

# Two Folktales in Lhagang Tibetan (Minyag Rabgang Khams):

## *The Sheep and the Wolf and the Hare and the Tiger*

Hiroyuki Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo

minibutasan [at] gmail.com | sonam107wangmo [at] gmail.com

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### Abstract

This article provides two folktales of Lhagang Tibetan, a dialect of the Minyag Rabgang dialect group of Khams. The stories are entitled *the Sheep and the Wolf* and *the Hare and the Tiger*. Each story contains an edited version with linguistic glosses and an interlinear annotation, as well as full translations in English and Tibetan (based on the oral form). An appendix displays all the interactive utterances in the recording of the stories.

### 1. Introduction

This article primarily provides two full narrative stories, named *the Sheep and the Wolf* and *the Hare and the Tiger*, narrated in Lhagang Tibetan, accompanied by a linguistic glossing and a full translation in English as well as Tibetan based on the oral form of Lhagang Tibetan. Lhagang Tibetan is a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams, spoken in the easternmost Tibetosphere, that is, Tagong (lHa sgang<sup>1</sup>) Village (henceforth Lhagang Village), Tagong Town, Kangding (Dar mdo) Municipality, Ganzi (dKar mdzes) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. The language described in the article is called Lhagang-B by Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2015), reflecting the sedentary variety of Lhagang Village with less influence of the pastoral speech.<sup>2</sup>

Stories with similar plots are attested in the Tibetosphere (a.k.a. Tibetan cultural area; see Roche and Suzuki 2017) other than Lhagang, see Table 1.

Table 1: Similarities between the present stories and those in previous publications.

Title in the article	Previous publications
<i>The Sheep and the Wolf</i>	O'Connor's (1906 [1977]: 56-59) <i>The Sheep, the Lamb, the Wolf and the Hare</i> ; Kajihama's (2004: 51-53) <i>The Ewe and the Wolf</i> ; Lin's (2016: 320-321) <i>The Old Woman and the Tiger</i> (partially similar)
<i>The Hare and the Tiger</i>	O'Connor's (1906 [1977]: 1-3) <i>How the Hare got his Split Lip</i> <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Written Tibetan form is given in parentheses. Romanisation follows the style of de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956).

<sup>2</sup> See also Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017a) and Sonam Wangmo (2019: 196-198).

<sup>3</sup> The story corresponds to the first part of O'Connor's *How the Hare got his Split Lip*.

Note that these stories do not entirely correspond to ours; the protagonists and partial plots are common.

The stories to be analysed is based on a version narrated by a woman at her age of the 70s from Lhagang Village. They were recorded by the second author in September 2016. A phonetic transcription of each story was made by the first author, and the analysis and translation were a collaboration of both the authors.

Each of the two texts contains interlinear linguistic analysis<sup>4,5,6</sup> (2.1 and 3.1), full English translation of the story (2.2 and 3.2), and full Tibetan transcription based on the spoken language (2.3 and 3.3), following the practice of Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017b, c, 2018b), although writing an oral variety in the Literary Tibetan orthography is not widely accepted in the Tibetan community. Footnotes regarding grammatical phenomena, etymological notes, and cultural background are also provided for necessary parts of either a sentence number, gloss, or an interlinear translation. Parentheses in the translation line denote necessary words that do not appear in the original story to make a complete English sentence. Square brackets in the translation line denote words specifying its precedent demonstrative or pronoun to avoid ambiguity.

The stories to be presented in 2.1 and 3.1 are, to some extent, edited by the present authors. Editing mainly dealt with the omission of unnecessary repetitions, fillers,<sup>7</sup> and mistakes. See Appendix for the complete transcription, including the interaction between the storyteller and the audience. The section division of each story is first based on the content, divided into some paragraphs, and second mainly based on the sentence form ended by a verb. The numbering is presented as, for example, (2.3), denoting that the third line of sentences in the second paragraph.

## 2. Text of *the Sheep and the Wolf*

### 2.1. Edited version with interlinear glossing

This story has three paragraphs and 51 lines in total.

(1.1)	ʻŋi ma ʰna: ʰna-la	ʰluʔ	ʻma wuu	ʰŋi:	ʰjoʔ-kʰe:
	old time-LOC	sheep	mother and son <sup>8</sup>	two <sup>9</sup>	EXV-PFT.NSEN

<sup>4</sup> [Sound system of Lhagang Tibetan] Consonantism: /p<sup>h</sup>, p, b, t<sup>h</sup>, t, d, t<sup>h</sup>, t, d, k<sup>h</sup>, k, g, q<sup>h</sup>, q, G, ʔ, ts<sup>h</sup>, ts, dz, te<sup>h</sup>, te, dz, φ, s<sup>h</sup>, s, z, ʃ, e<sup>h</sup>, e, z, x<sup>h</sup>, x, ʏ, (ɤ), h, fi, m, m̥, n, ŋ, ŋ̥, ŋ, l̥, l, r, w, j/; Vocalism: /i, e, ε, a, ə, o, u, u, u, ø, ə/; Suprasegmentals: word-tone system with four types, ˉ high-level, ˊ rising, ˋ falling, and ˊˋ rising-falling. The sound system differs in generations and sociolinguistic variations; see Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017a, 2021) for details.

<sup>5</sup> [Abbreviations for glossing] -: morpheme boundary; 1: first person pronoun; 2: second person pronoun; 3: third person pronoun; AOR: aorist; COM: comitative; CONJ: conjunction; CPV: copulative verb; DAT: dative; DEF: definite marker; E: egophoric; ERG: ergative; EXV: existential verb; FUT: intentional future; GEN: genitive; IMPR: imperative stem; INS: instrumental; INTJ: interjection; LOC: locative; NDEF: nondefinite marker; NEG: negative prefix; NML: nominaliser; NPF: nonperfect stem; NPFT: nonperfect; NSEN: nonsensory; PART: particle; PF: perfect stem; PFT: perfect; PLN: place name; PROG: progressive; Q: question marker; SEN: sensory; SFT: sentence final tag; STA: stative; TOP: topic marker; TQ: tag question.

<sup>6</sup> We do not mark ‘singular’ in number, ‘absolutive’ in case marking, and ‘statemental’ in evidential category for the sake of simplicity, as they are unmarked in the relevant categories.

<sup>7</sup> A phrase which frequently appears and functions as a filler is /tə ri ʰdə reʔ/. See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017c).

<sup>8</sup> This compound is a fixed expression. The word for ‘son’ is never pronounced as a /w/-initial as in /wuu/ attested in the compound, but it is always pronounced as /puw/.

<sup>9</sup> This numeral does not denote two pairs of ‘mother and son’, but two characters consisting of a ‘mother’ and a ‘son’. There is another form /ʰŋi: ʏa/ as in (1.5).

‘Once upon a time, there was a Mother Sheep and her son.’

- (1.2)    ʔluʔ                    ʼma wuu                    ʰŋi:-tə                    ʰda: ti                    ʰoʔ-la  
 sheep                    mother and son                    two-TOP                    PLN                    top-LOC  
 ʰtsa                    ʼza-nə                    ʰduʔ-joʔ-kʰe:  
 grass                    eat-CONJ                    sit-CONT-PFT.NSEN

‘Mother Sheep and son has sitten eating grass on the top of the Dati hill.’

- (1.3)    ʰtsa                    ʼza-nə                    ʰduʔ-kʰa                    ʼte ne:                    ʰteʔ kʰə  
 grass                    eat-CONJ                    sit-when                    then                    wolf  
 ʰdoʔ ʰteiʔ                    ʰfo:-nə gə                    ʰteʰo: ʰŋi:                    ʰtsa                    ʰza  
 single                    come-CONJ                    2.two<sup>10</sup>                    grass                    eat  
 ʰteʰuu                    ʰtʰə  
 water                    drink

‘When (they) sat eating grass, there was a Wolf coming, and (the Wolf said): “You two eat well grass, and drink well water!”’

- (1.4)    ʰsʰŋi ʰŋi ʰnə ʰŋi                    ʰteʰo: ʰŋi:                    ʰza-ʰdzuu ʼji:                    ʰze:-kʰe:  
 some days<sup>11</sup>                    2.two                    eat-FUT.E                    say-PFT.NSEN

‘“In some days, I will eat you two!” it said.’

- (1.5)    ʼte                    ʔluʔ                    ʼma wuu                    ʰŋi: ʁa  
 then                    sheep                    mother and son                    two  
 ʰtʰa: mo                    ʰduʔ-kʰe:  
 very                    sad-PFT.NSEN

‘Then both Mother Sheep and son got very sad.’

- (1.6)    ʰteiʔ tə                    ʰŋuu-nə                    ʰduʔ-kʰe:                    ʰteiʔ tə                    ʰŋuu-nə  
 for a long time                    weep-CONJ                    sit-PFT.NSEN                    for a long time                    weep-CONJ  
 ʰduʔ-kʰe:                    ʰteiʔ tə                    ʰŋuu-nə                    ʰduʔ-kʰe:  
 sit-PFT.NSEN                    for a long time                    weep-CONJ                    sit-PFT.NSEN

‘(They two), sitting, wept for a long time, wept for a long time, and wept for a long time.’

- (1.7)    ʼte                    ʼrə qo:                    ʰdoʔ ʰteiʔ                    ʰtse:-ʰza:-kʰe:  
 then                    hare                    single                    arrive-put-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, a Hare arrived.’

<sup>10</sup> This form is not counted as dual. The second syllable ia a numeral morpheme and can be replaced by any other numerals.

<sup>11</sup> This originally means ‘tomorrow and the day after tomorrow’.

- (1.8)    ʼrə qo:-gə                    ʼte<sup>h</sup>o: ʰŋi:                    ʼma wuu                    ʼtəə tə                    ʰŋu-lə ʼji:  
hare-ERG                    2.two                    mother and son                    what                    weep-NPFT.E  
ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
say-PFT.NSEN

‘The Hare said: “Why do you two cry?”’<sup>12</sup>

- (1.9)    ʼk<sup>h</sup>o ʰŋi:-la                    ʰtəḏ k<sup>h</sup>ə-gə                    ʼze:-tu  
3.two-DAT                    wolf-ERG                    say-SEN

‘The Wolf has said to them two.’

- (1.10)    ʰnḏ ŋi:-gə nə                    ʼte<sup>h</sup>o: ʰŋi:                    ʼma wuu                    ʼza-s<sup>h</sup>a  
in two days-CONJ                    2.two                    mother and son                    eat-NML  
ʼŋo:-<sup>h</sup>dzuu ʼji:                    ʼze:-tu  
come-FUT                    say-SEN

‘(The Wolf) has said: “On the day after tomorrow, I will come to eat you two Mother Sheep and son.”’

- (1.11)    ʼk<sup>h</sup>o ʰŋi:-nə                    ʰnā məḅ                    ʰtəḏ k<sup>h</sup>ə-gə                    ʰseʔ-<sup>h</sup>dzuu ʰji:-reʔ  
3.two-TOP<sup>13</sup>                    no matter how                    wolf-ERG                    kill-FUT-POT  
ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
say-PFT.NSEN

‘The Wolf said: “No matter how it is, I will kill you two.”’

- (1.12)    ʼte                    ʼrə qo:-gə                    ʼze:-nə                    ʼte<sup>h</sup>oʔ                    ʰŋu  
then                    hare-ERG                    say-CONJ                    2                    weep  
ʼma-<sup>h</sup>go                    ʼk<sup>h</sup>o-la                    ʼlo t<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ                    ʰtəiʔ                    ʼjoʔ  
NEG-need                    3-DAT                    way                    one                    EXV.E  
ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the hare said: “You need not weep. I have a way”.’

- (1.13)    ʼtəə tə                    ʼlo t<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ                    ʼjoʔ                    ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
what                    way                    EXV.E                    say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Sheep) said: “Which way do you have?”’

- (1.14)    ʼrə qo:-gə                    ʼze:-nə gə  
hare-ERG                    say-CONJ

‘The Hare said:’

<sup>12</sup> The action ‘crying’ might be in a progressive mode in this scene; however, the form used by the storyteller is nonperfect.

<sup>13</sup> The topicalised noun phrase should be interpreted as a part of the direct speech told by the Wolf. Therefore, the third person is to be understood as the second person.

(1.15)	ʰd̥ɔ̃ bo	ᵐtsʰe ɛʰu	ʰsʰõ-nə tə	ʰɖa	ᵐteiʔ
	guest	remains of an	go.IMPR-CONJ	similar	one
		encampment <sup>14</sup>			
	ʰtea-gə	ᵐɛʰə ʧə	ʰnɔ̃	ʰdoʔ ʰdoʔ	ʰdoʔ ma
	tea-GEN	paper	inside	piece	piece
	ʰsũ	ʰkʷu-nə	ᵐɛʰo:	ᵐze:-kʰe:	
	three	bring-CONJ	come.IMPR	say-PFT.NSEN	

‘(The Hare) said: “Go to a place of remains of encampment by guests, and come and bring three pieces of paper lapping tea leaves”.<sup>15</sup>

(1.16)	ʰte	ᵐnɔ̃ ɲi:	ᵐkʰo	ʰtseʔ-fio:	ᵐkʰo
	then	in two days	3	arrive-come	3
	ʰtseʔ-fio:-kʰa				
	arrive-come-when				

‘Then, on the day after tomorrow, when (the Wolf) came and arrived.’

(1.17)	ʰkʰo-gə	ᵐkʰo	ᵐpaʔ	ʰriʔ	ʰduu-ᵐkʰɛ
	3-ERG	3	skin	kind	collect-NML
	ʰji:	ʰtə	ᵐze:-nə	ᵐtɛɔ̃ kʰə	ʰte-la
	CPV.E	then	say-CONJ	wolf	that-LOC
	ʰtse:-ʰza:-kʰa-la	ʰte ne	ᵐtɛʰo: ʰɲi:	ʰseʔ	ʰmə-ʰtɛuʔ
	arrive-put-when-DAT	then	2.two	kill	NEG-CAUS
	ᵐze:-kʰe:				
	say-PFT.NSEN				

‘(The Hare) said: “I am a person<sup>16</sup> collecting kinds of skins,” and then “when the Wolf arrived there, I don’t make it kill you two”.’

(1.18)	ʰte	ʰkʰo-gə	ᵐpaʔ	ʰriʔ	ᵐna ma ᵐna tsʰo
	then	3-GEN	skin	kind	various
	ʰjoʔ tu-ta:	ᵐtɛɔ̃ ɲɛ ma-gə	ᵐpaʔ ᵐpaʔ	ʰmeʔ tu	
	EXV.SEN <sup>17</sup> -CONJ	evil wolf <sup>18</sup> -GEN	skin	NEG.EXV.SEN	

‘ “Then I (the Hare) have various kinds of skins, but I don’t have any skin of an evil wolf”.’

<sup>14</sup> This word is typically used for pastoralists. Goldstein (2001: 895) gives a meaning ‘remains of a nomad encampment’. However, it can also denote remains left by guests or travellers.

<sup>15</sup> In this context, the guests work as tea traders, who would pass through the Khams region. The Hare’s assumption is that there might be papers which lapped tea leaves on their remains of an encampment.

<sup>16</sup> For convenience, we use ‘person’ in the English translation, which represents the Hare in the context.

<sup>17</sup> In everyday conversation, the general form of the sensory existential verb is /ʰji: tu/ (see Suzuki et al. 2021: 77).

<sup>18</sup> This form is a compound consisting of the first syllable of the word /ᵐtɛɔ̃ kʰə/ ‘wolf’ and an adjective /ʰɲɛ ma/ ‘bad’. It is used for an address term; see (2.24). This word formation strategy is the same as humilifics (Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki 2019), which are, however, not used for the second person.

- (1.19) ʔa na                    kʰu-εʰo:                    ʔze:-li:  
 here                    bring-come.IMPR                    say-NPFT.E

‘“I will say: ‘Come and bring (a wolf’s skin) here.’”’

- (1.20) ʔte:                    ʰtse:-kʰa-la                    ʔteʰo: ʰŋi:                    ʰseʔ                    ʰmə-ʰteuʔ  
 that                    arrive-when-DAT                    2.two                    kill                    NEG-CAUS  
 ʔze:-kʰe:  
 say-PFT.NSEN

‘“When that (Wolf) comes, I don’t make it kill you two”, it (the Hare) says.’

- (2.1) ʔte                    ʰma wu                    ʰŋi: ʔa                    ʰguʔ-nə                    ʰduʔ-kʰe:  
 then                    mother and son                    two                    wait-CONJ                    sit-PFT.NSEN

‘Then the mother and son just sat waiting.’

- (2.2) ʔte                    ʔεʰə ʔə                    ʰŋa                    ʰra ʰteʰiʔ                    ʰdu-nə  
 then                    paper                    similar                    some                    collect-CONJ  
 ʰta-nə                    ʰduʔ-kʰe:  
 see-CONJ                    sit-PFT.NSEN

‘Then (they two) collected some paper-like stuff and waited and saw.’

- (2.3) ʰta-nə                    ʰduʔ-kʰa-la                    ʰpa: ʰteʰiʔ                    ʔte                    ʰteʃ kʰə  
 see-CONJ                    sit-when-DAT                    for a while                    then                    wolf  
 ʰtse:-ʰza:-kʰe:  
 arrive-put-PFT.NSEN

‘When (they two) waited and saw, the Wolf then came.’

- (2.4) ʔte                    ʰma wu                    ʰŋi: ʔa                    ʰza-sʰa  
 then                    mother and son                    two                    eat-NML

‘In order to eat the mother and son, then.’

- (2.5) ʔte                    ʰduʔ-kʰe:                    ʰgō:  
 then                    sad-PFT.NSEN                    EXCLM<sup>19</sup>

‘Then (they two) got very sad.’

- (2.6) ʰrə ʔo:-gə                    ʔze:-nə  
 hare                    say-CONJ

‘The Hare said:’

<sup>19</sup> This exclamative form, differing from interjections (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2020), is merely used in perfect, just following a verb predicate.

- (2.7)    ʔkʰo            ʌ<sup>h</sup>dza naʔ ʔkō ma-gə            ʔpaʔ            ʔriʔ            ʔ<sup>h</sup>duu-<sup>h</sup>kʰɛ  
           3            emperor-GEN            skin            kind            collect-NML  
           ʔji:            ʔze:-kʰe:  
           CPV.E            say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Hare) said: “I am a person of the emperor, who collects various skins”.’

- (2.8)    ʔpaʔ ʔpaʔ-gə            ʔ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:            ʔ<sup>h</sup>duu-<sup>h</sup>kʰɛ            ʔji:            ʔze:-kʰe:  
           skin-GEN            tax            collect-NML            CPV.E            say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Hare) said: “(I) am a person collecting the tax of skin”.’

- (2.9)    ʔte            ʔpaʔ ʔpaʔ-gə            ʔ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:            ʔ<sup>h</sup>duu-<sup>h</sup>kʰɛ            ʔji:  
           then            skin-GEN            tax            collect-NML            CPV  
           ʔna            ʔpaʔ ʔpaʔ ʔ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:            ʔ<sup>h</sup>duu            ʔna            ʔte  
           if            tax for skin            collect            if            then

‘Then: “If (I) am a person collecting the tax of skin, if (I) collect the tax of skin”, then,’

- (2.10) ʔtəʔ tə ʔji: na-gə            ʔpaʔ ʔpaʔ            ʔtəʔ tə ʔji: na            ʔʔə-joʔ  
           whichever-GEN            skin            whichever            Q-EXV  
           ʔ<sup>h</sup>ta-<sup>h</sup>go-<sup>n</sup>duʔ  
           see-FUT-need

‘“(I) need see whichever skins there are”.’

- (2.11) ʌ<sup>h</sup>dza naʔ ʔkō ma-gə            ʔqa ɛ<sup>h</sup>oʔ            ʔ<sup>h</sup>ku-ɛ<sup>h</sup>oʔ            ʔze:-kʰe:  
           emperor-GEN            edict            bring-come.IMPR            say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Wolf) said: “Come and bring the edict of the emperor”.’

- (2.12) ʔte            ʔluʔ            ʔma wuu            ʔ<sup>h</sup>ɲi: ʔa-gə  
           then            sheep            mother and son            two-ERG  
           ʔɛ<sup>h</sup>ə ʔə            ʔ<sup>h</sup>teiʔ            ʔ<sup>h</sup>te:-<sup>h</sup>za:-loʔ-zə ʔji:-kʰe:  
           paper            one            give-put-pretend-AOR-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the Mother Sheep and son pretended to give a paper.’

- (2.13) ʔ<sup>h</sup>a lu            ʔrə ʔo:-la            ʔɛ<sup>h</sup>ə ʔə            ʔ<sup>h</sup>teiʔ            ʔ<sup>h</sup>te:-loʔ-zə ʔji:-kʰe:  
           over there            hare-DAT            paper            one            give-pretend-AOR-PFT.NSEN

‘(They two) pretended to give a paper to the Hare over there.’

- (2.14) 'te<sup>h</sup>tei?                    'hta?-gə                    'hpa? hpa?-nə                    ^jo? tu  
then                    tiger-GEN                    skin-PART<sup>20</sup>                    EXV.SEN  
'Then, (the Hare said): "There is a tiger's skin",'
- (2.15) 'fi:zi:-gə                    'hpa? hpa?-nə                    ^jo? tu  
leopard-GEN                    skin-PART                    EXV.SEN  
' "There is also a leopard's skin",'
- (2.16) 'hɔə ʏo-gə                    'hpa? hpa?-nə                    ^jo? tu  
female yak-GEN                    skin-PART                    EXV.SEN  
' "There is also a female yak's skin",'
- (2.17) 'hpa?                    'ri?                    'na ma 'na ts'ho                    ^jo? tu  
skin                    kind                    various                    EXV.SEN  
' "There are various kinds of skin",'
- (2.18) 'te                    'hteɕ ŋɛ ma-gə                    'hpa?                    'ri?                    'me?-k'he:  
then                    evil wolf-GEN                    skin                    kind                    NEG.EXV-PFT.NSEN  
'ze:-k'he:  
say-PFT.NSEN  
' "Then there is not an evil wolf's skin." (the Hare) said.'
- (2.19) 'rə qo:-gə                    'tə re?                    'tə la                    'hteɕ k'hə                    ^fi do? htei?  
hare-ERG                    INTJ<sup>21</sup>                    there                    wolf                    single  
'hse:-k'he:  
arrive-PFT.NSEN  
'The Hare (said): "Look, there is a wolf coming",'
- (2.20) 'tə                    'hpa?                    'ri?                    'k'hu-ɕ'ho?                    'ze:-k'he:  
that                    skin                    kind                    bring-come. IMPR                    say-PFT.NSEN  
' "Come and bring that kind of skin!", (it) said.'
- (2.21) 'hteɕ k'hə                    'hte: tə                    'hta:-fi:za:-k'he:  
wolf                    very                    fear-put-PFT.NSEN  
'The Wolf got very feared.'
- (2.22) 'p'hu le te tə gə                    'p'hu                    'ɕ'hə hta-zə                    'ma-k'hũ-nə  
not at all                    never                    look back-NML                    NEG-have time-CONJ

<sup>20</sup> This particle is used to give multiple examples. See sentences (2.15) and (2.16).

<sup>21</sup> This expression contains a nuance of 'suddenly found' or 'suddenly noticed'.



<sup>ʌ</sup>ɲɖu-<sup>h</sup>zɑ:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

flee-put-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Wolf) never had time to look back at all, and fled.’

- (2.23) ʼte            ʼma lu            <sup>-h</sup>ta <sup>h</sup>dzə-tɕi?-la            ʼt<sup>h</sup>u?-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
then            downwards            horse herder-NDEF-DAT            meet-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, (the Wolf) met a horse herder in a lower area.’

- (2.24) ʼtɕ<sup>h</sup>o?            ʼtəə tə            ʼɲɖu-lə ji:            <sup>-h</sup>tɕə̃ ɲɕ̃ ma  
2                    what                    flee-NPFT                    evil wolf  
ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The herder) said: “Evil Wolf, why are you going to flee?”’

- (2.25) ʼk<sup>h</sup>o            ʼle:            ʼɲɖu            ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
3                    of course                    flee                    say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Wolf) said: “I’ll of course flee!”’

- (2.26) <sup>ʌ</sup>h<sup>h</sup>dza nɑ? ʼkō ma-gə            ʼhqa e<sup>h</sup>o?            <sup>ʌ</sup>h<sup>h</sup>do? <sup>h</sup>tɕi?            ʼk<sup>h</sup>u-nə            ʼpa?  
emperor-GEN                    edict                    single                    bring-CONJ                    skin  
ʼri?                    ʼh<sup>h</sup>du-<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɛ                    ʼh<sup>h</sup>tse:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
kind                    collect-NML                    arrive-PFT.NSEN

‘“There arrived a person who collect various skins, bringing an emperor’s edict”.’

- (2.27) ʼk<sup>h</sup>o            ʼpa? <sup>h</sup>pa?            ʌme? tu            ʼze:-nə            ʼk<sup>h</sup>o  
3                    skin                    NEG.EXV.SEN                    say-CONJ                    3  
ʌtə gə            ʼɲɖu-lə ji:            ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
because of that                    flee-NPFT.E                    say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Wolf) said: “(The Hare) said that my skin lacked, so I’ll flee because of that”.’

- (2.28) ʼte            ʌtə gə ʼt<sup>h</sup>o? nə            ʼlu?            ʼma wu            <sup>-h</sup>ɲi: ɣa  
then            since then                    sheep                    mother and son                    two  
ʼrə qo:-gə            ʼza            ʼma-e<sup>h</sup>o:-zə re?  
hare-ERG            eat                    NEG-lose-AOR

‘Then, since then, the Hare did not let the Mother Sheep and son eaten.’

- (3.1<sup>22</sup>) ʼte            <sup>-h</sup>tɕi?            ʼɲi ma            ʼgō-la            ʼɕ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:  
then            happy                    sun                    sky-LOC                    rise

<sup>22</sup> The sentences of (3.1), (3.2), and (3.3) are one set of verses including the same number of syllables, which mention three auspicious phenomena. The first syllable of (3.1) is not counted as a component of the verses.

‘Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.’

- (3.2)      ʰduʔ              ʰpɛ ʰga              ʰtɛʰtu-gə              ʰkʰu:  
                  sadness              stick              water-INS              flush  
                  ‘A stick of sadness was flushed by the water.’

- (3.3)      ʰto ma              ʰma: kʰu:              ʰnə-la              ʰtɛʰoʔ  
                  silverweed<sup>23</sup>              melted butter              sky-LOC              offer  
                  ‘Silverweed with melted butter was offered to the sky.’

## 2.2. English translation

### *The sheep and the Wolf*

(1) Once upon a time, there was a Mother Sheep and her son. One day, both mother and son sitten, eating grass on top of Dati Hill. As they were eating the grass, a Wolf approached them and said: ‘You two eat plenty of grass well and drink plenty of water! In a few days, I will eat you two!’ Both mother and son got very sad. The two wept for a long time, wept for a long time, and wept for a long time. Then, a Hare came and asked: ‘Why are you both crying?’ The Wolf had threatened them, ‘On the day after tomorrow, I will come to eat you Mother Sheep and son.’ The Wolf continued, ‘No matter how it is, I will kill you two.’ The Hare then said: ‘You don’t need to weep. I have a way.’ The Mother Sheep replied: ‘Which way do you have?’ The Hare said: ‘Go to a place with the remains of an encampment of guests and bring three pieces of paper lapping tea leaves.’ Then, on the day after tomorrow, when the wolf arrives, the hare will say: ‘I collect different kinds of skins. When the wolf arrives, I will not let it kill you two. I will say I have various kinds of skins but not the skin of an evil wolf, so come and bring a wolf’s skin here. When the Wolf comes, I don’t let it kill you two’.

(2) Then the Mother Sheep and son just sat waiting; they collected some paper-like stuff and waited and watched. When the Wolf came to eat them, they got very sad. The Hare said, ‘I am a person of the emperor who collects various skins. If I am a person collecting the tax of skin then I need to see whichever skins there are.’ The Wolf said: ‘Come and bring the edict of the emperor.’ Then, the Mother Sheep and son pretended to give a paper to the hare. Then, the Hare said: ‘There is a tiger’s skin... there is also a leopard’s skin... there is also a female yak’s skin... there are various kinds of skin, but there is not an evil wolf’s skin... Look, there is a wolf coming, come and bring that kind of skin!’ Then the Wolf got very scared. It never took the time to look back at all and fled. Then the wolf met a horse herder in a lower area. The herder said: ‘Evil Wolf, why are you fleeing?’ The Wolf said: ‘Of course I’m fleeing! There is a hare who collect various skins, bringing an emperor’s edict. The Hare said that he lacks my skin, so I’ll flee because of that.’ Thus, the Hare did not let the Mother Sheep and son be eaten.

(3) Then, the happy sun rose to the sky. A stick of sadness was flushed by the water. Silverweed with melted butter was offered to the sky.

<sup>23</sup> A.k.a. *potentilla anserina*.



3. Text of *the Hare and the Tiger*

## 3.1. Edited version with interlinear glossing

This story has five paragraphs and 39 lines in total.

- (1.1) 'ŋi ma <sup>h</sup>na: <sup>h</sup>na-la      'rə qo:      <sup>h</sup>tei?      ^joʔ-zə ^ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
old time-LOC      hare      one      EXV-AOR<sup>24</sup>-PFT.NSEN  
'Once upon a time, there was a Hare.'
- (1.2) 'rə qo:-ta      <sup>h</sup>taʔ      <sup>h</sup>ŋi:      ʔk<sup>h</sup>a tei?      ^ŋqo-zə ^ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
hare-COM      tiger      two      together      go.NPF-AOR-PFT.NSEN  
'The Hare and a Tiger, the two went together.'
- (1.3) 'te:      <sup>h</sup>taʔ-gə      `ze:-nə gə  
then      tiger-ERG      say-CONJ  
'Then, the Tiger said:'
- (1.4) 'rə qo:      'rə ŋɛ̃ ma      ʔte<sup>h</sup>oʔ      'za-<sup>h</sup>go-tu      `ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
hare      evil hare<sup>25</sup>      2      eat-need-SEN      say-PFT.NSEN  
'“Hare, Evil Hare, I want to eat you”.'
- (1.5) 'te:      ʔk<sup>h</sup>o      'ma-za-roʔ-ta  
then      3<sup>26</sup>      NEG-eat-SFT-CONJ<sup>27</sup>  
'Then, (the Hare said:) “Please don't eat me”,'
- (1.6) ʔte<sup>h</sup>oʔ      'ta ri      'ma-za-ta      ʔs<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ ŋi      'za-ta  
2      today      NEG-eat-CONJ      tomorrow      eat-SFT  
'“You don't eat (me) today, and eat (me) tomorrow”,'
- (1.7) ʔk<sup>h</sup>o      'te      ʔts<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ mbo      'reʔ-reʔ      `ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
3      then      fat      become-STA<sup>28</sup>      say-PFT.NSEN  
'“I will get fat then”, (the Hare) said.'

<sup>24</sup> This aorist here implies an emphasis on an event happened for a long time ago. See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2018a).

<sup>25</sup> This form is a compound consisting of the first syllable of the word /'rə qo:/ 'hare' and an adjective /'ŋɛ̃ ma/ 'bad'. The usage here is an address term.

<sup>26</sup> The third person which appears in an utterance of someone denotes the first person in many cases; however, this is not obligatory.

<sup>27</sup> This conjunction has the same form as a comitative marker. However, since case markers are generally not attached to a verb stem, this marker is interpreted as a conjunction.

<sup>28</sup> This seems a repetition of the same form; however, the function of each is different. The first is a lexical verb 'become', and the second is a statement suffix, which is the same form as the statemental copulative verb stem (CPV).

- (1.8)    ʼrə qo:-gə            ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:            ʼ<sup>h</sup>taʔ-la  
hare-ERG            say-PFT.NSEN            tiger-DAT<sup>29</sup>  
‘The Hare said to the Tiger.’
- (2.1)    ʼte:                    ʼrə qo:                    ʼp<sup>h</sup>a la                    ʼt<sup>h</sup>e:-nə gə                    ʼto ma  
then                    hare                    there                    go.PF-CONJ                    silverweed  
ʼ<sup>h</sup>ko-nə                    ʼza-<sup>h</sup>za:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
dig-CONJ                    eat-put-PFT.NSEN  
‘Then, the Hare went over there, and it dug and ate silverweed.’
- (2.2)    ʼto ma                    ʼ<sup>h</sup>ko-nə                    ʼza-k<sup>h</sup>a                    ʼte:                    ʼ<sup>h</sup>taʔ <sup>h</sup>gε-gə  
silverweed                    dig-CONJ                    eat-when                    then                    tiger<sup>30</sup>-ERG  
ʼze:-nə  
say-CONJ  
‘When (the Hare) dug and was eating silverweed, the Tiger said.’
- (2.3)    ʼt<sup>h</sup>oʔ                    ʼtəə tə                    ʼza-li:                    ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
2                    what                    eat-NPFT.E<sup>31</sup>                    say-PFT.NSEN  
‘“What are you eating?”, (the Tiger) said.’
- (2.4)    ʼʔa                    ʼtəə tə                    ʼza                    ʼŋa-rə-gə                    ʼmiʔ <sup>h</sup>doʔ  
PART<sup>32</sup>                    what                    eat                    1-self-GEN                    eyeball  
ʼk<sup>h</sup>a ji:                    ʼ<sup>h</sup>ko-nə                    ʼza-li:                    ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
one of a pair                    dig-CONJ                    eat-NPFT.E                    say-PFT.NSEN  
‘“What can I eat? (I) dug and am eating my own eyeball of a pair”, (the Hare) said.’
- (2.5)    ʼte:                    ʼto ma                    ʼt<sup>h</sup>eiʔ                    ʼza-<sup>h</sup>za:-k<sup>h</sup>e:                    ʼ<sup>h</sup>taʔ-gə  
then                    silverweed                    one                    eat-put-PFT.NSEN                    tiger-ERG<sup>33</sup>  
‘Then, the Tiger ate silverweed.’
- (2.6)    ʼʔa tsi:                    ʼt<sup>h</sup>oʔ-la-nə                    ʼzī <sup>m</sup>bo-tciʔ                    ʼza-<sup>h</sup>dzu                    ʼjoʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
INTJ<sup>34</sup>                    2-DAT-TOP                    tasty-NDEF                    eat-NML<sup>35</sup>                    EXV-PFT.NSEN

<sup>29</sup> This noun phrase is dislocated. However, it should be interpreted as a supplement by the speaker to clarify the sentence meaning. A brief pause also exists the verb and the last noun phrase.

<sup>30</sup> The form of ‘tiger’ here is followed by a suffix /-<sup>h</sup>gε/, which frequently appear after a root of nouns for animals. The suffix originally means ‘old’; however, Lhagang Tibetan does not take a meaning of literal reading.

<sup>31</sup> The form NPFT can also be used as progressive.

<sup>32</sup> This particle functions as a kind of rhetorical question with an interrogative word.

<sup>33</sup> Again, this noun phrase is dislocated. The narrator might think that this sentence is confusing without the supplementary information.

<sup>34</sup> This interjection expresses a surprise.

<sup>35</sup> The construction /ʼzī <sup>m</sup>bo-tciʔ ʼza-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ ‘tasty thing’ is complicated. The adjective part /ʼzī <sup>m</sup>bo-tciʔ/ ‘tasty’ should be understood as a modifier of the nominalised verb /ʼza-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ ‘thing to eat’. However, the nominaliser /-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ functions as

‘(The Tiger said): “Wow, you have a tasty thing to eat!”’

- (2.7)    `kʰo-la            `miʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ    ʔkʰa ji:-tə            <sup>h</sup>ko-ta            `ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
3-DAT            eyeball            one of a pair-DEF            dig-SFT            say-PFT.NSEN

‘“Dig one of (my) eyeballs for me”, (the Tiger) said.’

- (2.8)    `te:                    `rə qo:-gə            ʔto ma            <sup>h</sup>doʔ<sup>h</sup>teiʔ            <sup>h</sup>taʔ-la  
then                    hare-ERG            silverweed            single            tiger-DAT  
<sup>h</sup>zi:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
give-PFT.NSEN

‘The Hare then gave one silverweed to the Tiger.’

- (2.9)    `fio                    `zī<sup>m</sup>bo            <sup>h</sup>ta: mo            <sup>h</sup>ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:            `ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
INTJ                    tasty                    very                    CPV-PFT.NSEN            say-PFT.NSEN

‘“Oh, (this is) very tasty,” (the Tiger) said.’

- (3.1)    `te:                    ʔkʰo-rə-gə            `miʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ            ʔkʰa ji:-tə            ʔpʰi:-tsʰa:-reʔ-mo  
then                    3-self-GEN            eyeball                    one of a pair-DEF            dig<sup>36</sup>-ACH-CPV-SFT

‘Then, its [Tiger’s] one of the eyeballs has already been dug out, right?’

- (3.2)    `te: ta                    `kʰo-la            `miʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ            ʔkʰa ji:-tə            ʔpʰi:-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ  
then                    3-DAT                    eyeball                    one of a pair-DEF            dig-put<sup>37</sup>  
`ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:                    <sup>h</sup>taʔ-gə  
say-PFT.NSEN            tiger-ERG<sup>38</sup>

‘Then, the Tiger said: “Dig out the (other) eyeball of two for me”.’

- (3.3)    `te:                    `rə qo:-tə            ʔŋe: <sup>h</sup>tsa ʔŋe<sup>m</sup>ba            `reʔ  
then                    hare-DEF                    with a whole bag of tricks            CPV

‘Then, the Hare is one which has a whole bag of tricks.’

- (3.4)    ʔtaʔ                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>m</sup>bo            <sup>h</sup>teiʔ-gə            `kʰa-la            <sup>h</sup>pʰa la  
cliff                    high                    one-GEN                    edge-LOC            there  
<sup>h</sup>ʔiʔ-<sup>h</sup>za:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
lead-put-PFT.NSEN

‘(The Hare) led (the Tiger) thither on the edge of a high cliff.’

nominalisation of /zī<sup>m</sup>bo-teiʔ ʔza/ ‘eat something tasty’.

<sup>36</sup> The verb /pʰi:/ means ‘make (a hole)’; however, it can be translated here as ‘dig’.

<sup>37</sup> This is in a request form with a secondary verb /-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ/ ‘put’. It has a stronger imperative nuance than the particle /-ta/, as in (1.6).

<sup>38</sup> This noun phrase is dislocated. It should be interpreted as a supplement by the speaker to clarify the sentence meaning.

- (3.5)    ʼte                    ʼta                    ʼkʰo-la                ʼmiʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ                ʼkʰa ji:  
           then                that time            3-DAT                eyeball                one of a pair  
           ^joʔ reʔ-mo  
           EXV-SFT  
           ‘Then, that time, one eyeball exists in it (the Tiger), right?’
- (3.6)    ʼkʰa ji:                ^joʔ ʼma reʔ-mo  
           one of a pair            EXV.NEG-SFT  
           ‘Another eyeball does not exist, right?’
- (3.7)    ʼte: ta                ʼta                    ʼte<sup>h</sup>oʔ-gə                ʼmiʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ                ʼkʰa ji:-tə  
           then                now                    2-GEN                eyeball                one of a pair-DEF  
           ʼhko-nə                ʼza-lə ʼʔə ji:            ʼze:-kʰe:  
           dig-CONJ            eat-NPFT.Q            say-PFT.NSEN  
           ‘Then, (the Hare) said: “Now, do I dig your eyeball and are you going to eat (it)?”’
- (3.8)    ʼte                    ʼhtaʔ-gə                ʼza-li:                ʼze:-kʰe:  
           then                tiger-ERG            eat-NPFT.E            say-PFT.NSEN  
           ‘Then, the Tiger said: “I’m going to eat”,’
- (3.9)    ʼte                    ʼte<sup>h</sup>oʔ-gə                ʼkʰa ji:-tə                ʼhko-ta  
           then                2-ERG                one of a pair-DEF    dig-SFT  
           ‘“You dig the other (eyeball)”’.
- (4.1)    ʼte                    ʼʔa<sup>h</sup>de: ʼna<sup>h</sup>de:  
           then                as expected  
           ‘Then, as expected,’
- (4.2)    ʼrə qo:-gə            ʼŋɛ̃<sup>h</sup>zu-nə gə  
           hare-ERG            do evil thing-CONJ  
           ‘The Hare did an evil thing.’
- (4.3)    ʼmiʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ                ʼŋo ma-tə                ʼhko-nə gə  
           eyeball                real-DEF                dig-CONJ  
           ‘(The Hare) dug the real eyeball.’
- (4.4)    ʼrə qo:-gə            ʼhtaʔ-la                ^ʰzi:-kʰe:  
           hare-ERG            tiger-DAT                give-PFT.NSEN  
           ‘The Hare gave (it) to the Tiger.’

- (4.5) 'te                    ʰtaʔ ʰgɛ                    `miʔ ʰdoʔ                    ʰteʰa ʰtɛiʔ-tə                    'meʔ-ʰkʰɛ  
 then                    tiger                    eyeball                    pair-DEF                    EXV.NEG-NML  
 ^reʔ-kʰe:  
 become-PFT.NSEN

'Then, the Tiger became one which did not have the pair of eyeballs.'

- (4.6) 'te                    'rə qo:-gə                    'ta ri                    ʰteʰoʔ                    'pʰa la  
 then                    hare-ERG                    now                    2                    over there  
 'ʧe me:  
 a little                    move                    say-PFT.NSEN

'Then, the Hare said: "Now you move a little over there".'

- (4.7) ʰʔa kʰu ʰtaʔ                    ʰeʰə-nu:-zə                    'mə tsʰɛ                    ʰdza ri:                    'ja: mo  
 uncle tiger                    DIR-move-NML                    otherwise                    stripe                    beautiful  
 ^me-gə                    ʰtsʰiʔ-əə ^jiʔ tu                    `ze:-kʰe:  
 fire-INS                    burn-PROG.SEN                    say-PFT.NSEN

'“Uncle Tiger, you move back; otherwise, the beautiful stripe is being burnt by fire,” (the Hare) said.'

- (4.8) 'te:                    'pʰa la                    ʰeʰə-nu:                    'ʧe me:                    ʰzu-kʰa  
 then                    over there                    DIR-move                    a little                    do-when  
 'jə                    ʰeʰə-nu:                    'ʧe me:                    ʰzu-kʰa  
 again                    DIR-move                    a little                    do-when

'Then, when (the Tiger) moved back a little, and again (it) moved back a little,'

- (4.9) 'ʧaʔ tʰoʔ                    ^ʧaʔ ʰzaʔ                    'jü-nə                    ʰtaʔ                    ^tə la  
 top of cliff                    bottom of cliff                    fall<sup>39</sup>-CONJ                    tiger                    there  
 ʰseʔ-teʰaʔ-zə reʔ  
 kill-can-AOR

'(The Hare) made (the Tiger) fall from the top to the bottom of the cliff and was able to kill the Tiger there.'

- (4.10) 'mə tsʰɛ                    'rə qo:                    ʰseʔ-ʰgo                    ʰsã-kʰe:  
 otherwise                    hare                    kill-FUT                    think-PFT.NSEN  
 ʰʔa kʰu ʰtaʔ-gə  
 uncle tiger-ERG

'Otherwise, Uncle Tiger intended to kill the Hare.'

<sup>39</sup> This expression is nearly idiomatic. The two noun phrases preceding the verb have no case marking. However, following the context of the utterance, it is clear that they two are related to each other and thus denote 'from the top of the cliff to its bottom'.



(5.1) 'te            -<sup>h</sup>tei?            'ŋi ma            <sup>hi</sup>gō-la            -<sup>h</sup>ɛ:  
 then            happy            sun            sky-LOC            rise  
 'Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.'

(5.2) -<sup>h</sup>du?            'pɛ <sup>hi</sup>ga            `tɛ<sup>h</sup>u-gə            -k<sup>h</sup>u:  
 sadness            stick            water-INS            flush  
 'A stick of sadness was flushed by the water.'

(5.3) ' tɔ ma            'ma: k<sup>h</sup>u:            `nə-la            -<sup>hi</sup>tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə?  
 silverweed            melted butter            sky-LOC            offer  
 'Silverweed with melted butter was offered to the sky.'

### 3.2. English translation

#### *The Hare and the Tiger*

(1) Once upon a time, there was a Hare and a Tiger; the two went together. One day, the Tiger said: 'Hare, Evil Hare! I want to eat you.' The Hare replied: 'Please don't eat me. Don't eat me today; eat me tomorrow, I will get fat then.'

(2) Then, the Hare went over there, and dug up and ate silverweed. When the Hare dug and was eating silverweed, the Tiger said: 'What are you eating?' 'What can I eat? I dug out and am eating one of my own eyeballs', the Hare replied. Then, the Tiger ate silverweed. The Tiger said: 'Wow, you have a tasty thing to eat! Dig out one of my eyeballs for me.' The Hare then gave one silverweed to the Tiger. 'Oh, this is very tasty', the Tiger said.

(3) After one of the Tiger's eyeballs had already been dug out, the Tiger said: 'Dig out the other eyeball for me.' Then, the Hare, who had a whole bag of tricks, led the Tiger thither on the edge of a high cliff. At that time, the Tiger had only one eyeball, and the other eyeball does not exist, right? Then, the hare said: 'Now, if I dig out your eyeball, will you eat it?' The Tiger said: 'I will eat it. You dig out the other eyeball.'

(4) Then, as expected, the Hare did an evil thing. The Hare dug a real eyeball and gave it to the Tiger. The Tiger lost both his eyeballs. Then, the Hare said: 'Now you move a little over there. Uncle Tiger, you move back; otherwise, the beautiful stripe will be burnt by fire.' When the Tiger moved back a little, again back a little, the Hare made the tiger fall from the top to the bottom of the cliff and was able to kill the Tiger there. Otherwise, Uncle Tiger had intended to kill the Hare.

(5) Then, the happy sun rose to the sky. A stick of sadness was flushed by the water. Silverweed with melted butter was offered to the sky.

### 3.3. Tibetan translation

ཕྱི་ལོ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ།      རྒྱུ་ལྷན་པུ།

༡ རྒྱུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ། རྒྱུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ། རྒྱུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ། རྒྱུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ། རྒྱུ་ལྷན་པུ་ལྷན་པུ།

དགོས་དུག་ཟེར་ལལ། ཁོ་མ་ཟེར་གསལ་དང། ཁྱོད་དང་མིང་མ་ཟེར་དང་མིང་ཉིན་ཟེར། ཁོ་དེ་ཚོན་པོ་ཤེད་ཤེད་ཟེར་ལལ། རི་བོང་གི་ཟེར་མ་ལན་སྟག་ལ།

༢ དེ་རི་བོང་པར་ལ་ཐལ་ནས་ལུ། སྲོ་མ་རྟོན་ས་བཤམ་ལལ། སྲོ་མ་རྟོན་ས་བཤམ། དེ་སྟག་རྒན་ལུ་ཟེར་ནི། ཁྱོད་ཚི་དེ་བལ་ཟེར་ལལ། ཨ་ཚི་དེ་བལ། དར་པ་གི་མིག་  
རྟོག་ལ་ཡན་རྟོན་མི་ཟེར་ལལ། དེ་སྲོ་མ་ཚིག་བཤམ་ལལ། སྟག་གི། ཨ་ཚི། ཁྱོད་ལ་ནི་ཞེས་པོ་ཚིག་བཤམ་ལལ། ཁོ་ལ་མིག་རྟོག་ལ་ཡན་རྟོན་པ་ཟེར་ལལ།  
དེ་རི་བོང་གི་སྲོ་མ་རྟོག་ཚིག་སྟག་ལ་སྟེན་ལལ། འོ་ཞེས་པོ་སྟག་མི་ཡིན་མ་ལན་ཟེར་ལལ།

༣ དེ་རི་བོང་ལུ་མིག་རྟོག་ལ་ཡན་དེ་མིག་ས་ཚར་ཤེད་མོད། དེ་དེ་ཁོ་ལ་མིག་རྟོག་ལ་ཡན་དེ་མིག་ས་བཤམ་ཟེར་ལལ། སྟག་གི། དེ་རི་བོང་དེ་དེ་ས་རྩ་དར་ཤེད། འཕྲུག་  
མོན་རོ་གཅིག་གི་ལ་ལ་པར་ལ་ལ་སྲིད་བཤམ་ལལ། དེ་དེ་ཁོ་ལ་མིག་རྟོག་ལ་ཡན་ཡོད་ཤེད་མོད། ལ་ཡན་ཡོད་མ་ཤེད་མོད། དེ་དང། ད་ཁྱོད་ལུ་མིག་རྟོག་ལ་ཡན་དེ་རྟོ  
ནི་བལ་འི་ཡིན་ཟེར་ལལ། དེ་སྟག་གི་བལ་འི་ཡིན་ཟེར་ལལ། དེ་ཁྱོད་ལུ་ལ་ཡན་དེ་རྟོད།

༤ དེ་ཞེས་དེ་ན་མ་བཤམ། རི་བོང་གི་དར་བཤམ་ལུ། མིག་རྟོག་པོ་མ་དེ་རྟོན་ལུ། རི་བོང་གི་སྟག་ལ་སྟེན་ལལ། དེ་སྟག་རྒན་མིག་རྟོག་ཚིག་ལུ་མེད་མ་ལན་ཤེད་  
ལལ། དེ་རི་བོང་གི་དང་ཤིང། ཁྱོད་པར་ལ་དུ་མེས་རྩུར་ཟེར་ལལ། ཨ་ལུ་སྟག་གི་རྩུར་བཤམ་ཚིང། འཇའ་རི་ས་ཡག་མོ་མེ་ལུ་འཚོག་བུ་ས་ལུ་ཟེར་ལལ། དེ་པར་ལ་ལུར་  
རྩུར་དུ་མེས་བཤམ། ཡང་ལུར་རྩུར་དུ་མེས་བཤམ། འཕྲུག་རྟོག་བུ་ས་བཤམ་ལུ་ལྷུང་ནི། སྟག་དེ་ལ་བསལ་དུ་ཟེར་ཤེད། མི་ཚོད་རི་བོང་བསལ་དུ་གོ་ས་བསལ་ལལ། ཨ་ལུ  
སྟག་གི།

༥ དེ་སྟེང་ཉི་མ་དགུང་ལ་ཤར། སྟག་སྟེག་ཚུ་གི་ས་ལུ། སྲོ་མ་པར་ལུ་གནས་ལ་མཚོད།

Appendix: Transcription based on the recording

Participants: 3 people (Storyteller, Recorder/Audience 1 [Second author], and Audience 2)  
Note for the turn: Unmarked = Storyteller; A = Audience 1 (Second author); B = Audience 2; +A = Storyteller with Audience 1

(A) *The Sheep and the Wolf*

- (1) 'ŋi ma <sup>h</sup>na: <sup>h</sup>na-la <sup>h</sup>lu? 'ma wuu <sup>h</sup>ŋi: ^jo?-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
'Once upon a time, there were Mother Sheep and son.'
- (2)A: `m: m:  
'Yes.' (backchannel)
- (3) <sup>h</sup>lu? 'ma wuu <sup>h</sup>ŋi:-tə 'tə ri <sup>h</sup>də re? <sup>h</sup>da: ti <sup>h</sup>t'o?-la <sup>h</sup>təsa `za-nə  
<sup>h</sup>du?-jo?-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
'Mother Sheep and son, euh... have sitten eating grass on the top of the Dati hill.'
- (4)A: `m: m:  
'Yes.' (backchannel)

(5) ʰtʰsa ʼza-nə ʰnɔʔ-kʰa ʼte ne: ʰtʰeʃ kʰə ʰdoʔ hʰtʰi? ʰfi:-nə gə  
ʼte: ʰze: ʰdzuu tə la ʰtʰo: ʰŋi: ʰtʰsa ʰza ʰtʰu ʰtʰəʃ

‘When (they) sat eating grass, there was a Wolf coming, and then, how to say, said: “You two eat well grass, and drink well water!”’

(6) ʼsʰʃ ŋi ʰnʃ ŋi ʰtʰo: ʰŋi: ɛ: ʰza-ʰdzuu ʼji: ʰze:-kʰe:  
‘“In some days, I will eat you two!” it said.’

(7)A: ʼm: ʰhə  
‘Yes, haha.’

(8) ʼte ʰluʔ ʼma wuu ʰŋi: ʁa ʰtʰa: mo ʰduʔ-kʰe:  
‘Then both Mother Sheep and son got very sad.’

(9)A: ʼm:  
‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(10) ʰtʰiʔ tə ʰŋu-nə ʰnɔʔ-kʰe: ʰtʰiʔ tə ʰŋu-nə ʰnɔʔ-kʰe:  
ʰtʰiʔ tə ʰŋu-nə ʰnɔʔ-kʰe:

‘(They two) wept for a long time, wept for a long time, and wept for a long time.’

(11)A: ʼte:  
‘And then?’

(12) ʼte ʼrə qo: ʰdoʔ hʰtʰi? ʰtʰse:-ʰza:-kʰe:  
‘Then, a Hare arrived.’

(13)A: ʼm: m:  
‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(14) ʼrə qo:-gə ʰtʰo: ʰŋi: ʼma wuu ʰtə tə ʰŋu-lə ʼji: ʰze:-kʰe:  
‘The Hare said: “Why do you two cry?”’

(15)A: ʼm: m:  
‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(16) ʰkʰo ʰŋi:-la ʰtʰeʃ kʰə-gə ʰze:-tu  
‘The Wolf has said to them two.’

(17) ʰnʃ ŋi:-gə nə ʰtʰo: ʰŋi: ʼma wuu ʰza-sʰa ʼfi:-ʰdzuu ʼji: ʰze:-tu  
‘(It) has said: “On the day after tomorrow, I will come to eat you two Mother Sheep and son.”’

(18) ʰkʰo ʰŋi:-nə ʰnã mʰɛ ʰtʰeʃ kʰə-gə ʰseʔ-ʰdzuu ʰji:-reʔ ʰze:-kʰe:  
‘The Wolf said: “No matter how it is, I will kill you two”.’

(19)A: ʼm: m:  
‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(20) ʼte ʼrə qo:-gə ʰze:-nə ʰtʰoʔ ʼŋu ʼma-ʰgo ʰkʰo-la ʼlo tʰaʔ  
ʰtʰiʔ ʼjoʔ ʰze:-kʰe:

‘Then, the Hare said: “You don’t need weep. I have a way”.’

(21)A: ʼm: m:  
‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(22) ʰtə tə ʼlo tʰaʔ ʼjoʔ ʰze:-kʰe:  
‘(The Sheep) said: “Which way do you have?”’

(23) ʰd̥o ʰdza po-gə ʼtə ri ʰdə

‘Euh, the king... let me see.’

(24) ʼrə qo:-gə ʼze:-nə gə

‘The Hare said:’

(25) ʰd̥o bo ʰtsʰe eʰu ʰsʰo-nə tə ʰn̥da ʰt̥eiʔ ʰt̥ea-gə ʰt̥ə ʰyə ʰn̥o  
ʰdoʔ ʰdoʔ ʰdoʔ ma ʰs̥u ʰkʰu-nə ʰeʰo: ʼze:-kʰe:

‘(The Hare) said: “Go to a place of remains of encampment by guests, and come and bring three pieces of paper lapping tea leaves”.’

(26)A: ʰm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(27) ʼte ʰn̥o ʰŋi: ʰkʰo ʰt̥seʔ-fio: ʰkʰo ʰt̥seʔ-fio:-kʰa

‘Then, on the day after tomorrow, when (the Wolf) came and arrived,’

(28) ʰkʰo-gə ʰkʰo ʰpaʔ ʰriʔ ʰdu-ʰkʰe ʰji: ʼtə ʰze:-nə ʰt̥eʔ kʰə  
ʼte-la ʰt̥se:-ʰza:-kʰa-la ʼte ne ʰt̥eʰo: ʰŋi: ʰt̥eʰo: ʰŋi: ʰseʔ ʰmə-ʰt̥euʔ  
ʰze:-kʰe:

‘(The Hare) said: “I am a person collecting kinds of skins,” and then “when the Wolf arrived there, I don’t make it kill you two”.’

(29)A: ʰm: ʰpaʔ ʰriʔ ʰze:-ʰdzuu-na

‘Yes, (what is) the thing called skin-kind?’

(30) ʼte ʰpaʔ pa ʰze:-nə

‘That is a (kind of) skin, and...’

(31)A: ʰm:

‘Okay.’ (backchannel)

(32) ʰluʔ ʰpaʔ ʰt̥aʔ ʰpaʔ ʰtsʰə nə rə

‘Like sheepskin, tiger skin, that is a (kind of) skin, and...’

(33)A: ʰluʔ ʰpaʔ-t̥eiʔ ʰm:

‘Sheepskin... okay.’

(34) ʰpaʔ pa ʰdu-ʰkʰe ʰze:-li: ʰze:-kʰe:

‘(The Hare) said “I talk as a person collecting kinds of skins.”’

(35)A: ʰm:

‘Okay.’ (backchannel)

(36) ʼte ʰkʰo-gə ʰpaʔ ʰriʔ ʰŋa ma ʰŋa tsʰo ʰjoʔ tu-ta:  
ʰt̥eʔ ŋe ma-gə ʰpaʔ ʰpaʔ ʰmeʔ tu

‘“Then I [the Hare] have various kinds of skins, but I don’t have any skin of an evil wolf”.’

(37) ʰʔa na ʰkʰu-eʰo: ʰze:-li:

‘“I will say: ‘Come and bring (a wolf’s skin) here’.”’

(38)A: ʰm: hn:

‘Okay, haha.’

(39) ʼte: ʰt̥se:-kʰa-la ʼtə nə ʼtə ri ʰdə rəʔ ʰt̥eʰo: ʰŋi: ʰseʔ ʰmə-ʰt̥euʔ  
ʰze:-kʰe:

‘ “When that (Wolf) comes, I don’t make it kill you two”, it [the Hare] says.’

(40)A: `m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(41) `te `ma wuu `hŋi: ʔa `ŋuʔ-nə `nduʔ-kʰe:

‘Then the mother and son just sat waiting.’

(42) `te ʔeʰə ʔə `nda `ra hʰteiʔ `fiɰu-nə `hta-nə `nduʔ-kʰe:

‘Then (they two) collected some paper-like stuff and waited and saw.’

(43) `hta-nə `nduʔ-kʰa-la `pa: hʰteiʔ `te ʰteʔ kʰə `htse:-fiɰa:-kʰe:

‘When (they two) waited and saw, the Wolf then came.’

(44)A: te:

‘And then?’

(45) `te `ma wuu `hŋi: ʔa `za-sʰa

‘In order to eat the mother and son, then.’

(46)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(47) `te `fiɰuʔ-kʰe: `hŋo:

‘Then (they two) got very sad.’

(48) `te `tə ri ʰdə reʔ `qə: `rə qo:-gə `rə qo:-gə-la `ze:-nə

‘Then, let me see... euh, the Hare... the Hare said...’

(49) `rə qo:-gə `ze:-nə

‘The Hare said:’

(50) ʰkʰo ʰdza naʔ `kə ma-gə ʰpaʔ `riʔ `fiɰu-ŋkʰe ʔji: ʔze:-kʰe:

‘(The Hare) said: “I am a person of the emperor, who collects various skins”.’

(51)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(52) ʰpaʔ ʰpaʔ-gə ʰtʰe: `fiɰu-ŋkʰe ʔji: ʔze:-kʰe:

‘(The Hare) said: “(I) am a person collecting the tax of skin”.’

(53) `te ʰpaʔ ʰpaʔ-gə ʰtʰe: `fiɰu-ŋkʰe ʔji: ʔna ʰpaʔ ʰpaʔ ʰtʰe: ʰfiɰu  
ʔna `te

‘Then: “If (I) am a person collecting the tax of skin, if (I) collect the tax of skin”, then,’

(54) ʰtʰeʰoʔ `tə ri ʰdə reʔ

‘You, let me see...’

(55) `tə tə ʔji: na-gə ʰpaʔ ʰpaʔ `tə tə ʔji: na `ʔə-joʔ `hta-fiɰo-nduʔ

‘“(I) need see whichever skins there are”.’

(56) ʰdza naʔ `kə ma-gə `hqa eʰoʔ ʰkʰu-eʰoʔ ʔze:-kʰe:

‘(The Wolf) said: “Come and bring the edict of the emperor”.’

(57)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(58) `te ʰluʔ `ma wuu ʰhŋi: ʔa-gə ʰeʰə ʔə ʰhʰteiʔ `hte:-fiɰa:-loʔ-zə ʰji:-kʰe:

‘Then, the Mother Sheep and son pretended to give a paper.’

(59)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(60) `tə ri ˈdə re? `pʰa lu ʻrə qo:-la

‘Let me see... to the Hare over there.’

(61)A: ʻrə kō

‘Hare?’

(62) `m: ˉeʰə yə ˉhʰtɛi? ˉhʰte:-loʔ-zə ʰji:-kʰe:

‘Yes, (they two) pretended to give a paper (to the Hare over there).’

(63)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(64) ʻte ˉhʰtɛi? ˉhʰtaʔ-gə ˉhʰpaʔ ˉhʰpaʔ-nə ʰjoʔ tu

‘Then, (the Hare said): “There is a tiger’s skin”,’

(65) ˉhʰzi:-gə ˉhʰpaʔ ˉhʰpaʔ-nə ʰjoʔ tu

‘“There is also a leopard’s skin”,’

(66) ˉhʰdʒə yə-gə ˉhʰpaʔ ˉhʰpaʔ-nə ʰjoʔ tu

‘“There is also a female yak’s skin”,’

(67) ˉhʰpaʔ ʻri? ˉŋa ma ˉŋa tsʰo ʰjoʔ tu

‘“There are various kinds of skin”.’

(68) ʻte ˉhʰteʃ ŋɛ ma-gə ˉhʰpaʔ ʻri? ʻmeʔ-kʰe: ˉze:-kʰe: ʻrə qo:-gə

‘“Then there is not an evil wolf’s skin,” the Hare said.’

(69)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(70) `tə re? `tə la ˉhʰteʃ kʰə ʰdoʔ ˉhʰtɛi? ˉhʰtse:-kʰe:

‘(The Hare said): “Look, there is a Wolf coming”,’

(71) `tə ˉhʰpaʔ ʻri? ˉkʰu-ɛʰoʔ ˉze:-kʰe:

‘“Come and bring that kind of skin!”, (it) said.’

(72)A: ʻm:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(73) ˉhʰteʃ kʰə ˉhʰtɛi: tə ˉhʰtʰa:-hʰza:-kʰe:

‘The Wolf got very feared.’

(74) `pʰu le te tə gə

‘(The Wolf) never (had time to look back) at all.’

(75)A: ʻm hə hə

‘Haha,’

(76) ˉpʰu ˉeʰə ˉhʰta-zə ʻma-kʰũ-nə ʰdʰu:-hʰza:-kʰe:

‘(The Wolf) never had time to look back at all, and fled.’

(77)A: ʻm hə hə ʻte

‘Haha... And then?’

(78) ʻte ʻma lu ˉhʰta ˉhʰdzə-teiʔ-la ˉtʰuʔ-kʰe:

‘Then, (the Wolf) met a horse herder in a lower area.’

(79)A: ʼm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(80) ʼte<sup>h</sup>oʼ ʼteə tə ʼndu-lə ji: ʼhteð ŋɛ̃ ma ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘(The herder) said: “Evil Wolf, why are you going to flee?”’

(81)A: ʼm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(82) ʼk<sup>h</sup>o ʼle: ʼndu ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘(The Wolf) said: “I’ll of course flee!”’

(83) ʼ<sup>h</sup>dza naʼ kō ma-gə ʼpə gə ʼ<sup>h</sup>qa ɛ<sup>h</sup>oʼ ʼ<sup>h</sup>doʼ h<sup>h</sup>teiʼ ʼk<sup>h</sup>u-nə ʼ<sup>h</sup>paʼ ʼriʼ  
ʼ<sup>h</sup>du-<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃ ʼ<sup>h</sup>tse:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘“There arrived a person who collect various skins, bringing an emperor’s edict”.’

(84)A: ʼm:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(85) ʼ<sup>h</sup>paʼ <sup>h</sup>paʼ-lə ʼk<sup>h</sup>o ʼ<sup>h</sup>paʼ <sup>h</sup>paʼ ʼmeʼ tu ʼze:-nə ʼk<sup>h</sup>o ʼtə gə ʼndu-lə ji:  
ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘Skin... (the Wolf) said: “(The Hare) said that my skin lacked, so I’ll flee because of that”.’

(86)A: ʼm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(87) ʼte ʼtə gə ʼt<sup>h</sup>oʼ nə ʼluʼ ʼma wu ʼ<sup>h</sup>ŋi: ʼya ʼrə qo:-gə ʼza  
ʼma-ɛ<sup>h</sup>o:-zə reʼ

‘Then, since then, the Hare did not let the Mother Sheep and son eaten.’

(88) ʼte ʼ<sup>h</sup>teiʼ ʼŋi ma ʼ<sup>h</sup>gō-la ʼɛ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:

‘Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.’

(89) ʼ<sup>h</sup>duʼ ʼpɛ <sup>h</sup>ga ʼte<sup>h</sup>u-gə ʼk<sup>h</sup>u: ʼreʼ

‘A stick of sadness was flushed by the water, (it) is like (that).’

(90)A: ʼm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

## (B) *The Hare and the Tiger*

(1) ʼrə qo: ʼ<sup>h</sup>teiʼ ʼjoʼ-zə ʼji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘[Once upon a time,] there was a Hare.’

(2)A: ʼte:

‘And then?’

(3)B: ʼfiə ʼtə

‘Oh, like that.’

(4) ʼte ʼtə ri ʼn<sup>h</sup>də reʼ

‘Then, euh...’

(5) ʼrə qo:-tə ʼ<sup>h</sup>təʼ ʼ<sup>h</sup>ŋi: ʼk<sup>h</sup>a ʼteiʼ ʼ<sup>h</sup>də-zə ʼji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘The Hare and a Tiger, the two went together.’

(6)A: ʼte:

- ‘And then?’
- (7)B: ʼfio ja ʼŋɛ-tə ʼre?  
 ‘Okay, (that) is a good (story).’
- (8) ʼte: ʼrə qo:-gə ʼtə ri ʼnɔ də re? ʼrə qo:-gə ʼtə tə  
 ‘Then, the Hare, euh..., the Hare...’
- (9)A: ʼʔa ma ʼtəʰoʔ ʼʔa na ʼfi duʔ  
 ‘Mom, please sit here.’
- (10) ʼhtaʔ-gə ʼze:-nə gə  
 ‘The Tiger said.’
- (11) ʼrə qo: ʼrə ŋɛ ma ʼtəʰoʔ ʼza-fi go-tu ʼze:-kʰe:  
 ‘“Hare, Evil Hare, I want to eat you”.’
- (12)A: ʼm:  
 ‘Yes.’ (backchannel)
- (13) ʼte: ʼtə tə ʼkʰo ʼma-za-roʔ-ta  
 ‘Then, uh, (the Hare said:) “Please don’t eat me”,’
- (14) ʼtəʰoʔ ʼta ri ʼma-za-ta ʼsʰɔ ŋi ʼza-ta  
 ‘“You don’t eat (me) today, and eat (me) tomorrow”,’
- (15) ʼkʰo ʼte ʼtsʰɔ ʼmbo ʼreʔ-reʔ ʼze:-kʰe:  
 ‘“I will get fat then”, (the Hare) said.’
- (16) ʼrə qo:-la  
 ‘To the Hare.’
- (17)A: ʼte:  
 ‘And then?’
- (18) ʼrə qo:-gə ʼze:-kʰe:  
 ‘The Hare said...’
- (19)A: ʼm:  
 ‘Yes.’ (backchannel)
- (20) ʼhtaʔ-la  
 ‘To the Tiger.’
- (21) ʼte: ʼrə qo: ʼpʰa la ʼtʰe:-nə gə ʼtə ri ʼnɔ də re? ʼto ma ʼhko-nə ʼza-fi za:-kʰe:  
 ‘Then, the Hare went over there, and ... let me see... it dug and ate silverweed.’
- (22)A: ʼte: hn  
 ‘And then? Hahaha.’
- (23) ʼto ma ʼhko-nə ʼza-kʰa ʼte: ʼhtaʔ fi gɛ-gə ʼze:-nə  
 ‘When (the Hare) dug and was eating silverweed, the tiger said.’
- (24) ʼtəʰoʔ ʼtə tə ʼza-li: ʼze:-kʰe:  
 ‘“What are you eating?”, (the Tiger) said.’
- (25)A: ʼm:  
 ‘Yes.’ (backchannel)
- (26) ʼʔa ʼtə tə ʼza ʼŋa-rə-gə ʼmiʔ fi doʔ ʼkʰa ji: ʼhko-nə ʼza-li:



`ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘“Oh, what can I eat? (I) dug and am eating my own eyeball of a pair”, (the Hare) said.’

(27)A: hn `te:

‘Hahaha, and then?’

(28) `te: `to ma <sup>h</sup>tei? `za-<sup>h</sup>za:-k<sup>h</sup>e: <sup>h</sup>ta?-gə

‘Then, (it) ate silverweed.’

(29) `tə ri <sup>n</sup>də re? `rə qo: <sup>h</sup>ta?-gə

‘Let me see, the hare..., (it’s) the Tiger (eat).’

(30) ʔa tsi: <sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>o?-la-nə `zɪ <sup>m</sup>bo-<sup>h</sup>tei? <sup>h</sup>za-<sup>h</sup>dzuu <sup>h</sup>jo?-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘(The Tiger said): “Wow, you have a tasty thing to eat!”’

(31) `k<sup>h</sup>o-la `mi? <sup>h</sup>do? <sup>h</sup>ka ji:-tə <sup>h</sup>ko-ta `ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘“Dig one of (my) eyeballs for me”, (the Tiger) said.’

(32)A: `m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(33) `rə qo:-gə

‘The Hare...’

(34)A: `te:

‘And then?’

(35) `te: `rə qo:-gə `to ma <sup>h</sup>do? <sup>h</sup>tei? <sup>h</sup>ta?-la <sup>h</sup>zi:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘The Hare then gave one silverweed to the Tiger.’

(36)A: <sup>h</sup>ta?-la <sup>h</sup>zi:-k<sup>h</sup>e: `m:

‘(It) gave the Tiger, okay.’

(37) `fo `zɪ <sup>m</sup>bo <sup>h</sup>ta: mo <sup>h</sup>ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e: `ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘“Oh, (this is) very tasty,” (the Tiger) said.’

(38)A: `te:

‘And then?’

(39) `te: <sup>h</sup>ko-rə-gə `tə ri <sup>n</sup>də re? `mi? <sup>h</sup>do? <sup>h</sup>ka ji:-tə <sup>h</sup>pi:-ts<sup>h</sup>a:-re?-mo

‘Then, its [Tiger’s], let me see..., its one of the eyeballs has already been dug out, right?’

(40) `te: ta `k<sup>h</sup>o-la `mi? <sup>h</sup>do? <sup>h</sup>ka ji:-tə <sup>h</sup>pi:-<sup>h</sup>za? `ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e: <sup>h</sup>ta?-gə

‘Then, the Tiger said: “Dig out the (other) eyeball of two for me”.’

(41)A: `m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(42) `te: `rə qo:-tə `ŋe: <sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>sa <sup>h</sup>ŋɛ <sup>m</sup>ba `re?

‘Then, the Hare is one which has a whole bag of tricks.’

(43) `ta? <sup>h</sup>tho <sup>m</sup>bo <sup>h</sup>tei?-gə `k<sup>h</sup>a-la <sup>h</sup>pa la <sup>h</sup>thi?-<sup>h</sup>za:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

‘(The Hare) led (the Tiger) thither on the edge of a high cliff.’

(44): <sup>h</sup>ta? `re? <sup>h</sup>ta?

‘(It’s) the Tiger, yes, the Tiger.’

(45)A: `te:

‘And then?’

- (46) 'te ri 'ta 'kʰo-la 'mi? ʰdo? ʦkʰa ji: ^jo? reʔ-mo  
 'Then, that time, one eyeball exists in it (the tiger), right?'
- (47) ʦkʰa ji: ^jo? 'ma reʔ-mo  
 'Another eyeball does not exist, right?'
- (48) 'te: ta 'ta 'teʰoʔ-gə ʦza-li: 'mi? ʰdo? ʦkʰa ji:-tə 'hko-nə  
 'za-lə 'ʔə ji: 'ze:-kʰe:  
 'Then, (the Hare) said: "Now, you eat... shall I dig your eyeball and are you going to eat (it)?"'
- (49) 'te 'hʰtaʔ-gə ʦza-li: 'ze:-kʰe:  
 'Then, the Tiger said: "I'm going to eat",'
- (50) 'te 'teʰoʔ-gə ʦkʰa ji:-tə 'hko-ta  
 ' "You dig the other (eyeball)".'
- (51)A: 'm:  
 'Yes.' (backchannel)
- (52) 'te 'ʔa ʰde: ʦna 'ʰde:  
 'Then, as expected,'
- (53) 'rə qo:-gə 'ŋɛ 'ʰzu-nə gə  
 'The Hare did an evil thing.'
- (54) 'mi? ʰdo? 'ŋo ma-tə 'hko-nə gə  
 '(The Hare) dug the real eyeball.'
- (55) 'rə qo:-gə 'ta ri 'hʰtaʔ-la ^ʰzi:-kʰe:  
 'The hare, euh, gave (it) to the Tiger.'
- (56)A: ʦkʰo-rə-gə 'mi? 'hko-nə 'ʔə-ji:  
 '(It) did dig his rye?'
- (57) 'hʰtaʔ-gə 'mi? ʰdo? 'hko-nə  
 'It dug the Tiger's eyeball.'
- (58)A: 'm:<sup>[663]</sup>  
 'Okay.' (backchannel)
- (59) 'te 'hʰtaʔ ʰge 'mi? ʰdo? ʦteʰa hʰteiʔ-tə 'meʔ-ʰkʰe ^reʔ-kʰe:  
 'Then, the Tiger became one which did not have the pair of eyeballs.'
- (60)A: 'm:  
 'Yes.' (backchannel)
- (61) 'te 'rə qo:-gə 'ta ri ʦteʰoʔ 'pʰa la 'te me: ʦnu: 'ze:-kʰe:  
 'Then, the Hare said: "Now you move a little over there".'
- (62)A: 'm:  
 'Yes.' (backchannel)
- (63) 'ʔa kʰu 'hʰtaʔ ʦeʰə-nu:-zə 'mə tsʰe 'ʰdza ri: 'ja: mo ^me-gə  
 'ʰtsʰiʔ-əə ^jiʔ tu 'ze:-kʰe:  
 ' "Uncle Tiger, you move back; otherwise, the beautiful stripe is being burnt by fire," (the hare) said.'
- (64)A: 'm:  
 'Yes.' (backchannel)

(65) 'te: ʔp<sup>h</sup>a la ʔe<sup>h</sup>ə-nu: 'te me: ʔ<sup>h</sup>zu-k<sup>h</sup>a jō ʔe<sup>h</sup>ə-nu: 'te me: ʔ<sup>h</sup>zu-k<sup>h</sup>a  
 'Then, when (the Tiger) moved back a little, and again (it) moved back a little,'

(66) 'ta? t<sup>h</sup>o? ^[ta? <sup>h</sup>za? 'jū-nə ʔ<sup>h</sup>ta? ^tə la ʔ<sup>h</sup>seʔ-tə<sup>h</sup>aʔ-zə re?  
 '(The Hare) made (the Tiger) fall from the top to the bottom of the cliff and was able to kill the Tiger there.'

(67)A: ʔm:  
 'Yes.' (backchannel)

(68) 'mə ts<sup>h</sup>ε 'rə qo:-gə 'tə ri <sup>n</sup>də re?  
 'Otherwise, the Hare..., euh...'

(69) 'rə qo: ʔ<sup>h</sup>seʔ-<sup>h</sup>go ʔ<sup>h</sup>sā-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 'It (the Tiger) intended to kill the Hare.'

(70)A: ʔm:  
 'Yes.' (backchannel)

(71) ʔa k<sup>h</sup>u ʔ<sup>h</sup>taʔ-gə  
 'Uncle Tiger.'

(72) 'ta <sup>n</sup>də ^reʔ-mo ji: na  
 'Then it [the story] is like that, right?'

(73) ʔ<sup>n</sup>dza ri: 'ja: mo 'ze:-<sup>h</sup>dzu-tə  
 '(This is) one (story) about the beautiful stripe.'

(74)B: ʔ<sup>n</sup>dza ri: 'ja: mo ^me-gə ʔ<sup>h</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>iʔ-εə ^joʔ ʔe<sup>h</sup>ə nu: ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ ʔe<sup>h</sup>ə nu: ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ  
 'ze: t<sup>h</sup>ə ji: na  
 'The beautiful stripe is being burnt by fire, so move back, move back; saying like that, right?'

(75) 'tə <sup>n</sup>da ^ze:-loʔ 'ze: t<sup>h</sup>ə ji: na  
 'The way of story-telling like that is saying like that.'

(76)A: ʔa no:-gə 'ta rō 'tə ^[ʔe-tə<sup>h</sup>oʔ-tə 'ji:-na  
 'Anu can still remember that, right?'

(77)A: 'ja-rə-ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə ʔ<sup>h</sup>a <sup>h</sup>pe ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ-ts<sup>h</sup>a:-k<sup>h</sup>a-la  
 'When we finish narrating a folktale,'

(78)A: 'tə 'ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:-tei? ^reʔ-mo ji: na  
 '(We would) say something like that.'

(79)A: ʔtə ^ze:-ko  
 'How do we say?'

(80)A: ʔ<sup>h</sup>tei? 'ŋi ma  
 'The happy sun...?'

(81)+A ʔ<sup>h</sup>tei? 'ŋi ma ʔ<sup>h</sup>gō-la ʔe<sup>h</sup>ε:  
 'Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.'

(82)+A ʔ<sup>h</sup>duʔ 'pe <sup>h</sup>ga ʔe<sup>h</sup>u-gə ʔ<sup>h</sup>u:  
 'A stick of sadness was flushed by the water.'

(83)+A 'to ma 'ma: k<sup>h</sup>u: ʔnə-la ʔ<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>əʔ  
 'Silverweed with melted butter was offered to the sky.'

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## カムチベット語塔公 [Lhagang] 方言の物語 2 編

— 「羊と狼」と「野うさぎと虎」 —

鈴木博之 四郎翁姆

minibutasan [at] gmail.com | sonam107wangmo [at] gmail.com

キーワード：チベット系諸言語 木雅熱崗方言群 Lhagang 方言 語り 民話

### 要旨

本稿は、カムチベット語 Minyag Rabgang (木雅熱崗) 方言群に属する Lhagang (塔公) 方言の物語 2 編「羊と狼」、「野うさぎと虎」を記述する。それぞれの物語について、言語学的注釈を含む行間訳、英語訳、Lhagang 方言に基づくチベット語訳を与える。付録として、物語が語られた場で行われた一連の発話を書き起こしたスクリプトを添える。

(すずき・ひろゆき 復旦大学)  
(ソナン ワンモ ボン大学)