḡr (Daan): UIE, maybe related to Ḡr above.

39. ‘younger brother’
   Ḡr (Melung): UIE
   Ḡr (Daan): UIE

40. ‘younger sister’
   Ḡr (Phyugtsi): UIE
   Ḡr (Yungling): UIE
   Ḡr (Daan): UIE

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

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

43. ‘paternal younger uncle’
   Ḡr (Nyisul): UIE
   Ḡr (mPhagri): UIE
3.3 Animals and Plants

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

48. ‘cow’
   糌 (Gyalthang): UIE
   ན (Daan): UIE

49. ‘calf’
   ར (Serpo): UIE

50. ‘pig’
   མ (Serpo): UIE, cf. Lyzu/Kala ན ‘pig’

51. ‘boar’
   བ (Gudzong): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’
   བ (Gongsam, Rwata): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT pho ‘male.’
   ཨ (Nyersul): ditto
   ཨ (Yanmen): UIE
   ཨ (Budy/L): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’

52. ‘sow’
   མ (Sagong, Nyersul): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT mo ‘female.’
   ཕ (Ragwo): UIE, maybe related to the last two syllables of བ བ བ བ ‘sow’ in Chaphreng?
   བ (Yanmen): UIE

53. ‘piglet’
   མ (Gzungwa): UIE
   བ བ བ (Thangskya): the second syllable is probably related to WrT phrug ‘child.’
   མ (Astong): UIE
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\[ \text{?a } \text{yu} \] (Serpo): UIE
\[ \text{go } \text{dji} \] (Askyirong): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{go: } \text{di} \] (Babzo): UIE, related to \(/ \text{go } \text{dji}/ \) above.
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{a} \text{? w} \text{o } \text{h} \text{tso} \] (sPomtserag/G): the first syllable may be related to WrT \text{phag}, whereas the third element may be related to the morpheme ‘child of the animal’ as in Guiqiong /\text{pa}^{55}\text{tsi}^{55}\text{tsi}^{55}/ ‘piglet,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /\text{partsa}/.
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{h} \text{u } \text{h} \text{a} \] (Sagong, gDongsum, Rwata): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{h} \text{u } \text{h} \text{k} \] (Nyersul): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{h} \text{je} \] (rGyalthang, Nyishe, Qidzong): UIE, maybe related to WrT \text{phag} ‘pig.’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{h} \text{e } \text{h} \text{tu} \] (Byagzhol/S): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT \text{phag} ‘pig.’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{o } \text{flu} \] (Zulung): UIE, the second syllable may be related to WrT \text{gu} in \text{lu }\text{gu} ‘lamb.’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{o } \text{flu} \] (mPhagri): ditto
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{u} \] (sDerong): probably an abridged form of \(/ \text{p}\text{o } \text{flu}/ \) above.
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{i }\text{qwe} \] (sPomtserag/S): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT \text{phag} ‘pig.’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{a } \text{la} \] (Yungling): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT \text{phag} ‘pig.’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{e } \text{li} \] (Budy/L): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT \text{phag} ‘pig.’

54. ‘sheep’
\[ \text{s}\text{a }\text{n}\text{dz} \text{e} \] (Phyugtsi): UIE

55. ‘cock’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{k}\text{o }\text{te} \] (Nyishe): UIE, cf. Dulong /\text{k}^{25}\text{u}^{25}/ ‘chicken,’ PTB *k-rak ‘chicken’?
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{p}\text{o }\text{tu} \] (sPomtserag/G): ditto
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{kw}\text{a }\text{h} \text{we} \] (sPomtserag/G): ditto
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{k}\text{o }\text{tu} \] (Yungling): ditto
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{k}\text{s }\text{tu} \] (Budy/J): ditto

56. ‘mule’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{t}\text{i} \text{m}\text{pa} \] (Lhagang): maybe related to WrT \text{drel} ‘mule.’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{t}\text{u} \text{a} \text{ ku }\text{lu} \] (Nyisur): UIE, cf. Nosu-Yi/Xide /\text{ku}^{34}\text{lu}^{33}/ ‘mule’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{h}\text{gi} \] (sPomtserag/G): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{hko }\text{r}\text{wo} \] (Budy/J): UIE, cf. Dulong /\text{ku}^{31}\text{lu}^{53}/ ‘donkey’

57. ‘donkey’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{a }\text{y}\text{g} \text{a} \] (Babzo): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{r}\text{o} \] (sProsnang): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{k}\text{o }\text{ro} \] (dGudzong): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /\text{h}\text{ku }\text{ri}/ ‘donkey’
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{k}\text{o }\text{ru} \] (Dartsendo): ditto
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{h}\text{\text{\textasciicircum}c\text{u}} \] (Nyisur): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{h}\text{\text{\textasciicircum}c\text{u}} \] (Phrengme, Yungling): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{\text{\textasciicircum}c\text{u}} \] (gDongsum, Ragwo): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{\text{\textasciicircum}c\text{u}} \] (Rwata): UIE
\[ \text{\textquotesingle} \text{\text{\textasciicircum}c\text{u}} \] (sPomtserag/G): UIE, probably comparable to \(/ \text{\text{\textasciicircum}c\text{u}} ; \text{\text{\textasciicircum}c\text{u}} / \) above.
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-hcu (sPomtserag/S): ditto

-koru (Yanmen): UIE, probably comparable to /kɔ rɔ/ above, cf. Dulong /ku³⁷mutation³¹/ ‘donkey’

58. ‘cat’

-mo *dzɔ (Rangakha, Phungposhis): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwardei /mɔ btsi/; XYT 营节*maz dzɛ ‘cat’

-mo btsɔ (Dartsendo): ditto

-moŋ zi? (Lhagang): ditto

-wo *dzɔ (Grongsum): UIE

-ʔu li (Chaphreng): UIE

-ʔa mje (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Nusu /mu³³ne³¹/

59. ‘rabbit’

-ro γā (Ragwo): UIE, maybe related to WrT rī bong.

60. ‘fox’

-jɔ (Ragwo): UIE

61. ‘monkey’

-fia¹⁶gi / ʔa⁶gi (Grongsum): UIE, cf. the first two syllables of Lhagang /ʔa⁵⁴j i b u/, the third corresponds to WrT spre’u.

62. ‘eagle’

 -hla? (Rangakha): comparable to WrT glag, maybe directly connected to ?*khlag < PTB *g-laj / *g-lak (Matisoff 2003:263) < Mon-Khmer *laŋ or *klaŋ ‘eagle’ (Shorto 2006:221), cf. XY7 ḥa ‘eagle,’ Qiang/Yadu /γu/ or /qhu/ ‘eagle.’

 -hla: (Dartsendo): ditto

 -hla? (sProsnang): ditto

 -hle? (dGudzong): ditto

 -hla? (Ragwo, mPhagri, sPomtserag/S): ditto

63. ‘goose’

-gu? (Rongbrag): probably related to WrT gag ‘wild goose,’ cf. XY7 ḡa / *ga, XY7 阿 *ga ‘goose.’

64. ‘wolf’

-hswaj (Daan): UIE

65. ‘fly’

-tō ne (Serpo): UIE

-wu za (Grongsum): UIE, sTau/Mazur /vu zal/, Minyag/Lugpa /u³³za³⁵/ ‘fly,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /byaza/ ‘fly.’

-dōn (sPomtserag/G): UIE

66. ‘spider’

-nō rī (Hamphen): UIE
The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

˚ba çõ (Babzo): UIE
ıkro 70 (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/brGyargyud /gru/ and the first syllable of Situ-rGyalrong/bZhilung /kra: fnɔʔ/ ‘spider.’

67. ‘horn’
γa bʰtse: (Phyugtsi): UIE, maybe *wa rtse < WrT rwa rtse, cf. /γa/ ‘fox’ (WrT wa) in Phyugtsi
˚wo tʰo (Rongbrag): UIE

68. ‘claw’
ha bʰde (sKyangtshang): UIE
ʰtswa (mPhagri): UIE
kû mha (rGyalthang): UIE
ᵈbe: sǐ (sPomtserag/S): UIE

69. ‘flower’
 me ru: (gZhungwa): probably related to WrT me tog, but the condition of the sound change on the second initial is unclear.
ᵐro (gDongsum, Phrengme): ditto
ᵐbo ru? / m ru? (Nyersul): ditto
ᵐru? (mPhagri): ditto
ᵐru? (sPomtserag/G): ditto
ⁿru? (sPomtserag/S): ditto
ᵐbu de? (dGudzong): probably related to WrT me tog.
ᵐdu? (Nyishe): probably related to WrT me tog. cf. XY8 明都*mix du ‘flower,’ Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /men toʔk/, mTshosna-Monpa /min53/thoʔ53/ ‘flower.’

70. ‘leaf’
çu mha (Phyugtsi): UIE, cf. Baima/Pingwu /flɔʔ13nɡe53/ ‘leaf’
ᵈde li (gZhungwa): UIE
ⁿlø (Babzo): UIE
ⁿlo (sKyangtshang, Thangskya): UIE
ⁿnɔ ma (Rangakha): UIE, but perhaps related to the oral forms below /ⁿda ma?/, /ⁿla ma/, etc.
ᵈde ma (Grongsum): ditto
ⁿda ma? (Sagong): probably related to WrT ’dab ma ‘leaf.’
ᵈde nɔ (Nyersul): ditto
ᵗa mɔ (gDongsum): ditto
ⁿla nɔ (Rwata): ditto
ⁿda nɔ (Ragwo): UIE, probably related to the first syllable of WrT ’dab ma ‘leaf.’
ᵈdø le (Zulung): UIE
ⁿdø lx (mPhagri): UIE, related to /ⁿdø le/ above.
ⁿa lǐ (rGyalthang): UIE
ⁿnɔ mba (sPomtserag/S): UIE
3.4 Foods, Clothes and Tools

71. ‘root’
   ɾkʰa²ru (Grongsum): UIE
   ɾjaʔ (Nyersul): UIE
   ʐi kwa (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ɾtsaj dzɔ (Byagzhol/S): UIE
   ɾdže wa (nJol): UIE

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

73. ‘highland barley (qingke)’
   ɾgɔ rɔ (Sogpho): comparable to /kɔ rɔ/ below.
   ɾɡo ru (Rongbrag): ditto
   ɾkɔ ru (Zulung, Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ɾkɔ ru (mPhagri): ditto
   ɾku ru (Byagzhol/B): ditto
   ɾku ru (Qidzong): ditto
   ɾkɑ ru (Yungling, sPomtserag/S): ditto, the most similar sound correspondence is with Seke/Tangbe /kʰar/ ‘barley.’
   ɾkɔ ru (Budy/L): ditto
   ɾkɑ (Yanmen): comparable to the first syllable of Yungling /kɑru/, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /gwa³¹/ ‘highland barley.’

74. ‘wheat’
   ɾʃo (rNgawa): maybe related to WrT sngo ‘grass.’
   ɾnéː (Ragwo): UIE
   ɾsėː (rGyalthang): UIE

75. ‘barley’
76. ‘pear’
   ḍla ro? (Grongsum): UIE
   ʒbi hu (Budy/L): UIE
   so ljaw, so ljɔ: (Daan): UIE

77. ‘corn’
   ḍgej ju (rGyalthang): UIE
   ʒkʰə ʒè (sPomtserag/G): UIE, related to /kʰa zi/ below.
   ka dze (sPomtserag/S): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /ka²¹dze³³/ ‘corn’
   kʰa zi (Thoteng): UIE
   ʒkʰa ʒè (Byagzhol/B): UIE, related to /kʰa zi/ above.
   ʒkʰa ʒè (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   kʰa dze: (Qidzong): ditto

78. ‘hot pepper’
   ḍxe: dzɔ? (Rongbrag): ditto
   ḍfu tsa (Lhagang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /ʃu tso/ ‘hot pepper,’ Nyagrong-Minag/rGyarwagshis /ʃo tsa/ ‘hot pepper’
   ḍfu tso (Rangakha): ditto
   ḍfu tsʰa (Dartsendo): ditto
   ḍo ḍju (rGyalthang): UIE
   ḍbo²⁹gu (sPomtserag/S): UIE, related to /bo gu/ below.
   ḍbo gu (Thoteng): UIE, related to /bo gu/ below.
   ḍpo gu? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /bo gu/ below.
   ḍbo gu (Yungling): UIE, cf. Dulong /ba³¹kʰi³⁵/ ‘hot pepper’
   ḍbu gu (Budy/J): ditto
   ḍbu gu (Budy/L): ditto
   ḍho ʒa? (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ḍʰe ḍʰi: (Daan): UIE

79. ‘oil’
   ḍdu: (Budy/L): UIE
   ḍcʰwo (Daan): UIE

80. ‘noodle’
   ḍpu da (sProsang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /pʰa tʰa/ ‘noodle’
   ḍpo da? (Sogpho): UIE, related to /pʰa da/ above.
   ḍpo te (dGudzong): ditto
   ḍpu tʰa: (Rangakha): ditto
   ḍmə hko (Budy/J): UIE
81. ‘lunch’
   ‘pa rwo (Rongbrag): UIE
   s’Tau/Mazur "dzö/ ‘lunch.’
   "dzā (Thoteng, Budy/J/L): UIE, related to /"dzä/ above.
   "dzā: (Qidzong): ditto
   ’tu γo (Daan): UIE

82. ‘dinner’
   ‘sʰa du: (Rongbrag): UIE
   Φsā (Yungling): UIE

83. ‘clothes’
   ‘ta pʰu (Rongbrag): UIE
   θʰa kje: (gDongsum): UIE
   rā gê (rGyalthang): UIE

84. ‘pearl’
   ‘ca jñ (rGyalthang): UIE
   ’da lu? (nJol): UIE

85. ‘bloom’
   "pʰe fā (Hamphen): probably related to WrT phyags ma.
   θʰu dzä ca (Daan): UIE

86. ‘knife’
   ‘lo go (Thoteng): UIE

87. ‘cooking stove’
   ‘ba bu? (Yungling): UIE

88. ‘chopsticks’
   kʰu? (Babzo): UIE
   ’ʔa şuj (Budy/J): UIE

3.5 Time and Space

89. ‘today’
   ‘tə ni: (Daan): UIE

90. ‘day before yesterday’
   kʰa me (Nyersul): UIE
   kʰa mē (Ragwo): UIE
   kʰā mba (gTorwa): UIE
   kʰe: me? (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /kʰa mē/ above.
   tʰe ni ma (Melung): UIE
91. ‘tomorrow’
   \(\text{\textacuten} \text{ha} \) (Rongbrag): UIE
   \(\text{\textacuten} \text{na} \) (Melung): UIE

92. ‘morning’
   \(\text{n\textacuten} \text{na} \) (gZhungwa): UIE
   \(\text{ha} \text{za} \) (Babzo): UIE
   \(\text{za} \text{\gam} \) (Thangskya): UIE
   \(\text{sa} \text{\textasciitilde{xu mo}} \) (Daan): UIE, the part /\text{xu mo/} may be related to WrT /\text{snga mo/}.

93. ‘noon’
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}dza} \text{\textasciitilde{w}o} \) (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Qiang/Yadu /\text{dz}\text{e}/.
   \(\text{ha} \text{pa za} \) (Lhagang): UIE
   \(\text{na} \text{\textasciitilde{za} ri} \) (sPomtsereg/S): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}dze} \text{\textasciitilde{li}} \) (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}de} \text{\textasciitilde{sa} dz\textasciitilde{e}} \) (Daan): UIE

94. ‘evening’
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ma} \text{\textasciitilde{ka}} \) (nJol): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ma} \text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{t}a}} \) (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /\text{ma k\textasciitilde{a}/} above.
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}m\textasciitilde{a} k\textasciitilde{a}} \) (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /\text{ma k\textasciitilde{a}/} above.
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ma} \text{\textasciitilde{z\textasciitilde{u}}} \) (Thoteng): UIE, probably related to /\text{ma k\textasciitilde{a}/} above.
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}nu \textasciitilde{mu}} \) (Daan): UIE

95. ‘this year’
   \(\text{to} \text{\textasciitilde{h}t\textasciitilde{ci}} \) (gZhungwa): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}tsa} \text{\textasciitilde{tc}} \) (Rongbrag): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ta} \text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{z\textasciitilde{u}}}} \) (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ts\textasciitilde{c}} \) (Melung): UIE

96. ‘next year’
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ta} \text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{l}}} \) (gZhungwa): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{s\textasciitilde{o}} \text{\textasciitilde{t\textasciitilde{a}}} \) (Rangakha): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ta} \text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{z\textasciitilde{a}}}} \) (Nyersul): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ta} \text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{a}}} \) (Zulung): UIE
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{a}ta} \text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{z\textasciitilde{a}}}} \) (gTorwa, Yungling): UIE, probably related to /\text{\textasciitilde{a}ta} \text{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{z\textasciitilde{a}}}/} above.

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

97. ‘one’
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{h}ts\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{a}}} \) (Hamphen, sKyangtshang): UIE, this form is also attested in the second initial
   \(\text{\textasciitilde{h}ts\textasciitilde{i}} \) (Serpo, Astong): ditto
98. ‘two’
\[\text{"tno" (Thoteng, Byagzhol/B): probably related to PTB root *ni ‘two’ rather than WrT gnyis. cf. Zhangzhung ni ‘two’}
\[\text{"t\'\text{no} (sPomtserag/G): ditto}
\[\text{"t\'\text{n\'e} (sPomtserag/S): ditto}
\[\text{"t\'\text{n\'i} (Byagzhol/S): ditto}
\[\text{\'\text{n\'i} (Qidzong): ditto}
\[\text{\'\text{m\'o} (Melung, Yanmen): probably related to Nusu /\text{\'\text{n}\text{\acute{a}}}/ ‘two’ rather than WrT gnyis.}
\[\text{\'\text{m\'o} (Daan): ditto}

99. ‘five’
\[\text{\'\text{na} (Zhongu): probably < *\text{\acute{u}}-\text{j}-a < PTB *\text{\acute{u}}a}
\[\text{\'\text{na} /\text{\acute{u}w}a (Phungposhis): cf. Minyag/Phungposhis /\text{\acute{u}n}/ ‘five.’ See the appendix.}

100. ‘six’
\[\text{\text{"ts\'u\?} (sProsnang): 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)}
\[\text{\text{"tu\?} (Sogpho): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"t\'\text{\acute{u}}w\?} (Rongbrag): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"t\'\text{\acute{u}}w\?} (dGudzong): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (Nyersul, Sagong, Phrengme, Ragwo): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (Zulung): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (gTorwa, Byagzhol/B, Qidzong): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (gYagrawa): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (nJol, Thoteng): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (sPomtserag/G/S, Yanmen, Melung): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (Byagzhol/S): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (Budy/L): ditto}
\[\text{\text{"\text{\acute{a}}\?} (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).}

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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, Thangska, 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
   /qʰa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa da/ ‘crow,’ /qʰa n’e/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰa cʰa/ ‘hot (taste),’ /qʰ/ ‘make a hole,’ /qʰa ‘embroider,’ /hʰ/ ‘lion,’ etc.

2. Hamphen
   /qʰa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa mʰ ‘hail,’ /qʰa cʰ ‘swallow,’ /qʰa hta/ ‘crow,’ /hʰ/ ‘send,’ etc.

3. sKyangtshang
   /qʰa, qʰa wa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa n’e/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰa cʰ ‘hot (taste),’ etc.

4. Thangskya
   /qʰa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa n’e/ ‘face,’ /qʰa ja/ ‘lid,’ /mʰ /qʰa/ ‘false,’ /qʰa n’e/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰa cʰ ‘hot (taste),’ /h’h /qʰa/ ‘salty,’ etc.

   /qʰa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa ‘bitter,’ /qʰa ‘hook,’ /qʰa ‘diminish,’ etc.

6. rNgawa
   /qʰa/ ‘sputum,’ /qʰa n’e/ ‘pack-horse,’ /qʰa ta/ ‘crow,’ /qʰa mo/ ‘thick,’ etc.

7. dMarthang
   /qʰa/ ‘snow,’ /hʰ /qʰa q/a/ ‘shoulder,’ etc.

8. Rangakha
9. Phungposhis
\( /\text{ph}^3\text{m} / \) ‘bitter,’ \( /\text{ph}^3\text{a} \text{wa} / \) ‘astringent,’ \( /\text{ph}^3\text{o} / \) ‘crawl,’ \( /\text{ph}^\text{a} / \) ‘five,’ \( /\text{ph}^\text{e} / \) ‘send,’ etc.

10. Budy/Jieyi
\( /\text{ph}^\text{e} / \) ‘tse’/ ‘they,’ \( /\text{ph}^\text{e} \text{ni} / \) ‘they two,’ etc. (cf. Budy/Lothong \( /\text{k}^\text{b} \text{we t}\text{s}^\text{b} / \) ‘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\text{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

- **Askyirong:** Axirong, Ruoergai
- **Babzo:** Baozuo, Ruoergai
- **gZhungwa:** Yuwa, Jiuzhaigou
- **gTsangtsa:** Zhangza/Dajisi, Jiuzhaigou
- **Phyugtsi:** Zhangza/Shuzheng, Jiuzhaigou
- **rNgawa:** Zhong-Aba, Aba
- **dMarthang:** Qiongxi, Hongyuan
- **Hamphen:** Shuijing/Hanpan, Songpan
- **sKyangtsang:** Shanba, Songpan
- **Ketshal:** Shili/Gaotunzi, Songpan
- **Thangskya:** Shili/Datun, Songpan
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Astong: Dazhai/Shuicaoba, Songpan
Serpo: Anhong/Xiaobaosi, Songpan
Zhongu: Hongtu, Songpan
sProsang: Zhonglu, Danba
Rongbrag: Zhangu, Danba
Sogpho: Suopo, Danba
dGudzong: Gezong, Danba
Dartsendo: Lucheng, Kangding
Lhagang: Tagong, Kangding
Rangakha: Xinduqiao, Kangding
Gronsum: Zhusang, Yajiang
Sagong: Sagong, Xiangcheng
Chaphreng: Xiangbala, Xiangcheng
Phrengme: Qingmai, Xiangcheng
gDongsum: Dongsong, Xiangcheng
Ragwo: Ranwu, Xiangcheng
Rwata: Reda, Xiangcheng
sDerong: Songmai, Derong
Zulung: Rilong, Derong
mPhagri: Bari, Derong
rGyalthang: Dazhongdian, Xianggelila
gTorwa: Dongwang/Pula, Xianggelila
Nyishe: Nixi/Tangman, Xianggelila
nlol: Shengping/Adunzi, Deqin
Yungling: Yunling/Jiabi, Deqin
Yanmen: Yanmen/Nitong, Deqin
gYagwra: Yangla, Deqin
sPomtserag/Gulong: Benzilan/Gulong, Deqin
sPomtserag/Shusong: Benzilan/Shusong, Deqin
Thoteng: Tuoding, Deqin
Byagzhol: Xiaruo, Deqin
Byagzhol/Shizong: Xiaruo/Shirong, Deqin
Budy/Jieyi: Badi/Jieyi, Weixi
Budy/Lothong: Badi/Luotong, Weixi
Melung: Yongchun, Weixi
mThachu: Tacheng/Gelu, Weixi
Qidzong: Tacheng/Qizong, Weixi
Daan: Daan, Yongsheng, Lijiang City

The dialectal classification of the dialects above:

1. Shar Tibetan: Askirong, Babzo, gZhungwa, gTsangtsa, Phyugtsi, Hamphen, sKyangtshang, Ketshal, Thangska, 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/bGyargyud**: Niega/Jiaju, Danba
- **Geshitsa/sTongdgug**: Donggu, Danba
- **sTau/Mazur**: Mazi/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)
- **Larung/Khroskyabs**: 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-Yi/Xide**: —, Xide, 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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