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The dialectal affiliation of Tibetic varieties in gYagrwa within Yunnan Tibetan

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[Abstract] This article discusses the dialectal affiliation of Tibetic varieties spoken in gYagrwa Township (gYagrwa Tibetan), located in the north-west corner of Yunnan Province, China. In-depth research on the position of gYagrwa Tibetan has not been conducted since it is spoken at the edge of the Tibetosphere in Yunnan, which is connected to Sichuan and the Tibet Autonomous Region. This article first provides the sound system and characteristics of gYagrwa Tibetan (principally the dialects of Nyungzhing and rDolateng), and then discusses its dialectal affiliation following the criterion of shared innovations. It concludes that gYagrwa Tibetan belongs to the Southern Route dialect group, in which it forms an independent subgroup.[1]

[Keywords] Tibetic; Khams; dialect affiliation; dialectology; sound correspondence

1 Introduction

In recent years, the dialectology of Yunnan Tibetan has advanced due to a number of descriptive studies of various varieties, such as Hongladarom (1996, 2007), *Yunnan Shengzhi* (1998), Bartee (2007), Suzuki (2009b, c, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013a, b, 2014, 2017, 2018a, c, 2019, 2022a), Wang (2017), Ikeda (2018), Suzuki and Lozong Lhamo (2021), Tshering gYang-sgron (2021), and Zhou and Suzuki (2022). All the varieties of Yunnan Tibetan are traditionally classified as Khams Tibetan, or the "south-eastern section" of the Tibetic languages (Tournadre 2014, Tournadre and Suzuki 2022). The most recent study on the subclassification of Yunnan Tibetan varieties by Suzuki (2018c:13, 2022a:94) provides the following grouping. Its geographical distribution is shown in Figure 1.

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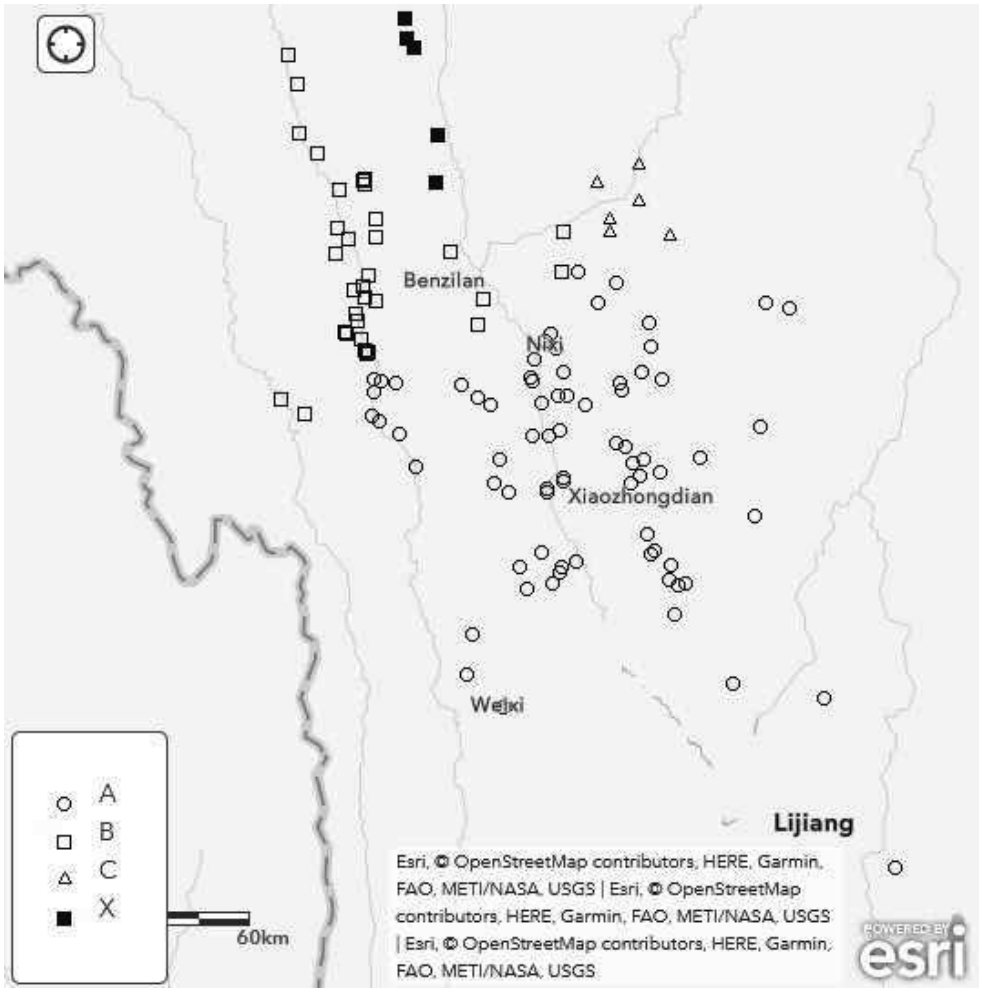

Legend: A: Sems-kyi-nyila; B:sDerong-nJol; C:Chaphreng; X: gYagrwa Tibetan.
An enlarged map of the locations of X is provided in Figure 2.

Figure 1: Dialectal classification of Yunnan Tibetan.

1. Sems-kyi-nyila group (A)

   (a) rGyalthang

   (b) East Yunling Mountain

   (c) Melung

   (d) dNgo

   (e) Lamdo

2. sDerong-nJol group (B)

   (a) West Yunling Mountain

   (b) sPomtserag

   (c) **gYagrwa** (X)

   (d) mBalhag

   (e) Bodgrong

3. Chaphreng group (C)

   (a) gTorwarong

As for the classifications above, varieties of gYagrwa (2c) have long been less documented. Its position above is based on a previous dataset available from Suzuki's (2008a, 2009a) description. Hence, the dialectal position of gYagrwa awaits confirmation by further studies.

gYagrwa Tibetan is principally spoken in gYagrwa (Yangla) Township, nJol (Deqin) County, bDechen (bDechen) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province. Hitherto, I have collected data from five varieties of gYagrwa Tibetan (see Figure 2 for their locations): rDolateng (Dulading), rGyasgang (Jiagong), Nyungzhing (Luoren), Moteng (Maoding), and gNamzhing (Nanren). Nyungzhing and rDolateng are the primary lexical data sources to be examined here. rDolateng is spoken in sGowo (Guiwu) Village in the west of gYagrwa Township, which is located in the mountainous area facing sMarkhams County. Nyungzhing is spoken in rGyasgang Village in the east of gYagrwa Township, which is located on a hillside facing the Jinshajiang River.

This article aims to examine the dialectal position of gYagrwa Tibetan within Yunnan Tibetan by comparing lexical forms to determine shared innovations, which are firm evidence from a diachronic linguistic perspective. The article concludes that gYagrwa Tibetan belongs to an independent subgroup of the Southern Route group and not the sDerong-nJol group, based on shared innovations attested in the sound correspondences between Literary Tibetan (LT) and gYagrwa Tibetan.

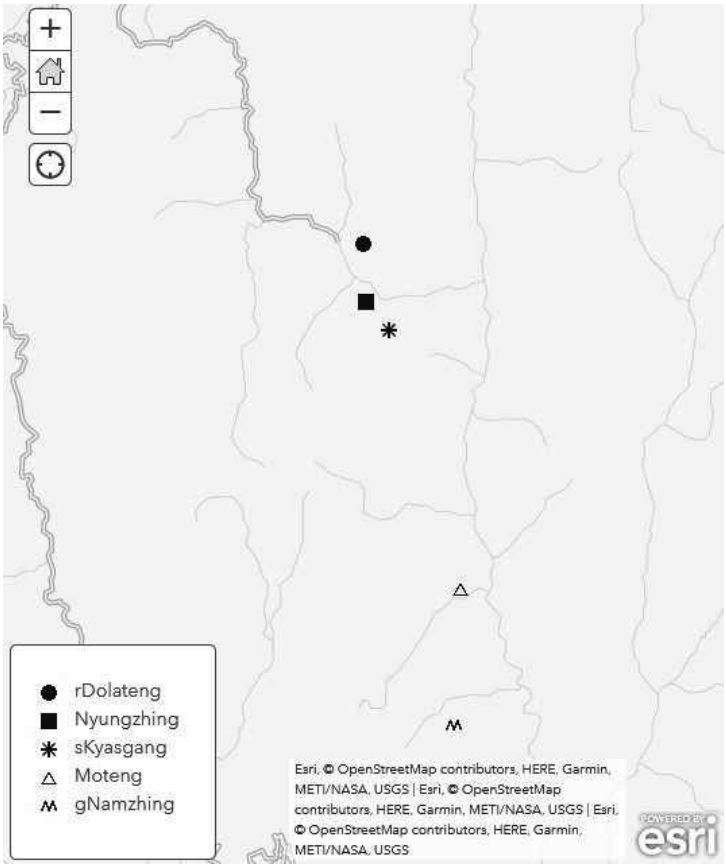

Figure 2: Location of the recorded varieties of gYagrwa Tibetan.

The data employed in the article were collected and recorded by me. For the description, segmental sounds follow the framework set by Suzuki (2005, 2016) and Zhu (2010), including International Phonetic Alphabet symbols and additional phonetic symbols employed in Chinese linguistics. The analysis of suprasegmental sounds follows Kitamura's (1977) description, with a necessary expansion.

2 The synchronic sound system of gYagrwa Tibetan

Because the rDolateng and Nyungzhing sound systems are almost identical to each other, I will describe a single system consisting of syllable structure, consonantism, vocalism, and suprasegmentals.

Syllable structure

The syllable structure of the rDolateng and Nyungzhing varieties is described below:

$^{C}C_{i}GVCC$

C_i is the main initial, occupied by every consonant in the consonantism (Table 1); ^{C} is a preinitial, occupied by a nasal (prenasalisation) or a glottal fricative (preaspiration); G is a glide, occupied by /w/or /j/; V is a vowel (syllable nucleus), occupied by every vowel in the vocalism (Table 2); and the final CC is occupied by /ʔ/, /w/, /j/, /wʔ/, or /jʔ/.

C_iV is the minimum, obligatory unit of the syllable.

Consonantism

The consonant inventory is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: Consonantism of gYagrwa Tibetan.

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
plosive	aspirated	pʰ	tʰ	ʈʰ	ʨʰ*		kʰ	
	non-aspirated	p	t	ʈ	ʨ*		k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	ɖ	ɟ*		g	
affricate	aspirated		tsʰ		tɕʰ			
	non-aspirated		ts		tɕ			
	voiced		dz		dʑ			
fricative	aspirated		sʰ		ɕʰ		xʰ	
	non-aspirated		s		ɕ		x	h
	voiced		z		ʑ		ɣ	ɦ
nasal	voiced	m	n		ɲ		ŋ	
	voiceless	m̥	n̥		ɲ̊		ŋ̊	
liquid	voiced		l	r				
	voiceless		l̥					
semi-vowel	voiced	w				j		

N.B. A: bilabial; B: denti-alveolar; C: retroflex; D: prepalatal; E: palatal; F: velar; G: glottal; *: only in rDolateng

Vocalism

The vowel inventory, classified by tongue position, is displayed in Table 2.

Table 2:Vocalism of gYagrwa Tibetan.

i		ʉ		ɯ u
	e	ə ɵ		o
		ɛ		ɔ
		a		ɑ

Each vowel has length (short or long) and nasalisation (oral or nasal) distinctions.

Suprasegmentals

Both the rDolateng and Nyungzhing varieties have a four-way pitch distinction in the word-initial position: high-level (¯), rising (ˊ), falling (ˋ), and rising-falling (ˆ). The tone-bearing unit is the phonological word (a root plus affixes), up to the first two syllables. Tone is not distinctive for syllables from the third syllable onwards, which are all realised with a low pitch.

3 Shared innovations in the sound correspondences between LT and gYagrwa Tibetan

LT spelling and its older system of Old Tibetan represent, to a greater extent, the phonetic form of the establishment of the Tibetan script. There are several reconstructed phonological systems and hypothetical phonetic realisations (sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med and sKal-bzang dByangs-can 2004, Hill 2010, etc.). This article will refer to the sound system of sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med and sKal-bzang dByangs-can (2004).

Previous works on the dialectology of the Tibetic languages provide dialectal classifications based on phonological features (Qu and Jin 1981, Nishi 1986, Zhang 1993, Jiang 2002, sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med and sKal-bzang dByangs-can 2002). However, some deal with typological characteristics to discuss a dialectal classification without specifying shared innovations. The phonological features can be classified into three categories: initial consonants, vowel plus final consonants, and suprasegmentals. There is an abundance of research on the sound correspondences of the initial consonants in regards to dialectal classification of the Tibetic languages (Nishi 1986, Nishida 1987, Jiang 2002, Zhang 2009). The sound correspondences of vowel plus final consonants has been less studied (Qu 1990) and thus rarely considered as a reference to the dialectal classification with the exception of Suzuki (2022b), who proposes an analysis of these segments as the criterion for dialectal *sub-classification*. The suprasegmental feature has been regarded

as a crucial criterion relevant to dialectal classification in traditional studies (Qu and Jin 1981, Hu 1991, Qu 1996); however, since it does not represent a shared innovation but rather a typological feature, it is inadequate to employ the suprasegmental feature as the basis of classification.

In order to examine the shared innovations relevant to the dialectal development of gYagrwa Tibetan, three initial part correspondences are discussed:

1. The sound correspondences of LT *l* and *y*.
2. The sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh*.
3. The systematic sound correspondences of the LT C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series[2].

The first correspondence potentially exhibits a clear difference within the Tibetic varieties spoken in the southern Khams region (Suzuki 2018a). The second correspondence varies within the Tibetic varieties spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere (Suzuki et al. 2019). Finally, the third correspondence is one of the essential features used to characterise the diachronic development of the Tibetic languages. Many previous works (Qu and Jin 1981, Nishi 1986, Nishida 1987, Zhang 1993, 2009, Jiang 2002, Tournadre and Suzuki 2022) focus on this category. Nishida (1987), in particular, conducts a systematic analysis of the LT Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series to elucidate sound development. Moreover, Suzuki (2018a) suggests adding the LT C-series to analyse varieties of Yunnan Tibetan.

3.1 The sound correspondences of LT *l* and *y*

This category deals with the sound correspondences of LT *l* and *y* serving as a main initial. Their original sounds were thought to be /l/ and /j/, respectively. However, Suzuki (2008b) reports that these sounds have different sound correspondences, such as LT l corresponding to /j/, named "/l/-/j/ interchange", in Tibetic languages in the eastern Tibetosphere. This peculiarity is further discussed in Suzuki (2021) regarding the case of Yunnan Tibetan. Here, the features of gYagrwa Tibetan are briefly reviewed.

[2]Here we use abbreviations for 'series', each of which is denoted, as follows:
C-series: all initial combinations that contain main initial *c*, *ch*, or *j*.
Ky-series: all initial combinations that contain complex initial combinations *ky*, *khy*, or *gy*.
Kr-series: all initial combinations that contain complex initial combinations *kr*, *khr*, or *gr*.
Pr-series: all initial combinations that contain complex initial combinations *pr*, *phr*, or *br*.
Py-series: all initial combinations that contain complex initial combinations *py*, *phy*, or *by*.

Table 3: Sound correspondences of LT *l* and *y* with gYagrwa Tibetan.

No.	meaning	LT	rDolateng	Nyungzhing
(1)	'hand'	lag pa	ˊlɑʔ pɛ	ˆlɑː pa
(2)	'year'	lo	ˊlo	ˊlo
(3)	'wind'	rlung	⁻ʱlɔ̃	ˋʱlɔ̃ ʱdewʔ
(4)	'easy'	las sla	ˊlɛː ˋl̥a po	ˊlɛː l̥a
(5)	'letter'	yi ge	ˊʑi gə	ˊʑi gə
(6)	'Sichuan pepper'	g.yer ma	⁻ʱʑeː ma	⁻ʱʑeː ma

Table 3 shows basic sound correspondences; we find LT *l* : rDolateng-Nyungzhing /l/; LT *y* : rDolateng-Nyungzhing /ʑ/. In addition, (4) displays a correspondence between LT *sl* and /l̥/ in both varieties. Table 3 does not include any exceptional sound correspondences relevant to LT *l*, such as *zl* (e.g., *zla ba / zla dkar* 'moon'). As for LT *y*, gYagrwa Tibetan displays no differences in the sound correspondences between LT *y* (5) and *g.y* (6).

As Suzuki (2021) points out, the combination of LT *l* with *y* is worth noting in varieties spoken in Yunnan, as well as in the neighbouring areas of Sichuan and the Tibet Autonomous Region. This feature is reviewed in Table 4 which displays the given sound correspondences in surrounding varieties spoken around gYagrwa Tibetan from the southern Khams region. Table 4 is divided into six groups (see Figure 3 for the geographical distribution of the target varieties in Tables 4, 6, and 8), as follows:

Group A: gYagrwa Tibetan (rDolateng and Nyungzhing)

Group B: the sDerong-nJol group, except for the gYagrwa subgroup (Agdong to Bodgrong)

Group C: the Sems-kyi-nyila group (rGyalthang to Lamdo)

Group D: the gTorwarong subgroup of the Chaphreng group (sNgonshod to bTsanri)

Group E: the sDerong subgroup of the sDerong-nJol group (Zulung; outside Yunnan Province)

Group F: the Southern Route group (the rest of varieties; outside Yunnan Province)

Of these groups, Group F includes dialects with various sound correspondences, whose in-depth studies are crucial.

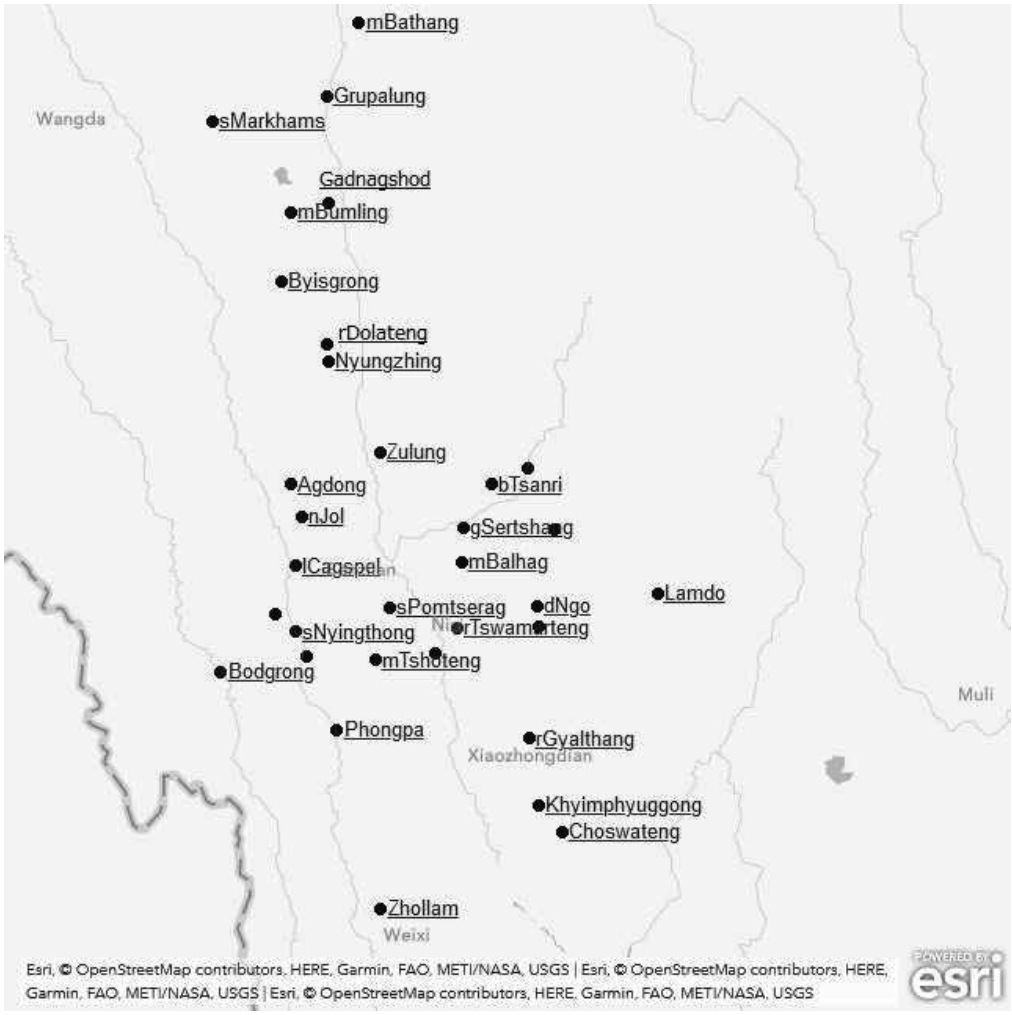

Figure 3: Location of the varieties referred to in Tables 4, 6, and 8.

From the sound correspondence patterns in Table 4, we find the following sound changes:

- LT *l*: (L1) *l > l (retention); (L2) *l > j
- LT *y*: (Y1) *j > j (retention); (Y2) *j > ʑ > z; (Y3) *j > z

Both (L1) and (Y1) are retentions of their original sounds, while (L2), (Y2), and (Y3) are innovations. (L2) is a typologically marked phenomenon, which is also attested in some Bodish languages (Hyslop 2022). I consider (Y2) and (Y3) to be different processes from each other, and the process ʑ > z in (Y2) to be linked in relative chronological order; see **3.2**.

Table 4: Sound correspondences of LT *l* and *y* in the Southern Khams region.

Group	Dialect\Category	l-initial	y-initial
A	rDolateng	l	ʑ
	Nyungzhing	l	ʑ
B	Agdong	j	ʑ
	nJol	j	ʑ
	lCagspel	j	ʑ
	gYanggril	j	ʑ/z̩
	sNyingthong	j	ʑ
	sPomtserag	j	ʑ
	mBalhag	j	ʑ/z
	gSertshang	j	ʑ/z
	Bodgrong	l	j
C	rGyalthang	l	j
	Khyimphyuggong	l	j
	Choswateng	l	j
	rTswamarteng	l	j
	gYaglam	l	j
	mTshoteng	l	j
	Sakar	l	j
	Zhollam	l	j
	Phongpa	l	j
	dNgo	j	ʑ
	Phuri	j	ʑ
	Lamdo	j	ʑ
D	sNgonshod	j	z
	Phula	j	z
	bTsanri	j	z
E	Zulung	j	z
F	Byisgrong	l	j
	Gadnagshod	l	ʑ
	mBumling	l	j
	sMarkhams	l	j
	Grupalung	l	j
	mBathang	l	j

Group A shares its sound correspondence pattern with Gadnagshod in Group F. As Suzuki (2021) argues, the marked sound correspondence of Group A is LT *y* : /ʑ/, and the same innovation is principally attested in Group B and three varieties in Group C.

However, the varieties of Group B generally exhibit the sound correspondence between LT *l* and /j/; so do the three in Group C. This is the reason why Suzuki (2008b, 2021) investigates LT *l* with LT *y*. In this sense, gYagrwa Tibetan and the Gadnagshod variety display a marked feature regarding this category.

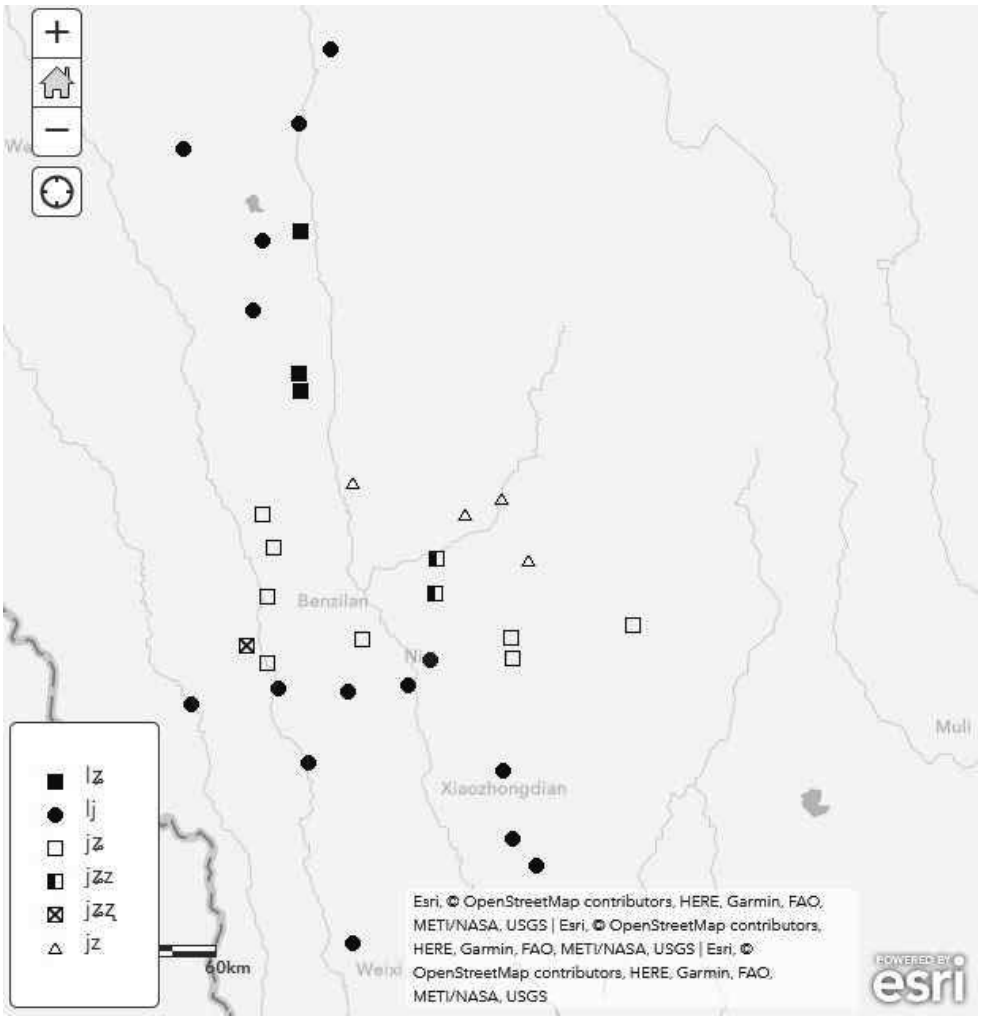

Figure 4: Principal sound correspondences of LT *l* and *y* in the varieties listed in Table 4.

Figure 4 is a linguistic map of the data in Table 4, which shows that the marked feature of gYagrwa Tibetan is also attested in other varieties such as Gadnagshod. I posit that the given varieties underwent the sound change /j/ > /ʐ/ independently. The case of gYagrwa Tibetan suggests that this sound change is a unique development in gYagrwa Tibetan

with the Gadnagshod variety having a parallel innovation. This innovation has potentially occurred under the influence of neighbouring varieties through language contact based on its distribution.

3.2 The sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh*

This category deals with the sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh*. Their original sounds are assumed to have been /ɕ/ and /ʑ/, respectively. The sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh* do not receive special attention in Yunnan Tibetan since they are stable, retroflex fricatives, as shown in Suzuki (2018a, c), with some exceptions. However, gYagrwa Tibetan's sound correspondences exhibit a different pattern, as displayed in (7), (10), and (11) in Table 5.

Table 5: Sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh* with gYagrwa Tibetan.

No.	meaning	LT	rDolateng	Nyungzhing
(7)	'meat'	sha	ˉxʰa	ˉxʰa
(8)	'wood'	shing	ˉɕʰĩ	ˋɕʰĩ
(9)	'speak'	bshad	ˋʰɕɛʔ	ˋʰɕɛʔ
(10)	'hat'	zhwa	ˊxwa	ˊxwa
(11)	'four'	bzhi	ˊʱɣə	ˋʱɣə

Table 5 shows basic sound correspondences. We find the following sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh*: rDolateng-Nyungzhing velar (in 7, 10, and 11) or prepalatal (if a front vowel follows; in 8 and 9). Since their conditioning is clear, one can consider these two sounds conditional allophones. However, the prepalatal sounds are synchronically independent phonemes corresponding to other LT initials (e.g., /ˊxwa/ 'hat' (LT *zhwa*) - /ˊɕwa/ 'mouse' (LT *byi ba*); see also Tables 7 and 8). Hence, I consider two distinctive articulatory series to appear in the surface forms for LT *sh* and *zh*. What is noticeable is that the sound correspondences of these LT forms with prepalatal sounds, as in (8) and (9) are broadly attested in Tibetic languages (Tournadre and Suzuki 2022). Hence, we cannot utilise this feature to characterise given varieties.

Various phonetic realisations appear for LT *sh* and *zh*, depending on the language and variety (Suzuki et al. 2019). Of them, the velar type is widespread in varieties spoken in the northern and central Khams regions (sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med 1985, Häsler 1999, Suzuki 2010a, 2018b, Suzuki and Yudron 2020, Suzuki and Li 2022). In Table 6, which shows the sound correspondences in varieties surrounding gYagrwa Tibetan from the southern Khams region, gYagrwa Tibetan forms a continuum of given characteristics

with the Southern Route group. Hence, from a typological viewpoint, we can consider gYagrwa Tibetan to occupy a border area of the Southern Route group.

It can be noted that some sDerong-nJol varieties spoken in nJol County (Agdong, nJol, and lCagspel) also exhibit a similar sound correspondence pattern to gYagrwa Tibetan. They have two correspondences for retroflexes and prepalatals (if a front vowel follows), which are analysed as conditional allophones. Note that many varieties in Group B also show an allophonic alternation; however, it is not entirely allophonic but due to a particular sound change (Suzuki 2022a). We can interpret that both gYagrwa Tibetan and those sDerong-nJol varieties had the same process to acquire the conditional allophones—prepalatals. Therefore, the primary sound correspondence in both of them should be velars and retroflexes, respectively. This analysis is supported by their distribution. The target varieties of Agdong, nJol, and lCagspel are distributed at a border zone of the dialectal group, and the other sDerong-nJol varieties uniformly exhibit a sound correspondence with the retroflexes.

Based on Table 6, the case of gYagrwa Tibetan is close to Group F, varieties spoken outside Yunnan, which belong to the Southern Route group. If we refer to the geographical distribution of Table 6, the location of gYagrwa Tibetan is connected to the varieties in Group F, as shown in Figure 5.

Looking at the sound correspondence patterns in Tables 5 and 6, it is apparent that the sound changes of LT *sh* and *zh* are the same, only differing in phonation (aspirated / non-aspirated / voiced). Below I illuminate the sound changes of the LT *sh* simplex initial (see examples 7 and 8 in Table 5):

- LT *sh*: (SH1) *ɕ > ɕ^{h} (articulatory gesture retention); (SH2) *ɕ > ʂ^{h};
  (SH3) *ɕ > x^{h}

Both (SH2) and (SH3) can be analysed as *ɕ > ɕ^{h} > ʂ^{h} and *ɕ > ɕ^{h} > x^{h}, respectively. However, the acquisition of the aspirated feature corresponding to the LT simplex initial is pervasive in Tibetic varieties in the eastern Tibetosphere, and hence the chronological order of the acquisition of the aspiration does not matter in this present issue. (SH3) is considered independent to (SH2).

Table 6: Sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh* in the Southern Khams region.

Group	Dialect\Category	*sh*-initial	*zh*-initial
A	rDolateng	ɕʰ/ɕ/xʰ/x	ɕ/ʑ/x/ɣ
	Nyungzhing	ɕʰ/ɕ/xʰ/x	ɕ/ʑ/x/ɣ
B	Agdong	ʂʰ/ʂ/ɕʰ/ɕ	ʂ/ʐ/ɕ/ʑ
	nJol	ʂʰ/ʂ/ɕʰ/ɕ	ʂ/ʐ/ɕ/ʑ
	lCagspel	ʂʰ/ʂ/ɕʰ/ɕ	ʂ/ʐ/ɕ/ʑ
	gYanggril	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	sNyingthong	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	sPomtserag	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	mBalhag	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	gSertshang	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Bodgrong	ɕʰ/ɕ	ɕ/ʑ
C	rGyalthang	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Khyimphyuggong	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Choswateng	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	rTswamarteng	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	gYaglam	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	mTshoteng	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Sakar	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Zhollam	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Phongpa	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	dNgo	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Phuri	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Lamdo	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
D	sNgonshod	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	Phula	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
	bTsanri	ʂʰ/ʂ	ʂ/ʐ
E	Zulung	ɕʰ/ɕ	ɕ/ʑ
F	Byisgrong	xʰ/x	x/ɣ
	Gadnagshod	xʰ/x	x/ɣ
	mBumling	xʰ/x	x/ɣ
	sMarkhams	xʰ/x	x/ɣ
	Grupalung	xʰ/x	x/ɣ
	mBathang	xʰ/x	x/ɣ

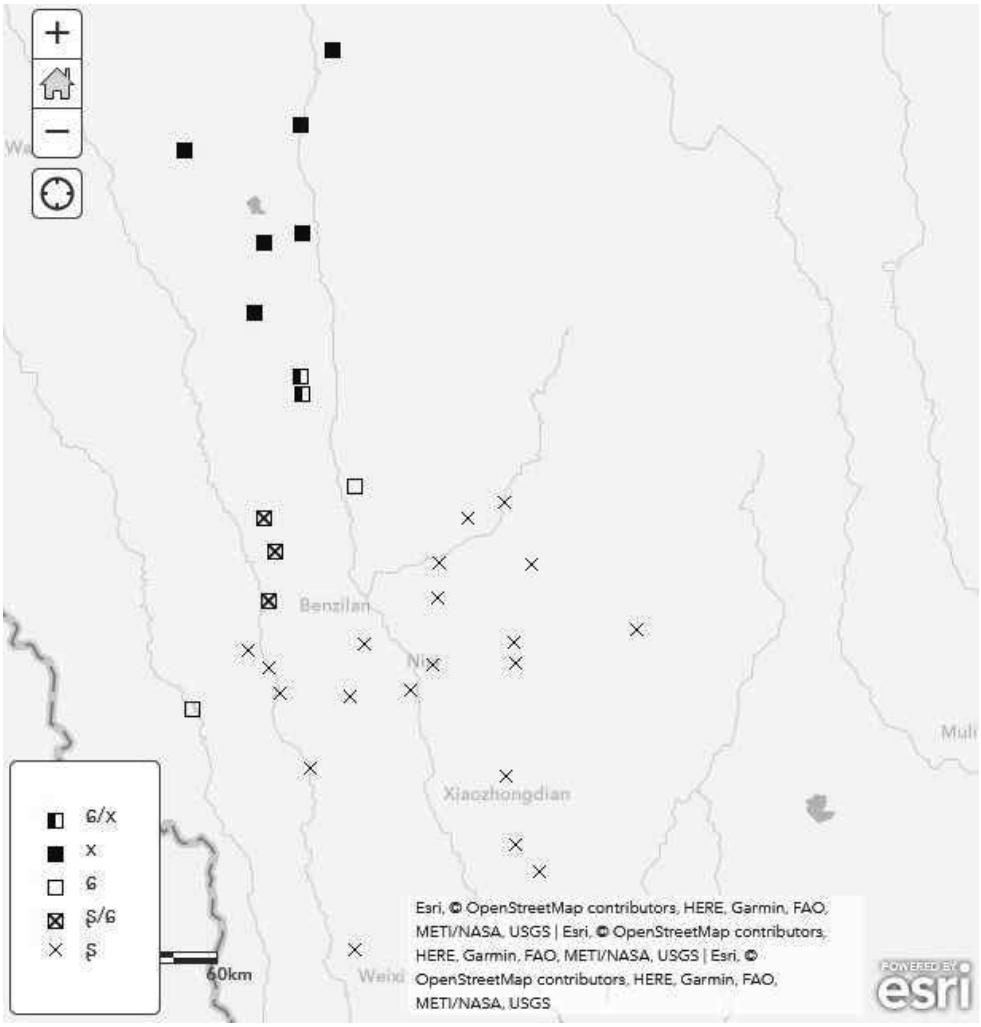

Figure 5: Principal sound correspondences of LT *sh* and *zh* in the varieties of Table 6.

3.3 The sound correspondences of the LT C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series

The sound correspondences of the LT C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series are the most striking, systematic feature when the dialectal classification of the Tibetic languages is examined, as discussed by Qu and Jin (1981), Nishi (1986), Nishida (1987), Zhang (1993, 2009), Jiang (2002), and Suzuki (2022a). The pattern of sound divergences and mergers is of more interest than any single sound change from LT to a modern variety. Particularly, Nishida (1987) argues for a systematic treatment of multiple types of sound correspondences. Table 7 displays examples from gYagrwa Tibetan.

Table 7: Sound correspondences of the LT C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series with gYagrwa Tibetan.

series	No.	meaning	LT	rDolateng	Nyungzhing
C-series	(12)	‘water’	chu	ˋʈʰɯ	ˋtɕʰɯ
	(13)	‘one’	gcig	ˋʰtɕiʔ	ˋʰtɕiʔ
	(14)	‘heavy’	ljid	ˆʱɖəʔ ba	ˆʱdʑəʔ po
Ky-series	(15)	‘you’	khyod	ˋtɕʰɵʔ	ˋtɕʰoʔ
	(16)	‘Han Chinese’	rgya	ˋʱdʑa	⁻ʱdʑa
	(17)	‘quick’	mgyogs	⁻ⁿdʑuʔ ba	⁻ⁿdʑo pa
Kr-series	(18)	‘blood’	khrag	⁻ʈʰɑʔ	⁻ʈʰɑʔ
	(19)	‘knife’	gri	ˊʈə	ˆʈə
	(20)	‘hair’	skra	⁻ʰʈa	ˋʰʈa po
Pr-series	(21)	‘thin’	phra	⁻ʈʰɔ ɦu	ˊʈʰɛ ɦo
	(22)	‘snake’	sbrul	⁻ʱɖʉː	⁻ʱɖʉː
	(23)	‘thunber’	’brug	⁻ⁿɖɔʔ	ˋⁿɖɔʔ
Py-series	(24)	‘rich’	phyug	ˆɕʰɔː po	ˊɕʰɔː po
	(25)	‘chicken’	bya	ˊtɕa	ˆɕa
	(26)	‘learn’	sbyang	⁻ʱʑɔ̃	ˊʱʑɔ̃

In Table 7, we find the following sound correspondence patterns: the LT C-series with prepalatal plosives (rDolateng) or prepalatal affricates (Nyungzhing); the LT Ky-series with prepalatal affricates; the LT Kr- and Pr-series with retroflex plosives; and the LT Py-series with prepalatal affricates or fricatives (rDolateng) or prepalatal fricatives (Nyungzhing). The rDolateng variety displays a two-way sound correspondence with the LT C-series and Py-series (see 12-14 and 24-26). However, the condition for the differentiation is not clear. Among the word forms collected during the fieldwork, the LT C-series tends to correspond to prepalatal plosives rather than affricates, which mainly appears in cultural words, including religious terms. On the other hand, it is difficult to specify to which sounds the LT Py-series corresponds. For instance, the word for ‘chicken’ (25) has a prepalatal affricate, but the word for ‘bird’, the same as ‘chicken’ in LT, has a prepalatal fricative. Consequently, the general convergence patterns are as follows:

rDolateng: C-series/Ky-series + Py-series/Kr-series + Pr-series/Py-series
Nyungzhing: C-series + Ky-series/Kr-series + Pr-series/Py-series

Table 8 shows the given sound correspondences in surrounding varieties spoken around gYagrwa Tibetan in the southern Khams region.

Table 8: Sound correspondences of the LT C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series in the Southern Khams region.

	Dialect\Category	C-series	Ky-series	Kr-series	Pr-series	Py-series
A	rDolateng	ʈʰ/ʈ/ɖ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ/ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Nyungzhing	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
B	Agdong	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	nJol	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	lCagspel	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	gYanggril	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ʂʰ/ʂ/ʐ
	sNyingthong	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	sPomtserag	cʰ/c/ɟ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	mBalhag	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ/tsʰ/ts/dz	cʰ/c/ɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ/ᵑɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ/sʰ/s/z
	gSertshang	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tsʰ/ts/dz	cʰ/c/ɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ/ᵑɟ	sʰ/s/z
	Bodgrong	cçʰ/cç/ɟʝ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
C	rGyalthang	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Khyimphyuggong	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	cʰ/c/ɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ/ᵑɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Choswateng	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	cʰ/c/ɟ	çʰ/ç/ʝ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	rTswamarteng	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	çʰ/ç/ʝ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	gYaglam	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	çʰ/ç/ʝ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	mTshoteng	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Sakar	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Zhollam	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	kʰ/k/g+Vˀ	pʰ/p/p+Vˀ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Phongpa	ʈʂʰ/ʈʂ/ɖʐ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	kʰr/kr/gr	pʰr/pr/br	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	dNgo	ʈʰ/ʈ/ɖ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	cʰ/c/ɟ	çʰ/ç/ʝ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Phuri	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ/ᵑɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Lamdo	ʈʰ/ʈ/ɖ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	cʰ/c/ɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ/ᵑɟ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
D	sNgonshod	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	sʰ/s/z
	Phula	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	sʰ/s/z
	bTsanri	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	sʰ/s/z
E	Zulung	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tsʰ/ts/dz	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	sʰ/s/z
F	Byisgrong	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Gadnagshod	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ
	mBumling	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	sMarkhams	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	Grupalung	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ
	mBathang	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tɕʰ/tɕ/dʑ	tʰ/t/d	tʰ/t/d	ɕʰ/ɕ/ʑ

Table 8 shows a divergence among Groups A through F. Of them, Group C exhibits significant differences from the other groups, which are discussed by Suzuki (2022a). Group A is not similar to Group C but is similar to Groups B and F. In this regard, gYagrwa Tibetan is similar to the sDerong-nJol dialect group (except for Group E, the sDerong subgroup) and the Southern Route group.

The sound correspondences in the present section vary greatly in dialects that consist of a small group, as in Group A. The sound correspondences of the C-series in rDolateng also

appear in dNgo and Lamdo, both of which belong to the Sems-kyi-nyila group (Group C). We also find some exceptional sound correspondences, such as sPomtserag and Bodgrong in Group B. The Ky-series also contains exceptional correspondences, such as mBalhag and gSertshang in Group B and Zulung in Group E. So do the Kr-series and Pr-series, with mBalhag and gSertshang in Group B and Sakar in Group C. For the Py-series, mBalhag, gSertshang, and gYanggril in Group B, as well as Zulung in Group E, follow suit. The varieties of mBalhag, gSertshang, and Zulung are distributed close to the gTorwarong-speaking area (Group D), and they share several features beyond their dialect groups. The background of this phenomenon is unclear; however, we should keep the existence of present-day language contact in mind.

Suzuki's (2008a) approach to the subclassification of gYagrwa Tibetan prioritised an interpretation of how the features in Table 7 appeared within Yunnan Tibetan. Hence, gYagrwa Tibetan was posited under the sDerong-nJol dialect group. However, the commonality of the merger of the Py-series with the Ky-series, as prepalatal affricates attested in the rDolateng group, suggests a connection between gYagrwa Tibetan and Gadnagshod Tibetan, which belongs to the Southern Route group.

3.4 Discussion on the position of gYagrwa Tibetan in Yunnan Tibetan

The three features discussed above demonstrate that gYagrwa Tibetan greatly differs from other varieties of Yunnan Tibetan. A dialectal classification should first follow linguistic criteria based on shared innovations. From this view, gYagrwa Tibetan's affiliation should be reconsidered.

The sound correspondences between LT *l* and *y* and gYagrwa Tibetan are similar to those in Gadnagshod Tibetan, a dialect spoken to the north of gYagrwa. No other varieties display a parallel pattern on this feature.

The sound correspondences between LT *sh* and *zh* and gYagrwa Tibetan are similar to those in the varieties belonging to the Southern Route group, as well as those in Zulung Tibetan (Group E; the sDerong subgroup of the sDerong-nJol group). These sound correspondences are parallel to those in other varieties in the northern and central Khams region, but not to Yunnan.

The sound correspondences between the LT C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series and gYagrwa Tibetan are similar to those in various varieties belonging to the sDerong-nJol group (Group B) and the Southern Route group (Group F). In particular, rDolateng Tibetan shares a key innovation with Gadnagshod Tibetan: the merger of the LT Ky- and Py-series into prepalatal affricates. This implies a shared innovation *process* between rDolateng and

Gadnagshod, as the prepalatal affricates corresponding to the LT Py-series in rDolateng further developed into prepalatal fricatives (e.g., /tɕ/ > /ɕ/) and thus seem to be identical to other varieties such as Nyungzhing and many in Groups B, C, and F.

The three topics discussed above display that gYagrwa Tibetan has the most shared innovations with Gadnagshod Tibetan. Since Gadnagshod Tibetan belongs to the Southern Route group with Sowanang Tibetan[3] discussed in Suzuki (2007), it is concluded that gYagrwa Tibetan should be included in the same subgroup as Gadnagshod Tibetan. If we take Yunnan Tibetan into consideration, we can temporarily call the subgroup gYagrwa. There is as of yet no name for the name of the subgroup to which Gadnagshod and Sowanang belong . This subgroup is mainly distributed along the Jinshajiang River, from the Zurdoshod Township (sMarkhams County)-Sowanang Township (mBathang County) to gYagrwa Township (nJol County).

The revised classification of Yunnan Tibetan proposed by the present article is quadripartite—Sems-kyi-nyila, sDerong-nJol, Chaphreng, and Southern Route. The new grouping is as follows (revisions in bold), and their geographical distribution corresponds to the symbols displayed in Figure 1:

1. Sems-kyi-nyila group
    (a) rGyalthang
    (b) East Yunling Mountain
    (c) Melung
    (d) dNgo
    (e) Lamdo
2. sDerong-nJol group
    (a) West Yunling Mountain
    (b) sPomtserag
    (c) mBalhag
    (d) Bodgrong
3. Chaphreng group

[3]This variety is spoken in Sowanang Township, mBathang County, Kandze Prefecture. It is located on the opposite side of Gadnagshod village along the Jinshajiang River.

(a) gTorwarong

4. **Southern Route group**

(a) **gYagrwa**

We should note that varieties in gYagrwa show, to some extent, diversity in sound correspondences, as described above. gYagrwa Township has 49 hamlets (Wu 2009:396-403), each of which may be counted as a language community. Hence, a more detailed geolinguistic analysis of the varieties is necessary to acutely characterise the Southern Route group.

4 Conclusion

This article discussed the dialectal affiliation of gYagrwa Tibetan within Yunnan Tibetan. Through a rigorous approach to the sound correspondences between LT and gYagrwa Tibetan, the evidence suggests a change in the position of gYagrwa Tibetan. gYagrwa Tibetan was formerly considered as a subgroup within the sDerong-nJol group; however, it should now be viewed as separate from sDerong-nJol and put into another group—Southern Route Khams. The several features that gYagrwa Tibetan has in common with some varieties of the sDerong-nJol and Sems-kyi-nyila groups are suggested to have been newly acquired due to present-day language contact.

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雲南チベット諸語における羊拉 [gYagrwa] 方言の方言所属

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要旨

本稿は、中国雲南省の北西端に位置する羊拉郷で話されるチベット系言語（カムチベット語 gYagrwa 方言）の方言所属について議論する。gYagrwa 方言のチベット言語学上の方言所属に関する詳細な調査と議論は、これまで十分に行われていなかった。その中で、共通する音対応に注目して、sDerong-nJol 方言群の独立下位方言群を形成すると考えられてきた。本稿では、まず gYagrwa 方言の２変種（rDolateng 方言と Nyungzhing 方言）の音体系を示し、次いで共通の改新の基準を重視し、３つの音特徴について gYagrwa 方言が周辺のどの方言群と共通の改新をもつか検証する。その結果、gYagrwa 方言は従来の考えと異なり、南路方言群の一種と考えることがより妥当であると結論する。この論述により、雲南省で話されるカムチベット語は、Sems-kyi-nyila 方言群、sDerong-nJol 方言群、Chaphreng 方言群に加えて、南路方言群も存在することとなる。

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