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

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<td>論文名</td>
<td>The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan</td>
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<tr>
<td>発行元</td>
<td>Journal of the National Museum of Ethnology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>発行年</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>発行号</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>発行番号</td>
<td>71-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://doi.org/10.15021/00002558">http://doi.org/10.15021/00002558</a></td>
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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)
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:
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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

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 supraseg-
mentals. 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
Kham 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’
   ˚mu (Ragwo): probably related to WrT gnām.

2. ‘sun’
   mū: (Phyugtsi): related to WrT nyi ma but directly connected to Baima/Pingwu
   /bye^35/ ‘sun.’

3. ‘star’
   ˚ggu ma: (Daan): UIE, cf. the second syllable of Situ-gralrong/Chuchen-shar /tsa
   *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’
   \textquotesingle nö jo? (Qidzong): UIE
   \textquotesingle xu ja (Daan): probably related to /nö jo?/ above.

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

7. ‘frost’
   nö je: (gZhungwa): UIE
   po xo (Nyersul): UIE
   so (Yanmen): UIE

8. ‘ice’
   nixo (Nyashe): UIE
   ndəw? (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   kʰe ndzū (Thoteng): UIE
   nə (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   njo? (Byagzhol/S): UIE, probably related to /nə?/ above.
   ndzo? (Qidzong): UIE, probably related to /ndzə?/ below.
   tsəw? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /tsəw?/ above.
   ndza? (Yanmen): UIE, comparable to WrT 'khyags - *'gyags?
   ndzo? (Budy/J): UIE, probably related to /ndza?/ above.

9. ‘smoke’
   taʰpo (dGudzong): UIE

10. ‘land’
   ka tsa (Daan): UIE

11. ‘river’
   di lu ma (Budy/L): UIE

12. ‘lake’
   naʰnu (gZhungwa): UIE
13. ‘stone’
   "do\textsuperscript{b}da\) (Rongbrag): UIE
   "da\textsuperscript{u}lu\) (Daan): UIE

14. ‘sand’
   "s\textsuperscript{q} ma\) (dMarthang): UIE

15. ‘silver’
   "\textsuperscript{mu}\): (mThachu): probably related to WrT dngul.

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

17. ‘bridge’
   "t\textsuperscript{s} m\textsuperscript{b}o\) (dGudzong): probably related to /\textsuperscript{a}dž\textsuperscript{m} ba/ below, cf. sTau/Morim /\textsuperscript{b}ts\textsuperscript{o}/ ‘bridge,’ Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwaghis /\textsuperscript{p}tsu/ ‘bridge,’ PTB *dzam ‘bridge.’
   "dž\textsuperscript{m} ba\) (rGyalhang): cf. Naxi/Yongchun /dz\textsuperscript{21}/, Minyag/Phungposhis /\textsuperscript{a}dzo/ ‘bridge,’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /ndzom/ ‘bridge.’
   "dz\textsuperscript{u} mb\textsuperscript{a}\) (sPomtserag/S): ditto
   "dz\textsuperscript{a} mb\textsuperscript{a}\) (Daan): ditto
   "bu l\textsuperscript{i}\) (Yungling): UIE

3.2 Body Parts and Human Beings

18. ‘ear’
   "n\textsuperscript{u}\) (Nishe): UIE

19. ‘breast’
   "m\textsuperscript{e}\) (Nishe): UIE
   "p\textsuperscript{i} t\textsuperscript{s} (Byagzhol/S): UIE

20. ‘shoulder’
   "ja? wa ra\) (gTsangtsa): UIE
   "dza to\) (Phyugtsi): UIE
   "t\textsuperscript{o} t\textsuperscript{u}\) (Ragwo): UIE
   "ru to?\) (Zulung): UIE
   "t\textsuperscript{a} n\textsuperscript{e}\) (nJol): UIE
   "sh\textsuperscript{u} g\textsuperscript{u}\) (Daan): UIE

21. ‘back’
   "m\textsuperscript{b}a\) (mPhagri): UIE
   "gu\textsuperscript{d}i\) (Daan): UIE

22. ‘waist’
   "k\textsuperscript{o} ga\) (Yanmen): UIE
   "k\textsuperscript{p}\textsuperscript{o} ga\) (Budy/L): UIE, probably related to /k\textsuperscript{o} ga/ above.
23. ‘thigh’
   ‘zê pa (nJol): UIE
   ‘zo ŋa (Yanmen): UIE
   ‘wzwo (Budy/J): UIE
   ‘zê (Daan): UIE

24. ‘knee’
   tsʰə go (Phyugtsi): maybe WrT tshigs 'go?
   tší go (g’Zhungwa): ditto
   ‘tsʰɪ go (sKyangtshang): ditto
   ‘pha phu: (dGudzong): UIE
   ‘pho lo (Daan): UIE

25. ‘stomach’
   si hka (Phyugtsi): UIE
   ‘phro: (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/sTongdu /pru/.
   ‘ci nga (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ‘rõ 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
   ‘nə (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
   ʂʰa nə (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Lavrung/Khroskyabs /ˈɕʐʰa nə/ ‘baby’
   ‘ka tsʰi (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   ‘kə sa (Budy/J): UIE
   ‘kê sa (Budy/L): UIE, related to /’kə sə/ above.

30. ‘friend’
   ʰqe 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’
   *ʔa po* (gZhungwa): UIE
   *ʔa bo* (sProsnang): UIE
   *ʔa ju* (Nyersul): UIE
   *ʔa ku* (nJol): cf. WrT *a khu* ‘uncle’
   *ʔa di* (Daan): cf. Weixi Chinese 🃏 /tir/44/ ‘father’?

34. ‘mother’
   *ʔa mo* (gZhungwa): UIE

35. ‘grandfather’
   *pū pū* (gZhungwa): UIE
   *ʔo ni* (Byagzhol/S): UIE, the second syllable may be related to that of WrT *a myes*
   ‘grandfather’?
   *ʔa pʰu* (Qidzong): UIE
   *ʔa jœ* (nJol): UIE

36. ‘grandmother’
   *ʔa jo* (gTsangtsa): UIE
   *ʔa tɕʰa* (gZhungwa): UIE
   *ʔa ji* (Serpo): UIE
   *ʔa mō* (Ragwo): UIE
   *ʔa dza* (mPhagri): UIE
   *ʔa sʰl* (Nyishe): UIE
   *ʔa ja* (sPontserag/S): UIE
   *ʔa da* (Thoteng): UIE
   *ʔo bu* (Byagzhol/S): UIE
   *ʔa dzu* (Qidzong): UIE
   *ʔa jœ* (Melung): UIE
   *ʔa tɕː* (nJol): UIE
   *ʔa dzə* (Yungling): related to */ʔa dza/* above.
   *ʔa za* (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /ʔa ɕʰ wə/22/ ‘grandmother’
   *ʔo je* (Budy/J): UIE
   *ʔa js* (Budy/L): UIE
37. ‘elder brother’
   "ʔaŋ ga (Thangskya): UIE
   ʔaŋ dži: (Serpo): UIE
   ʔaŋ ze? (Nyersul): UIE
   ʔma (Ragwo): UIE, cf. Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis /ʔma/ ‘elder brother’
   ʔja: (rGyalhang): UIE
   ʔi ja (Nyishe): UIE, related to /ʔja:/ above.
   ʔju: (sPomtserag/G): UIE
   ʔi ju: (sPomtserag/S): UIE
   ʔa ke (Thoteng): UIE
   ʔa jwš (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   ʔa to: (nJol): UIE

38. ‘elder sister’
   me me (Phyugtsi): UIE
   ʔa ziʔ (Nyersul, Ragwo): UIE
   ʔms 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 (Yanmen): 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 mjé (Daan): UIE, maybe related to /ʔms ms/ above.

39. ‘younger brother’
   ʔu tswu: (Melung): UIE
   ʔi do dzı (Daan): UIE

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

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

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

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

45. ‘maternal uncle’
   ∞ γō (gZhungwa): UIE

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

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

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

48. ‘cow’
   ~cʰo ta / ~cʰo to (rGyalthang): UIE
   ~cʰo (Daan): UIE

49. ‘calf’
   ~u ga r (Serpo): UIE

50. ‘pig’
   ~a gu (Serpo): UIE, cf. Lyzu/Kala ~tʰ ~ ‘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
   ~n gu lu (Yanmen): UIE
   ~pʰ je hlu / ~pʰ je bʰlu (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 ~pʰ aʔ ji ~məl ‘sow’ in
   Chaphreng?
   ~je ~bʰoʔ (Yanmen): UIE

53. ‘piglet’
   ~pʰo w γu (gZhungwa): UIE
   ~ʔe tʰuʔ (Thangskya): the second syllable is probably related to WrT phrug ‘child.’
   ~ʔa nəʔ (Astong): UIE
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54. 'sheep'
   sā⁹dzé (Phyugtsi): UIE

55. 'cock'
   'ko te (Nyishe): UIE, cf. Dulong /k⁵³³/ 'chicken,' PTB *k-rak 'chicken'?
   'ko ts' (sPomtsenag/G): ditto
   'kwö bte (sPomtsenag/S): ditto
   'ko tu: (Yungling): ditto
   'ks tu (Budy/J): ditto

56. 'mule'
   'tim pa (Lhagang): maybe related to WrT drel 'mule.'
   'hö gi: (sPomtsenag/G): UIE
   'hö ko rwo (Budy/J): UIE, cf. Dulong /ku³¹lu⁵³/ 'donkey'

57. 'donkey'
   'a üga (Babzo): UIE
   'ro: (sProsnang): UIE
   'ko ro (dGudzong): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /r³³³ku ri/ 'donkey'
   'k'o ru (Dartsendo): ditto
   'hö cu: (Nyiersul): UIE
   'hö cu: (Phrengme, Yungling): UIE
   'cu (gDongsum, Ragwo): UIE
   'cu (Rwata): UIE
   'hö cu: (sPomtsenag/G): UIE, probably comparable to /hö cu: 'cu:/ above.
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\(^{\text{hc}}\text{cu}\) (sPomtserag/S): ditto

\(^{\text{ko ru}}\) (Yanmen): UIE, probably comparable to /\text{kɔ̊ rə/ above, cf. Dulong /\text{k𝑢^31.tu^53}/

‘donkey’

58. ‘cat’

\(^{\text{mo}^\text{bts}o}\) (Rangakha, Phungposhis): UIE, cf. nDrupa/Ngwigdei /\text{mə btsi/}, XYT 营节 /\text{m ax dz e ‘cat’}

\(^{\text{mo}^\text{bts}o}\) (Dartsendo): ditto

\(^{\text{mo}^\text{tsi}?}\) (Lhagang): ditto

\(^{\text{wo}^\text{dzə}}\) (Grongsum): UIE

\(^{\text{ʔu li}}\) (Chaphreng): UIE

\(^{\text{na mjë}}\) (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Nusu /\text{mu^33.ne^31}/

59. ‘rabbit’

\(^{\text{ro γă}}\) (Ragwo): UIE, maybe related to WrT ri bong.

60. ‘fox’

\(^{\text{jō}}\) (Ragwo): UIE

61. ‘monkey’

\(^{\text{fiə^6} \text{gi}}\) (Grongsum): UIE, cf. the first two syllables of Lhagang /\text{ʔə^6ji?^bu/}

the third corresponds to WrT spre’u.

62. ‘eagle’

\(^{\text{hl}^\text{a}?}\) (Rangakha): comparable to WrT glag, maybe directly connected to ??khlag < PTB *\text{g-lag} / *\text{g-lak} (Matisoff 2003:263) < Mon-Khmer *\text{laŋ} or *\text{klaŋ ‘eagle’} (Shorto 2006:221), cf. XY7 哈*=\text{la ‘eagle,’} Qiang/Yadu /\text{ɀu/} or /\text{qhlu/ ‘eagle.’}

\(^{\text{hl}^\text{a}}\) (Dartsendo): ditto

\(^{\text{hl}^\text{a}}\) (sProsnang): ditto

\(^{\text{hl}^\text{a}}\) (dGudzong): ditto

\(^{\text{hl}^\text{a}}\) (Ragwo, mPhagri, sPomtserag/S): ditto

63. ‘goose’

\(^{\text{ga}}\) (Rongbrag): probably related to WrT gag ‘wild goose,’ cf. XY7 胫*\text{ka} / *\text{ga},

XY7 阿*\text{ga ‘goose.’}

64. ‘wolf’

\(^{\text{hl}^\text{swaj}}\) (Daan): UIE

65. ‘fly’

\(^{\text{tō ne}}\) (Serpo): UIE

\(^{\text{wu za}}\) (Grongsum): UIE, sTau/Mazur /\text{vu za/}, Minyag/Lugpa /\text{u^33.za^53}/ ‘fly,’ Japhug-

Gyalrong/Kamnyo /\text{bỳaza/ ‘fly.’}

\(^{\text{ð}^\text{a?}}\) (sPomtserag/G): UIE

66. ‘spider’

\(^{\text{nō rī}}\) (Hamphen): UIE
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°ba çö (Babzo): UIE
°kro ɣo (sProsang): comparable to Geshitsa/brGyargyud /gru ɣ gru/ and the first syllable of Situ-rGyalrong/bZhilung /kra: fno?/ ‘spider.’

67. ‘horn’
ɣa h’tse (Phyugtsi): UIE, maybe *wa rtse < WrT rwa rtse, cf. /ɣa/ ‘fox’ (WrT wa) in Phyugtsi
*wo tč ho (Rongbrag): UIE

68. ‘claw’
ha bde (sKyangtshang): UIE
*hswa (mPhagri): UIE
*kū mba (rGyalthang): UIE
di be: si (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.
*mə ro? (gDongsum, Phrengme): ditto
*mbo ru? / mə ru? (Nyersul): ditto
*mə ru? (mPhagri): ditto
*mə ru? (sPomtserag/G): ditto
*mə ru? (sPomtserag/S): ditto
*mə bu de? (dGudzong): probably related to WrT me tog.
*mə *du? (Nyishe): probably related to WrT me tog. cf. XY8 明都*mə *du ‘flower,’ Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /men to?/k/, mTshosna-Monpa /min35tho? 53/ ‘flower.’

70. ‘leaf’
cū mba (Phyugtsi): UIE, cf. Baima/Pingwu /fło 13nɡe 53/ ‘leaf’
*dè li (gZhungwa): UIE
nöl lo (Babzo): UIE
na lo (sKyangtshang, Thangskya): UIE
*nɔ ma (Rangakha): UIE, but perhaps related to the oral forms below /nɔ da mə?/, /nɔ la mə/, etc.
*dè ma (Grongsum): ditto
*nɔ da ma? (Sagong): probably related to WrT ‘dab ma ‘leaf.’
*dè mə (Nyersul): ditto
*ta mə (gDongsum): ditto
*nə la mə (Rwata): ditto
*nɔ da nő (Ragwo): UIE, probably related to the first syllable of WrT ‘dab ma ‘leaf.’
*də le (Zulung): UIE
*nə də le (mPhagri): UIE, related to /də le/ above.
*ʔa kə? (rGyalthang): UIE
*nə mba (sPomtserag/S): UIE
3.4 Foods, Clothes and Tools

73. ‘highland barley (qingke)’
   74. ‘wheat’
   75. ‘barley’
The Origin of Non-Tibetan Words in the Tibetan Dialects of the Ethnic Corridor in West Sichuan

76. ‘pear’
   *la: ro? (Grongsum): UIE
   *sa ljw, *so lj: (Daa:n): UIE

77. ‘corn’
   *a gej juj (rGyalthang): UIE
   *k h a zē (sPomtserag/G): UIE, related to /k h a zi/ below.
   *ka dze (sPomtserag/S): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /ka 21 dze 33 / ‘corn’
   *k h a zi (Thoteng): UIE
   *k h a zē (Byagzhol/B): UIE, related to /k h a zi/ above.
   *k h a dze (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   *k h a dze: (Qidzong): ditto

78. ‘hot pepper’
   *he zo (Sogpho): maybe related to Sichuan Chinese 海椒 /xai t'ciau/ ‘hot pepper,’ cf. Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /x' tso/ ‘haj tso’?/ ‘hot pepper.’ Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /r'itsu/ ‘hot pepper’
   *xe: dz'o? (Rongbrag): ditto
   *fu tsa (Lhagang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /fu tso/ ‘hot pepper,’ Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwaghis /r'os tsa/ ‘hot pepper’
   *fu tso (Rangakha): ditto
   *fu ts h a (Dartsendo): ditto
   *go tju (rGyalthang): UIE
   *bo h gu (sPomtserag/S): UIE, related to /bo gu/ below.
   *bo gu (Thoteng): UIE, related to /bo gu/ below.
   *po gu? (nJol): UIE, probably related to /bo gu/ below.
   *bo gu (Yungling): UIE, cf. Dulong /bo 31 ki55/ ‘hot pepper’
   *bu gu (Budy/J): ditto
   *bu gu (Budy/L): ditto
   *po gu? (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   *b e t h i: (Daa:n): UIE

79. ‘oil’
   *du: (Budy/L): UIE
   *t h wo (Daa:n): UIE

80. ‘noodle’
   *p h da (sProsnang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /pə ta/ ‘noodle’
   *po da? (Sogpho): UIE, related to /p h da/ above.
   *po te (dGudzong): ditto
   *p h a: (Rangakha): ditto
   *m h k a (Budy/J): UIE
81. ‘lunch’
   ‘pa rwo (Rongbrag): UIE
   s’Tau/Mazur /mdzo/ ‘lunch.’
   ‘ndza (Thoteng, Budy/J/L): UIE, related to /’ndza/ above.
   ‘ndza: (Qidzong): ditto
   ‘tu γo (Daan): UIE

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

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

84. ‘pearl’
   ‘ca ṭa (rGyalthang): UIE
   ‘da ṭu? (nJol): UIE

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

86. ‘knife’
   ‘la go (Thoteng): UIE

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

88. ‘chopsticks’
   ‘kha? (Babzo): UIE
   ‘a ṭa u (Budy/J): UIE

3.5 Time and Space

89. ‘today’
   ‘tō mui: (Daan): UIE

90. ‘day before yesterday’
   ‘kha me (Nyersul): UIE
   ‘kha mē (Ragwo): UIE
   ‘kā mba (gTorwa): UIE
   ‘khe: me? (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /kha mē/ above.
   ‘tē nē ma (Melung): UIE
91. ‘tomorrow’
   \textit{’n5 ha} (Rongbrag): UIE
   \textit{’naw ne}: (Melung): UIE

92. ‘morning’
   \textit{n5 na} (gZhungwa): UIE
   \textit{ha za}: (Babzo): UIE
   \textit{za γo} (Thangska): UIE
   \textit{’sa: ’xu mo} (Daan): UIE, the part \textit{’xu mo} may be related to WrT \textit{snga mo}.

93. ‘noon’
   \textit{’nda rwə} (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Qiang/Yadu /dzə/.
   \textit{’hpa za} (Lhagang): UIE
   \textit{’nza ri} (sPomterag/S): UIE
   \textit{’nda li} (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   \textit{’nd}: \textit{sa: dzə} (Daan): UIE

94. ‘evening’
   \textit{’ma kʰa} (nJol): UIE
   \textit{’ma jā} (sPomterag/S): UIE, probably related to \textit{’ma kʰa}/ above.
   \textit{’mā kʰa} (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to \textit{’ma kʰa}/ above.
   \textit{’ma: kʰa tʰu} (Thoteng): UIE, probably related to \textit{’mā kʰa}/ above.
   \textit{’nu mu}: (Daan): UIE

95. ‘this year’
   \textit{to htc}: (gZhungwa): UIE
   \textit{’tsa tce} (Rongbrag): UIE
   \textit{’?a dzu?} (Byagzhol/B): UIE
   \textit{’to tcv} (Melung): UIE

96. ‘next year’
   \textit{ta hls} (gZhungwa): UIE
   \textit{’sō tʰe} (Rangakha): UIE
   \textit{’ta za?} (Nyersul): UIE
   \textit{’?a zɑ?} (Zulung): UIE
   \textit{’?a zɑ?} (gTorwa, Yungling): UIE, probably related to \textit{’?a zɑ?}/ above.

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

97. ‘one’
   \textit{’hṭṣḍ} (Hamphen, sKyangtshang): UIE, this form is also attested in the second initial
   \textit{’hṭṣ}: (Serpo, Astong): ditto
98. ‘two’
   .tool (Thoteng, Byagzhol/B): probably related to PTB root *ni ‘two’ rather than WrT
   gni.is. cf. Zhangzhung ni ‘two’
   .no (sPomtsarag/G): ditto
   .ne (sPomtsarag/S): ditto
   .ni: (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   .ni (Qidzong): ditto
   .mo5 (Melung, Yanmen): probably related to Nusu /ŋ/ ‘two’ rather than WrT gnyis.
   .mo: (Daan): ditto

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

100. ‘six’
   .su? (sProsnang): a high-tone ‘six’ problem, a direct relation with WrT drug is unex-
   pected, cf. PTB *k-d-ruk or *d-k-ruk in Matisoff (1997: 82–83)
   .u? (Sogpho): ditto
   .ew? (Rongbrag): ditto
   .ew? (dGudzong): ditto
   .o? (Nyersul, Sagong, Phrengme, Ragwo): ditto
   .o? (Zulung): ditto
   .o? (gTorwa, Byagzhol/B, Qidzong): ditto
   .u? (gYagrawa): ditto
   .so? (nJol, Thoteng): ditto
   .o? (sPomtsarag/G/S, Yanmen, Melung): ditto
   .so? (Byagzhol/S): ditto
   .wo? (Budy/L): ditto
   .uu: (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
Yasuhiro 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 Lan-
guages 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 Khams 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
   /qʰʰɑ/ ‘snow,’ /qʰʰa da/ ‘crow,’ /qʰʰ aʰ ˈde/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰʰ aʰ ˈhɑt (taste),’ /q u/ ‘make a hole,’ /q hɑ/ ‘embroider,’ /sʰ5 ˈoɛ/ ‘lion,’ etc.

2. Hamphen

3. sKyangtshang
   /qʰʰ a/ ‘snow,’ /qʰʰ ˈɑn/ ‘snow,’ /qʰʰ aʰ ˈde/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰʰ aʰ ˈhɑt (taste),’ etc.

4. Thangskya
   /qʰʰ a/ ‘snow,’ /qʰʰ ˈɑn/ ‘face,’ /qʰʰ o/ ‘clothes,’ /qʰʰ ˈjɑ/ ‘lid,’ /m o ˈqɑ/ ‘false,’ /qʰʰ aʰ ˈde/ ‘bitter,’ /qʰʰ ˈɛlɪ/ ‘hot (taste),’ /tʰ a qʰʰ a/ ‘salty,’ etc.

   /qʰʰ a/ ‘snow,’ /qʰʰ ˈbɑ/ ‘bitter,’ /q eɪ s/ ‘hook,’ /q o/ ‘diminish,’ etc.

6. rNgawa
   /qʰʰ ˈlʊt/ ‘sputum,’ /qʰʰ ˈnɑ/ ‘pack-horse,’ /qʰʰ a ta/ ‘crow,’ /qʰ mo/ ‘thick,’ etc.

7. dMarthang
   /qʰʰ ˈɑn/ ‘snow,’ /pʰ aq ˈqɑ/ ‘shoulder,’ etc.

8. Rangakha
9. Phungposhis
/\(\text{q}^3\text{a}\) mu/ ‘bitter,’ /\(\text{q}^3\text{a}\) wa/ ‘astringent,’ /\(\text{q}\text{o}\)/ ‘crawl,’ /\(\text{n}\alpha/ ‘five,’ /\(\text{b}\text{n}\alpha/ ‘send,’ etc.

10. Budy/Jieyi
/\(\text{q}^3\text{e}\)/ ‘tse/ ‘they,’ /\(\text{q}^3\text{e}\)/ ni/ ‘they two,’ etc. (cf. Budy/Lothong /\(\text{k}\text{w}^3\text{e}\) ts\(\text{b}\text{\^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 \(\text{wa}\) and pre-initial \(\text{g}\) (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: Shujing/Hanpan, Songpan
sKyangtshang: 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: Zhanggu, Danba  
Sogpho: Suopo, Danba  
dGudzong: Gezong, Danba  
Dartsendo: Lucheng, Kangding  
Lhagang: Tagong, Kangding  
Rangakha: Xinduqiao, Kangding  
Grongsun: 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  
Ngishe: Nixi/Tangman, Xianggelila  
njol: Shengping/Adunzi, Deqin  
Yunling: Yunling/Jiabi, Deqin  
Yanmen: Yanmen/Nitong, Deqin  
gYagrua: Yangla, Deqin  
sPomtsarag/Gulong: Benzilan/Gulong, Deqin  
sPomtsarag/Shusong: Benzilan/Shusong, Deqin  
Thoteng: Tuoding, Deqin  
Byagzhol: Xiaruo, Deqin  
Byagzhol/Shizong: Xiaruo/Shirong, Deqin  
Budy/Jeiyi: Badi/Jieyi, Weixi  
Budy/Lothong: Badi/Luotong, Weixi  
Melung: Yongchun, Weixi  
mThachu: Tacheng/Geluo, Weixi  
Qidzong: Tacheng/Qizong, Weixi  
Daan: Daan, Yongsheng, Lijiang City

The dialectal classification of the dialects above:

1. Shar Tibetan: Askyirong, Babzo, gZhungwa, gTsangtsa, Phyugtsi, Hamphen, sKyang-tshang, 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*: Mazi/Guoerpu, Daofu
*sTau/Morim*: Muru, Daofu
*nDrapa/Ngwrdei*: 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)
*Laorung/Khoskysaps*: Guanyinqiao, Jinchuan, Aba; from Huang Bufan (2007)
*Guqiong*: 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)
*Nusu*: Miangu, Bijiang, Nujiang; from Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu (1986)
*Dulong*: Mengdi, Gongsan, 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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