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 [   ] (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 [   ] and Di [氐] (Tibetic 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 Nishida 2000: 23), but the chronological facts are scarcely known because of the lack of historical documents.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* [   ] (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* [   ] (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.
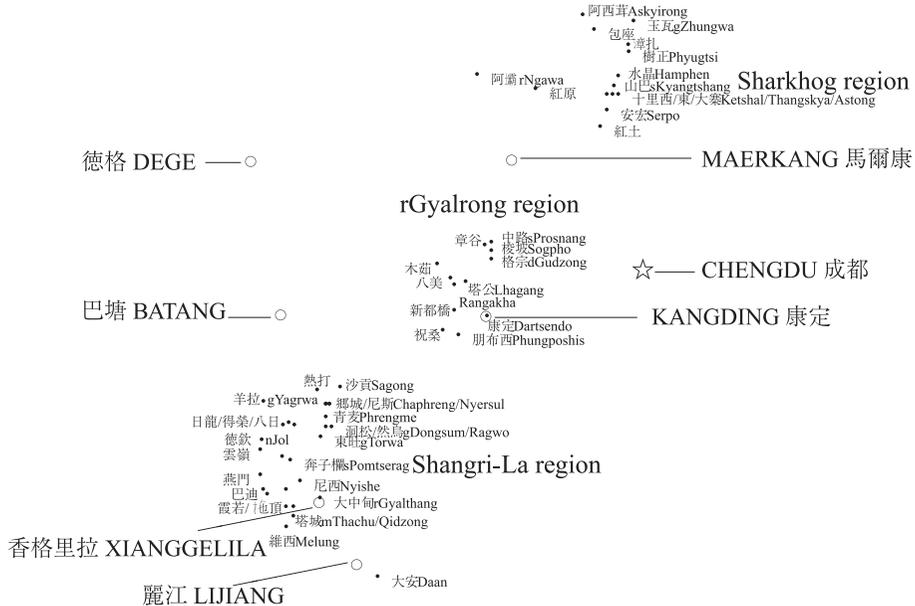
Map 1   Distribution of Tibetan dialects treated in this paper

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 : 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
´ : rising   ^ : rising-falling

Abbreviations

UIE = *uni*dentified *e*tymon   PTB = *P*roto-*T*ibeto-*B*urman
OT = *O*ld *T*ibetan

3.1 Natural Phenomena

1. 'sky'
   ¯**nɯ** (Ragwo): probably related to WrT *gnam*.

2. 'sun'
   ɲʉɵː (Phyugtsi): related to WrT *nyi ma* but directly connected to Baima/Pingwu /ɲyɛ³⁵/ 'sun.'

3. 'star'
   `ⁿ**gu maː** (Daan): UIE, cf. the second syllable of Situ-rGyalrong/Chuchen-shar /tsə ⁿgri/ 'star' and PTB *graːy 'star.' In Daan, the omission of the oral reflex of the WrT glide *r* is normal (Suzuki 2008b).

4. 'light'
   `ʰ**faʔ** (Nyishe): UIE, cf. XY9   *fa 'thunder,' original meaning 'lightning'?
   `ᵐ**bu /** `ᵐ**bu** ᵐ**bu** (Daan): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /bu³³/ 'light.'

5. 'cloud'

   `n̥õ joʔ (Qidzong): UIE

   `xũ ja (Daan): probably related to /ˉn̥õ joʔ/ above.

6. 'rainbow'

   ⁿ̊ça tsʰɛ (Babzo): related to both WrT *'ja' tshon* and OT *gzha'* 'rainbow.'

   ˊfime me (Nyersul): UIE

   ˉz̩a (Nyishe): related to OT *gzha'*, cf. Zhangzhung *zhal*.

   ˉz̩ə wa (sPomtserag/G): ditto

   ˊz̩o wa (sPomtserag/S): ditto

   ˉz̩wa (Byagzhol/S): ditto

   ˉnɔ̃ za (Byagzhol/B): UIE, the first syllable is probably related to WrT *gnam* 'sky,' and the second one to /ˉza/ below.

   `z̩aː çje (nJol): the first syllable is probably related to /ˉz̩a/ above.

   ˉza (Yanmen, Budy/J): UIE

   ˉzə tçʰɯ (Budy/L): UIE

7. 'frost'

   nɑ̃ jeː (gZhungwa): UIE

   ˊpo xɔ̃ (Nyersul): UIE

   ˊʂəː (Yanmen): UIE

8. 'ice'

   ˊɳ̊ʁ (Nyishe): UIE

   ˉⁿɖɔwʔ (sPomtserag/S): UIE

   ˊkʰe fidʐõ (Thoteng): UIE

   ˊɳɔʔ (Byagzhol/B): UIE

   `ɲjɔʔ (Byagzhol/S): UIE, probably related to /ˊɳɔʔ/ above.

   ˉⁿɟoʔ (Qidzong): UIE, probably related to /ⁿdʐɑʔ/ below.

   `ʈʂowʔ (nJol): UIE, probably related to /ˉⁿɖɔwʔ/ above.

   ⁿdʐɑʔ (Yanmen): UIE, comparable to WrT *'khyags - *'gyags*?

   ˉⁿɟɔʔ (Budy/J): UIE, probably related to /ⁿdʐɑʔ/ above.

9. 'smoke'

   ˊta ʰpo (dGudzong): UIE

10. 'land'

   ˉka tsa (Daan): UIE

11. 'river'

   ⁿ̊filu ma (Budy/L): UIE

12. 'lake'

   ˚nɑ fiɳu (gZhungwa): UIE

13. 'stone'
    ˆdə ᵇda (Rongbrag): UIE
    ˊ⁓ꟸda lu (Daan): UIE

14. 'sand'
    ᵠsəq ma (dMarthang): UIE

15. 'silver'
    ⁻ŋɐː (mThachu): probably related to WrT *dngul*.

16. 'copper'
    siː (Phyugtsi): UIE

17. 'bridge'
    ˊʰtsɑ̃ ᵐbo (dGudzong): probably related to /ⁿdzɑ̃ ᵐba/ below, cf. sTau/Morim /ˆʰtso/ 'bridge,' Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis /ᵖtsu/ 'bridge,' PTB *dzam 'bridge.'
    ⁿdzɑ̃ ᵐba (rGyalthang): cf. Naxi/Yongchun /dzo²¹/, Minyag/Phungposhis /ˊⁿdzo/ 'bridge,' Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /ndzom/ 'bridge.'
    ⁿdzɑ̃ mba (sPomtserag/S): ditto
    ⁿdzə ᵐba (Daan): ditto
    ˊbu lɑ̃ (Yungling): UIE

3.2 Body Parts and Human Beings
18. 'ear'
    `nɐ̃ː (Nyishe): UIE

19. 'breast'
    ˊmɛ̃ (Nyishe): UIE
    ⁻pĩ tsa (Byagzhol/S): UIE

20. 'shoulder'
    ˚jaʔ wa ra (gTsangtsa): UIE
    ⁿdʐa to (Phyugtsi): UIE
    ⁻r̥ə tʰɯ (Ragwo): UIE
    ˊru tɵʔ (Zulung): UIE
    `ʰtɑ̃ ⁿlje (nJol): UIE
    ⁻sʰu ꟸgɯ̃ (Daan): UIE

21. 'back'
    ⁻ᵐba (mPhagri): UIE
    `gɯ dĩ (Daan): UIE

22. 'waist'
    ⁻kõ ga (Yanmen): UIE
    ⁻kʰõ ga (Budy/L): UIE, probably related to /ˈkõ ga/ above.

23. 'thigh'
    ´ʐẽ pa (nJol): UIE
    ˆzo ȵã̃ʔ (Yanmen): UIE
    ˜ʷzwo (Budy/J): UIE
    ´zɔ (Daan): UIE

24. 'knee'
    tsʰə ŋgo (Phyugtsi): maybe WrT *tshigs 'go*?
    tsĩ ŋgo (gZhungwa): ditto
    °tsʰĩ ŋgo (sKyangtshang): ditto
    ´pa ɸuː (dGudzong): UIE
    ´pʰo lo (Daan): UIE

25. 'stomach'
    si ʱka (Phyugtsi): UIE
    ´pʰroː (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/sTongdgu /pru/.
    ˜ci ŋga (sPomtserag/S): UIE
    ´rõ kʰɑ (Daan): UIE

26. 'life'
    `mja (Daan): UIE

27. 'person'
    ˆnə (Nyishe, Qidzong): UIE, cf. Zhangzhung *ni*
    ˜nə (Byagzhol/B): ditto
    ´nə (Thoteng, Budy/L, sPomtserag/G, Byagzhol/S): ditto
    ´nɔ (Daan): ditto

28. 'child'
    ˜ʔa ka (Ragwo, mPhagri): UIE
    ´çĩ (rGyalthang): UIE
    ´gə ga (Byagzhol/S): UIE
    ´ra ro (Yungling, sPomtserag/G/S, Budy/L): UIE
    ´rɑ ro (Yanmen): UIE, related to /´ra ro/ above.

29. 'baby'
    ko ʱliː (gZhungwa): UIE
    ´ʂʰa ȵõ (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Lavrung/Khroskyabs /ɕɛ³³lŋɑ⁵⁵/ 'baby'
    ´ka tsʰĩ̥ (sPomtserag/G): UIE
    ´kã sã (Budy/J): UIE
    ˜kẽ sa (Budy/L): UIE, related to /´kã sã/ above.

30. 'friend'
    ⁿɖe mo (Phyugtsi): UIE

31. 'Hui nationality'
    ˉ**lwe ljo** (dGudzong): UIE, cf. sTau/Mazur /lo lo/ 'Hui nationality,' OT *gla lwo, kla klo*
    'Persian, Muslim' in Yamaguchi (1968:42)
    ˉ**lo lo** (Rangakha): ditto
    ˉ**lwo lwo** (rGyalthang): ditto

32. 'son-in-law'
    ˉ**bo wa** (rGyalthang): UIE

33. 'father'
    ˆ**ʔa po** (gZhungwa): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa ⁀ᶠbɵ** (sProsnang): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa ju** (Nyersul): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa kɯ** (nJol): cf. WrT *a khu* 'uncle'
    \`**ʔa di** (Daan): cf. Weixi Chinese   /tiɛ⁴⁴/ 'father'?

34. 'mother'
    ˆ**ʔa mo** (gZhungwa): UIE
    \`**ʔa mũ** (Daan): cf. Weixi Chinese   /mu⁵³/ 'mother'?

35. 'grandfather'
    °**pɑ pɑ** (gZhungwa): UIE
    ˉ**ʔo ɳi** (Byagzhol/S): UIE, the second syllable may be related to that of WrT *a myes*
    'grandfather'?
    ˊ**ʔa pʰɯ** (Qidzong): UIE
    ˉ**ʔa jɛː** (nJol): UIE

36. 'grandmother'
    ˆ**ʔa joː** (gTsangtsa): UIE
    ˆ**ʔa tɕʰɑː** (gZhungwa): UIE
    ˆ**ʔa ji** (Serpo): UIE
    ˉ**ʔa mõ** (Ragwo): UIE
    ˆ**ʔa ⁀ᶠdʑa** (mPhagri): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa sʰɭ** (Nyishe): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa ɟa** (sPomtserag/S): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa da** (Thoteng): UIE
    ˉ**ʔə bu** (Byagzhol/S): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa dzɯ** (Qidzong): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa jɑː** (Melung): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa tɕɑː** (nJol): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa dʑa** (Yungling): related to /ˆʔa ⁀ᶠdʑa/ above.
    ˆ**ʔa ʐa** (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /ʔa⁵⁵ ʐwa²²/ 'grandmother'
    ˆ**ʔɑ jeː** (Budy/J): UIE
    ˆ**ʔa jɤ** (Budy/L): UIE

37. 'elder brother'
    °**ʔa ⁿga** (Thangskya): UIE
    ʔa ⁿdʑiː (Serpo): UIE
    ˉ**ʔa zeʔ** (Nyersul): UIE
    ˉ**mə** (Ragwo): UIE, cf. Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis /ˊma/ 'elder brother'
    ˉ**jaː** (rGyalthang): UIE
    ˋⁿ**ja** (Nyishe): UIE, related to /ˉjaː/ above.
    ˉ**jʉː** (sPomtserag/G): UIE
    ˉⁿ**jʉː** (sPomtserag/S): UIE
    ˆ**ʔa ke** (Thoteng): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa jwɤ** (Byagzhol/B): UIE
    ˉ**ʔa toː** (nJol): UIE

38. 'elder sister'
    me me (Phyugtsi): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa ʑiʔ** (Nyersul, Ragwo): UIE
    ˉ**mɤ mɤ** (Nyishe): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa z̻ə** (sPomtserag/G/S, Byagzhol/B/S): UIE
    ˆ**ʔa je** (Qidzong): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa pɤ** (nJol): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa ɖo** (Yungling): UIE
    ˊ**ʔa bu** (Yanmen): UIE, related to /ˊʔa pɤ/ above.
    ˆ**ʔə z̻ə** (Budy/J): UIE, related to /ˊʔa z̻ə/ above.
    ˊ**ʔɑ bɤ** (Budy/L): UIE, related to /ˊʔa pɤ/ above.
    ˊ**ʔa mjɛ** (Daan): UIE, maybe related to /ˉmɤ mɤ/ above.

39. 'younger brother'
    ˊ**ɲu ʈʂwɑː** (Melung): UIE
    ˊⁿ**də dʑi** (Daan): UIE

40. 'younger sister'
    °**ɕʰe wu** (Phyugtsi): UIE
    ˉʰ**tẽː ra** (Yungling): UIE
    ˊ**gə neː** (Daan): UIE

41. 'paternal elder uncle'
    ˊ**ʔa ta** (Daan): UIE

42. 'paternal elder uncle's wife'
    ˊ**mjẽ** (sPomtserag/S): UIE
    ˉ**ʔa gɛ̃** (Budy/J): UIE

43. 'paternal younger uncle'
    ˊ**ʂəʔ mɑ** (Nyersul): UIE
    ˋ**muː** (mPhagri): UIE

44. 'paternal younger uncle's wife'
     ˉʔa suʔ (Nyersul): UIE

45. 'maternal uncle'
     xɔ ɣɔ (gZhungwa): UIE

46. 'maternal uncle's wife'
     ˊʈu ʈu (rGyalthang): UIE
     ˆʔa mõ (nJol): UIE

47. 'who'
     ˉɕʰɯ (sPomtserag/G, Yungling): comparable to Prinmi/Maoniuping /ˉɕə/ 'who,' Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /ɕu/ 'who.'
     ˉɕɤ (sPomtserag/S): ditto

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

48. 'cow'
     ˉɕo ta / ˉɕwo ta (rGyalthang): UIE
     ˉɕwo (Daan): UIE

49. 'calf'
     ᵑga rə (Serpo): UIE

50. 'pig'
     ʔa gu (Serpo): UIE, cf. Lyzu/Kala /ɣu³⁵/ 'pig'

51. 'boar'
     ˊpə liʔ (dGudzong): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *phag* 'pig.'
     ˊpʰo wa (gDongsum, Rwata): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *pho* 'male.'
     ˉpʰo wɑ (Nyersul): ditto
     ˉⁿˤgɯ lɯ (Yanmen): UIE
     ˊpʰje ʰtʉ / ˊpʰje ⁿtʰʉ (Budy/L): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *phag* 'pig.'

52. 'sow'
     ˊmo wɑ (Sagong, Nyersul): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *mo* 'female.'
     ˊjĩ mɑ (Ragwo): UIE, maybe related to the last two syllables of /ˈpʰaʔ ji ˉma/ 'sow' in Chaphreng?
     ˊje ʈʰoʔ (Yanmen): UIE

53. 'piglet'
     pʰɔw ɣu (gZhungwa): UIE
     ʔe ʈʰuˤ (Thangskya): the second syllable is probably related to WrT *phrug* 'child.'
     ʔa ɳoŋ (Astong): UIE

ʔa ŋɯ (Serpo): UIE

go ɖi:ʔ (Askyirong): UIE

˚**go: di** (Babzo): UIE, related to /go ɖi:ʔ/ above.

¯**pʰɑʔ wo ʰtsə** (sPomtserag/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 /paʁtsa/.

´**pʰɯ kʰa** (Sagong, gDongsum, Rwata): UIE

´**pʰɯ ʰkə** (Nyersul): UIE

´**pʰje** (rGyalthang, Nyishe, Qidzong): UIE, maybe related to WrT *phag* 'pig.'

´**pʰe ʰtɨ:** (Byagzhol/S): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *phag* 'pig.'

´**pə ɸu** (Zulung): UIE, the second syllable may be related to WrT *gu* in *lu gu* 'lamb.' cf. Naxi/Yongchun /bu¹³/ 'pig,' Nazi /ˊbu/ 'pig.' The unaspirated initial of 'piglet' is also attested in Lavrung/Khroskyabs /pa³³tsi⁵⁵/ in spite of /pʰ/ as an initial in 'pig.'

´**po ɸu** (mPhagri): ditto

´**pu:** (sDerong): probably an abriged form of /´pə ɸu/ above.

´**pi: ɖwe** (sPomtserag/S): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *phag* 'pig.'

´**pɑ la** (Yungling): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *phag* 'pig.'

´**pʰje li** (Budy/L): UIE, the first syllable may be related to WrT *phag* 'pig.'

54. 'sheep'

sã ⁿdʑe (Phyugtsi): UIE

55. 'cock'

´**ko te** (Nyishe): UIE, cf. Dulong /kɑʔ⁵⁵/ 'chicken,' PTB *k-rak 'chicken'?

´**kɔ tʁ:** (sPomtserag/G): ditto

´**kwə ʰtwe** (sPomtserag/S): ditto

´**kə tɨ:** (Yungling): ditto

´**kʁ tɨ** (Budy/J): ditto

56. 'mule'

ˆ**ʈim pa** (Lhagang): maybe related to WrT *drel* 'mule.'

ʔ**ʔɑ: kɨ lɨ** (Nyersul): UIE, cf. Nosu-Yi/Xide /ku³⁴lu³³/ 'mule'

¯ɦ**gi:** (sPomtserag/G): UIE

¯ʰ**ko rwo** (Budy/J): UIE, cf. Dulong /ku³¹ɹɯ⁵³/ 'donkey'

57. 'donkey'

ʔa ŋga (Babzo): UIE

´**rə:** (sProsnang): UIE

¯**kə rə** (dGudzong): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /ˊʰku ri/ 'donkey'

ˆ**kə rɯ** (Dartsendo): ditto

`ʰ**tɕu:** (Nyersul): UIE

¯ʰ**tɕu:** (Phrengme, Yungling): UIE

¯**tɕũ** (gDongsum, Ragwo): UIE

¯**tɕu:** (Rwata): UIE

¯ʰ**cu:** (sPomtserag/G): UIE, probably comparable to /ˊʰtɕu:, ¯tɕu:/ above.

ˉʰ**cu** (sPomtserag/S): ditto

ˉ**kə ru** (Yanmen): UIE, probably comparable to ˧**kə rə/** above, cf. Dulong /ku³¹.ɻɯ⁵³/ 'donkey'

58. 'cat'

ˉ**mõ ⁿdzə** (Rangakha, Phungposhis): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /´mə ʰtsɨ/, XYT *maɴ dze 'cat'

`**mõ ʰtsə** (Dartsendo): ditto

^**moŋ ziʔ** (Lhagang): ditto

´**wo ʳdzə** (Grongsum): UIE

ˉ**ʔu li** (Chaphreng): UIE

´**ɲa mje** (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Nusu /mɯ³³ɲe³¹/

59. 'rabbit'

´**ro ɣã** (Ragwo): UIE, maybe related to WrT *ri bong*.

60. 'fox'

´**jɔ** (Ragwo): UIE

61. 'monkey'

`**ɦa ⁿgi / ˉʔa ⁿgi** (Grongsum): UIE, cf. the first two syllables of Lhagang /´ʔə ⁿɟiʔ ʰʈu/, the third corresponds to WrT *spre'u*.

62. 'eagle'

ˉʰ**l̥ɑʔ** (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 *l̥a 'eagle,' Qiang/Yadu /χlu/ or /qhlu/ 'eagle.'

`ʰ**l̥ɑː** (Dartsendo): ditto

^ʰ**l̥ɑː** (sProsnang): ditto

ˉʰ**l̥eʔ** (dGudzong): ditto

ˉʰ**çɑʔ** (Ragwo, mPhagri, sPomtserag/S): ditto

63. 'goose'

ᴺ**gɑː** (Rongbrag): probably related to WrT *gag* 'wild goose,' cf. XYT 噶 *ka / *ᴺga, XY7 *ᴺga 'goose.'

64. 'wolf'

`ʰ**ʈʂwaj** (Daan): UIE

65. 'fly'

tõ ne (Serpo): UIE

´**wu za** (Grongsum): UIE, sTau/Mazur /vu za/, Minyag/Lugpa /u³³zæ⁵³/ 'fly,' Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo /βɣaza/ 'fly.'

ˉ**ɖəː ŋɯ** (sPomtserag/G): UIE

66. 'spider'

ɳ̊ã rĩ (Hamphen): UIE

°**ba çõ** (Babzo): UIE

´**kro γo** (sProsnang): comparable to Geshitsa/brGyargyud /grɑ ꞓgrɑ/ and the first syllable of Situ-rGyalrong/bZhilung /krɑː ʃnɑʔ/ 'spider.'

67. 'horn'

γa ʰtseː (Phyugtsi): UIE, maybe *wa rtse < WrT *rwa rtse*, cf. /γa/ 'fox' (WrT *wa*) in Phyugtsi

ˆ**wo tɕʰo** (Rongbrag): UIE

68. 'claw'

ʁa ꞓde (sKyangtshang): UIE

ˉʰ**tswɑ** (mPhagri): UIE

ˉ**kũ ᵐba** (rGyalthang): UIE

´ꞓ**beː sĩ** (sPomtserag/S): UIE

69. 'flower'

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

´**mə roʔ** (gDongsum, Phrengme): ditto

´ᵐ**bə ruʔ** / ´**mə ruʔ** (Nyersul): ditto

ˆ**mə ruʔ** (mPhagri): ditto

ˆ**mʁ ruʔ** (sPomtserag/G): ditto

´**mə ruʔ** (sPomtserag/S): ditto

´ᵐ**bʉ deʔ** (dGudzong): probably related to WrT *me tog*.

´ᵐ**bə dʉʔ** (rGyalthang): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /bɑ²¹/ 'flower'

´**mẽ ⁿduʔ** (Nyishe): probably related to WrT *me tog*. cf. XY8   *mɪɴ du 'flower,' Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /´men toʔk/, mTshosna-Monpa /min³⁵thoʔ⁵³/ 'flower.'

70. 'leaf'

ɕũ ᵐba (Phyugtsi): UIE, cf. Baima/Pingwu /ʃhɔ¹³ŋgɐ⁵³/ 'leaf'

ⁿ**de lɑ** (gZhungwa): UIE

nã lo (Babzo): UIE

na lo (sKyangtshang, Thangskya): UIE

´**nɔ̃ ma** (Rangakha): UIE, but perhaps related to the oral forms below /´ⁿda mɑʔ/, /´ⁿla mɑ/, etc.

´**de ma** (Grongsum): ditto

ⁿ**da mɑʔ** (Sagong): probably related to WrT *'dab ma* 'leaf.'

´**de mɔ** (Nyersul): ditto

´**ta mõ** (gDongsum): ditto

ⁿ**la mɑ** (Rwata): ditto

ⁿ**da ŋã** (Ragwo): UIE, probably related to the first syllable of WrT *'dab ma* 'leaf.'

´**də le** (Zulung): UIE

`ꞓ**də lʁ** (mPhagri): UIE, related to /´də le/ above.

´**ʔa lɑʔ** (rGyalthang): UIE

´**nə mba** (sPomtserag/S): UIE

ˆ**na m̥a** (Thoteng): UIE

´**ɕi lɤ** (Byagzhol/S): UIE

ˆⁿ**dɑʔ pa** (Qidzong): UIE, probably related to the first syllable of WrT *ʾdab ma* 'leaf.'

´**nə ma** (sPomtserag/G): UIE

´**ne ma** (nJol): UIE, probably related to /´nə ma/ above.

¯ʷ**lu,** ¯**pu lu** (Yanmen): UIE

ˆ**nɤ ma** (Budy/J): UIE, probably related to /´nə ma/ above.

ˊꜟ**dõ ma** (Daan): UIE

71. 'root'

¯**kə** ꜟ**ru** (Grongsum): UIE

´**jɑʔ** (Nyersul): UIE

´**ʐi kwa** (sPomtserag/S): UIE

¯**tsaj dʑə** (Byagzhol/S): UIE

ˊꜟ**dʑe wa** (nJol): UIE

72. 'twig'

ɲi kʰa (rNgawa): UIE, maybe related to WrT *myu* 'sprout' and *kha* 'mouth'?

3.4 Foods, Clothes and Tools

73. 'highland barley (*qingke*)'

¯ᵑ**gə rə** (Sogpho): comparable to /kə rə/ below.

`ᵑ**go rɯː** (Rongbrag): ditto

¯**kə rə** (Nyersul, gDongsum, Thoteng): probably related to OT *krungs* 'ear of *qingke*' cited in Jiang Di (2002:253). cf. Seke/Tangbe /ᴴkaru/ 'barley,' Seke/Chuksang /ᴴkuru/ 'barley,' Syang /ga1ruu2/ [ka⁵⁵ruː⁵³/⁴²] 'barley,' Chantyal /kəru/ 'barley.'

¯**kə rɯ** (Zulung, Byagzhol/S): ditto

¯**kə ru** (mPhagri): ditto

¯**kɯ rɯ** (Byagzhol/B): ditto

`**kɯ rɯ** (Qidzong): ditto

¯**ka rɯ** (Yungling, sPomtserag/S): ditto, the most similar sound correspondence is with Seke/Tangbe /ᴴkaru/ 'barley.'

´**kə rɯ** (Budy/L): ditto

¯**ka** (Yanmen): comparable to the first syllable of Yungling /ka rɯ/, cf. Lisu/Kangpu /gwɑ³¹/ 'highland barley.'

74. 'wheat'

ˢ**ŋ̊o** (rNgawa): maybe related to WrT *sngo* 'grass.'

¯**ŋ̊õː** (Ragwo): UIE

¯**ʂẽj** (rGyalthang): UIE

75. 'barley'

¯**kə zi** (dGudzong): UIE, cf. Nosu-Yi/Xide /zu²¹/ 'barley,' Zhangzhung *zad* 'barley'

76. 'pear'
    ˆ**la: roʔ** (Grongsum): UIE
    ¯**ʂʰi ꜛⁿluu** (Budy/L): UIE
    ¯**sə ljaw,** ¯**sə ljɔ:** (Daan): UIE

77. 'corn'
    ´ꜛⁿ**gɵj jʉj** (rGyalthang): UIE
    ¯ᵑ**kʰə ´zẽ** (sPomtserag/G): UIE, related to /´kʰa zĩ/ below.
    ´**ka dze** (sPomtserag/S): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /ka²¹dze³³/ 'corn'
    ˋ**kʰa zĩ** (Thoteng): UIE
    ´ᵑ**kʰa: zẽ** (Byagzhol/B): UIE, related to /´kʰa zĩ/ above.
    ´ᵑ**kʰa ´zẽ** (Byagzhol/S): ditto
    ˆ**kʰa dze:** (Qidzong): ditto

78. 'hot pepper'
    ˆ**he zo** (Sogpho): maybe related to Sichuan Chinese   /xai tɕiau/ 'hot pepper,' cf.
    Situ-rGyalrong/Kyomkyo /´xɛ tsoʔ, ꜛhaj tsoʔ/ 'hot pepper,' Japhug-rGyalrong/Kamnyo
    /χʁjtsu/ 'hot pepper'
    ¯**xe: dʑoʔ** (Rongbrag): ditto
    ˋ**ɸu tsa** (Lhagang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /¯ɸu tso/ 'hot pepper,' Nyagrong-Minyag/
    rGyarwagshis /´χo tsa/ 'hot pepper'
    ¯**ɸu tso** (Rangakha): ditto
    ˋ**ɸu tsʰa** (Dartsendo): ditto
    ´**gə ŋʉ** (rGyalthang): UIE
    ¯**bə ꜛⁿgu** (sPomtserag/S): UIE, related to /¯bə gu/ below.
    ˆ**bə gu** (Thoteng): UIE, related to /¯bə gu/ below.
    ˆ**po guʔ** (nJol): UIE, probably related to /¯bə gu/ below.
    ¯**bə gu** (Yungling): UIE, cf. Dulong /bɑ³¹kɹi⁵⁵/ 'hot pepper'
    ˆꜛ**bu gu** (Budy/J): ditto
    ´ꜛ**bu gu** (Budy/L): ditto
    ¯**pə guʔ** (Byagzhol/S): ditto
    ´**tʰe tɕʰi:** (Daan): UIE

79. 'oil'
    ´ꜛ**duu:** (Budy/L): UIE
    ¯**tɕʰwo** (Daan): UIE

80. 'noodle'
    ˆ**puu da** (sProsnang): UIE, cf. nDrapa/Ngwirdei /¯pə ta/ 'noodle'
    ¯**pə daʔ** (Sogpho): UIE, related to /ˆpuu da/ above.
    ´**pɵ te** (dGudzong): ditto
    ´**puu tʰa:** (Rangakha): ditto
    ´**mẽ ꜛkɑ** (Budy/J): UIE

81. 'lunch'
    ´pa rwə (Rongbrag): UIE
    ⁿdzaː, ⁿla: (Yanmen): UIE, cf. Nyagrong-Minyag/rGyarwagshis /´tsa ŋa/ 'lunch,'
    sTau/Mazur /ᵐdzo/ 'lunch.'
    ⁿdza (Thoteng, Budy/J/L): UIE, related to /ⁿdzaː/ above.
    ⁿdzɑː (Qidzong): ditto
    ´tu ɣo (Daan): UIE

82. 'dinner'
    `sʰa duː (Rongbrag): UIE
    ᶲsã (Yungling): UIE

83. 'clothes'
    `ta pʰu (Rongbrag): UIE
    ⁻ʰta ʰkjeː (gDongsum): UIE
    ´rə gẽ (rGyalthang): UIE
    ´bɤʔ lɑ (Budy/J): UIE, cf. Naxi/Yongchun /bɑ²¹lɑ⁵⁵/ 'clothes.'

84. 'pearl'
    ⁻ɕa ŋɑ (rGyalthang): UIE
    ´da luʔ (nJol): UIE

85. 'bloom'
    °ᵐpʰe ɦ̃ɑ (Hamphen): probably related to WrT *phyags ma*.
    ⁻ɦbu dʑa ɕa (Daan): UIE

86. 'knife'
    ⁻ɬə gə (Thoteng): UIE

87. 'cooking stove'
    ´ba buʔ (Yungling): UIE

88. 'chopsticks'
    kʰɑʔ (Babzo): UIE
    ᵔʔa ʂuj (Budy/J): UIE

3.5 Time and Space

89. 'today'
    ´tə nɯɯː (Daan): UIE

90. 'day before yesterday'
    ᵔkʰa mɛ (Nyersul): UIE
    ⁻kʰa mɛ̃ (Ragwo): UIE
    ⁻kʰã mba (gTorwa): UIE
    ᵔkʰɛː mɛʔ (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /⌐kʰa mɛ̃/ above.
    ⁻tɕʰe ɲi ma (Melung): UIE

91. 'tomorrow'
    ´nɔ̃ ʰka (Rongbrag): UIE
    ´nɑw nɛː (Melung): UIE

92. 'morning'
    nɔ̃ na (gZhungwa): UIE
    ⁿzaː (Babzo): UIE
    za ɣo (Thangskya): UIE
    ´saː ⁻xu mo (Daan): UIE, the part /⁻xu mo/ may be related to WrT *snga mo*.

93. 'noon'
    ˆⁿdza rwə (Rongbrag): UIE, cf. Qiang/Yadu /dzɛj/.
    `ʰpa za (Lhagang): UIE
    ᶮza rĩ (sPomtserag/S): UIE
    ᶮdze lĩ (Byagzhol/B): UIE
    ´ꟸdeː saː dzə (Daan): UIE

94. 'evening'
    ⁻ma kʰa (nJol): UIE
    ´ma ŋ̊ã (sPomtserag/S): UIE, probably related to /⁻ma kʰa/ above.
    ´m̥ã kʰa (Byagzhol/B): UIE, probably related to /⁻ma kʰa/ above.
    `maː kʰa tʰʉ (Thoteng): UIE, probably related to /´m̥ã kʰa/ above.
    ´nu mɯɯː (Daan): UIE

95. 'this year'
    tɵ ʰtɕiː (gZhungwa): UIE
    ´tsa tɕe (Rongbrag): UIE
    ´ʔa ɖʐuʔ (Byagzhol/B): UIE
    ˆtə tɕu (Melung): UIE

96. 'next year'
    tɑ ꟸlɜ (gZhungwa): UIE
    ⁻sõ tʰe (Rangakha): UIE
    ´ta ʐaʔ (Nyersul): UIE
    ʔa ʐɑʔ (Zulung): UIE
    ˆʔa ʐɑʔ (gTorwa, Yungling): UIE, probably related to /´ʔa ʐɑʔ/ above.

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

97. 'one'
    ᵒʰtsiˤ (Hamphen, sKyangtshang): UIE, this form is also attested in the second initial 'eleven' in many Amdo Tibetan dialects, cf. Pad-ma Lhun-grub (2006)
    ᵒʰtsiː (Serpo, Astong): ditto

98. 'two'

⁻**nə** (Thoteng, Byagzhol/B): probably related to PTB root *ni 'two' rather than WrT *gnyis*. cf. Zhangzhung *ni* 'two'

⁻**nə̃** (sPomtserag/G): ditto

⁻**nẽ** (sPomtserag/S): ditto

⁻**niː** (Byagzhol/S): ditto

ˋ**ni** (Qidzong): ditto

ˋ**mə̃** (Melung, Yanmen): probably related to Nusu /m̩⁵⁵/ 'two' rather than WrT *gnyis*.

ˋ**mɔː** (Daan): ditto

99. 'five'

ŋ̊a (Zhongu): probably < *ŋ-j-a < PTB *ŋa

⁻**ɴɑ /** ⁻**ŋwɑ** (Phungposhis): cf. Minyag/Phungposhis /⁻ɴɑ/ 'five.' See the appendix.

100. 'six'

⁻**ʈʂuʔ** (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)

ˋ**ʈuʔ** (Sogpho): ditto

⁻**ʈɔwʔ** (Rongbrag): ditto

⁻**ʈɯwʔ** (dGudzong): ditto

⁻**ʈɔʔ** (Nyersul, Sagong, Phrengme, Ragwo): ditto

⁻**ʈoʔ** (Zulung): ditto

ˋ**ʈoʔ** (gTorwa, Byagzhol/B, Qidzong): ditto

ˋ**ʈɯʔ** (gYagrwa): ditto

ˋ**ʈʂɔʔ** (nJol, Thoteng): ditto

ˋ**ʈɔʔ** (sPomtserag/G/S, Yanmen, Melung): ditto

ˋ**ʈʂoʔ** (Byagzhol/S): ditto

ˋ**ʈʂwoʔ** (Budy/L): ditto

⁻**tɯː** (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

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
   /qʰɑː/ 'snow,' /qʰa da/ 'crow,' /qʰa ⁿde/ 'bitter,' /qʰa ɕʰɑʔ/ 'hot (taste),' /quʔ/ 'make a hole,' /qə/ 'embroider,' /sʰə̃ ᴺɢe/ 'lion,' etc.

2. Hamphen
   /qʰɑː/ 'snow,' /qʰa mɔ̃ː/ 'hail,' /qɔŋ ɕʰi/ 'swallow,' /qʰa ʰta/ 'crow,' /°ᵐɴɑʕ ʰnɔŋ/ 'send,' etc.

3. sKyangtshang
   /qʰɑː, qʰɑ wa/ 'snow,' /qʰa ⁿde/ 'bitter,' /qʰa ʰʂɑː/ 'hot (taste),' etc.

4. Thangskya
   /qʰɑ̃ː/ 'snow,' /qʰɑ ŋo/ 'face,' /qo zẽ/ 'clothes,' /qʰɑ ja/ 'lid,' /mə ʰqa/ 'false,' /qʰa ⁿde/ 'bitter,' /qʰa ɕʰa/ 'hot (taste),' /°tsʰa qʰa/ 'salty,' etc.

5. Zhongu (Sun T.-S. 2003)
   /qʰa/ 'snow,' /qʰɐ/ 'bitter,' /qeŋə/ 'hook,' /qo/ 'diminish,' etc.

6. rNgawa
   /qʰɑ lut/ 'sputum,' /qʰə ɳo/ 'pack-horse,' /qʰa ta/ 'crow,' /qɐ mo/ 'thick,' etc.

7. dMarthang
   /qʰəŋ/ 'snow,' /ᵖʈʰaq qa/ 'shoulder,' etc.

8. Rangakha
   /ˊqʰɑ ta/ 'crow,' /ˊqʰɑ mo/ 'bitter,' /⌐qɑ̃ kʰoː/ 'window,' /ˊnɑː qoː qoː/ 'dark,' /ˊqa leː/ 'slow,' /ˊqa/ 'hide,' /⌐ʰqo/ 'dig,' /ˊᴺɢɑː/ 'block,' /⌐ɴɑː/ 'send,' etc.

9. Phungposhis

ˉqʰɑ mu/ 'bitter,' ˉqʰɑ wa/ 'astringent,' ˉqoː/ 'crawl,' ˉɴɑ/ 'five,' ˉᶠⁱɴɑː/ 'send,' etc.

10. Budy/Jieyi

ˉqʰeː ˌtse/ 'they,' ˉqʰeː n̥iː/ 'they two,' etc. (cf. Budy/Lothong ˆkʰwɛ̃ tsʰɛ̃/ '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
sKyangtshang: Shanba, Songpan
Ketshal: Shili/Gaotunzi, Songpan
Thangskya: Shili/Datun, Songpan

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
rGyalthang: Dazhongdian, Xianggelila
gTorwa: Dongwang/Pula, Xianggelila
Nyishe: Nixi/Tangman, Xianggelila
nJol: Shengping/Adunzi, Deqin
Yungling: Yunling/Jiabi, Deqin
Yanmen: Yanmen/Nitong, Deqin
gYagrwa: 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/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/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-Yi/Xide: —, Xide, Liangshan; from Huang Bufan (ed.) (1992)
Nusu: 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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