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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ชื่อเรื่อง</th>
<th>จํานวนภาษาที่ปรากฏในภาษาอื่น</th>
<th>จำนวนภาษาที่ปรากฏในภาษาที่ดัดแปลง</th>
<th>จำนวนภาษาที่ปรากฏในภาษาที่มีกิจกรรมเชิงวิเคราะห์</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ภาษาอื่น</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภาษาที่ดัดแปลง</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ภาษาที่มีกิจกรรมเชิงวิเคราะห์</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
<td>สิ้น</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

Hiroyuki Suzuki

JSPS / National Museum of Ethnology, Japan

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 (ECWS) or the Tibeto-Lolo Corridor, 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 Nishida 2000: 23), but the chronological facts are scarcely known because of the lack of historical documents.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 Dongnûguo [東女國] (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-bsgang 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 : Xifangan 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’
   ˚nii (Ragwo): probably related to WrT gnam.

2. ‘sun’
   nii (Phyugtsi): related to WrT nyi ma but directly connected to Baima/Pingwu
   hYe35/ ‘sun.’

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

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

6. ‘rainbow’
    gameId tsh (Babzo): related to both WrT `ja` tshon and OT gzha ‘rainbow.’
   5game me (Nyersul): UIE
   `do wa (sPointserag/G): ditto
   `do wa (sPointserag/S): ditto
   `za (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   `nō za (Byagzhol/B): UIE, the first syllable is probably related to WrT gnam ‘sky,’ and
   the second one to /za/ below.
   `za: 5e (nJol): the first syllable is probably related to /za/ above.
   `za (Yanmen, Budy/J): UIE
   `zo te⁶w (Budy/L): UIE

7. ‘frost’
   nō je: (gZhungwa): UIE
   po xo (Nyersul): UIE
   5o (Yanmen): UIE

8. ‘ice’
   5x (Nyishe): UIE
   5qow? (sPointserag/S): UIE
   k⁶e dzo (Thoteng): UIE
   `nō? (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   `nō? (Byagzhol/S): UIE, probably related to /nō?! above.
   5qow? (Qidzong): UIE, probably related to /ŋdzə?/ below.
   `qow? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /ŋqow?/ above.
   5dzə? (Yanmen): UIE, comparable to WrT ‘khvag - *gyag?’
   5qow? (Budy/J): UIE, probably related to /ŋdzə?/ above.

9. ‘smoke’
   ta bpo (dGudzong): UIE

10. ‘land’
    ka tsa (Daan): UIE

11. ‘river’
    5lu ma (Budy/L): UIE

12. ‘lake’
    na ⁶nu (gZhungwa): UIE
3.2 Body Parts and Human Beings

13. ‘stone’
   *do^bda (Rongbrag): UIE
   *da lu (Daan): UIE

14. ‘sand’
   *soq ma (dMarthang): UIE

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

16. ‘copper’
   si: (Phyugtsi): UIE

17. ‘bridge’
   *tsi^mo (dGudzong): probably related to */^dz^ba/ below. cf. sTau/Morim */^tsol/ ‘bridge,’ Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis */^tsu/ ‘bridge,’ PTB *dzam ‘bridge.’
   *dz^ba (rGyalthang): cf. Naxi/Yongchun /dz^o/1/, Minyag/Phungposhis */^dzo/ ‘bridge,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /ndzom/ ‘bridge.’
   *dz^ma (sPomtserag/S): ditto
   *dz^ma (Daan): ditto
   *bu l^u (Yungling): UIE

18. ‘ear’
   *nu: (Nysishe): UIE

19. ‘breast’
   *me (Nysishe): UIE
   *pi tsa (Byagzhol/S): UIE

20. ‘shoulder’
   *ja? wa ra (gTsangtsa): UIE
   *dza to (Phyugtsi): UIE
   *ro t^mu (Ragwo): UIE
   *ru to? (Zulung): UIE
   *t^lje (mJol): UIE
   *shu ^g^u (Daan): UIE

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

22. ‘waist’
   *k^o ga (Yanmen): UIE
   *k^o ga (Budy/L): UIE, probably related to */k^o/ above.
23. ‘thigh’
   `zê pa (nJol): UIE
   `zê nā? (Yanmen): UIE
   `wzwo (Budy/J): UIE
   `zō (Daan): UIE

24. ‘knee’
   tsʰ̥u go (Phyugtsi): maybe WrT tshigs 'go?
   tsi ŋgo (gZhungwa): ditto
   tsʰ̥i ŋgo (sKyangtshang): ditto
   `pa ñu: (dGudzong): UIE
   `pʰo lo (Daan): UIE

25. ‘stomach’
   si ʰka (Phyugtsi): UIE
   `pʰ ro: (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/sTongdgu /pru/.
   `ci ηga (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   `rō ʰka (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
   `na (Daan): ditto

28. ‘child’
   `ʔa ka (Ragwo, mPhagri): UIE
   `cī (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 ʰli: (gZhungwa): UIE
   ʒʰa ʰpa (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Lavrung/Khroskyabs /cʰ33 ʰpa/55/ ‘baby’
   `ka tsʰi (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   `kā sā (Budy/J): UIE
   `kē sa (Budy/L): UIE, related to /`kā sā/ above.

30. ‘friend’
   Ḫqē mo (Phyugtsi): UIE
31. ‘Hui nationality’
   lwo ljo (dGudzong): cf. sTau/Mazur lo lo/ ‘Hui nationality,’ OT gla lwo, kla klo
   llo 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 ื /tir/ ‘father’?

34. ‘mother’
   ?a mo (gZhungwa): UIE

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

36. ‘grandmother’
   ?a jo: (gTsangtsa): UIE
   ?a tchü: (gZhungwa): UIE
   ?a ji (Serpo): UIE
   ?a mō (Ragwo): UIE
   ?a 6dza (mPhagri): UIE
   ?a š1 (Nyishe): UIE
   ?a ja (sPontserag/S): UIE
   ?a da (Thoteng): UIE
   ?o bu (Byagzhol/S): UIE
   ?a dzu (Qidzong): UIE
   ?a ju: (Melung): UIE
   ?a tca: (nJol): UIE
   ?a dzā (Yungling): related to /ʔa 6dza/ above.
   ?a za (Yammen): UIE, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /ʔa 55 zwa/ ‘grandmother’
   ?a je: (Budy/J): UIE
   ?a js (Budy/L): UIE
37. ‘elder brother’
   *ʔaʰga* (Thangskya): UIE
   ʔaʰdzː (Serpo): UIE
   ʔaʰzeʔ (Nyersul): UIE
   ᵐmo (Ragwo): UIE, cf. Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis ṭma/ ‘elder brother’
   ʰja (rGyalthang): UIE
   ʰja (Nyishe): UIE, related to ṭja/ above.
   ʰju: (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   ʰju: (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ʔa ke (Thoteng): UIE
   ʔa jwː (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   ʔa to: (nJol): UIE

38. ‘elder sister’
   me me (Phyugtsi): UIE
   ʔa ziʔ (Nyersul, Ragwo): UIE
   ʰms ʰms (Nyishe): UIE
   ʔa zɔ (sPomtserag/G/S, Byagzhol/B/S): UIE
   ʔa je (Qidzong): UIE
   ʔa ps (nJol): UIE
   ʔa qo (Yungling): UIE
   ʔa bu (Yanmen): UIE, related to ṭa ps/ above.
   ʔa zɔ (Budy/J): UIE, related to ṭa zɔ/ above.
   ṭa bv (Budy/L): UIE, related to ṭa ps/ above.
   ʔa mjː (Daan): UIE, maybe related to ṭms ms/ above.

39. ‘younger brother’
   ṭu ṭswː (Melung): UIE
   ʰdo dzː (Daan): UIE

40. ‘younger sister’
   cʰe wː (Phyugtsi): UIE
   ʰteː ra (Yungling): UIE
   ʰne: (Daan): UIE

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

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

43. ‘paternal younger uncle’
   ṭa mo (Nyersul): UIE
   ṭmu: (mPhagri): UIE
44. ‘paternal younger uncle’s wife’
   ʔa suʔ (Nyersul): UIE

45. ‘maternal uncle’
   γ (gZhungwa): UIE

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

47. ‘who’
   cuu (sPomtserag/G, Yungling): comparable to Prinmi/Maoniuping /co/ ‘who,’ Japhug-
   rGyalrong/Kamnyo /cu/ ‘who.’
   c (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’
   ga r (Serpo): UIE

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

51. ‘boar’
   po li (dGudzong): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’
   p o wa (gDongsum, Rwata): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT pho ‘male.’
   p o (Nyersul): ditto
   gu lu (Yanmen): UIE
   p je hu / b hu (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 /pa? ji ma/ ‘sow’ in
   Chaphreng?
   je ho? (Yanmen): UIE

53. ‘piglet’
   b w γ u (gZhungwa): UIE
   e tu (Thangskya): the second syllable is probably related to WrT phrug ‘child.’
   a noj (Astong): UIE
The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

7a ju (Serpo): UIE

go dzi? (Askyirong): UIE
p?a? wo h?ts? (sPontserag/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?um ka (Sagong, gDongsum, Rwata): UIE
p?um ko (Nyserul): UIE
p?je (rGyalthang, Nyishe, Qidzong): UIE, maybe related to WrT phag ‘pig.’
p?e tu: (Byagzhol/S): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’
po fiu (Zulung): UIE, the second syllable may be related to WrT gu in lu gu ‘lamb.’
cf. Naxi/Yongchun /bu 13/ ‘pig,’ Nazi /`bu/ ‘pig.’ The unaspirated initial of ‘piglet’ is also attested in Lavrung/Khroskyabs /pa33tsi55/ in spite of /ph/ as an initial in ‘pig.’
po fiu (mPhagri): ditto
pu: (sDerong): probably an abridged form of /po fiu/ above.
pi: qwe (sPontserag/S): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’
pal (Yungling): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’
pje li (Budy/L): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT phag ‘pig.’

54. ‘sheep’
sa n dze (Phyuogtsi): UIE

55. ‘cock’
ko ts?: (sPontserag/G): ditto
kw? hwe (sPontserag/S): ditto
ko tu: (Yungling): ditto
ks tu (Budy/J): ditto

56. ‘mule’
tim pa (Lhagang): maybe related to WrT drel ‘mule.’
+gi: (sPontserag/G): UIE
-hko rwo (Budy/J): UIE, cf. Dulong /ku31lu53/ ‘donkey’

57. ‘donkey’
?a yga (Babzo): UIE
ro: (sProsang): UIE
ko ro (dGudzong): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /hku ri/ ‘donkey’
kotu: (Dartsendo): ditto
+hca: (Nyserul): UIE
+hcu: (Phrengme, Yungling): UIE
+cui (gDongsum, Ragwo): UIE
+cui: (Rwata): UIE
+hcu: (sPontserag/G): UIE, probably comparable to /hcu:, +cui/ above.
"hcu" (sPomtserag/S): ditto
"ko ru" (Yanmen): UIE, probably comparable to /kɔ rɔ/ above, cf. Dulong /ku\textsuperscript{31}.ut\textsuperscript{33}/ ‘donkey’

58. ‘cat’
"mō \textsuperscript{h}dzo" (Rangakha, Phungposhis): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /\textsuperscript{b}tsi/, XYT 莽節 /\textsuperscript{b}max_dze ‘cat’
"mō \textsuperscript{h}tsa" (Dartsendo): ditto
"moŋ \textsuperscript{h}zi?" (Lhagang): ditto
"wo \textsuperscript{h}dzo" (Grongsum): UIE
"ʔu li" (Chaphreng): UIE
"ŋa mjē" (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Nusu /m\textsuperscript{33}n\textsuperscript{31}/

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

60. ‘fox’
"jō" (Ragwo): UIE

61. ‘monkey’
"fia\textsuperscript{h}gi / ʔa\textsuperscript{f}gi" (Grongsum): UIE, cf. the first two syllables of Lhagang /ʔa\textsuperscript{g}ji?\textsuperscript{h}tul/; the third corresponds to WrT spre’u.

62. ‘eagle’
"hl\textsuperscript{h}a?" (Rangakha): comparable to WrT glag, maybe directly connected to ?*khlag < PTB *g-laŋ / *g-lak (Matisoff 2003:263) < Mon-Khmer *laŋ or *klaŋ ‘eagle’ (Shorto 2006:221), cf. XY7 ལ\textsuperscript{h}la ‘eagle,’ Qiang/Yadu /\textsuperscript{h}lu/ or /\textsuperscript{h}hlu/ ‘eagle.’
"hl\textsuperscript{h}ta" (Dartsendo): ditto
"hl\textsuperscript{h}ka" (sProsnang): ditto
"hl\textsuperscript{h}le?" (dGudzong): ditto
"hl\textsuperscript{h}ga?" (Ragwo, mPhagri, sPomtserag/S): ditto

63. ‘goose’
"q\textsuperscript{g}a" (Rongbrag): probably related to WrT gag ‘wild goose,’ cf. XY7 ཛ\textsuperscript{g}a, XY7 阿\textsuperscript{g}a ‘goose.’

64. ‘wolf’
"h\textsuperscript{h}s\textsuperscript{w}aj" (Daan): UIE

65. ‘fly’
"tō ne" (Serpo): UIE
"wu za" (Grongsum): UIE, sTau/Mazur /vu za/, Minyag/Lugpa /u\textsuperscript{33}za\textsuperscript{53}/ ‘fly,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /\textsuperscript{b}ya\textsuperscript{33}za/ ‘fly.’
"q\textsuperscript{h}x\textsuperscript{h}tu" (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 çô (Babzo): UIE
˚kro ꞌyø (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/brGyargyud /grunt/ and the first syllable of Situ-rGyalrong/bZhilung /kraː fnɔʔ/ ‘spider.’

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

68. ‘claw’
ha bde (sKyangtshang): UIE
˚hswa (mPhagri): UIE
˚kū ba (rGyalthang): UIE
˚be: sǐ (sPomtserag/S): UIE

69. ‘flower’
mc ru (gZhungwa): probably related to WrT me tog, but the condition of the sound change on the second initial is unclear.
˚mo ro? (gDongsum, Phrenge): ditto
˚mbö ru? / ‘mō ru? (Nyersul): ditto
˚mō ru? (mPhagri): ditto
˚ms ru? (sPomtserag/G): ditto
˚mō ru? (sPomtserag/S): ditto
˚mbu de? (dGudzong): probably related to WrT me tog.
˚mē *du? (Nyishe): probably related to WrT me tog. cf. XY8 明都*mīn du ‘flower,’ Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /men toʔk/, mTshosna-Monpa /min³⁵thoʔ⁵³/ ‘flower.’

70. ‘leaf’
čū mbä (Phyugtsi): UIE, cf. Baima/Pingwu /fɔ³¹ŋg⁵³/ ‘leaf’
˚de lũ (gZhungwa): UIE
nũ lo (Babzo): UIE
na lo (sKyangtshang, Thangskya): UIE
˚nū ma (Rangakha): UIE, but perhaps related to the oral forms below /n⁵da maʔ/, /n¹la ma/, etc.
˚de ma (Grongsum): ditto
˚nda maʔ (Sagong): probably related to WrT ꞌdab ma ‘leaf.’
˚de mō (Nyersul): ditto
˚ta mō (gDongsum): ditto
˚nla mõ (Rwata): ditto
˚nda nõ (Ragwo): UIE, probably related to the first syllable of WrT ꞌdab ma ‘leaf.’
˚do le (Zulung): UIE
˚ndõ bû (mPhagri): UIE, related to /ndõ le/ above.
˚ʔa kaʔ (rGyalthang): UIE
˚nõ mba (sPomtserag/S): UIE
3.4 Foods, Clothes and Tools

73. ‘highland barley (qingke)’
   ṅga rø (Sogpho): comparable to /kø rø/ below.
   ṅgo ru (Rongbrag): ditto
   ṵkə ru (Zulung, Byagzhol/B): ditto
   ṵkø ru (mPhagri): ditto
   Ṿku ru (Byagzhol/B): ditto
   Ṿku ru (Qidzong): ditto
   Ṽka ru (Yungling, sPomtserag/S): ditto, the most similar sound correspondence is with Seke/Tangbe /kʰɔru/ ‘barley.’
   Ṽkọ ru (Budy/L): ditto
   Ṽka (Yanmen): comparable to the first syllable of Yungling /kə ru/, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /gwɔ31/ ‘highland barley.’

74. ‘wheat’
   Ṽjo (rNgawa): maybe related to WrT sngo ‘grass.’
   Ṽno:(Ragwo): UIE
   Ṽeğ (rGyalthang): UIE

75. ‘barley’
76. ‘pear’
   ḡla (Grongsum): UIE
   ḡbi hu (Budy/L): UIE
   sa ljaw, so ljä (Daan): UIE

77. ‘corn’
   ḡgej juj (rGyalthang): UIE
   ḡkʰa ze (sPomtserag/G): UIE, related to /kʰa zí/ below.
   ka dze (sPomtserag/S): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /ka²¹dze³³/ ‘corn’
   ḡkʰa zí (Thoteng): UIE
   ḡkʰa ze (Byagzhol/B): UIE, related to /kʰa zí/ above.
   ḡkʰa ze (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ḡkʰa dze (Qidzong): ditto
   ḡkʰa (sPomtserag/S): UIE, related to /kʰa zí/ above.
   ḡkʰa ze (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ḡkʰa (Thoteng): UIE
   ḡkʰa (Budy/L): UIE
   ḡkʰa (Budy/J): UIE
   ḡkʰa (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ḡkʰa (Rangakha): ditto
   ḡkʰa (Dartsendo): ditto
   ḡkʰa (Lhagang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /ph tsə/ ‘hot pepper,’ Nyagrong-Minyag/
   rGyarwagshis /’ph tsə/ ‘hot pepper’
   ḡkʰa (Byagzhol): UIE
   ḡkʰa (rGyalthang): UIE
   ḡkʰa (sPomtserag/S): UIE, related to /bə gu/ below.
   ḡkʰa (Thoteng): UIE, related to /bə gu/ below.
   ḡkʰa (nJol): UIE, probably related to /bə gu/ below.
   ḡkʰa (Yungling): UIE, cf. Dulong /bə³¹kʰi³³/ ‘hot pepper’
   ḡkʰa (Budy/J): ditto
   ḡkʰa (Budy/L): ditto
   ḡkʰa (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ḡkʰa (Daan): UIE

78. ‘hot pepper’
   ḡhe zo (Sogpho): maybe related to Sichuan Chinese 椒 /xai tiau/ ‘hot pepper,’ cf.
   Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /’kʰo tso/ ‘hot paper,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo
   /’kʰo/ ‘hot paper’
   ḡxe: dzə? (Rongbrag): ditto
   ḡfu tsə (Lhagang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /ph tsə/ ‘hot pepper,’ Nyagrong-Minyag/
   rGyarwagshis /’ph tsə/ ‘hot paper’
   ḡfu tsə (Rangakha): ditto
   ḡfu shə (Dartsendo): ditto
   ḡfu (rGyalthang): UIE
   ḡfu (sPomtserag/S): UIE, related to /bə gu/ below.
   ḡfu (Thoteng): UIE, related to /bə gu/ below.
   ḡfu? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /bə gu/ below.
   ḡfu (Yungling): UIE, cf. Dulong /bə³¹kʰi³³/ ‘hot pepper’
   ḡfu (Budy/J): ditto
   ḡfu (Budy/L): ditto
   ḡfu (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ḡfu (Daan): UIE

79. ‘oil’
   ḡdo (Budy/L): UIE
   ḡcho (Daan): UIE

80. ‘noodle’
   ḡpə da (sProsnang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /pə ta/ ‘noodle’
   ḡpə da? (Sogpho): UIE, related to /pə da/ above.
   ḡpə te (dGudzong): ditto
   ḡpə (Rangakha): ditto
   ḡmê (Budy/J): UIE
81. ‘lunch’
   ‘pa rwo (Rongbrag): UIE
   s’Tau/Mazur /‘ndzo/ ‘lunch.’
   ‘ndza (Thoteng, Budy/J/L): UIE, related to /‘ndza/ above.
   ‘ndza: (Qidzong): ditto
   ‘tu ḏo (Daan): UIE

82. ‘dinner’
   ‘shad u (Rongbrag): UIE
   ‘sā (Yungling): UIE

83. ‘clothes’
   ‘ta phu (Rongbrag): UIE
   ‘ta hkie: (gDongsum): UIE
   ‘ra gē (rGyalthang): UIE

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

85. ‘bloom’
   ‘mpʰe fî (Hamphen): probably related to WrT phyags ma.
   ‘bu dz’a ca (Daan): UIE

86. ‘knife’
   ‘lo go (Thoteng): UIE

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

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

3.5 Time and Space

89. ‘today’
   ‘tɔ mː (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 mː/ above.
   tʰe ni ma (Melung): UIE
91. ‘tomorrow’
   'n5 hka (Rongbrag): UIE
   'naw ne: (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’
   a dza rwö (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Qiang/Yadu /dzer/.  
   hpa za (Lhagang): UIE
   a za ri (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   a dze li (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   a de: sa: dzö (Daan): UIE

94. ‘evening’
   ma kʰa (nJol): UIE
   ma ŋä (sPomtserag/S): UIE, probably related to /ma kʰa/ above.
   mä kʰa (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /ma kʰa/ above.
   ma: kʰa tʰu (Thoteng): UIE, probably related to /mä kʰa/ above.
   nu mu: (Daan): UIE

95. ‘this year’
   to bti: (gZhungwa): UIE
   tsa tce (Rongbrag): UIE
   ?a dzu? (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   to tce (Melung): UIE

96. ‘next year’
   ta b洛 (gZhungwa): UIE
   sō tʰe (Rangakha): UIE
   ta za? (Nyersul): UIE
   ?a zα? (Zulung): UIE
   ?a zα? (gTorwa, Yungling): UIE, probably related to /?a zα?/ above.

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

97. ‘one’
   htsi (Hamphen, sKyangtshang): UIE, this form is also attested in the second initial
   htsi: (Serpo, Astong): ditto
98. ‘two’
   ḋno (Thoteng, Byagzhol/B): probably related to PTB root *ni ‘two’ rather than WrT gnyis. cf. Zhangzhung ni ‘two’
   ḋnō (sPomtserag/G): ditto
   ḋnē (sPomtserag/S): ditto
   ḋnē (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ‘ni (Qidzong): ditto
   ‘mō (Melung, Yanmen): probably related to Nusu /ŋ/ ‘two’ rather than WrT gnyis.
   ‘mō (Daan): ditto

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

100. ‘six’
   ḋsu? (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)
   ḋu? (Sogpho): ditto
   ḋu? (Rong brag): ditto
   ḋu? (Gudzong): ditto
   ḋo? (Nyersul, Sagong, Phrengme, Ragwo): ditto
   ḋo? (Zulung): ditto
   ḋo? (gTorwa, Byagzhol/B, Qidzong): ditto
   ḋu? (gYagrwa): ditto
   ḋo? (nJol, Hoteng): ditto
   ḋo? (sPomtserag/G/S, Yanmen, Melung): ditto
   ḋo? (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   ḋo? (Budy/L): ditto
   ḋu?: (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

I am much obliged to James A. Matisoff, Randy LaPolla, Guillaume Jacques and Isao Honda for their useful comments to improve this paper.

My field research was funded mainly by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (“Linguistic Substratum in Tibet” headed by Yasuhiko Nagano, No. 16102001) and by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (“Dialectological Study of the Tibetan Minority Languages in the Tibetan Cultural Area in West Sichuan”).
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
   /qʰα/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa da/ ‘crow,’ /qʰa ʰde/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰa ʰkα/ ‘hot (taste),’ /qu/ ‘make a hole,’ /qα/ ‘embroider,’ /šʰ5 Ḍa/ ‘lion,’ etc.

2. Hamphen
   /qʰα/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa mɔ/ ‘hail,’ /qε ʰi/ ‘swallow,’ /qʰa ʰta/ ‘crow,’ /mʰɔ ʰjj/ ‘send,’ etc.

3. sKyangtshang
   /qʰa, qʰa wa/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa ʰde/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰa ʰkα/ ‘hot (taste),’ etc.

4. Thangskya

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

6. rNgawa
   /qʰa ʰlu/ ‘sputum,’ /qʰo ʰɔ/ ‘pack-horse,’ /qʰa ta/ ‘crow,’ /qɛ mo/ ‘thick,’ etc.

7. dMarthang
   /qʰa ʰɛ/ ‘snow,’ /qʰa ʰqa/ ‘shoulder,’ etc.

8. Rangakha
9. Phungposhis
/ʃˀæ mu/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰæ wa/ ‘astringent,’ /qʰɔːl/ ‘crawl,’ /næl/ ‘five,’ /nʰæl/ ‘send,’ etc.

10. Budy/Jieyi
/ʃʰeː/ ‘tsɛl/ ‘they,’ /qʰeː niː/ ‘they two,’ etc. (cf. Budy/Lothong /kʰwɛ tsʰɛ/ ‘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

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

Astong: Dazhai/Shuicaoba, Songpan
Serpo: Anhong/Xiaobaosi, Songpan
Zhongu: Hongtu, Songpan
sProsnang: Zhonglu, Danba
Rongbrag: Zhanggu, Danba
Sogpho: Suopo, Danba
dGudzong: Gezong, Danba
Dartsendo: Lucheng, Kangding
Lhagang: Tagong, Kangding
Rangakha: Xinduqiao, Kangding
Grongsum: 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
rGyalithang: Dazhongdian, Xianggelila
gTorwa: Dongwang/Pula, Xianggelila
Nyishe: Nixi/Tangman, Xianggelila
njol: Shengping/Adunzi, Deqin
Yungling: Yunling/Jiabi, Deqin
Yanmen: Yanmen/Nitong, Deqin
gYagrowa: Yangla, Deqin
sPomtserag/Gulong: Benzilan/Gulong, Deqin
sPomtserag/Shusong: Benzilan/Shusong, Deqin
Thoteng: Tuoding, Deqin
Byagzho: Xiaruo, Deqin
Byagzho/Shizong: Xiaruo/Shirong, Deqin
Budy/Jiyei: Badi/Jiyei, 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, 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)
Lavrung/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: 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)
The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

References

'Brug-mo-mtsho [周毛草]

dGe-legs [格勒]

Huang, Bufan [黄布凡]

Jacques, Guillaume [高華曼]

Jiang, Di [江荻]

Lin, Junhua [林俊華]
Hiroyuki Suzuki

Nishi, Yoshio [西義郷]

Nishida, Tatsuo [西田龍雄]

Nishida, Tatsuo and Hongkai Sun [孫宏開]

Noonan, Michael, Jag Man Chhantyal and William Pagliuca

Ota, Itsuku [太田斎]

Pad-ma Lhun-grub [完瑪冷智]

Sakiyama, Osamu [崎山理] and Akihiro Satoo [佐藤昭裕]
1990 Asia no Syogengo to Ippan Gengogaku [Languages in Asia and General Linguistics]. Tokyo: Sanseidoo.

Shorto, Harry

Sun, Hongkai
1987 Lishishang de Dizu he Chuan-Gan diq de Baimaren—Baimaren zushu chutan [歷史上的氏族和川甘地區的白馬人—白馬民族初探：The Di clan in history and the Baima people in Sichuan-Gansu—a preliminary analysis of the ethnic grouping of the Baima people]. Baimaren Zushu Yanjiu Wenji [白馬民族研究文集], 34–45.

Sun, Hongkai and Lu Liu [劉璐]
1986 Niezu Yuyan Jianzhi (Nusuhua) [怒族語言簡志 (怒蘇話) : An Introduction to the Language of the Nu Nationality (Nusu)]. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.

Sun, Hongkai and Xianhai Wang [王賢海]

Sun, Hongkai, Guangkun Liu [劉光坤] and Katia Chirkova [齊卡佳]
The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

Sun, Jackson T.-S. [孙天心]
2005 *Special linguistic features of gSerpa Tibetan*. Unpublished manuscript presented at the 38th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (Xiamen) [Revised edition published as the same title in *Linguistics in the Tibeto-Burman Area* 29(1): 107–126 (2006)].

Suzuki, Hiroyuki [鈴木博之]
2007d Some special wordforms of Tibetan numerals. Unpublished manuscript presented at the 13th Himalayan Languages Symposium (Shimla).
2008b Development of the affricate series in Shangri-La Tibetan. Unpublished manuscript presented at the 14th Himalayan Languages Symposium (Göteborg).

Tournadre, Nicolas
Yamaguchi, Zuiho [山口瑞鳳]

Yang, Jiaming [楊嘉銘]

Ye-shes Vod-gsal A-tshogs [意西德薩·阿措]