

The Possibility of Borrowing Basic Pronouns in Minority Languages of the Western Sichuan Ethnic Corridor

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Abstract

This paper examines language contacts between Tibetan and minority languages of the Western Sichuan Ethnic Corridor (WSEC) area. I list basic pronouns in WSEC languages and examine the possibility of borrowing. A geolinguistic analysis suggests that certain types of words for ‘I, me,’ ‘this,’ ‘who,’ and ‘what’ may be loanwords. Moreover, a parallel case in a Chinese dialect and a comparative analysis support the possibility of borrowing of the first person pronoun, though it is regarded as inherent in most preceding studies. I will also show the overlap of isoglosses and provide a tentative conclusion in terms of the area of deepest contact.

1. Introduction

The distinction between loanwords and inherent cognates is sometimes difficult to draw when a language experiences a long-term contact situation with a genealogically close language. This paper examines a case study of such a situation of language contact between Tibetan and minority languages in the Western Sichuan Ethnic Corridor (WSEC) area.

The WSEC is a multiethnic area where more than a dozen minority languages are spoken. The area overlaps with the eastern border of the Tibetan cultural area. The minority languages of the WSEC have been subject to the long-term influence of Tibetan and now have a high number of loanwords. Since both Tibetan and the WSEC languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of the Sino-Tibetan language family, it is difficult to distinguish whether some words in their vocabulary are borrowed or inherent.

For example, some of the basic words in the nDrapa (Zhaba) language (DP) closely resemble Tibetan (represented by the Written Tibetan form in Wylie-style transcription (WT)), as seen in (1). All words in (1) are included in Swadesh’s (1971: 283) basic 100-word list. Moreover, (1a) ‘sun’ and (1b) ‘I, me’ are also included in Matisoff’s (2009: 295-307) list of 73 stable words in Tibeto-Burman.

- | | | |
|--------------|---|------------------|
| (1) a. ‘sun’ | DP <i>ɲame³</i> | WT <i>nyi-ma</i> |
| b. ‘I, me’ | DP <i>ɲa¹ / ɲa³</i> | WT <i>nga</i> |

¹ The numbers in the italicized examples of modern language varieties indicate tones. In the case of DP, Tones 1, 2, and 3 indicate high-level, high-falling, and low-rising respectively. In other languages, superscripted double figures are used in the Chinese style (5 = high, 1 = low).

c. ‘leaf’	DP <i>loma</i> ³	WT <i>lo-ma</i>
d. ‘head’	DP <i>hkapalal</i>	WT <i>kapāla</i> (‘skull’; a loanword from Sanskrit)

However, nDrapa is unquestionably a distinct language from Tibetan: The two are mutually unintelligible. This is clear, for example, from the differences in many basic words: ‘man’ DP *swil*, WT *mi*; ‘tooth’ DP *eu*³, WT *so*²; ‘star’ DP *ht*^Λ₂, WT *skar-ma*.³ Moreover, they have different case-marking systems; the Tibetan case system is of the ergative-absolutive type, but nDrapa has the nominative-accusative marking.

In this paper, I will discuss whether the basic words—especially pronouns—with a Tibetan-like form such as (1b) are loanwords. I will compile the word forms of basic pronouns in WSEC languages. The pronouns in the list appear in Swadesh’s basic 100-word list and are as follows: ‘I, me,’ ‘we, us,’ ‘this,’ ‘that,’ ‘who,’ and ‘what.’

I will employ a geolinguistic approach to examine this issue.⁴ Analysis of the geographic distribution of word forms may disclose their chronological order. If such Tibetan-like forms can be regarded as relatively new, this would suggest the possibility that they are recently introduced loanwords.

This paper is organized as follows: the rest of Section 1 surveys the target languages, target words, and previous studies; Section 2 examines the possibility of borrowing of basic pronouns in the WSEC languages from the geolinguistic viewpoint; Section 3 examines the overlap of isoglosses and discusses the significance of language contact in this area; and Section 4 will summarize the paper.

1.1 Target languages: Languages of the Western Sichuan Ethnic Corridor

The WSEC area is identical to the northern part of the Tibeto-Lolo corridor. A prototype of the notion of the WSEC or Tibeto-Lolo corridor was first proposed by Fei (1980). H. Sun (1983) then surveyed the areal features of the languages spoken in the area and named the area the WSEC (川西民族走廊).

The WSEC languages mentioned in this paper⁵ are the following: Pema/Baima, Zbu rGyalrong (dialects of Ribu and Geletuo), Tshobdun rGyalrong, Japhug rGyalrong (Ganmuniao and Shaerzong), Situ rGyalrong, South-central rGyalrong, Northern Qiang (Yadu and Mawo), Southern Qiang (Longxi, Taoping, Puxi, and Mianchi), Khroskyabs/Lavrung⁶ (Yelong, Guanyinqiao, and Wobzi), sTodsde/Shangzhai, Erkai, sTau (Daofu and Geshitsa), Nyagrung Minyag, nDrapa/Zhaba (Mätro, Zhatuo, and Southern), Queyu (Youlaxi and Kara), Muya, Guiqiong (Maibeng and Qianxi), Ersu, Lizu, Xumi/Shixing,

² Both can be traced back to a Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) root **s/p-wa* (STEDT).

³ They have different etymologies: DP *ht*^Λ₂ < PTB **g(r/l)a:y*; WT *skar-* < PTB **s-kar* (STEDT).

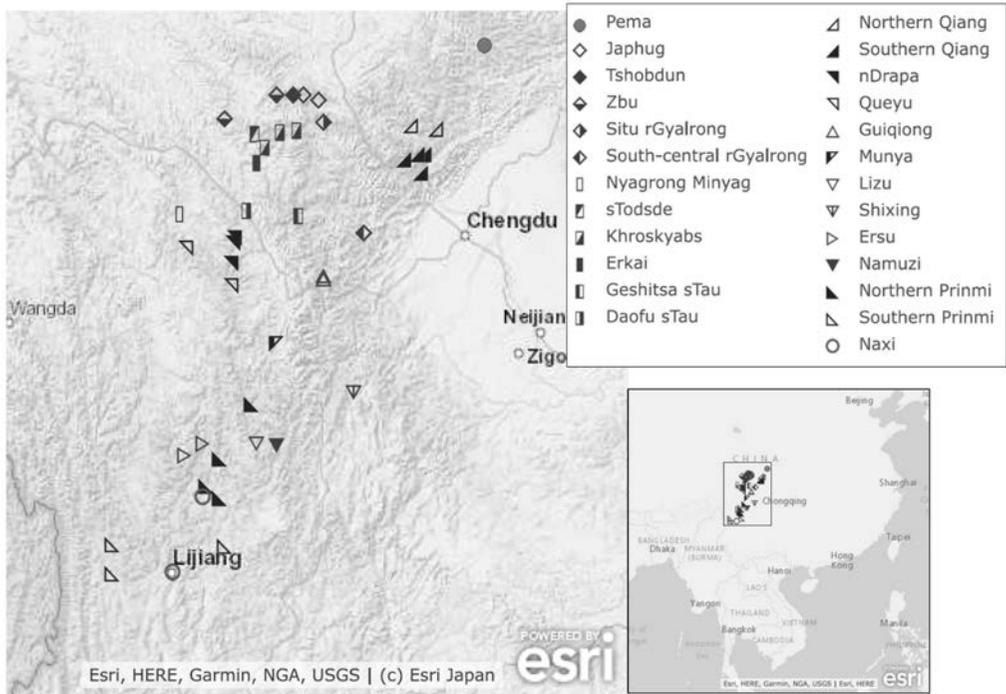
⁴ The ArcGIS Online service by Esri (www.esri.com) was used to draw the maps. I also used symbols for linguistic maps provided at the website of the Department of Japanese Linguistics, Tokushima University (1431320719.jimdo.com).

⁵ The data sources are as follows: Situ rGyalrong, South-Central rGyalrong, & nDrapa (Mätro) - My field data; Pema - Chirkova (2008); Zbu rGyalrong (Ribu & Geletuo), Tshobdun rGyalrong, Japhug rGyalrong (Shaerzong), Khroskyabs/Lavrung (Wobzi), sTodsde/Shangzhai, Erkai, Nyagrung Minyag & Queyu (Kara) - Nagano and Prins (eds.) (2013); Japhug rGyalrong (Ganmuniao) - Jacques (2008); Northern Qiang (Yadu) - LaPolla with C. Huang (2003); Northern Qiang (Mawo) - Liu (1998) via Evans (2001); Southern Qiang (Longxi, Taoping, & Mianchi) - Evans (2001), Southern Qiang (Puxi) - C. Huang (2007); Khroskyabs/Lavrung (Yelong, Guanyinqiao) - B. Huang (2007); sTau (Daofu), Queyu (Youlaxi), Muya, nDrapa (Zhatuo), Guiqiong (Maibeng), Upper Xumi/Shixing, Lizu, Namuzi, & Naxi (Western) - B. Huang (ed.) (1992); Xumi/Shixing - H. Sun et al. (2014); sTau (Geshitsa) - Duo’erji (1998); nDrapa (Southern) - Gong (2007); Ersu - Zangmianyu Yuyin he Cihui Bianxiezhu (ed.) (1991) via STEDT; Northern Prinmi (Sanyanlong, Taoba, Tuoqi, & Zuosuo) and Southern Prinmi (Ludian, Xinyingpan, & Qinghua) - Lu (2001); Naxi (Yongning) - Michaud (2015); Guiqiong (Qianxi) - Jiang (2015).

⁶ If a language is known by one or several names different from that used in this paper, such names are shown after a slash.

Namuzi, Northern Prinmi (Sanyanlong, Taoba, Tuoqi, and Zuosuo), Southern Prinmi (Ludian, Xinyingpan, and Qinghua), and Naxi (Western and Yongning [Na]).

Map 1 shows the geographical distribution of the WSEC languages.



Map 1: The WSEC languages mentioned in this paper

Genealogically, all languages apart from Pema and Naxi—classified as Bodic and Lolo-Burmese respectively in *the Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* (STEDT, <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/>)—belong to the Qiangic (or Tangut-Qiang-rGyalrong) branch of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily (H. Sun 1983, 2001, 2016, Matisoff 2003, etc.).

In the present paper, I include Pema and Naxi in the WSEC languages, due to their shared areal features, as pointed out in Chirkova (2008, 2012), Jacques and Michaud (2011), Shirai (2009), etc.

Moreover, data from Tibetan dialects (Hongyuan, sDe-dGe, and Zhongu), Northern Yi (Xide), and Sichuan Mandarin will be cited for comparison.⁷ The areas where these varieties are spoken overlap with or neighbor the WSEC area.

The detailed genealogical subgrouping of the Qiangic languages is still unsettled. A consensus seems almost to have been reached for the rGyalrongic group (H. Sun 2016: 4, J. Sun. 2000, Gates 2012, Suzuki 2012). H. Sun (2016: 4) divides the Qiangic languages into three groups, the Northern (= rGyalrongic), Central, and Southern groups. Jacques and Michaud (2011: 471) hypothesize that Qiangic belongs to the Na-Qiangic subbranch of the Burmo-Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman; that is, they claim that the Naic

⁷ Data sources are as follows: Hongyuan Tibetan - Hua (ed.) (2002); sDe-dGe Tibetan - Zangmianyu Yuyin he Cihui Bianxiezhu (ed.) (1991) via STEDT; Zhongu Tibetan - J. Sun (2003); Northern Yi - B. Huang (ed.) (1992); Sichuan Mandarin - Li (ed.) (1998).

group (including Naxi and Na) are genealogically close to Qiangic and that Naic and Qiangic are close to Lolo-Burmese.⁸ Taking these recent studies into account, the genealogical relationships of the languages mentioned in the present paper are tentatively hypothesized in Figure 1.⁹

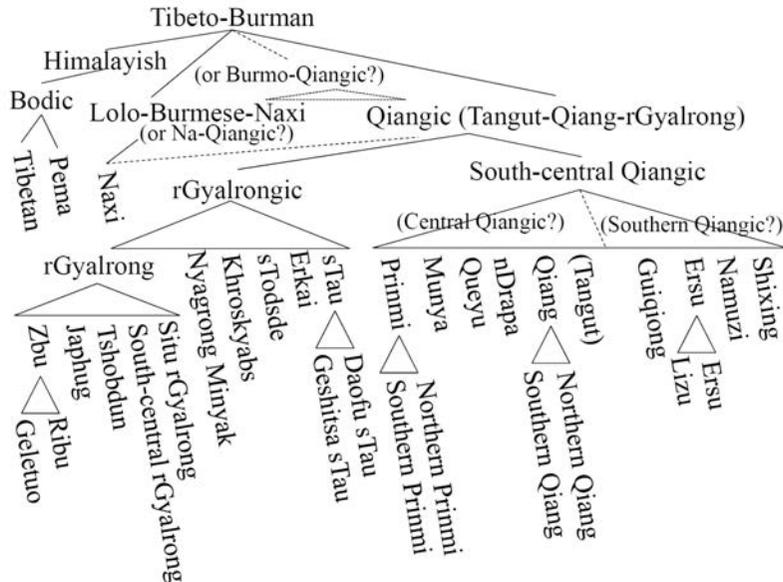


Figure 1: A tentative grouping of the languages of WSEC and neighboring area

Although the common affiliation of the “Qiangic branch” itself is still controversial, the languages of this branch share certain characteristics, both synchronic and diachronic (B. Huang 2003, Chirkova 2012, etc.), as outlined below:

(i) Typological similarities include a set of directional prefixes, a large number of initial consonant clusters, few or no consonantal codas, and differentiation of existential (locative) verbs.

(ii) “Brightening,” that is, the fronting and raising of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) vowel **-a* typically to *-i* (Matisoff 2004),¹⁰ is a common innovation.¹¹ For example, ‘eat’: PTB **m-dz(y)a-k/n/t/s*¹²; Mawo Qiang *dza*; Taoping Qiang *dʒɿ*³³; Muya *ndzu*³⁵; Mätro nDrapa *tsil*. However, the vowel in the words for ‘I, me’ is retained as a low vowel (a, ə) in many Qiangic languages (Section 2.1). Matisoff (2004: 341) explains that “[i]n Qiangic the fate of **-a* after velars is not a simple story. Each velar-initial root seems to behave somewhat differently, though the general tendency is clear—a velar initial impedes

⁸ They also provide a detailed tree-diagram of Na-Qiangic within the Burmo-Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman (Jacques and Michaud 2011: Appendix I-6).

⁹ Note that Figure 1 is a tentative and simplified version, which does not reflect many contradictions of previous studies. For example, Jacques and Michaud’s (2011: Appendix I-6) hypothetical tree diagram indicates that the Ersuic subgroup that involves Ersu and Lisu is remote from the other languages of the South-Central Qiangic subgroup.

¹⁰ “**-a* is by far the best attested rhyme in TB languages. There is a strong tendency for this rhyme to be raised and fronted to *-i*, both in Xixia and in modern Qiangic languages” (Matisoff 2004: 329).

¹¹ Chirkova (2012: 138) points out that this is the only phonological innovation proposed so far but it is not regular. She claims that the so-called “Qiangic” languages lack common innovations.

¹² The reconstructed PTB forms in the present paper are taken from the STEDT database. Matisoff (2004) uses a simpler PTB form for ‘eat’: **dza*.

the fronting and raising of *-a.”¹³

(iii) There are a few Proto-Qiangic (PQ) roots proposed in STEDT, though not many. Such roots include **r-dzwa* ‘fish’ and **s-lu* ‘milk,’ which are broadly found in Qiangic languages, but not common in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Table 1 compiles the word forms for ‘fish’ in WSEC languages and neighboring languages. Most of the Qiangic varieties have a form derived from PQ **r-dzwa*, though some of them have a form similar to Tibetan (WT *nya*): Erkai *naʔ*, Nyagrong Minyag *ʎa*, Youlaxi Queyu *ɲa*¹³, Lizu *ɲæ*³⁵, and the first syllable of Geletuo Zbu rGyalrong *ɲaʼmu*. These are good examples of borrowing of a basic word.

Table 1: ‘Fish’ in WSEC languages

(a) Qiangic					
Ribu Zbu G.	ɟəʼxju	Puxi S. Qiang	ɛəi	Munya	buɟ53
Tshobdun G.	qa33 ɡjüe44	Erkai	naʔ	Ersu	zu55
Ganmuniao Japhug G.	qajy	Mianchi S. Qiang	tsuɛ-dze	Sanyanglong N. Prinmi	dzi53
Shaerzong Japhug G.	qajy / qazo	Daofu sTau	ɛjə	Upper Xumi/Shixing	ʔu55
Geletuo Zbu G.	ɲaʼmu	Nyagrong Minyag	ʎa	Shixing	ʔo55
Mbola Situ G.	ɟju22 ɟjok44	Geshitsa sTau	ɟjə	Lizu (Eastern Ersu)	ɲæ35
Yadu N. Qiang	ɛzə	Yoci SC. rGyalrong	tʃow44ju22	Luobo Namuzi	zu55
Mawo N. Qiang	ɛdzə	Mätro nDrapa	ɦdzu3	Taoba N. Prinmi	dzi53
Yelong Khroskyabs	roq55jo33	Zhatuo nDrapa	dzy13	Tuoqi N. Prinmi	dzi53
Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs	ɛdə33ju55	Youlaxi Queyu	ɲa13	Zuosuo N. Prinmi	dzi53
Puxi sTodsde	kəɾəʼxi	Southern nDrapa	dzyi35	Ludian S. Prinmi	dʒə55
Wobzi Khroskyabs	ɛdɔjü	Maiheng Guiqiong	tʃə55ni55	Xinyingpan S. Prinmi	dʒə55
Longxi S. Qiang	ɛə	Qianxi Guiqiong	tʃini	Qinghua S. Prinmi	dʒə55
Taoping S. Qiang	dʒi33	Kara Queyu	zo		

(b) Pema and Naxi

(c) Neighboring languages

Pema	ɲe53	Hongyuan Tibetan	ɲa	Northern Yi (Xide)	huɹ33
Yongning Na	ɲiʔzo#1	sDe-dGe Tibetan	ɲa13	Sichuan Mandarin	ɲ; paiʔueiʔtsɿ
Western Naxi	ɲi33	Zhongu Tibetan	ɲe		

Legend: G - rGyalrong; N - northern; S - southern

1.2 Target words: Pronouns in Swadesh’s 100-word list

The target words in this paper include personal pronouns (‘I, me’ and ‘we, us’), demonstrative pronouns (‘this’ and ‘that’), and interrogative pronouns (‘who’ and ‘what’), which are included in Swadesh’s (1971: 283) 100-word list. Table 2 shows the list of the target words with the forms of WT and the roots of PTB that are related to Tibetan and/or Qiangic. Although these words are basic, the

¹³ For the discussion of and conclusion regarding ‘I, me’ in the present paper, see Sections 2.1 and 2.2.

forms in some of the WSEC languages are considerably more similar to Tibetan for these items.

Table 2: Pronouns in Swadesh's 100-word list

	Written Tibetan	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
'I, me'	nga	*ŋa-y ꜜ *ka 'I, me, 1st person pronoun, self'
'we, us'	nga (rang) tsho / bdag cag, etc.	-
'this'	'di	*m-day ꜜ *m-di 'that, this'
'that'	de	*wa-n 'that, distal demonstrative'
'who'	su	*su ꜜ *s-lu 'who, indefinite pronoun, remote 3rd person'
'what'	ci / gang	*ka ꜜ *kay ꜜ *kaŋ 'which' *(b/m)a-y 'what'

1.3 Previous studies

A number of previous studies (including descriptive studies of each language variety) note that there are Tibetan loanwords in WSEC languages; however, most of them do not discuss the possibility of the borrowing of basic words. For example, B. Huang (2003: 305–306) mentions that “Tibetan loanwords in the Qiangic languages comprise an extremely broad category, yet the most commonly found loanwords are religious, political, and military words. There is also a considerable number of loan numerals.” She does not mention the borrowing of other basic vocabulary.

One exception is B. Huang (2004), which examines the distinction between loans and cognates in Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs/Lavrung (KK) based on a detailed analysis of phonological correspondences with Tibetan. She distinguishes the phonological correspondences into three types: (i) simple (or apparently similar forms), (ii) complicated (or apparently remote), and (iii) a mixture of both types in the initial and rhyme. She classifies the vocabulary into two strata: (i) basic and (ii) cultural. If the sound correspondence of a certain word is simple and the word belongs to cultural vocabulary, it is a loanword. For example, KK *vle*⁵³ *ma*³³ ‘monk’ is a loan from WT *bla ma*. If a word shows complicated sound correspondences and belongs to basic vocabulary, it is a cognate. For example, KK *dzi*⁵³ ‘eat’ is cognate with WT *za*. If the sound correspondence is a mixed type and the word belongs to basic vocabulary, such words are mostly considered cognates. For example, KK *sə*⁵³ ‘to die’ and WT *shi* show a simple correspondence in the initial and complicated correspondence in the rhyme; they are thus cognates. The case, however, is problematic when the sound correspondence is simple and the word belongs to basic vocabulary, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. ‘earth’ KK *sa*⁵³ WT *sa*
 b. ‘I’ KK *ŋa*⁵³ WT *nga*

B. Huang (2004: 266) claims that we need to seek a wider range of comparison to determine whether such words are loans or cognates (這種詞究竟是同源詞還是借詞，則要借助於放大比較範圍才能判斷). She concludes that (2a) is a loanword because most other Qiangic languages have a word of different origin for ‘earth,’ e.g., Prinmi *diē*. Meanwhile, for (2b), she mentions that not only do most of the Qiangic

languages have a word with similar form, but also many other languages of different branches of TB have such a word for ‘I.’ This suggests that (2b) can be considered a cognate.

Jacques (2008: 143–147) claims that there are both earlier loans and later loans from Tibetan in Japhug rGyalrong (JP). This language has undergone the sound changes **-aŋ > -o* and **-ot > -ɣt*. The Tibetan loanwords borrowed before these sound changes occurred show correspondences such as JP *-o* :: WT *-ang* and JP *-ɣt* :: WT *-od*. This language contains loans from Tibetan with each pattern shown in Table 3. This means that loanwords may even show “complicated” sound correspondences in a long-term language-contact situation.

Table 3: Sound correspondences of Tibetan loans in Japhug

Tibetan	Earlier loans	Intermediate	Later loans
-ang	-o	-aŋ	-aŋ
-od	-ɣt	-ɣt	-ot

In the present paper, I will make “a wider range of comparison” (B. Huang 2004: 266) based on both primary sources (my field data) and secondary sources including recent publications, regarding the wider possibility of loanwords as suggested in Jacques (2008: 143–147).

2. An analysis of the basic pronouns in WSEC languages

This section provides an analysis of the basic pronouns in WSEC languages, employing a geolinguistic method. Word forms are listed in Table 4 at the end of the present paper.

2.1 ‘I, me’ (1st person singular)

The word forms for ‘I, me’ in WSEC languages and neighboring languages are shown in Table 4.

We can see that more than half of the varieties have a form with a velar nasal initial, as is the case of Tibetan (e.g., Hongyuan Tibetan *ŋa*). Some of them also have a low vowel: e.g., Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs *ŋa⁵³*, Daofu sTau *ŋa*, and Luobo Namuzi *ŋa⁵⁵*. Others, however, have a raised vowel: e.g., Yelong Khroskyabs *ŋo⁵⁵*, Qianxi Guiqiong *ŋə*, Kara Queyu *ŋə*, Munya/Muya *ŋə⁵³*, and Western Naxi *ŋə²¹*. It should be noted that, in some languages, personal pronouns are declined (mainly through vowel/ tone alternation) to indicate grammatical relations or information structures. For example, in Upper Xumi/Shixing, *ŋə³⁵* is used for the subject and *ŋa⁵⁵* is for the non-subject (open to case markers); in Puxi Southren Qiang, *ŋa* is used for the topic and *qa* is for the non-topic.

There are also forms considerably different from those of Tibetan, such as *azo* in Japhug rGyalrong,¹⁴ *qa* in Yadu Northern Qiang, and *ε⁵⁵* in Qinghua Southern Prinmi. Even Pema, which is genealogically close to Tibetan, has a non-Tibetan form *kha³¹gɔ³⁴¹* in addition to a Tibetan form *ŋa³⁵~ŋa⁵³*. The form *kha³¹gɔ³⁴¹* in Pema is similar to Qiang forms with initial *q-*, since Pema does not have the phoneme /q/.

Map 2 shows the geological distribution of the word forms for ‘I, me’ listed in Table 4.

The word forms for ‘I, me’ are divided into three main types according to their initials: (i) the *ŋ*-type, (ii) the V- (vowel/glottal-stop initial) type, and (iii) the K-type. (i) includes seven subtypes that are

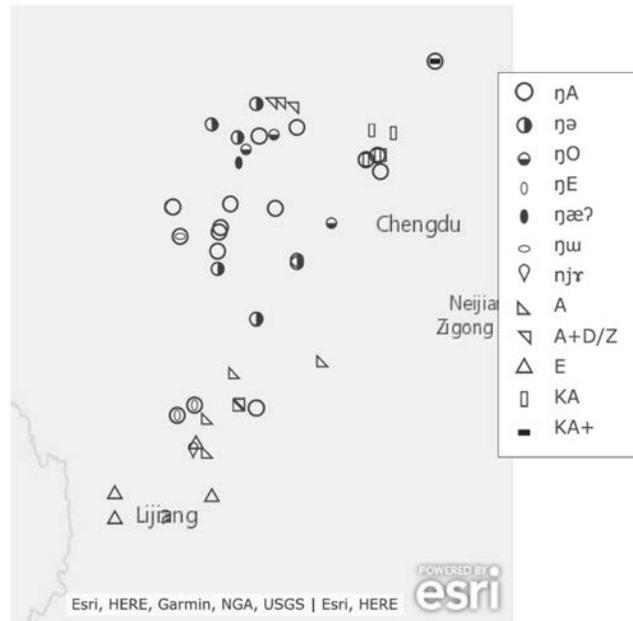
¹⁴ *-zo* is a suffix attached to personal-pronoun and is cognate with WT *rang* ‘self’ (Jacques 2008: 148).

indicated with circles in Map 2: the η A type, such as ηa^{53} and $\eta \bar{e}^{55}$; the $\eta \bar{a}$ type, such as $\eta \bar{a}$ and $\eta \bar{a}^{21}$; the ηo type, such as ηo^{55} and $\eta \hat{o}$; the ηE type, such as $\eta \bar{e}^{35}$ and $\eta \bar{e}^{55}$; the $\eta \bar{a} \bar{e} ?$ type, such as $\eta \bar{a} \bar{e} ?$ (attested only in Erkaì); the ηu type, such as ηu^{13} (only in Queyu); and the $nj \bar{x}$ type, such as $nj \bar{x} \downarrow$ (only in Yongning Na, tentatively included in the η -types). (ii) includes three subtypes that are indicated with triangles in Map 2: the A type, such as a^{55} and \bar{a}^{35} ; the A-D/Z type, such as $\bar{a}^{33} d\bar{z}i^{44}$, azo , and $a^{33} duo^{53}$; and the E-type, such as e^{55} and \bar{e}^{55} . (iii) includes two subtypes that are indicated with rectangles in Map 2: the KA type, such as qa and $q\bar{a}$; and the KA-KU type as $kha^{31} g\bar{o}^{341}$ (only in Pema¹⁵).

The V-types are found in the peripheral spots, separated into southern and northern groups. The η -initial types are distributed widely in the middle. This distribution may suggest that the V-types are older than the η -types in Qiangic: that is, we can hypothesize that Qiangic languages originally shared the V-types and the η -types were later introduced (or developed) and spread in the middle of the area, and finally the V-types were left only in the peripheral spots.¹⁶

The K-types show the most limited distribution. This suggests that they are relatively new. It can be hypothesized that this type developed in Qiang¹⁷ and was borrowed by a neighboring language: Pema.

However, such a geolinguistic analysis as discussed above is not decisive evidence. In the next section, I will continue to examine the possibility that the η -types were borrowed from Tibetan.



Map 2: 'l, me' in WSEC languages

¹⁵ Chirkova (2008: 15) mentions that this form is not attested in her data but is quoted from B. Huang and Zhang (1995: 106).

¹⁶ In geolinguistics, such a distribution is called an “ABA distribution.” This means that spots with character A (in this case, V-types) are located on both sides of (or around) spots with character B (η -types). It may mean that character B arose after character A spread through the area if character A is not likely to arise independently in different areas. Thus, an ABA distribution suggest that A is older than B.

¹⁷ Since the K-types are commonly found in many of the Qiang dialects, Evans (2001) reconstructs Proto-Southern Qiang form $*qa$ in addition to $*\eta a$ for the first person singular.

2.2 ‘we, us’ (1st person plural)

The word forms for ‘we, us’ in WSEC languages and neighboring languages are shown in Table 4. It should be noted that the following varieties indicate the distinction of inclusive/exclusive: Yelong Khroskyabs, Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs, Puxi Southern Qiang, Qianxi Guiqiong, Shixing, all dialects of Prinmi, Pema, sDe-dGe Tibetan, and Zhongu Tibetan. In Table 4, the inclusive form is given for such languages.

The word forms show a great variety of types.¹⁸ They also include at least four patterns of word formation as listed below:

(i) A morpheme for ‘I, me’ plus a plural suffix: for example,

Longxi Southern Qiang *qà lià* consists of the inherent root *qà* ‘I, me’ and plural suffix *lià*; Qinghua Southern Prinmi *ẽ⁵⁵zə⁵⁵* consists of the inherent root *e⁵⁵* ‘I, me’ and plural suffix *zə⁵⁵* with nasalization of the first syllable to indicate the inclusive (the exclusive second person plural is not nasalized: *e⁵⁵zə⁵⁵*). Maibeng Guiqiong *ŋə³⁵ku⁵⁵* and Western Naxi *ŋə³³gu²¹* also have a parallel word formation, but consist of a Tibetan-like morpheme for ‘I, me’ and another type of plural suffix.¹⁹

(ii) A morpheme that itself means ‘we, us’ plus a personal pronoun suffix: for example,

Japhug rGyalrong *ji-zo* consists of the inherent morpheme *ji* that itself mean ‘we, us’ and personal pronoun suffix *-zo*.²⁰

(iii) A morpheme that itself means ‘we, us’ plus a plural suffix: for example,

Puxi Southern Qiang *tsy-la* consists of *tsy* for ‘we, us’ and plural suffix *-la*.

(iv) A Tibetan-like morpheme for ‘I, me’ plus an inherent morpheme for ‘we, us’: for example,

Daofu sTau *ŋa ji* consists of the Tibetan-like root *ŋa* ‘I, me’ and inherent (rGyalrongic) root *ji* ‘we, us’. Mätro nDrapa *ŋjeI* probably also has a parallel formation in which the two syllables have merged into a monosyllabic form.

There is at least one common characteristic in the word formation of ‘we, us’: the first syllable indicates the first person (either the plural or number-neutral) rather than the abstract notion of plurality. Moreover, the Tibetan-like forms are found mainly in the first syllable of (i) and (iv) above, that is, the morpheme for ‘I, me’ (WT *nga*). Therefore, I will focus on the first morphemes in the discussion below.

Map 3 shows the geographical distribution of ‘we, us’ in WSEC languages. In the map, to make the point of discussion clearer, the word forms are divided into four main types according to the initial of the first syllable: (i) the *ŋ*-type, (ii) the *V*-type, (iii) the *K*-type, and (iv) the *TS*-type. (i) includes two subtypes that are indicated with circles in Map 3: the *ŋ* type, such as *ŋa're* and *ŋjeI* (with a palatalized nasal initial as mentioned above); and the *njæ* type, such as *njæI-stuIkvI* (attested only in Yongning Na,

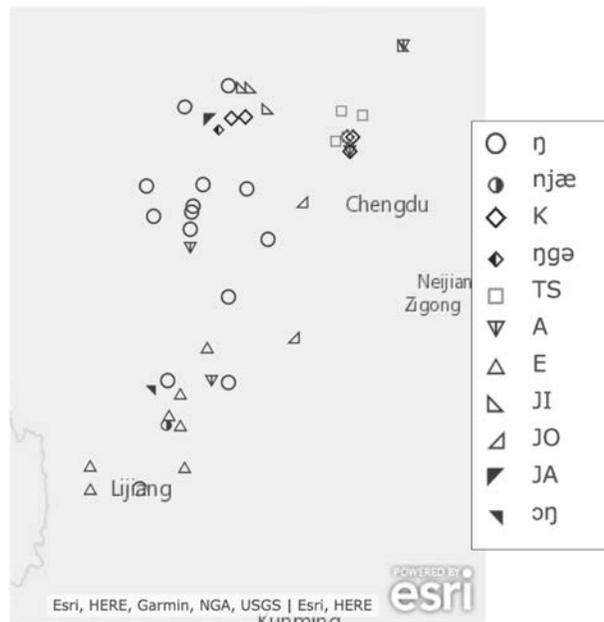
¹⁸ Chirkova (2008: 13) makes an interesting point regarding the word forms for ‘we, us’ in Pema (Báimǎ) and Zhongu Tibetan: “The Báimǎ plural inclusive first person pronoun [a13re13ku53] is similar to Zhongu [a-ʋa] and appears to be cognate with some Qiangic languages, e.g. the exclusive first person pronoun in Prinmi [a35rə53] and Ěrsū [a55rj55].” The fact that the languages in different genetic groups and remote spots share a cognate (or similar forms) suggests that the form is of considerable antiquity in the WSEC area.

¹⁹ B. Huang and Zhang (1995: 106) point out that the Pema plural suffix *-ku* is similar to that in Guiqiong and Naxi. Chirkova (2008: 13) suggests that a possible cognate is WT *kun* ‘all, every, each, whole.’

²⁰ See Footnote 14.

tentatively included here). (ii) includes six subtypes that have either a vowel, glottal stop, or glide initial and are indicated with triangles in Map 3: the A type, such as $a^{13}re^{13}ku^{53}$; E type, such as $\gamma\tilde{e}^{35}z\tilde{a}^{53}$; JI type, such as $ji^{22}dzi^{44}re^{44}$; JO type, such as jo^{44} ; JA type, such as $j\alpha\eta\alpha$ (only in Puxi sTodsde); and $\eta\gamma$ type, such as $\eta\gamma^{55}r\tilde{e}^{55}$ (only in Xumi). (iii) includes two subtypes that have a velar initial and are indicated with rhombuses in Map 3: the K type, such as $gi^{55}jjo^{33}$; and the $\eta\gamma\alpha$ type, such as $\eta\gamma\alpha\eta\eta i$ (only in Wobzi Khroskyabs). (iv) includes such forms as $tei-le$ and $ts\alpha\chi a$.

The η -types are found in the middle of the area. It is interesting to note that the area of the η -types for the first person plural is obviously narrower than that of the η -types for the singular (the area with the circles in Map 2). In particular, the following language varieties do not have η -type forms in the (inclusive) plural but in the singular: Mbola Situ rGyalrong, Yelong Khroskyabs, Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs, Puxi sTodsde, Wobzi Khroskyabs, Puxi Southern Qiang, Mianchi Southern Qiang, Kara Queyu, and Pema.²¹ It should be noted that no reverse pattern (i.e., η - for the first person plural but other initial for the singular) is found in this area. Now I will discuss what this means.



Map 3: 'we, us' in WSEC languages: first syllable

A parallel pattern of distribution is found in Xuanhua (宣化) Chinese (Grootaers 1994: 132–135). This dialect has two types of first person pronoun: $[w\alpha]$, a form close to that of Beijing Mandarin, and $[\eta\alpha]$, the western dialect form. In the eastern part of Xuanhua, $[w\alpha]$ is employed for the first person singular but not for the plural: $[\eta\alpha m\tilde{a}]$ (-m \tilde{a} is the plural suffix). Grootaers explains that “the fact that $[w\alpha]$ is more used for the plural than for the singular means that $[w\alpha]$ as the first person singular pronoun was spread rapidly.” That is, the older form is retained in the plural.

The situations are parallel. In the WSEC languages, the η -type stems (similar to Tibetan) for the first person plural show a more limited distribution than in the singular, while in Xuanhua Chinese, $[w\alpha]$ (the

²¹ Among these varieties, the following have η -type forms for the exclusive plural: Shixing $\eta\alpha^{55}r\tilde{e}^{55} / \eta\tilde{e}^{55}r\tilde{e}^{55}$, Pema $\eta e^{13}ku^{53} / j\eta^{13}ku^{53}$.

same form as Beijing Chinese) for the plural shows a more limited distribution than does the singular. This suggests that [wɔ] is new for 1SG in this area (cf. Grootaers 1994).

Again, this suggests that the η-types are new in the WSEC area. Now I will examine examples of individual languages/dialects to support this possibility.

Xumi/Shixing (XM) and nDrapa (DP) provide certain pieces of evidence. (3) shows sound correspondences to PTB *η- in Xumi and Written Tibetan. In Xumi words for ‘fish’ and ‘five,’ *η- has been lost but retained in ‘I, me.’ Moreover, the forms of the Xumi word for ‘I, me’— $\eta\beta^{35}$ (for subject) vs. $\eta\alpha^{55}$ (for other cases)—are significantly similar to Tibetan (*nga-s* [with the ergative marker] vs. *nga* [open to other case markers]).

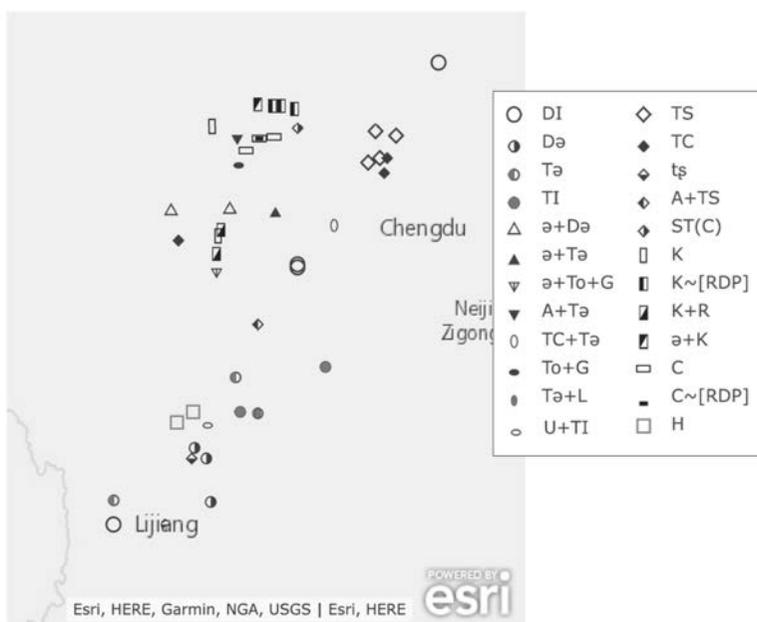
(3) a. ‘I, me’	XM $\eta\beta^{35} / \eta\alpha^{55}$	WT <i>nga-s/nga</i>	PTB * $\eta\alpha$ -y \bowtie *ka
b. ‘fish’	XM βu^{55}	WT <i>nya</i>	PTB *s- $\eta\eta\alpha$
c. ‘five’	XM $h\delta^{55}$	WT <i>lŋga</i>	PTB *l/b- $\eta\alpha$

In Mätro nDrapa, “brightening” of PTB *-a tends to have advanced even after velar initials (See 1.1 (ii)): e.g., ‘five’ PTB *l/b- $\eta\alpha$, DP $\eta\theta\beta$ -; ‘bitter’ PTB *b-ka-n/m/η, DP *hcil*; ‘ditch’ PTB *r-ka \bowtie *k(r)a, DP **khwil*. In contrast, the vowel of $\eta\alpha l / \eta\alpha\beta$ ‘I, me’ remains low.

It can therefore be concluded that $\eta\beta^{35} / \eta\alpha^{55}$ in Xumi and $\eta\alpha l / \eta\alpha\beta$ in nDrapa are likely to be loans.

This means that words of the η-type in WSEC languages may be Tibetan loans, although they belong to quite basic vocabulary and have been regarded as cognates in previous studies. The language contact between Tibetan and many of the minority languages in the WSEC area is at a considerably advanced stage.

2.3 ‘this’



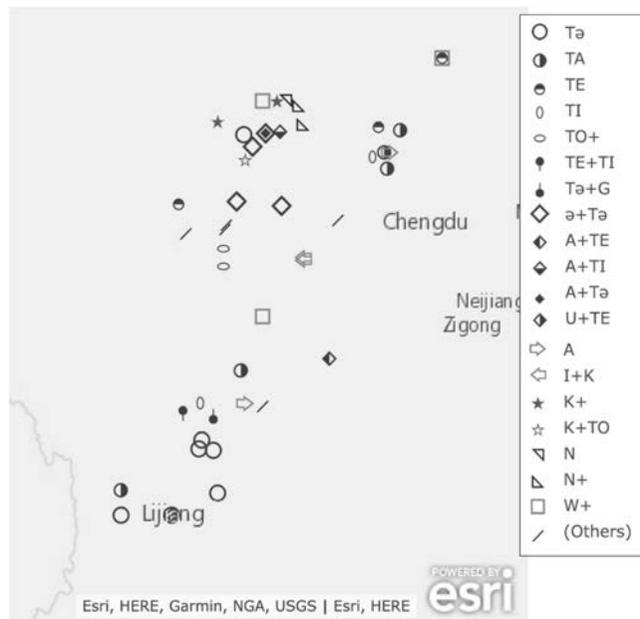
Map 4: ‘this’ in WSEC languages

Map 4 shows the geographical distribution of the words for ‘this.’ There is a variety of types of these words, but most of them can be divided into five main types: (i) the D-types: one-syllable forms with a dental stop initial, which are indicated with circles in Map 4; (ii) the A+D-types: two-syllable types with a first vowel-initial syllable and second dental-initial syllable, indicated with triangles in Map 4; (iii) the TS-types: forms with an initial fricative, indicated with rhombuses in Map 4; (iv) the K-types: forms with an initial velar stop, indicated with rectangles in Map 4; and (v) the H-type, indicated with the square in Map 4.

Among these, the D-types are apparently similar to WT *’di*. However, these types are scattered among rather peripheral spots remote from the Tibetan area. From a geolinguistic viewpoint, no evidence for borrowing has been found. It can therefore be concluded that these are not instances of borrowing.

Other Tibetan-like forms are the A+D-types. These types are similar to the modern sDe-dGe dialect form, *ʔin⁵⁵de⁵³*. Moreover, these types are concentrated in the northwestern part of the area, which is the closest area to sDe-dGe. It is therefore possible that these could be relatively late loanwords.

2.4 ‘that’



Map 5: ‘that’ in WSEC languages

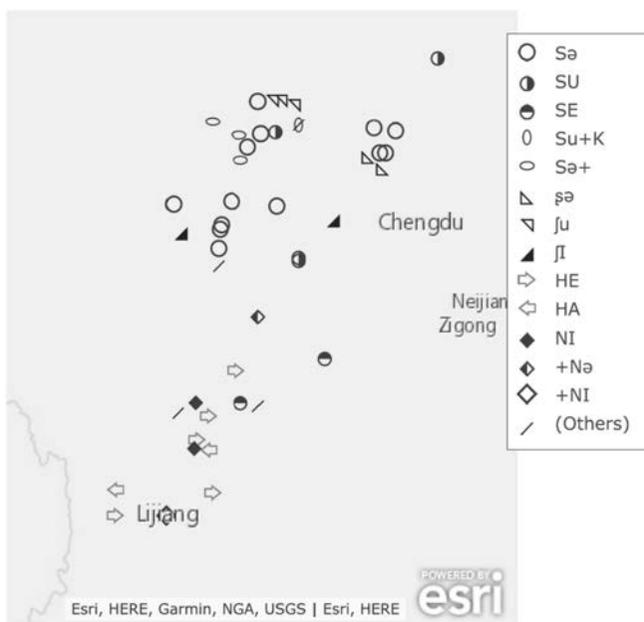
Map 5 shows the geographical distribution of the words for ‘that.’ The forms are fragmented and many types are put together as ‘others.’ One-syllable forms with a dental stop initial (the T-types), which are indicated with circles in Map 5, are apparently similar to WT *de*. However, the spots where such types are found are divided into rather peripheral areas in the north and south. No evidence for borrowing is found from the geolinguistic viewpoint.

It is now necessary to consider the overlap with the Tibetan-like forms for ‘this’ and ‘that.’ We find that several language varieties have Tibetan-like forms for both ‘this’ and ‘that.’ Such varieties include Daofu

sTau, Nyagrong Minyag, and the Prinmi varieties apart from Taoba Northern Prinmi. It should be noted that Daofu sTau and Nyagrong Minyag have A+D-types (similar to modern sDe-dGe Tibetan) but the Prinmi dialects have D-types (similar to WT) for ‘this.’ Thus, though both the Prinmi words for ‘this’ and ‘that’ are similar to Tibetan, neither is likely from the geolinguistic point of view to be a loanword, as mentioned above. It should be asked whether such a set of similar forms (for ‘this’ and ‘that’) supports a hypothesis of lexical borrowing independent of the geolinguistic analysis.

In this case, it seems unlikely. Both the WT words—‘*di*’ ‘this’ and ‘*de*’ ‘that’—are derived from the PTB root **m-day* \times **m-di* ‘that, this.’ Many Tibeto-Burman language varieties also have similar forms for ‘this’ and ‘that.’ Some of the Qiangic varieties listed in Table 4—such as Tshobdun rGyalrong, Kara Queyu, and Muya—also have similar forms for ‘this’ and ‘that,’ but these forms are not Tibetan-like. It is therefore possible that Prinmi has developed a set of dental-initial forms for ‘this’ and ‘that’ independently of Tibetan influence. It can again therefore be concluded that there is no evidence of borrowing so far for the D-type ‘this’ and the T-type ‘that.’

2.5 ‘who’



Map 6: ‘who’ in WSEC languages

Map 6 shows the geographical distribution of the words for ‘who.’ There are four main types: (i) forms with an initial dental fricative (S-types, which are indicated with circles in Map 6); (ii) forms with an initial palatal/retroflex fricative (ʃ-types, triangles in Map 6); (iii) forms with an initial glottal/velar fricative (H-types, arrows in Map 6); and (iv) forms with an initial nasal (N-types, rhombuses in Map 6).

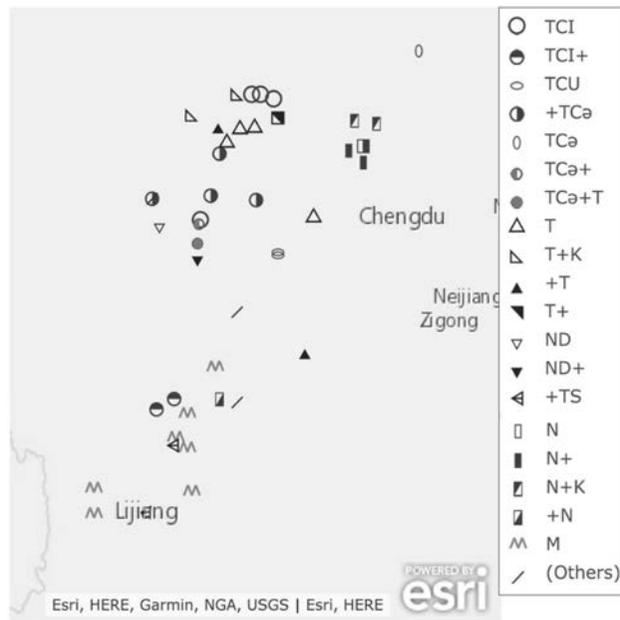
Among these, the S-types are apparently most similar to WT *su*. These types are found in the northwestern cluster varieties, except for Ersu and Pema. Moreover, the ʃ-types are scattered around the northwestern cluster of S-types. This suggests that the S-types are newer than the ʃ-types in this area, parallel to the hypothesis regarding the ɲ-types and V-types mentioned in Section 2.1: the language

varieties in this area first shared the *f*-types and later the *S*-types were introduced (or developed) and spread in the middle of the area, and finally the *f*-types were left only in the peripheral spots. Consequently, it can tentatively be concluded that the *S*-types in the Qiangic languages are possibly loanwords from Tibetan.

The *H*-types are shared by the dialects of Prinmi. Their origin is apparently different from PTF **su* \times **s-lu* ‘who.’ In Prinmi, the root for ‘who’ is also found in the words for ‘which’ and ‘where’: for example, Xinyingpan Southern Prinmi *he*¹³ ‘who’; *he*¹³ *ga*¹³ (who + GEN) ‘which’; *he*¹³ *te*¹³ (who + DAT) ‘where.’ Thus, it is a common interrogative root that is functionally similar to Sichuan Mandarin *na*⁵³ (*na*⁵³*ko*²¹³ ‘who, which’; *na*⁵³ ‘where’; *na*⁵³ *xə*⁵⁵ ‘when’) and Japanese *do-* (*donata* ‘who [honorific]’; *dore* ‘which’; *doko* ‘where’). It can be traced back to PTB **ka* ‘which, like, deictic, interrogative.’

The *N*-types are shared by Naxi, Xumi, and Munya. The etymology is unclear.

2.5 ‘what’



Map 7: ‘what’ in WSEC languages

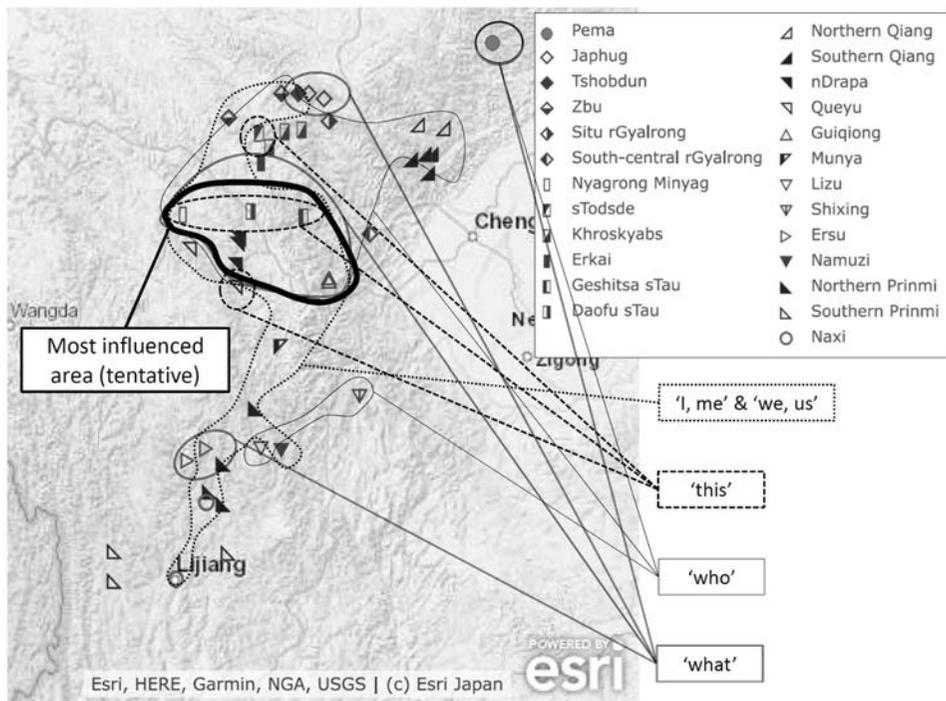
Map 7 shows the geographical distribution of the words for ‘what.’ They are divided into four main types: (i) forms with an initial palatal/alveo-palatal affricate (TC-types) and their compounds (both are indicated with circles in Map 7); (ii) forms with an initial alveolar stop/affricate (T-types) and their compounds (triangles in Map 7); (iii) forms with an initial alveolar/palatal/alveo-palatal nasal (N-types) and their compounds (rectangles in Map 7); and (iv) forms with an initial bilabial nasal (M-type).

The TC-types are apparently most similar to Tibetan (WT *ci*). They are found widely in the north, northwestern, and western parts. Interestingly, the areas of TC-types and T-types seem to divide each other in the northwestern portion. However, I would tentatively suggest that the TC-types are newer than the TS-types, since the middle cluster of the spots with the TC-types (which include nDrapa, Guiqiong, and sTau) overlaps with the spots of the *S*-types for ‘who’ and is surrounded by spots with the TS-types.

Moreover, other TC-type spots outside the cluster are also located close to the Tibetan area. Thus, the TC-types could possibly be loanwords from Tibetan.

3. Discussion: Language contact and lexical borrowing in the WSEC area

In Section 2, I examined the possibility that the basic pronouns in the WSEC languages involve Tibetan loanwords: there is a possibility that the Tibetan first person pronoun (WT *nga*) was borrowed in many of the WSEC languages as the η-types. Moreover, the Tibetan words for ‘this’ (sDe-dGe Tibetan *ʔin⁵⁵ de⁵³*), ‘who’ (WT *su*), and ‘what’ (WT *ci*) are also possible loanwords in part of the WSEC languages as A+D-types for ‘this,’ S- types for ‘who,’ and TC- types for ‘what,’ respectively. However, no evidence could be found to suggest that the forms for ‘this’ of the D-types and ‘that’ of the T-types are borrowed.



Map 8: Overlap of isoglosses of possible loan pronouns

Map 8 shows the overlap of the isoglosses of the possible loanwords. Pema should be ignored in this discussion because it is genealogically close to Tibetan and its inherent words generally correspond well to the WT forms.

It can be observed that the northwestern cluster of varieties has three or four loanwords among five basic pronouns (‘I, me’ and ‘we, us’ are considered together). This cluster includes sTau, Nyagrong Minyak, nDrapa, and Guiqiong. It can therefore tentatively be concluded that the area where these languages are spoken is most influenced by Tibetan.²² Such labeling may be useful for future discussion of lexical borrowing from Tibetan to the WSEC languages: for example, the word for ‘this’ of the D-

²² This also seems appropriate from the geopolitical viewpoint, since the area is on and around the route from Central Tibet to the Han-Chinese area, including Chengdu, via Derge (sDe-dGe/Dege).

types and the word for ‘that’ of the T-types show a different distribution from the tentatively defined “most influenced” area, and they are less likely to be borrowed.

In most of the previous studies, the basic pronouns are regarded as clearly stable and inherent. For example, Matisoff (2004) refers to the words for ‘I, me’ in Qiangic languages as such evidence and concludes that there is a clear tendency for a velar initial to impede the fronting and raising of PTB *-a. However, the loanwords should surely be excluded from the discussion in a comparative study. Since it is difficult to distinguish Tibetan loans and cognates in the WSEC languages by sight, conducting studies on language contact from a variety of viewpoints is highly important before reconstructing Proto-Qiangic.

4. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I examined the lexical borrowing of basic pronouns from Tibetan by WSEC languages. The geolinguistic analysis demonstrated the possibility of borrowing in (i) the η-types for the first person pronoun, (ii) A+D-types for ‘this,’ (iii) S-types for ‘who,’ and (iv) TC-types for ‘what.’ Moreover, the possibility of the borrowing of (i) was supported by the parallel case of Xuanhua Chinese and a comparative analysis of Xumi and nDrapa. It can therefore be concluded that language contact between Tibetan and many of the minority languages in the WSEC area is at considerably advanced stage, especially in the northwestern area.

Table 4: Basic pronouns in WSEC and neighboring languages

language	I	we	this	that	who	what
Pema	ŋa35~ŋa53; kha31go341	ze13ku53 ~ jy13ku53; a13re13ku53	nde53	wu11le53; te53	su53 ~ sa53	tʃʰə53
Ribu Zbu G.	ŋə	ŋa're	ʔə'kho	wo'ru	sə	'təke
Tshobdun G.	ʔa33dzi44	ji22dzi44re44	kə22 ko44	ʃa44 ku ko44	ʃtu44	tee55
Ganmuniao Japhug G.	azo	izo	ktuki	ntu	eu	tehi
Shaerzong Japhug G.	azo	jizo	ktuki	ntuntu	eu	tehi
Geletuo Zbu G.	ŋə	ŋa'ka	kə	kə'nəŋo	sətəŋo	take'nəŋo
Mbola Situ G.	ŋa44	i22.jjo44.jo44; ji22 ŋo44	ətə(t)44; etəə44	nə22 tə(t)44; na22 eət44	su22 kə344; sa22 kə44	tʰə44 no44 ŋo24; thə22 khə44
Yadu N. Qiang	qa	teɪ lie; teɪj	tsaɣ	the:	sə	ŋɛ ʏɛ
Mawo N. Qiang	qa	tsə ɣa	tsa:	tha:	sə	ŋi ka
Yelong Khroskyabs	ŋo55	gi55jjo33	cqi55	ai55ti33	su53	te53
Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs	ŋa53	gə33jji53	cqə53; cçə33cçə55	ə55tə33; a33tə55	sə53	thi53
Puxi sTodsde	ŋə	'janə	'antə	thə	səŋon	'hatə
Wobzi Khroskyabs	ŋə	ŋgəŋjɪ	cə	ætə	sʰə	tʃjə
Longxi S. Qiang	qə	qə liä	teä	fiä	si	ni lè
Taoping S. Qiang	qa55; ŋa55	tsua31thya55; qa31thya55	tsa33	tha33	sɿ55	na55
Puxi S. Qiang	ŋa; qa	tsy-la	tsi	thi	ʃi-ʃa-ʃe-ʃe'	ŋi-(dzua)
Erkai	ŋæʔ	-	tʰoŋo	gɿ'tʰo	sʰɿdä	hæte'hiɿ
Mianchi S. Qiang	ŋä	qä lè; ä lè	teä-	thä	ʃi lè	nó i

Daofu sTau	ŋa	ŋa ji	a də	a thə	shə	a tɕhə
Nyagrong Minyag	ʼŋa	ʼŋa ʰdɔ	ʰŋə ʰdɛ ~ ʰŋə dɛ	ʼte	ʰsʰə	ʼʔa; ʼʔa tɕʰə
Geshitsa sTau	ŋa	ŋa na	je tʰə	je thə	sʰə	a tɕʰə
Yoci South-central G.	ŋo44	jo44	tʃi44tə44	ʔa22ri44tʃə22	ʃje42	tʃje42
Mätro nDrapa	ŋa1~ŋa3	ŋje1	koro3	ŋoro1	shə1	tehe3
Zhatuo nDrapa	ŋa13	ŋe55	ko13	-	shə55	tɕhə33 zɿ55
Youlaxi Queyu	ŋa13; ŋu13	ŋa13 nu33; ŋa13 ŋa55 nu33	tʃi55	tse13	ce55	ndie13
Southern nDrapa	ŋa55	ŋi55	kə31zə55	tə31zə55	shə55	tɕhə55tə31
Maibeng Guiqiong	ŋə35	ŋə35ku55; ŋə35zi55	ti35	ji35ki55	su55	tɕu55
Qianxi Guiqiong	ŋə	ŋətsei	dɛi	ji35ki	su	tɕiu
Kara Queyu	ŋə	ʔan'tsha	ʔətə'wə	tə'wə	li'tʃə	ʰdətʃə
Munya/Muya	ŋə53	ŋə33 nə33	wə53 tsə33	wə24 tsə33	fiə24 nə33	fiə33 zə53
Ersu	a55	jo55n55	thɛ55	a33 the55	sɛ55	a33 nte55
Sanyanglong N. Prinmi	ʔa55	ʔɛ13zə53	tə13	də13	xɛ53	mɛ53
Upper Xumi/Shixing	ŋə35; ŋa55	ŋa55rɛ55	ha55	thi53	ŋi55	tɕhi55hə53
Xumi/Shixing	ŋe55; ŋe55	ɕŋ55rɛ55	hɛ55	tɕi55thi33	ŋi55	tɕhi55pei53
Lizu (Eastern Ersu)	ə53; a33duo53	a33dɔ'35	thɛ33	fiə33	sɛ53	hə33ne53
Luobo Namuzi	ŋa55	ŋa55ɣuo31	tə55; tə55 lu53	tʃhuo31; hæ31	qhe55ji55	fu53
Taoba N. Prinmi	ʔa35	ʔɛ35zə53	ʔu55ti53	də35yi35	xɛ53	mɛ53
Tuoqi N. Prinmi	ʔe53	ʔɛ13zə53	də13	tə13	xɛ53	mɛ53
Yongning Na	ŋjvJ	ŋjæ1-suJkvJ	tʃɰvɰ1	tʰvɰ1	ŋiJ	əɰtsəɰ1
Zuosuo N. Prinmi	ʔa53	ʔɛ13zə53	də13	tə13	xə53	mɛ53
Ludian S. Prinmi	ɛ55	ɛ55zə55	tə13	thə13	xə13	mɛ55
Xinyingpan S. Prinmi	ʔe55	ʔɛ55zə55	də13	tə13	hɛ13	mɛ55
Western Naxi	ŋə21	ŋə33gu21	tʃhɰ33	thuu33; u55the21	ə33ne21	ə21tsɰ33
Qinghua S. Prinmi	ɛ55	ɛ55zə55	dɪ13	tə13	xɛ13	mi55
Hongyuan Tibetan	ŋa	ŋə tɕhə ka	ndə	tə; hu	shə	tɕhə zək
sDe-dGe Tibetan	ŋa13	ŋeʔ31 riʔ53 nanɰ13	ʔin55 de53	phen55 de53	shu53	tɕiʰə
Zhongu Tibetan	ŋe	a-ka	ʰde	te	sə	tʃʰə (-tsə)
Northern Yi	ŋa33	ŋo21yo34	tʃhɰ34	ə33di55; ə33; ə33di33ko33	kha34 di33	ɛɰ34 mu33
Sichuan Mandarin	ŋo53	ŋo53mən55	tse213ko55	na213ko55	na53ko213	sa213tsɰ53

Legend: G - rGyalrong; N - northern; S - southern

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川西民族走廊諸語における 基礎的代名詞類借用の可能性について

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キーワード：言語接触、代名詞、川西民族走廊、チアン語支、チベット語

要旨

本稿の目的は、チベット語と川西民族走廊諸語の言語接触において、基礎的代名詞類にまで語彙借用が及んでいるかという問題を解明することである。川西民族走廊諸語は、系統的に、チベット語と同じくチベット＝ビルマ語派に属すると考えられる。個々の言語の詳細な系統分類についてはいまだに諸説あるが、チベット系のペマ語以外は、チベット語とは別の語支と考えられてる。この川西民族走廊諸語の多くは、長期にわたりチベット語の影響を被る言語接触状況にあった。そのため、チベット語に形式に近い語彙がある場合、同源か借用かを判定することが難しい。しかし、ほとんどの先行研究において、基礎語彙の借用の可能性は考慮されてこなかった。

本稿では、Swadesh の 100 語リストに含まれる代名詞類（「私」、「私たち」、「これ」、「あれ」、「誰」、「何」）を対象とし、川西民族走廊諸語における語形を示した上で、地理言語学的分析を行った。その結果、まず、一人称代名詞形態素で初頭音が η - であるタイプについて、単数形「私」における地理的分布および単数形と複数形の分布の比較から、借用語である可能性が示唆された。さらに、比較言語学的分析から、借用と結論づけられる例を示し、最も基礎的な語彙の一つと考えられてきた一人称代名詞も広く借用されている可能性があることを明らかにした。また、「これ」、「誰」、「何」も、地理言語学的分析をとおして、一部の形式について借用の可能性を示した。

その上で、借用の可能性のある基礎的代名詞類の等語線を分析し、特に言語接触の進んでいる地域について、暫定的な結論を示した。

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