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### Journal

Himalayan Linguistics, 16(2)

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### Publication Date

2017

### DOI

10.5070/H916233598

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## Himalayan Linguistics

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### ABSTRACT

The article primarily provides one full narrative story named King's pig with a grammatical annotation of Lhagang Tibetan, a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams, spoken in the easternmost Tibetosphere, i.e., Kangding Municipality, Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. It also analyses a basic narrative construction and differences from general speeches, and shows that a narrative mode has an additional strategy regarding the evidential expressions as well as TAM marking which are observed neither in general conversations nor in elicitations. This implies a necessity of different descriptions depending on styles when one writes a reference grammar of this language.

### KEYWORDS

Khams Tibetan, Lhagang, narrative, descriptive linguistics

This is a contribution from *Himalayan Linguistics*, Vol. 16(2): 129–163.

ISSN 1544-7502

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# *King's Pig: A story in Lhagang Tibetan with a grammatical annotation on a narrative mode*

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## **1 Introduction**

This article primarily provides one full narrative story named King's Pig narrated in Lhagang Tibetan with a grammatical annotation. Lhagang Tibetan is a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams, spoken in the easternmost Tibetosphere, i.e., Tagong (lHa sgang) Village (henceforth Lhagang Village), Tagong Town, Kangding (Dar rtse mdo) Municipality, Ganzi (dKar mdzes) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. It also analyses a basic narrative construction and differences from general speeches, and shows that a narrative mode has an additional strategy regarding the evidential expressions as well as TAM marking which are observed neither in general conversations nor in elicitations. This implies a necessity of different descriptions depending on styles when one writes a reference grammar of this language.

Lhagang Tibetan has been described by Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015a, 2017b) as a language with sociolinguistically variegated speeches mainly evoked by the migration of pastoralists who originally lived in the surrounding area of Lhagang Village due to the governmental policy of their resettlement (Sonam Wangmo 2013). The variety in which the present story is narrated corresponds to 'Lhagang-B' called in Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015b), a variety spoken by traditionally sedentary Tibetans in Lhagang Village. A sketch grammar of Lhagang-B has also been provided by Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016). However, any previous works do not pay extra attention to linguistic differences within Lhagang-B among generations. The sketch grammar is based on the speech of the younger generation; however, the present story was narrated by a woman in an elder generation. There might be to some extent differences between the two generations.

Based on the interviews conducted in Lhagang Village in the summer of 2016, the second author has found that narratives relate to the origin of the place and people are considered to be one of the most important parts of local culture and identity in Lhagang. These narratives are well inherited and transmitted from generation to generation although it is undeniable that they constantly keep changing. However, numerous local folktales are nearly facing extinct; one of the main factors is that, due to a rapid development of technologies, many younger generations are not any more interested in local stories, and then elderlies in the village are gradually forgetting all the folktales.

While two months stay in Lhagang, the second author collected more than twenty stories from different native persons with diverse age, gender, and their social background. The content of six stories within the collected stories is almost the same except some minor differences, such as the name of the protagonist and the sequence of the story plot. A highly possible reason for the discrepancy is that elderlies are no longer and nowhere to tell their stories; thus they failed to recall these stories; in some cases, they tend to confuse the plots of different stories.

Now we should claim that it is a sorrowful and unfortunate situation that some local cultures are declining and eventually will disappear. In the era of searching for a national identity, one can argue that only small things like local cultures and dialects make and keep the big and unit culture or the national culture stronger and alive. Besides, local culture is greater importance for a person who lives or has lived in a small-scale local community in contrast to other types of communities. Such local environment, culture or dialects might be thought to make a contribution to the national culture in a special way or to a special extent. With this background, we have the intention to collect and record local stories as well as folktales in Lhagang Village as soon as possible before elderlies pass away and nobody knows any more about these amazing stories with local characteristics.

The present story is one of the well-preserved stories, narrated without any interruptions. As usual, a story has no fixed title, and we call the present story *King's pig*, which is just for the sake of convenience as an appellation. The name *phag mgo log bstan* 'a kind of ritual using a pig head' is more accurate in a local way. The story to be analysed is based on a version narrated by a woman at her age of 70s from Lhagang Village. It was recorded by the second author in September 2016. A phonetic transcription of the story was made by the first author.

Concerning the content of the story, the present story is quite similar to another story called *mo ston phag mgo*, mainly transmitted in the eastern Tibetosphere and published as a part of the anthology of oral stories *Mi ro rtse sgrung* (1980:97-108) as well as in an online version. However, it is unclear that this similarity originates from the common source due to the nature of folklore. At least based on a structural semantic analysis by Yin (2009), *King's pig* and *mo ston phag mgo* are considered as different types of a folktale. The annotation will not include a comparison between them but will concentrate on the analysis of the story of Lhagang Tibetan. A detailed comparative analysis will be provided in a separate article.

An appendix is attached, in which we write the present story in the Tibetan script following the pronunciation of Lhagang Tibetan as a language material for local Tibetans, as practised in Suzuki et al. (2015). When one reads this script in a local manner, one can reproduce the story in Lhagang Tibetan. Such a practice is rarely taken by local people. However, it might be helpful to transmit narratives.

## 2 Story

We provide an interlinear glossing<sup>1</sup> with a translation for each sentence in Section 2.1, followed by a full English translation of the story in Section 2.2. The section division within the

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<sup>1</sup> The sound system and phonetic transcription of Lhagang Tibetan is as follows:

Suprasegmentals: ˉ : high level [55/44]; ˊ : rising [24/35]; ˋ : falling [53/42]; ˆ : rising-falling [243].

Consonants: /p<sup>h</sup>, p, b, t<sup>h</sup>, t, d, [t<sup>h</sup>, t, d, k<sup>h</sup>, k, g, ʔ, ts<sup>h</sup>, ts, dz, te<sup>h</sup>, te, dz, ʃ, s<sup>h</sup>, s, z, ʂ<sup>h</sup>, ʂ, e<sup>h</sup>, e, z, x<sup>h</sup>, x, ɣ, h, fi, m, ɱ, n, ŋ, ŋ̥, ŋ̥̥, l, ʎ, r, w, j/. Preaspiration and prenasalisation can appear as a preinitial.

is first based on the content, divided into nine paragraphs, and second mainly based on pauses taken between sentences by the narrator. The numbering is presented as, e.g., (2.3), which means that the third line of sentences in the second paragraph. Due to the length of the story, the paragraph number is also provided in the full translation.

## 2.1 Interlinear glossing and translation

- (1.1) 'ŋi ma 'hina: hna-la 'hiza: po t̄te<sup>h</sup>ts̄h̄ 'hte<sup>i</sup>? ^joʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 old time-LOC king family one EXV-PFT.NSEN  
 'Once upon a time, there was a king's family.'
- (1.2) 'tə ts<sup>h</sup>o-la 'tə ri <sup>n</sup>də reʔ p̄ho t̄e<sup>h</sup>uʔ po-ts<sup>h</sup>o 'hte<sup>i</sup>? ^ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 3.PL-DAT be like that very rich-COL one CPV-PFT.NSEN  
 'As for them, they are like that: they were an extremely rich family.'
- (1.3) 'tə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə <sup>h</sup>tə: ji <sup>m</sup>bo loʔ 'ŋgo-la p̄h<sup>a</sup>ʔ h̄gɛ 'h̄doʔ h̄te<sup>i</sup>? ^joʔ reʔ  
 3.PL-GEN place for cattle dung on-LOC pig place single EXV  
 'There was a pig on their place for throwing cattle dung.'
- (1.4) p̄h<sup>a</sup>ʔ h̄gɛ-nə 'tə ri <sup>n</sup>də reʔ p̄h<sup>a</sup>ʔ 'tə la 'ma <sup>n</sup>da zə t̄e<sup>h</sup>e bo  
 pig-TOP be like that pig such extraordinary big  
 'hte<sup>i</sup>? ^joʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 one EXV-PFT.NSEN  
 'The pig was like that: it was such an extremely big pig.'
- (1.5) 'te: 'tə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə t̄k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: ma t̄h̄ã t̄eʔ 'ma la <sup>h</sup>t̄õ  
 then 3.PL-GEN cattle all downwards pasture  
 'fio:-k<sup>h</sup>e:-tə  
 come- PFT.NSEN-CONJ  
 'Then all of their cattle came to pasture downwards, and'
- (1.6) 'h̄iza: po-ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə t̄k<sup>h</sup>ɛ: ma 'ma la <sup>h</sup>t̄õ-k<sup>h</sup>a ^ze: h̄dzɯ t̄ə la  
 king-COL-ERG cattle downwards pasture-just when like that  
 'Just when the king's family pasture downwards the cattle, it was like that:'
- (1.7) <sup>n</sup>dzo mo 't̄õ lə h̄d̄ə t̄ze:-h̄dzɯ 'hte<sup>i</sup>? ^joʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e: <sup>n</sup>dzo mo  
 mdzo mo PPN say-NML one EXV-PFT.NSEN mdzo mo  
 'hte<sup>i</sup>? ^joʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 one EXV-PFT.NSEN  
 'There was a mdzo mo, a mdzo mo named Dongladra.'
- (1.8) 'te: 'tə <sup>h</sup>tə: ji <sup>m</sup>bo loʔ 'h̄go-la <sup>h</sup>la h̄gɛ 'hte<sup>i</sup>? ^ŋe:-nə

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Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, ʉ, ɵ, ə/. Length and nasalisation are distinctive.

then that place for cattle dung on-LOC monk one sleep-CONJ  
 ʰnɗuʔ-joʔ-kʰe:  
 sit-STA-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, there was a monk sleeping and sitting on that place for throwing cattle dung.’

- (2.1) ʔkʰo tsʰo-la ʰta-nə ʔkʰo tsʰo-gə ʔkʰɔ̄ ba-gə ʰi gu kʰa ʔja la  
 3.PL-DAT see-CONJ 3.PL-GEN house-GEN gateway upwards  
 ʰta-nə ʰnɗuʔ-kʰa  
 see-CONJ sit-just when

‘Seeing them, just when he gazing upwards at the gateway of their house,’

- (2.2) ʔte ne ʰi la ʰi gɛ-gə ʰnɗə ʰɗa ʰta-nə ʰnɗuʔ-kʰa-la  
 then monk-ERG like this see-CONJ sit-just when-LOC

‘Just when the monk is gazing like this,’

- (2.3) ʔte tə ʰnɗo mo-gə ʰke m̄buʔ ʔkʰa-la ʰi ju ʰto ka  
 then mdzo mo-GEN neck place-CONJ azure turquoise  
 ʰnɗo mo ʰtoʔ ri ma ʰteiʔ ʰtaʔ-ʰdzɯ ʔjoʔ-kʰe:  
 mdzo mo PPN one wear-NML EXV-PFT.NSEN

‘There was an azure turquoise around the neck of the mdzo mo, which is called Torima.’

- (2.4) ʔtə tə ʔtə la ʔteʰe:-ʰzɑ:-kʰe: ʰi dza la: ʔkʰa-la  
 this there break-put-PFT.NSEN road place-LOC

‘This broke up there, and on the road,’

- (2.5) ʔteʰeʔ-kʰa ʔro sʰa ʔʔa ʰɗa zə nə ʔma la ʔtə ri ʰnɗə reʔ  
 break-just when right now in that way downwards be like that

‘Just when it broke up, immediately, it was like that,’

- (2.6) ʔtə tʰo ʰnɗo mo ʔkʰa kʰa ʰteiʔ ʰfo:-nə ta ʰteə wa  
 at that time mdzo mo other one come-CONJ cattle dung  
 ʔpʰo-ʰteiʔ ʰtɔ̄-ʰzɑʔ-kʰe:  
 pile-one do-put-PFT.NSEN

‘Another mdzo mo came and dropped a chunk of dung,’

- (2.7) ʔte ne ʔmə lu tə ʰi la ʰi gɛ ʰta-ʰkʰɛ-tə ʰi dzuʔ-ʰɗo-nə ta  
 then over there monk see-NML-TOP run-go-CONJ  
 ʔʔa ʰɗa zə nə ʰteə wa-la ʰnɗɯ gə ʰteiʔ ʰtsuʔ-ʰzɑʔ-kʰe:  
 in that way cattle dung-LOC finger one point-put-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the monk who saw it over there ran and went, and he pointed the dung with a finger in that way.’

- (2.8) 'tə-nḥ            ^joʔ reʔ        ḥsā re ḥsā ne        ḥtaʔ        ḥteiʔ        ḥza:-lə ^ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 that-inside    EXV            by thinking        sign        one        put-NPFT-PFT.NSEN  
 'Originally, he put (left) a sign by thinking that it (turquoise) is inside.'
- (3.1) 'te:        'tə        ḥto: ji ḥbo loʔ        ḥgo-la        ^ne:-ne:        ḥduʔ-zə ^ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 then        that        place for cattle dung    on-LOC        sleep-CONJ        sit-AOR-PFT.NSEN  
 'Then, he slept and sat on that place for dung.'
- (3.2) 'tə                ḥla ḥge-tə                ḥzaʔ ḥteiʔ tə                ḥpaʔ ḥge-gə        ʔho        ḥpu yə la  
 then                monk-that                a whole night                pig-ERG                3                absolutely  
 'ne:                'ma-ḥteuʔ-zə reʔ  
 sleep                NEG-CAUS-AOR  
 'Then, that monk was absolutely not allowed to sleep by the pig for a whole night.'
- (3.3) ^ḥā-ta                'ḥā        ḥze:        ḥto: ji ḥbo loʔ        ^ja:-ḥko        ḥto: ji ḥbo loʔ  
 oink-COM                oink        say        place for cattle dung        DIR-dig        place for cattle dung  
 ^ja:-ḥko-zə reʔ  
 DIR-dig-AOR  
 '(The pig) was oinking and oinking, and repeating to dig up the place for dung.'
- (3.4) 'te:                'tə ri ḥdə reʔ        ^ja:-ḥko-k<sup>h</sup>a-te                ḥla ḥge        ḥts<sup>h</sup>iʔ k<sup>h</sup>a ^za-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 then                be like that        DIR-dig-just when-TOP                monk                get angry-PFT.NSEN  
 ḥts<sup>h</sup>iʔ k<sup>h</sup>a 'za  
 get angry  
 'Then, that is like that: just when it digged, the monk got so angry.'
- (3.5) 'mə ḥde                ḥdza: po-ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə        ḥpaʔ                'reʔ                ḥtei 'tə lə ḥteiʔ  
 other persons                king-COL-GEN                pig                CPV                whatever  
 ḥto: ji ḥbo loʔ-ḥgḥ        ʔho-rə                ^ne:-ḥduʔ        ḥtei 'tə lə ḥteiʔ        ḥtə  
 place for cattle dung-on        3-self                sleep-sit                whatever                what  
 'le:-ḥdzu  
 do-NML                ^ma-ruʔ-zə reʔ  
 NEG-gain-AOR  
 'That (pig) is just the king's family's pig, and whatever it is, it sits and sleeps on the place for dung, there was no way to do anything.'
- (4.1) 'te                ḥdza: po-gə        ḥjo: mo                'ma rə                ḥdzuʔ-ḥio:-zə-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 then                king-GEN                maid                downwards                run-come-AOR-PFT.NSEN  
 'Then, a maid of the king came down running.'
- (4.2) ḥdzo mo-ts<sup>h</sup>o        ḥtəə wa        ḥp<sup>h</sup>o-ḥteiʔ-te        'ta ḥta                ḥju 'tə kə  
 mdzo mo-COL                dung                pile-one-DEF                now                with a turquoise  
 ḥdzo mo-te                'rī ḥba                'joʔ-ḥdzu  
 mdzo mo-DEF                value                EXV-NML  
 'She took a pile of mdzo mos' dung, including that of the valuable mdzo mo with a turquoise.'

- (4.3) ʔa<sup>n</sup>da zə nə      ʔts<sup>h</sup>ə la      ʔlɛ:-nə      ^ro s<sup>h</sup>a      ʔtsiʔ ka-la      ʔp<sup>h</sup>a la  
 in such a way      hither      bring-CONJ      immediately      wall-DAT      over there  
 ʔ<sup>h</sup>idzaʔ-ʔ<sup>h</sup>za:-zə reʔ  
 paste-put-AOR

‘She brought here, and immediately pasted them to the wall over there.’

- (4.4) ʔtsiʔ ka-la      ʔ<sup>h</sup>idzaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>a      ^ro s<sup>h</sup>a-tə      ʔ<sup>h</sup>la ʔge-tə      ʔlɛ: la ʔto: mo teiʔ  
 wall-DAT      paste-when      immediately-TOP      monk-DEF      very fortunate  
 ^ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 CPV-PFT.NSEN

‘When (she) pasted (the dung) to the wall, immediately, the monk was very fortunate.’

- (4.5) ʔ<sup>h</sup>idzuʔ-p<sup>h</sup>o e<sup>h</sup>ɛ: ʔtei      ʔ<sup>h</sup>idzuʔ-nɛ:      ʔtəə wa-la      ʔ<sup>n</sup>dzu gə-teiʔ      ʔ<sup>h</sup>tsuʔ-nɛ:  
 run-once      run-CONJ      dung-DAT      finger-NDEF      plant-CONJ  
 ʔjo:      ^tə la      ʔ<sup>h</sup>taʔ      ^ʔ<sup>h</sup>za:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 again      there      sign      put-PFT.NSEN

‘(He) ran there immediately and pushed (the dung) with a finger to make a sign there again.’

- (4.6) ʔte      ʔ<sup>h</sup>idza: po      ʔ<sup>h</sup>jo: mo      ʔtəə wa      ʔp<sup>h</sup>ɛ:-ts<sup>h</sup>a-reʔ-mo  
 then      king      maid      dung      throw-ACH-STT-PART

‘Then, the maid of the king finished throwing the dung, right?’

- (4.7) ʔte      ʔtə ri<sup>n</sup>də reʔ      ʔtə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə      ʔ<sup>h</sup>to: ji<sup>m</sup>bo loʔ      ʔ<sup>h</sup>go-la  
 then      be like that      3.PL-GEN      place for cattle dung      on-LOC  
 ʔte: tə      ʔ<sup>h</sup>la ʔge-tə      ^<sup>h</sup>ɛ:-nə      ʔ<sup>n</sup>duʔ-joʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 then      monk-DEF      sleep-CONJ      sit-STA-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, that is like that: on their place for dung, the monk was sleeping and sitting.’

- (5.1) ʔte      ʔtə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə      ^puu zə      ʔna-zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:      ʔ<sup>h</sup>idza: po-gə      ^puu zə  
 then      3.PL-GEN      son      be sick-put- PFT.NSEN      king-GEN      son

‘Then, their son got sick, the king’s son.’

- (5.2) ʔte      ʔ<sup>h</sup>idza: po      ^puu zə      ʔna-k<sup>h</sup>e:      ʔe<sup>h</sup>ə ʔteiʔ ʔe<sup>h</sup>ə ʔ<sup>h</sup>ɲi:      ^reʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 then      king      son      sick-PFT.NSEN      soon dying      CPV-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the king’s son was so sick that he was soon dying.’

- (5.3) ʔte      ʔtə ri<sup>n</sup>də reʔ      ʔtəə tə      ʔji:-na      ʔʔə ze: nɛ:  
 then      be like that      what      CPV-CONJ      on earth  
 ʔ<sup>h</sup>toʔ      ^mo pa-la      ^mo ʔta-nɛ:      ʔ<sup>n</sup>da      ʔ<sup>h</sup>tsə pa-la  
 upper      diviner-DAT      divination-CONJ      lower      fortune teller-DAT  
 ʔ<sup>h</sup>tsə ʔ<sup>h</sup>idzaʔ      ʔ<sup>h</sup>o ma ʔteiʔ ʔe      ʔtea:      ʔ<sup>n</sup>da ^mə<sup>n</sup>da      ʔ<sup>h</sup>idə-na  
 tell fortune      really      ritual      various      perform-CONJ

ʼtaʔ-<sup>h</sup>dzuu      ^meʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 heal-NML      NEG.EXV-put-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, that is like that: what on earth is it, even though (they) performed really various rituals, they made an augur do divination, and made a fortune teller tell fortune, (the king’s son) did not heal.’

- (6.1) ʼte                      ʼza: <sup>h</sup>tɛiʔ      ʼtə ri <sup>n</sup>də reʔ      <sup>h</sup>dza: po-t<sup>h</sup>o-gə-tə      ^puu zə-gə  
 then                      one night      be like that      king-COL-GEN-TOP      son-GEN  
 ʼp<sup>h</sup>a <sup>h</sup>gɛ-gə      ʼze:-nɛ:      ʼŋa ts<sup>h</sup>o      ʼhtə: ji <sup>m</sup>bo loʔ      ʼŋgo-la  
 father-ERG              say-CONJ      1.PL      place for cattle dung      on-LOC  
 ^ka ɛe tə na      ʼ<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>gɛ      ^<sup>h</sup>doʔ <sup>h</sup>tɛiʔ      ^ŋe:-joʔ tu      ʼtə yə <sup>n</sup>da  
 somewhere              monk              single              sleep-STA              that person  
 ʼʔə tɛi ʼko <sup>h</sup>go      ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e  
 possibly know              say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, that is like that: one night, the king’s family, the son’s father said: ‘there is one monk sleeping on our place for dung, and I am wondering whether that person could know something.’

- (6.2) ʼtə-la      ʼ<sup>h</sup>tɛiʔ      ʼtʃi:-s<sup>h</sup>o:      ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e  
 3-DAT      just              ask-go.IMPR      say-PFT.NSEN

‘Go and just ask him’, (he) said.’

- (6.3) ʼte: tə                      ʼtə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə      ʼmə      ʼtə      ʼt<sup>h</sup>e:-nɛ:      ʼ<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>gɛ-la  
 then                      3.PL-GEN      person      3              go.PF-CONJ      monk-DAT  
 ʼtɛ<sup>h</sup>oʔ yə <sup>n</sup>da      ʼtɛə      ʼʔə-ko      ʼk<sup>h</sup>o ts<sup>h</sup>o      ʼ<sup>h</sup>dza: po      ^puu zə  
 you guy                      what              Q-know      3.PL              king              son  
 ʼɛ<sup>h</sup>ə <sup>h</sup>tɛiʔ ʼɛ<sup>h</sup>ə <sup>h</sup>ŋi:      ʼji:              ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
 soon dying                      CPV              say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, a person of them (king’s family), he went and said to the monk: ‘you guy do you know anything? The king’s son is soon dying.’

- (6.4) ʼk<sup>h</sup>o-gə                      ʼp<sup>h</sup>aʔ <sup>ŋ</sup>go ʼloʔ <sup>h</sup>te      ʼze:-<sup>h</sup>dzuu-te      ʼ<sup>h</sup>zu-ɛ<sup>h</sup>e:      ʼmə ts<sup>h</sup>e      ʼtə  
 3-ERG                      *phag mgo log bstan*      say-NML-DEF      do-know      except      3  
 ʼtɛə ʃə la                      ^mə-ɛ<sup>h</sup>e:  
 anything                      NEG-know                      say-PFT.NSEN

‘He said: ‘Except for doing a ritual called *phag mgo log bstan*, I don’t know anything.’

- (6.5) ʼte                      ʼtə ri <sup>n</sup>də reʔ      ʼte                      ʼp<sup>h</sup>aʔ <sup>ŋ</sup>go ʼloʔ <sup>h</sup>te      ʼze:-<sup>h</sup>dzuu-tə  
 then                      be like that              that                      *phag mgo log bstan*      say-NML-DEF  
 ʼtɛə <sup>n</sup>da                      ʼ<sup>h</sup>zu-<sup>h</sup>go-lə reʔ      ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e  
 how                      do-need-NPFT              say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, that is like that: he said: ‘how should one do that ritual called *phag mgo log bstan*?’

(6.6)	ʼte then ʼhʰtɛe-ʰzɑʔ-kʰa-la cut-put-when-LOC ʰkʰo-gə 3-GEN ʼtʰɑ:-kʰa hʰtɛiʔ heal-NML	ṽpʰɑʔ ʰgɛ pig ʼte then ṽŋgo head ṽʔə-ʼmə-tʰo: Q-NEG-obtain	ṽteʰɛ bo big ʼte-gə 3-GEN ʼtə ri ʰdə reʔ be like that ṽze:-kʰe say-PFT.NSEN	ʰtɛiʔ-gə one-GEN ṽŋgo-tə head-DEF ʰdza: po king	ʰke mbuʔ-tə neck-DEF ʼtə ri ʰdə reʔ be like that ^puu zə son
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‘Then, he said: ‘when one cuts down the neck of a big pig, and then its head might be able to heal the king’s son.’

(6.7)	ʼte then ṽpʰɑʔ ŋgo ʼloʔ hʰte <i>phag mgo log bstan</i> ʰkʰo-gə 3-GEN	ʰdza: po-tsʰo-gə king-COL-ERG ṽze:-ʰdzuu-te say-NML-DEF ʰtəʔ ʔə lə tə anything	ʼtə-la that-DAT ṽɛʰe: know ^mə-ɛʰe: NEG-know	ʼtʰi:-kʰe:-tə ask-PFT.NSEN-CONJ ʼmə tsʰe except ṽze:-tu say-DSE	ṽkʰo 3 ʼte: then
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‘The king’s family asked him (the monk), and he (the monk) always says that he does not know anything but a ritual called *phag mgo log bstan*.’

(6.8)	ʰjiu ʰtʰo ka azure turquoise ^puu zə-nə son-TOP ṽtəʔ ʔə lə tə anything	ṽndzo mo mdzo mo ʼɛʰə hʰtɛiʔ ʼɛʰə ʰŋi: soon dying ʼle:-ʰdzuu do-NML	ṽtəʔ ri ma-ṽna PPN-TOP ^ji:-kʰe: CPV-PFT.NSEN ^meʔ tu NEG.EXV	^po:-kʰe: lose-PFT.NSEN-CONJ ʼtə that ṽze:-kʰe say-PFT.NSEN	ʰdza: po king ṽʰla ʰgɛ-la monk-DAT
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‘He (king’s family member) said: ‘The mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise has been lost, the king’s son is soon dying, and that monk has no things to do.’

(6.9)	ʼte then ṽŋi: ʰdzə-te: pitiful-TOP ʰhʰtɛe-ʰzɑ:-kʰe: cut-put-PFT.NSEN ṽʰla ʰgɛ-gə monk-GEN	^meʔ tu NEG.EXV ʼtə ri ʰdə reʔ be like that ṽpʰɑʔ ʰgɛ-tə pig-DEF ʼno: ba mistake	ṽze:-kʰa-tə na say-when-CONJ ʰdza: po-tsʰo-gə king-COL-ERG ʼtə-la 3-DAT	ʼta nɛ: CONJ ṽpʰɑʔ ʰgɛ-gə pig-GEN ʰseʔ-ʰzɑ:-kʰe: kill-put-PFT.NSEN	ṽʔə-ji: Q-CPV ṽŋgo-tə head-DEF ʼtə then
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‘Then, when he (the monk) said that he had no way, it is so pitiful, the king’s family cut the head of the pig, they killed the pig for him (the king’s son), then all is the monk’s mistake.’

(7.1)	ʼte: then	ṽʰla ʰgɛ-gə monk-ERG	ʰsã-kʰe: think-PFT.NSEN	ʼta: then	ṽkʰo-la 3-DAT
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ṣ <sup>h</sup> ṣ̄ ṅī	ḥjw ḥt̥o ka	ṇdzo mo	ḥt̥oʔ ri ma-nə	ʼmeʔ
tomorrow	azure turquoise	mdzo mo	PPN-TOP	EXV.NEG
ṭk <sup>h</sup> o	ṭeə ʈə lə tə	ʼle:-ḥdz̥u	^mə-raʔ	ḥdza: po
3	anything	do-NML	NEG-obtain	king
^puw zə	ʼt̥a:-t <sup>h</sup> aʔ-nə	ṭk <sup>h</sup> o	ṭeə ʈə lə tə	ʼma-t <sup>h</sup> oʔ-tu
son	heal-NML-TOP	3	anything	NEG-gain-DSE
ḥs̄ā-nə				
think-CONJ				

'Then, the monk thought that the mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise is lost and that he would have no things to do tomorrow. He did not gain the way to heal the king's son, neither, he thought.'

(7.2)	ḥt̥sa	ḥpa: ra	k̄ṣ̄	ḥt̥sa ḥtea	ḥpa: ra
	grass	handful	one	grey grass	handful
	k̄ṣ̄	ʼpe:-ne:	ṭʔə ṇda zə nə ta	ṭe <sup>h</sup> aʔ k <sup>h</sup> ṣ̄	ḥteiʔ-n̄ṣ̄
	one	pull up-CONJ	like this	toilets	one-in
	ṭp <sup>h</sup> a la	ḥṇdo-zə-k <sup>h</sup> e:			
	there	go-AOR-PFT.NSEN			

'Pulling up a handful of grey grass, and like this, he (the monk) went to toilets there.'

(7.3)	ṭe <sup>h</sup> aʔ k <sup>h</sup> ṣ̄	ḥteiʔ-n̄ṣ̄	ṭp <sup>h</sup> a la	ḥṇdo-na	ṭʔə ṇda zə nə
	toilets	one-in	there	pull up-CONJ	like this
	ḥṇu: ṇu: ḥdzaʔ-k <sup>h</sup> e:				
	listen secretly-PFT.NSEN				

'Going to toilets there, (he) listened secretly like this.'

(7.4)	ʼte	ḥdza: po	ḥjo: mo-gə	ʼze:-na	ḥdza: po	^puw zə
	then	king	maid-ERG	say- CONJ	king	son
	ʼna-ḥt̥e-nə	ḥdza: po	ḥjo: mo-gə	ʼno: ba	^ji:-k <sup>h</sup> e:	
	sick-NML-TOP	king	maid-GEN	mistake	CPV-PFT.NSEN	

'Then the king's maid said: 'The reason why the king's son is sick is the mistake of the king's maid.'

(7.5)	ʼte	ṭk <sup>h</sup> o-rə-t <sup>h</sup> o	ʼzə k <sup>h</sup> a	ḥt̥sa	ḥpa: ra
	then	3-self-PL	side	grass	handful
	k̄ṣ̄	ʼpe:-s <sup>h</sup> a-gə	ʼriʔ ṃbo loʔ-gə	ʼno: ba	^ji:-k <sup>h</sup> e:
	one	pull up-NML-GEN	hill-GEN	mistake	CPV-PFT.NSEN

'Then, it is the mistake of the hill where (the monk) pulled up a pile of grass at their (king's family's) side.'

(7.6)	ʼte	ʼtə ts <sup>h</sup> o-la	ṭja ḥjaʔ ṭk <sup>h</sup> ā ṃba	ʼze:-ṅk <sup>h</sup> ε	ḥteiʔ
	then	3.PL-DAT	brown wild yak	be called-NML	one
	^joʔ-k <sup>h</sup> e:	^tə-gə	ʼno: ba	ʼt̥e:-ne:	ʼtə-gə
	EXV-PFT.NSEN	3-GEN	mistake	do-CONJ	3-ERG

ʼmə-ŋe:-lə ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:

NEG-good-NPFT-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, there was one called brown wild yak, and because of what he did, because of which, things were not right.’

- (7.7) ʼte                      ʼtə ri <sup>n</sup>də re?              ʼʔə <sup>n</sup>ɖa zə nə              ʼŋu: ŋu: <sup>h</sup>dzaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>a-la  
then                      be like that              like this              listen secretly-when-LOC  
ʼtə<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ k<sup>h</sup>ʔ-nʔ              <sup>^</sup>ma la              ʼtə <sup>n</sup>ɖa              ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
toilets-in              downwards              like that              say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, it is like that: when he (the monk) listened secretly, he heard in the toilets they said like this from downwards.’

- (7.8) <sup>h</sup>dza: po              <sup>h</sup>jo: mo-gə              ʼze:-nə:-tə              ʼta:              ʼs<sup>h</sup>ʔ ŋi  
king                      maid-ERG              say-CONJ-TOP              now              tomorrow  
ʼma-reʔ              ʼts<sup>h</sup>a-reʔ              ʼŋa ts<sup>h</sup>o-la              ʼp<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ <sup>n</sup>go ʼloʔ <sup>h</sup>te              ʼ<sup>h</sup>zu-lə ji: s<sup>h</sup>a reʔ  
NEG-CPV              complete-STT              1.PL-DAT              *phag mgo log bstan*              do-NPFT-POT  
ʼp<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ <sup>h</sup>ge              <sup>^</sup>doʔ <sup>h</sup>teiʔ              ʼjoʔ-zə              ʼtə nə              ʼseʔ-t<sup>h</sup>e:  
pig                      single one              EXV-NML              such              kill-PFT.SEN

‘Then the king’s maid said: ‘Now, it gets worst, we are over tomorrow. The ritual *phag mgo log bstan* must be done to us. The pig having been here was killed.’

- (7.9) ʼte                      ʼta:                      ʼtəə <sup>n</sup>ɖa                      <sup>h</sup>zu                      ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
then                      now                      like this                      do                      say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, now how do we do?’, she said.’

- (7.10) ʼriʔ <sup>m</sup>bo loʔ-la              ʼte                      ʼtə-gə                      ʼze:-nə                      ʼfiə:  
hill-LOC                      then                      3-ERG                      say-CONJ                      INTJ  
<sup>n</sup>də                      ʼp<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ <sup>n</sup>go ʼloʔ <sup>h</sup>te-gə                      ʼko                      ʼs<sup>h</sup>ʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ                      ʼreʔ  
this                      *phag mgo log bstan*-INST                      know                      definitely                      CPV  
ʼta tēi                      ʼ<sup>h</sup>dzuʔ-fiə:-nə                      <sup>^</sup>ŋa-gə                      <sup>n</sup>go <sup>h</sup>pu                      <sup>^</sup>ri: tə  
in this way                      run-come-CONJ                      1-GEN                      head hair                      whole  
ʼpe:-nə                      <sup>h</sup>tsa                      <sup>h</sup>pa: ra                      ʼkʔ                      ʼpe:-nə  
pull up-CONJ                      grass                      handful                      one                      pull up-CONJ  
ʼt<sup>h</sup>e:-zə reʔ                      ʼze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
go.PF-AOR                      say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the hill said: ‘Oh, this will be definitely known by *phag mgo log bstan*. He (the monk) came running in this way, and pulled up all of my head hairs, that is a pile of grass, and has gone.’

- (7.11) ʼte:                      ʼtə ri <sup>n</sup>də reʔ                      <sup>h</sup>jaʔ <sup>h</sup>ge ʼk<sup>h</sup>ä <sup>m</sup>ba-gə                      ʼze:-nə  
then                      be like that                      brown wild yak-ERG                      say-CONJ

‘Then, it is like that: the brown wild yak said.’

- (7.12) ʼfiə:                      ʼp<sup>h</sup>ɑʔ <sup>n</sup>go ʼloʔ <sup>h</sup>te                      <sup>^</sup>ja la                      ʼ<sup>h</sup>dzuʔ-t<sup>h</sup>e:                      ʼta  
oh                      *phag mgo log bstan*                      upper                      run-PFT                      then

ʼkʰo-la      ʼduuʔ ʰjaʔ ʼkʰã mba      ʼze:-nə      ʼdɔ: su      ʼɛaʔ ʰteiʔ ʰdzaʔ-tʰe:  
 3-DAT      *bdud g.yag kham pa*      say-CONJ      definitely      kick once-PFT.SEN  
 ‘Oh, when *phag mgo log bstan* was performed, he said to me *bdud g.yag kham pa*, and kicked me once.’

(7.13) ʼkʰo      ʰsʰẽ tʰaʔ      ʼreʔ      ʼze:-kʰe:  
 3      definitely      CPV      say-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘It said: ‘That is definitely me.’’

(7.14) ʼte      ʰdoʔ ʰteiʔ-gə      ʼze:-nɛ:      ʼta      ʰtəə ʰda  
 then      single one-ERG      say-CONJ      now      how  
 ʰzu-tu      ʼze:-kʰe:  
 do-DSE      say-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Then, one of them said: ‘Now how do we do?’’

(7.15) ʰtəə tə      ʰzu      ʼriʔ mbo loʔ      ʰgɔ̃-la      ʰduuʔ ʰjaʔ ʼkʰã mba  
 what      do      hill      up-LOC      *bdud g.yag kham pa*  
 ʰgɔ̃-la      ʰeʰi:      ʰdza      ʰdza tə ʰdza tɛu      ʰkɛ:-ʰzaʔ  
 up-LOC      wood      half kilogramme      180      drag-put  
 ʰdza: po      ʰjo: mo      ʰtə-ʰgo      ʰsaʔ-ʰzaʔ      ʼze:-nə  
 king      maid      3-on      burn-put      say-CONJ  
 ‘What can we do? He said: ‘Drag 90 kg of woods on the *bdud g.yag kham pa* on the hill, and burn the king’s maid on it.’’

(7.16) ʼte      ʰdza: po-tə-gə      ʰpu zə      ʰaʔ-ʰdzɯ      ʰpaʔ ʰgo ʰloʔ ʰte-gə  
 then      king-DEF-GEN      son      heal-FUT      *phag mgo log bstan*-INS  
 ʰjuu      ʰraʔ-ʰdzɯ      ʰtʰã tɛeʔ      ʼreʔ tsʰa:-lə reʔ      ʼze:-kʰe:  
 turquoise      obtain-FUT      all      realise-NPFT      say-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘He said: ‘Then the king’s son will heal, the turquoise will be got with *phag mgo log bstan*; all will be realised.’’

(8.1) ʼte      ʰga-kʰe:      ʼte      ʼma lu      ʰnɔ̃-la  
 then      glad-PFT.NSEN      then      lower side      house-LOC  
 ʰja la      ʰho:-nə      ʰtə ri tə      ʰge bo      ʰla ʰgɛ  
 upwards      come-CONJ      like that      old man      monk  
 ʰɲe:-nə      ʰduʔ-kʰe:      ʰɲe:-nə      ʰduʔ-kʰa-la      ʰze: ʰdzɯ tə na  
 sleep-CONJ      sit-PFT.NSEN      sleep-CONJ      sit-when-LOC      like this  
 ‘Then, (he) was so glad, and coming up from the place at the lower side, and it is like that: when the old man, monk, was sleeping and sitting, like that.’

(8.2) ʼte      ʰsʰɔ̃ ʰɳi      ʰtəə ʰda      ʰzu-ʰgo reʔ      ʼze:-kʰe:      ʼte: ta  
 then      tomorrow      how      do-FUT      say-PFT.NSEN      and then  
 ‘Then, tomorrow (he; the king’s servant) said: ‘How do we do?’’

- (8.3) 'te                      ʔtə<sup>h</sup> ʔda                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>zu                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>i                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza  
then                      how                      do                      wood                      half kilogramme  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza tə ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza təu-tə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>duʔ<sup>h</sup>jaʔ ʔ<sup>h</sup>ã mba-la                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ke:-ʔzaʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>riʔ mbo loʔ  
180-DEF                      *bdud g.yag kham pa*-LOC                      drag-put                      hill  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>go:-la                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ei<sup>h</sup>tsi:                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>go: tə ra ^ŋi<sup>h</sup>tsiʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ-ʔzaʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>tə-ŋgo-la  
up-LOC                      bird nest                      with a size of a goat                      make-put                      3-on-LOC  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza: po                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>jo: mo-tə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>saʔ-ʔzaʔ-ta  
king                      maid-DEF                      burn-put-PART

‘Then, we will do in this way: Drag 90 kg of woods on the *bdud g.yag kham pa*, and make a bird nest with a size as large as a goat, and put the king’s maid on it and burn her.’

- (8.4) ʔ<sup>h</sup>tuʔ ts<sup>h</sup>o                      ^puu zə                      ʔaʔ-lə reʔ                      ʔə ri<sup>h</sup>də reʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzo mo  
2.PL                      son                      heal-NPFT                      be like that                      mdzo mo  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>təʔ ri ma-gə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>juu                      ʔaʔ-ʔdzuu                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>o                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ke: le:  
PPN-GEN                      turquoise                      obtain-NML                      3                      promise  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>o                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza s<sup>h</sup>a                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>eʔ ke                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>go:                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
3                      territory                      half                      need                      say-PFT.NSEN

‘He said: ‘Your son will heal, and it is like that: I promise you to obtain mdzo mo Torima’s turquoise. I want a half of (your) territory.’

- (8.5) 'te: tə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza: po-ts<sup>h</sup>o-nə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ga-ʔ<sup>h</sup>ga-nə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ei: ŋi<sup>h</sup> mba la                      ^ze: ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzuu tə na  
then                      king-COL-TOP                      glad-RDP-CONJ                      next day                      like this  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>duʔ<sup>h</sup>jaʔ ʔ<sup>h</sup>ã mba                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>go:-la                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>i                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza  
*bdud g.yag kham pa*                      up-LOC                      wood                      half kilogramme  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza tə ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza təu                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ke:                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>riʔ mbo loʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>go:-la                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>me ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzõ  
180                      drag                      hill                      up-LOC                      bonfire  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>tsiʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza: po                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>jo: mo-tə  
one                      make                      king                      maid-DEF  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>tə-ŋgo                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>saʔ-ʔzaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
3-on                      burn-put-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the king’s family was very happy, and the next day, like this: we will drag 90 kg of woods on the *bdud g.yag kham pa*, and make a bonfire on the hill, and burn the king’s maid on it.’

- (8.6) 'te:                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza: po                      ^puu zə                      ^tə la                      ^aʔ-ʔzaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:  
then                      king                      son                      there                      heal-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the king’s son immediately healed.’

- (8.7) 'te:                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>paʔ<sup>h</sup>ge                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>go-tə                      ^k<sup>h</sup>ə-nə tə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>o-rõ  
then                      pig                      head-DEF                      carry-CONJ                      3-self  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>teə wa                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ã teeʔ-la                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ã ʔ<sup>h</sup>da                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>zu-nə                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>tsuʔ-nə  
cattle dung                      all-DAT                      like that                      do-CONJ                      point-CONJ  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>də                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ə-reʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>də                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>ə-reʔ                      ʔ<sup>h</sup>də  
this                      Q-CPV                      this                      Q-CPV                      this

ʔə-reʔ      ʌze:-nə      ʔkʰə lo: loʔ-zə  
 Q-CPV      say-CONJ      pretend-AOR  
 ‘Then carrying the pig head, he did like this, by pointing every cattle dung, saying: ‘Is this?, Is this?, Is this?’, pretending (he did not know).’

(8.8) ʔte:      ʔkʰo-rʔ-gə      ʔhta:      ʔʒa:-zə-gə      ʔjuu  
 then      3-self-ERG      sign      put-NML-GEN      turquoise  
 ʌreʔ-mo      ʔte:      ʔndə      ʔreʔ      ʔze:-ne:  
 CPV-PART      then      this      CPV      say-CONJ  
 ʔjuu      ʔtsʰə la      ʔl̥e-ʔʒaʔ-kʰe:  
 turquoise      hither      take-put-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Then, the turquoise was already with a sign by him, wasn’t it? Then, he said: ‘This is the one’, and took out the turquoise.’

(9.1) ʔte      ʔdza: po-gə      ʔdza sʰa      ʔeʰeʔ ke-te      ʔla ʔgɛ-la  
 then      king-ERG      territory      half-DEF      monk-DAT  
 ʌʒi:-kʰe:      ʔla ʔgɛ-la      ʔdza sʰa      ʔeʰeʔ ke-tə      ʔeʰu:-ʔʒaʔ-kʰe:  
 give-PFT.NSEN      monk-DAT      territory      half-DEF      lose-put-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Then the king gave the half of the territory to the monk. He lost the half of the territory for the monk.’

(9.2) ʔte      ʔga-ʔga      ʔnə la l̥ə ne:      ʔndə tə      ʔta: mo-tɛiʔ  
 then      glad-RDP      especially      this      special-NDEF  
 ʔreʔ      ʔze:-ne:      ʔdza: po-tsʰo-gə      ʔdza sʰa      ʔeʰeʔ ke-tə  
 CPV      say-CONJ      king-COL-ERG      territory      half-DEF  
 ʔʒi:-nə      ʔteʰo kʰʂ      ʔn̥-la      ʔja la      ʔʒaʔ-ʔʒaʔ-kʰe:  
 give-CONJ      shrine room      in-LOC      upwards      put-put-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Then, the monk was extraordinarily happy, he said, and the king gave the half of the territory, and worshipped (him) in the shrine room.’

(9.3) ʔte      ʔtə ʔda      ʔmə      ʔle: la ʔo: mo      ʔze:-ʔdzuu-tə  
 then      like this      person      very lucky      say-NML-TOP  
 ʔtə ʔda-tɛiʔ      ʔji:-kʰe:  
 like this-NDEF      CPV-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Then, like this, a person to be called very lucky person is one like this.’

## 2.2 Full English translation

(1) Once upon a time, there was a king’s family. They were an extremely rich family. There was a pig on their place for throwing cattle dung. The pig was such an extremely big pig. Then all of their cattle came to pasture downwards, and just when the king’s family pasture downwards the cattle, there was a mdzo mo, named Dongladra. Then, there was a monk sleeping and sitting on that place for throwing cattle dung.

(2) Seeing them, just when he gazing upwards at the gateway of their house, just when the monk is gazing like this, here was an azure turquoise around the neck of the mdzo mo, which is called Torima. This (turquoise) broke up there, and on the road, just when it broke up, immediately, another mdzo mo came and dropped a chunk of dung, then, the monk who saw it over there ran and went, and he pointed the dung with a finger in that way. Originally, he left a sign by thinking that the turquoise is inside.

(3) Then, he slept and sat on that place for dung. Then, that monk was absolutely not allowed to sleep by the pig for a whole night. The pig was oinking and oinking, and repeating to dig up the place for dung. Then, that is like that: just when it dug, the monk got so angry. That pig is just the king's family's pig, and whatever it is, it sits and sleeps on the place for dung, there was no way to do anything.

(4) Then, a maid of the king came down running. She brought here a pile of mdzo mos' dungs, including that of the valuable mdzo mo with a turquoise, and immediately pasted them to the wall over there. When she pasted the dung to the wall, immediately, the monk was very fortunate, and ran there immediately and pushed the dung with a finger to make a sign there again. Then, the maid of the king finished throwing the dung. Then, on their place for dung, the monk is sleeping and sitting there.

(5) Then, their son got sick, the king's son. Then, the king's son was so sick that he was soon dying. Then, what on earth is it, even though they did really various rituals, they made an augur do divination, and made a fortune teller tell fortune, he did not heal.

(6) Then, one night, the king's family, the son's father said: 'there is one monk sleeping on our place for dung, and I am wondering whether that person could know something. Go and just ask him', he said. Then, a person of the king's family, he went and said to the monk: 'you guy do you know anything? The king's son is soon dying'. He said: 'Except for doing a ritual called *phag mgo log bstan*, I don't know anything'. Then, that is like that: he said: 'how should one do that ritual called *phag mgo log bstan*?' Then, he said: 'when one cuts down the neck of a big pig, and then its head might be able to heal the king's son'. The king's family asked the monk, and he always says that he does not know anything but a ritual called *phag mgo log bstan*. The king's family member said: 'The mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise has been lost, the king's son is soon dying, and that monk has no things to do'. Then, when the monk said that he had no way, it is so pitiful, the king's family cut the head of the pig, they killed the pig for the king's son, then all is the monk's mistake.

(7) Then, the monk thought that the mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise is lost, and that he would have no things to do tomorrow. He did not gain the way to heal the king's son, neither, he thought. Pulling up a handful of grey grass, and like this, the monk went to toilets there. Going to toilets there, he heard secretly following: The king's maid said: 'The reason why the king's son is sick is the mistake of the king's maid'. Then, it is the mistake of the hill where the monk pulled up a pile of grass at the king's family's side. Then, there was one called brown wild yak, and because of what he did, because of which, things were not right. Then, when the monk listened secretly, he heard in the toilets that they said like this from downwards: The king's maid said: 'Now, it gets worst, we are over tomorrow. The ritual *phag mgo log bstan* must be done to us. The pig having been here was killed'. She said: 'Then, now how do we do?' Then, the hill said: 'Oh, this will be definitely known by *phag mgo log bstan*'. The monk came running in this way, and pulled up all of my head hairs, that is a pile of grass, and has gone'. Then, the brown wild yak said: 'Oh, when *phag mgo log bstan* is performed, he said to me *bdud g.yag kham pa*, and kicked me once'. It said: 'That is definitely me'. Then, one of them said: 'Now how do we do?' What can we do? He said: 'Drag 90 kg of woods on the *bdud g.yag*

*kham pa* on the hill, and burn the king's maid on it'. He said: 'Then the king's son will heal, the turquoise will be got with *phag mgo log bstan*; all will be realised'.

(8) Then, the monk was so glad, and coming up from the place at the lower side, and when the old man, monk, was sleeping and sitting, like that. Then, the next day the king's servant said: 'How do we do?' 'Then, we will do in this way: Drag 90 kg of woods on the *bdud g.yag kham pa*, and make a bird nest with a size as large as a goat, and put the king's maid on it and burn her.' He said: 'Your son will heal, and it is like that: I promise you to obtain mdzo mo Torima's turquoise. I want a half of your territory'. Then, the king's family was very happy, and the next day we will drag 90 kg of woods on the *bdud g.yag kham pa*, and make a bonfire on the hill, and burn the king's maid on it. Then, the king's son immediately healed'. Then carrying the pig head, he did like this, by pointing every cattle dung, saying: 'Is this?, Is this?, Is this?', pretending he did not know. Then, the turquoise was already with a sign by him, wasn't it? Then, he said: 'This is the one', and took out the turquoise.

(9) Then the king gave the half of the territory to the monk. He lost the half of the territory for the monk. Then, the monk was extraordinarily happy, he said, and the king gave the half of the territory, and put his image in the shrine room. Then, like this, a person to be called very lucky person is one like this.

### 3 Annotation

Annotation, provided by each sentence number in 2.1, mainly deals with lexical, morphological, and syntactic traits, and focuses on the difference between a general conversation and a narrative mode.

(1.1)

The expression /'ŋi ma <sup>h</sup>na: <sup>h</sup>na-la/ 'in the old time' is a fixed word for the opening of a folktale.

Two nouns /<sup>h</sup>dza: po/ 'king' and /<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>/ 'family' is regarded as a compound noun without a connection of genitive case marking.

The numeral /<sup>h</sup>tei?/ is an independent form as 'one' appearing after a noun phrase. A full accentual form is /<sup>h</sup>tei?/, with a different tone, as in (2.7). /<sup>h</sup>tei?/ is also acceptable. A non-accentual counterpart is /-tei?/, used as a nondefinite marker without an independent tone, as in (4.5).

A TAM suffix /-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ does not appear after existential verbs in conversations as well as elicitations; however, in a narrative mode, it often appears throughout the story.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, a hearsay marker does not appear in the course of this story.<sup>3</sup> /-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ might also function instead of a hearsay marker which is etymologically related to /-ze:/ 'say'.

(1.2)

The expression /'tə ri <sup>n</sup>də re?/ often appears throughout the story, which is not a part of the story itself, but just a way of narration arranged by the narrator. It makes the audience pay attention to the story's development, and also functions as a filler 'let me see' in some cases.

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<sup>2</sup> The use of /-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ is comparable to another suffix /-t<sup>h</sup>e:/ which denotes 'directly sensory experienced perfect'. See (7.12).

<sup>3</sup> Hearsay is one of the crucial categories of evidentiality in Tibetic languages (Tournadre and LaPolla 2014). In Lhagang Tibetan, its general form is /-sə re?/ (Suzuki et al. 2015).

/-e<sup>h</sup>u? po/ ‘rich’ can function as a noun because it is followed by a collective marker /-ts<sup>h</sup>o/: ‘rich persons’. However, this collective form should be understood as a ‘rich family’ here, because it is again followed by a numeral /<sup>h</sup>tei?/ ‘one’. The sequence of a collective marker and ‘one’ is rarely found.

A TAM suffix /-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ does not appear after copulative verbs in conversations as well as elicitations, neither; however, in a narrative mode, it can appear in this condition.

(1.3)

The noun /<sup>h</sup>tə: ji ʔ<sup>m</sup>bo lo?/ means ‘a place where one throws and gathers cattle dung’. After collecting them, one pastes them on the wall to make them dry for fuel. See (4.2)-(4.3).

/<sup>h</sup>go/ ‘on’ is a position noun, which does not require a genitive marker to connect the preceding noun. It can be used without a locative marker, which, in fact, appears here.

/<sup>h</sup>do? <sup>h</sup>tei?/ ‘single’ is an adjective used for an emphasised form of /<sup>h</sup>tei?/ ‘one’, and the morpheme /<sup>h</sup>do?/ is not regarded as a classifier.<sup>4</sup>

This sentence does not have a TAM suffix /-k<sup>h</sup>e:/. This might mean that the sentence is continuing till the next sentence (1.4). The main verb of (1.3) is /<sup>h</sup>jo? re?/, which expresses that the narrator has not seen this scenery and uttered it with access to the information which the narrator has already had.

(1.4)

In Lhagang Tibetan, the existential verb is generally not employed as an attributive (a verb for adjective predicates<sup>5</sup>). Hence, /<sup>h</sup>jo?/ here functions as an existential, which denotes the existence of a pig. The phrase /<sup>h</sup>tə la ʔ<sup>m</sup>da zə ʔ<sup>h</sup>e bo/ ‘such extraordinarily big’, accompanied with a gesture, is thus a modifier of the preceding noun /<sup>h</sup>pa?/ ‘pig’. Though, the interlinear translation applies a reading of an attributive for the sake of smoothness.

(1.5)

/<sup>h</sup>te:/ is a conjunction word appearing frequently when an opening a new sentence. There are other forms which have the same function, such as /<sup>h</sup>te ne/ (in 2.2) and /<sup>h</sup>te tə/ (in 2.3).

/-gə/ attached to /<sup>h</sup>tə ts<sup>h</sup>o/ ‘they’ is interpreted as a genitive connected to /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e: ma/ ‘cattle’ because the final verb is /<sup>h</sup>fi:/ ‘come’, a monovalent verb, which does not require the ergative marking in Lhagang Tibetan.

The last /-tə/ is also a conjunction word, which is enclitic and is always attached to a verb predicate followed by a pause.

(1.6)

The noun phrase /<sup>h</sup>dza: po-ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə/ explicitly presents why the suffix /-ts<sup>h</sup>o/ is not a plural marker (PL) but a collective marker (COL). It never means ‘(several) kings’ but ‘a king with many others’. This usage is just what we call collective. However, as far as the pronouns are concerned, /-ts<sup>h</sup>o/ is considered as a plural marker (PL).

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<sup>4</sup> Tournadre (2014:112) claim: “Classifiers are not found in Literary Tibetan and none of the modern languages have developed a system of classifiers, although a few rare classifiers do exist in a marginal way.” See also Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017a).

<sup>5</sup> See Caplow (2000) for the attributive use of the existential verbs.

This sentence is a repetition of (1.5) with a suffix /-k<sup>h</sup>a/, which makes a subordinate clause, meaning ‘just when’, and continues to (1.7).

/-gə/ attached to /<sup>h</sup>dza: po-ts<sup>h</sup>o/ ‘king’s family’ can be interpreted as an ergative because the main verb is /<sup>h</sup>tō/ ‘pasture’, a bivalent verb, which allows an agent to be marked in ergative.

(1.7)

This sentence includes two verb predicates, and the second is a repetition of the first.

/<sup>h</sup>tō lə <sup>h</sup>də ˉze:ˉ<sup>h</sup>dzu/ ‘which is called Tongladra’ is a relative clause formed by a nominaliser and modifies the preceding noun, followed by a numeral ‘one’ in a form appearing after a noun phrase.

(1.8)

/<sup>h</sup>tə/, a distal demonstrative, precedes a head noun /<sup>h</sup>to: ji ˉmbo lo?/ ‘place for throwing cattle dung’.

/-nə/ is a conjunction marker connecting two verbs denoting simultaneous or non-simultaneous actions. Here the two verbs /<sup>h</sup>ne:/ ‘sleep’ and /<sup>h</sup>du?/ ‘sit’ means different non-simultaneous actions of /<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>ge/ ‘monk’.

The word form /<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>ge/ is likely to mean ‘old monk’, however, in Lhagang Tibetan, /-<sup>h</sup>ge/ often does not have the original sense ‘old’, as /<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>a? <sup>h</sup>ge/ ‘pig’ in (1.3, 1.4) does not denote ‘old pig’. However, in this story, the monk looks old based on the explanation presented in (8.1).

The last verb has two TAM markings /-jo?-k<sup>h</sup>e:/: stative and non-sensory perfect. This construction is rarely attested in general conversations. As /-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ also functions as hearsay in this narrative, it might not have a non-sensory perfect meaning. See (1.1).

(2.1)

There is a repetition of /<sup>h</sup>ta-nə/, which expresses the same action in different ways. The verb /<sup>h</sup>ta/ ‘look, gaze’ requires a dative marking to the patient, and the case marking is existent in the first clause, whereas it lacks in the second. It might be because of the adverb /<sup>h</sup>ja la/ ‘upwards’, which originally represents a direction of an action.

/<sup>h</sup>du?/ ‘sit’ is a simultaneous action with ‘look (at them)’ by the agent ‘monk’.

(2.2)

This sentence is a paraphrase of (2.1).

It is noteworthy that the sequence of the /-k<sup>h</sup>a/ and a locative /-la/ is attested because /-k<sup>h</sup>a/ generally does not take a locative as a conjunction as in (1.6). However, this morpheme is derived from /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>a/ ‘mouth, place’, as appearing in (2.3, 2.4), it is thus not curious if it takes a case marker.

(2.3)

This sentence has two /<sup>h</sup>dzo mo/ ‘mdzo mo (a hybrid of yak and cow)’, and the second one is an agent of a postposed relative clause which modifies the word /<sup>h</sup>ju <sup>h</sup>to ka/.

/<sup>h</sup>ju <sup>h</sup>to ka/ is a noun having a compound adjective meaning ‘with an azure turquoise’, in which /<sup>h</sup>ju/ is also modified by /<sup>h</sup>dzo mo-gə ˉ<sup>h</sup>ke mbu? <sup>h</sup>ka-la/ ‘on the place of the neck of the mdzo mo’. This is a long preposed modifier. The postposed modifier is a relative clause, /<sup>h</sup>to? ri ma <sup>h</sup>tei? ˉ<sup>h</sup>ta?-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ ‘which the mdzo mo (named) Torima wears’.

The word /<sup>h</sup>tei?/ ‘one’ might function as a marker of the end of a noun phrase or just as a prosodic preference without a strict meaning.

(2.4)

The proximal demonstrative /<sup>h</sup>tə tə/ 'this' is not a real demonstration but an anaphoric usage for /<sup>h</sup>ju/ 'turquoise' in (2.3), while another distal locational demonstrative /<sup>h</sup>tə la/ 'there' indicates the last two words /<sup>h</sup>dza la: <sup>h</sup>ka-la/ 'at the place of the road; on the road' of (2.4).

The secondary verb /<sup>h</sup>za:/ (or an allomorph /<sup>h</sup>zaʔ/, /-za:/, or /-zaʔ/) 'put' often appears in this story, which expresses 'become, occur' in any contexts. In a gloss, the meaning 'put' is uniformly given.

(2.5)

This sentence is incomplete because it lacks a verb in the main clause. The expression /<sup>h</sup>ʔa <sup>h</sup>da zə nə/ 'in that way' with /<sup>h</sup>ma la/ 'downwards' might have been accompanied with a gesture of the narrator. In this case, the sufficient information is supplemented, and thus the sentence means 'just when (the turquoise) broke up, it fell down.'

(2.6)

The /<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>o/ seems to be a classifier; however, Lhagang Tibetan has no sortal numeral classifiers. This word is a kind of words for measurement, which means 'chunk, pile', and describes the quantity and size of /<sup>h</sup>teə wa/ 'cattle dung'.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>tō/ originally means 'send', however, this word is a light verb connected to /<sup>h</sup>teə wa/ 'cattle dung', and means 'drop dung'.

(2.7)

The noun phrase /<sup>h</sup>mə lu tə <sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>ge <sup>h</sup>ta-<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e-tə/ 'the the monk who saw (it) over there' has a head-internal relative clause, of which the head noun is /<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>ge/. The last morpheme /-tə/, topic marker, just functions as an indicator of the end of the noun phrase.

The verb concatenation /<sup>h</sup>dzuʔ-<sup>h</sup>qo/ 'go running' just means a movement with running, and is not interpreted as 'go and run' in Lhagang Tibetan.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>tsuʔ/ originally means 'plant', however, this word is a light verb connected to /<sup>h</sup>dzu gə/ 'finger', and means 'point by a finger'. In the context here, the action should be 'mark a sign with a finger' (see 2.8).

(2.8)

The morpheme /-nə/ in /<sup>h</sup>tə-nə/ 'in this' is a position noun, and this is a typical appearance as neither a genitive marker nor a locative marker exist, the morpheme making itself atonal.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>joʔ reʔ/ expresses a non-directly obtained knowledge or an epistemic access to information. It can be analysed as /<sup>h</sup>joʔ-reʔ/ based on the etymology; however, these two syllables are fixed combination to express one sense, however, morphologically flexible in terms of affixation.<sup>6</sup>

The expression /<sup>h</sup>sā re <sup>h</sup>sā ne/ means 'by thinking', and the complementiser does not appear before this.

/<sup>h</sup>taʔ <sup>h</sup>teiʔ <sup>h</sup>za:/ means 'mark one sign', and the way of marking is, as described in (2.7), by a finger. Note that the numeral /<sup>h</sup>teiʔ/ 'one' here has the own falling tone, which is used for an emphasis of 'one'. The TAM suffix following the main verb /<sup>h</sup>za:/ is an egophoric nonperfect with

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<sup>6</sup> See Zeisler (2004) for a way of glossing of complex verb auxiliaries.

a non-sensory perfect which seems to include a contradiction of meaning. This suggests that the non-sensory perfect is just a hearsay marker. The use of nonperfect here might have the intention to describe an idea of the monk to leave a mark, not his action itself.

(3.1)

The final verb /<sup>n</sup>duʔ/ 'sit' is followed by /-zə<sup>^</sup>ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ 'egophoric aorist<sup>7</sup> + non-sensory perfect'. It is a little strange that the egophoric form is used for a description of the third person; however, the narrative style might be able to use it, as also found in (2.8). The use of aorist here is related to the fact of his action before. Following this sentence, (3.2) reveals that he cannot sleep at all because of an external reason.

(3.2)

The ergative marking for /<sup>p</sup>hɑʔ<sup>h</sup>gɛ/ 'pig' is nearly obligatory because the sentence is a causative construction.

The expression /<sup>p</sup>h<sup>u</sup> ɣə la/ can be analysed as /<sup>p</sup>h<sup>u</sup> ɣə/ 'cave, hole' + locative, and literally means 'at the end'. However, with a negation marker (negative prefix), it means 'absolutely not' or 'never'.

The secondary verb /-<sup>h</sup>tɕuʔ/ functions as causative, which is also called factitive.

The causative for a monovalent verb does not require dative marking for a causee, thus /<sup>k</sup>h<sup>o</sup>/ 'him', indicating /<sup>h</sup>la<sup>h</sup>gɛ-tə/ 'that monk', appears in absolutive.

(3.3)

The word /<sup>h</sup>ĩã/ is an onomatopoeia of pig's voice, and the real pronunciation is close to [hĩɣã]. /-ta/ connecting two /<sup>h</sup>ĩã/ is interpreted as a comitative case marker, however, it can also be analysed as a conjunction 'and'. Hence, the glossing 'oink' is also intended as an onomatopoeia, not a verb. The following verb /ze:/ 'say' may make this phrase direct speech. It has no conjunction marker, which is meant as a simultaneous action with the following verb predicate. Generally, pigs are often not quiet but oinking when they dig up soils.

The main verb /<sup>^</sup>ja:-<sup>h</sup>ko/ 'dig up' is repeated in order to describe a repetitive action. The verb 'dig' has a directional marker as a prefix meaning 'upper', which implies an emphasis on the action to raise soils. /<sup>h</sup>tɕ: ji<sup>~</sup>mb<sup>o</sup> loʔ/ is a patient of the verb 'dig', not a location.

(3.4)

The last component of the subordinate clause /<sup>^</sup>ja:-<sup>h</sup>ko-k<sup>h</sup>a/ 'when (the pig) dug up' can take a topic marker /-te/, with which the speaker will emphasise causal relationship even by using a temporal conjunction.

The compound verb /-ts<sup>h</sup>iʔ k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>^</sup> za/ 'get angry' is repeated (not reduplicated) in order to express a high degree of the undergoer's (the monk's) anger.

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<sup>7</sup> Referring to Zeisler (2004), we can see that the absolute tense does not work in Tibetic languages, so the term 'aorist' is used instead of 'past' and 'preterit'. However, a detailed investigation on what 'aorist' expresses is needed.

(3.5)

The sentence of (3.5) is a citation of the monk's speech, and the agent (monk) of the last verb /ʔze:/ appears in (3.4). In this sentence, it is noteworthy that the citation verb /ʔze:/ takes a statement verb, not a non-sensory perfect.

The expression /mə<sup>h</sup>de/ can be translated 'other person' in a direct way; however, it just denotes the pig. It is usually used for an object which the speaker admires, and in the context of the story, the monk might yearn after the fact that the pig belongs to the king's family.

A fixed expression /ʔtəi lə<sup>h</sup>təiʔ/ 'whatever (it is)' is used twice, meaning a situation which cannot be controlled.

The agent of the concatenated verbs /ʔŋe:-<sup>n</sup>duʔ/ 'sleep by sitting' is the pig, not the monk. The posture of a sleeping pig looks like sitting.

The interrogative pronoun /ʔtəə/ 'what' does not function as an interrogation but as an indefinite pronoun 'anything' here.

The agent of the verb predicate /ʔma-raʔ/ is the monk, which does not appear in the sentence. The form of the negative prefix is for perfect and prohibitive, and thus it is curious that one express a negation of the present (nonperfect) action with it, however, the distinction of negation prefixes might not be the case in a citation of speech.

(4.1)

The verb concatenation /ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzuʔ-fio:/ 'run-come' means 'come running', not 'come to run'. Here, again, aorist and non-sensory perfect co-occur with each other.

(4.2)

The collective suffix /-ts<sup>h</sup>o/ can be directly attached to animals other than persons.

This does not form a complete sentence, but just a nominal phrase, of which the verb appears in (4.3) /ʔle:/ 'bring'.

The collective marker /-ts<sup>h</sup>o/ seems to be able to be attached to animals (mdzo mos). This marker is often used for persons, neither for animals nor inanimate things. However, some mdzo mo might be under personification, for two mdzo mos have their own name as mentioned in (1.7) and (2.3).

The word /ʔta<sup>h</sup>ta/ 'now' functions as 'then', and it implies that the following /ʔ<sup>n</sup>dzo mo/ is included in the first /ʔ<sup>n</sup>dzo mo-ts<sup>h</sup>o/ 'mdzo mos'.

The relative clause /ʔri<sup>m</sup>ba ʔjoʔ-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ 'which has a value' modifies the preceding /ʔ<sup>n</sup>dzo mo/ and means 'a mdzo mo with a value'.

(4.3)

The agent of the verbs is /ʔ<sup>h</sup>dza: po-gə<sup>-h</sup>jo: mo/ 'king's maid' in (4.1).

The noun /ʔ<sup>h</sup>tsiʔ ka/ 'wall' is followed by /-la/, which is analysed not as a locative but as a dative, a grammatical case, principally because it cannot be omitted. The verb /ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ/ 'paste' might require an argument of dative-marking.

The conjunction marker /-nə/ attached to the first verb means a sequence of actions, i.e., the actions /ʔle:/ 'bring' and /ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ/ 'paste' are not done simultaneously.

The last verb takes an aorist suffix, which implies a focus on the action itself.

(4.4)

An adverb /<sup>h</sup>ro s<sup>h</sup>a/ 'immediately' can also take a topic marker.

The expression /<sup>h</sup>lɛ: la 'tɔ: mo tɛi?/ is a complex word meaning 'very fortunate'. This includes such morphemes as /<sup>h</sup>lɛ:/ 'destiny, fortune', /'tɔ: mo/ 'sudden', and /tɛi?/ 'nondefinite marker', however, an analytical approach does not grasp the whole meaning.

The final verb is an egophoric form of the copulative verbs with non-sensory perfect, same as in (1.2).

(4.5)

The long suffix-like expression /-p<sup>h</sup>o ɛ<sup>h</sup>ɛ: <sup>h</sup>tɛi/ 'once' attached to the verb root /<sup>h</sup>dzu?/ 'run' can be analysed as /<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>o/ 'time (frequency)' and /<sup>h</sup>tɛi/ 'one' interposing an unknown morpheme /ɛ<sup>h</sup>ɛ:/. It represents a repetitive, immediate action; hence, the whole phrase will mean 'come running immediately' here. The agent of this verb, the monk, appears in (4.4).

Differing from (2.7), /-tɛi?/ in /<sup>h</sup>dzu gə-tɛi?/ 'a finger' is atonal, and just functions as a nondefinite marker, not as a numeral.

The adverb /'jo:/ means 'again', which modifies the last verb /<sup>h</sup>zɑ:-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:/ 'put'.

(4.6)

The agent /<sup>h</sup>dza: po <sup>h</sup>jo: mo/ 'king's maid' can have an ergative marker from a grammatical strategy, but due to a clear context of the relationship between an agent and a patient, the marker does not appear.

The suffix /-re?-mo/ is close to the meaning of a tag question, which is oriented to the addressee, i.e., audience (the second author in the present context) of the utterance, and this sentence thus does not have to be counted as a component of the story.

(4.7)

It is not evident whom the personal pronoun /'tə ts<sup>h</sup>o/ 'they' denotes. Based on the context, we interpret that it is equivalent to related persons of /<sup>h</sup>dza: po/ 'king' including the maid appearing in (4.6). The case marker /-gə/ following /'tə ts<sup>h</sup>o/ is interpreted as a genitive, telling 'king's place for throwing cattle dung'.

(5.1)

Two noun phrases /'tə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə <sup>h</sup>pu zə/ 'their son' and /<sup>h</sup>dza: po-gə <sup>h</sup>pu zə/ 'king's son (=prince)' denotes the same person. Because the narrator began a noun phrase with a pronoun, she needed to add specific information. The expression /<sup>h</sup>dza: po-gə <sup>h</sup>pu zə/ can be considered as a compound, however, here we keep an analytical description to show a parallel correspondence of the former phrase.

/na/ is a stative verb 'be sick', and it needs /-zɑ?/, as a secondary verb, to denote a change of status 'get sick'.

(5.2)

The verb predicate /'na-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:/ indicates a status 'having been sick' in contrast to /'na-zɑ?-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:/ 'got sick' in (5.1).

The expression /'ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə <sup>h</sup>tɛi? `ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə <sup>h</sup>ɲi:/ 'soon dying' is analysed in four components: two verbs /'ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə/ 'die' and two numerals /<sup>h</sup>tɛi?/ 'one' and /<sup>h</sup>ɲi:/ 'two'. This can be formulated as 'V-<sup>h</sup>tɛi? V-<sup>h</sup>ɲi:,'

meaning ‘with a status soon V-ing’. This is of value as an attributive adjective, not a verb, hence the sentence in (5.2) has a copulative verb /<sup>h</sup>reʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:/, not an existential verb /<sup>h</sup>joʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ discussed in (1.4).

(5.3)

The embedded verb predicate /<sup>h</sup>təʔ tə ʔji:-na/ ‘what (it) is’ is included within a fixed expression /<sup>h</sup>ʔə ze: nɛ:/ meaning a surprising feeling, which is analysed /<sup>h</sup>ʔə-ze:-nɛ:/ ‘Q-say-CONJ’, however, the prefix /<sup>h</sup>ʔə-/ expresses a dubitative polarity.<sup>8</sup>

The two directional components /<sup>h</sup>təʔ/ ‘upper’ and /<sup>h</sup>na/ ‘lower’, are one set of a collocation, and, in fact, do not represent a direction. The construction is “<sup>h</sup>təʔ VP1-nɛ: ʔna VP2’ meaning ‘doing VP1 as well as doing VP2’.

The dative marking for both /<sup>h</sup>mo pa/ ‘diviner’ and /<sup>h</sup>tsə pa/ ‘fortune teller’, based on the context, seems to be intended to make causative expressions, even lacking causative verbs. Since the /<sup>h</sup>təʔ-/ /<sup>h</sup>na/ construction merely requires the verb root, causative verbs might be unable to appear.

The expression /<sup>h</sup>no ma <sup>h</sup>teiʔ ʔe/ is a beginning of a new phrase, and it modifies the following adjective /<sup>h</sup>na <sup>h</sup>mə <sup>h</sup>na/ ‘various’.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>də/ means ‘practice’, which is used with a combination of /<sup>h</sup>tə:/ ‘ritual’.

The final verb /<sup>h</sup>meʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ ‘(he) has not been’ is a negative form of /<sup>h</sup>joʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ ‘has been’. The negation is expressed by a negative existential verb.

(6.1)

The expression /<sup>h</sup>dza: po-ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə-tə <sup>h</sup>pu <sup>h</sup>zə-gə <sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>a <sup>h</sup>gɛ/ seems to be redundant, however, in a narrative, the detail can be repeated for a clear understanding. Note that a topic marker is attached to the first component; thus it will mean ‘of the king’s family, their son, the son’s father’, which is, of course, a redundant translation.

This sentence has two citation verbs: /<sup>h</sup>ze:-nɛ:/ and /<sup>h</sup>ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:/, and the citation utterance is interposed between them. When the citation is relatively long, the sentence structure will frequently become this type. This can be counted as a strategy of narratives.

The use of first person plural /<sup>h</sup>na ts<sup>h</sup>o/ suggests that this part belongs to direct speech. This form is absolutive; however, it functions here as a genitive case modifying /<sup>h</sup>təʔ ʔji <sup>h</sup>mbə loʔ/ ‘place for throwing cattle dung’. The following expression /<sup>h</sup>ka ɛ tə na/ is at present unanalysable, meaning ‘somewhere’.

The stative TAM form /<sup>h</sup>joʔ tu/ is generally pronounced as /<sup>h</sup>jiʔ tu/ by the speakers under the age of 50s. The narrator is at her age of 70s, and this can be a factor of the sound difference. This form is used for a description with a non-egophoric sensory access to information, which is related to the actual observation and thus rarely used in a narrative except for direct speech.

The fixed expression /<sup>h</sup>tə ʔə <sup>h</sup>na/ ‘that person’ can be analysed as a compound of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun and unknown element, it is translatable as ‘he guy’ in English. Cf. (6.3)

The expression /<sup>h</sup>ʔə tɛi <sup>h</sup>ko <sup>h</sup>go/ ‘possibly know’ maybe consists of /<sup>h</sup>ʔə-/ ‘question prefix’ or rather ‘dubitative polarity’, /<sup>h</sup>ko-<sup>h</sup>go/ ‘understand-FUT’, and /tɛi/, a form related to ‘what’, and has a meaning ‘(I) wonder whether he knows something’.

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<sup>8</sup> See Denwood (1999:115-116) for a dubitative polarity in Lhasa Tibetan.

(6.2)

This sentence is a continuing part of the direct speech of the king in (6.3).

The numeral /<sup>h</sup>tɛiʔ/ 'one' does not mean the number 'one' itself but 'a little', functioning as an adverb of degree modifying the action /<sup>h</sup>ʈi:/ 'ask'.

The verb concatenation /<sup>h</sup>ʈi:-s<sup>h</sup>o:/ denotes a purposive with movement 'go to ask'. If one uses /<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>o:/ as an imperative of 'go', it does not imply coming back to the present position, i.e., it is used in the sense of 'leave'. However, when it is uttered by an authoritarian person ('king' here), this implication might not always be true.

(6.3)

The expression /<sup>h</sup>tə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə ̄mə/ 'their person (=a person related to them)' and /<sup>h</sup>tə/ '3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun' are in apposition.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>e:/ 'go' is a suppletive form for perfect. However, it is not often used just like a perfect form of 'go' in general conversations, but as an auxiliary. See (7.8).

The sentence just after /<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>gɛ-la/ 'to the monk' to /<sup>h</sup>ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ 'said' is a direct speech by /<sup>h</sup>tə ts<sup>h</sup>o-gə ̄mə/ 'their person'.

The expression /<sup>h</sup>tə<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʔə <sup>h</sup>ŋda/ can be analysed as a compound of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun and unknown element as in (6.1), it is translatable as 'you guy' in English.

The phrase /<sup>h</sup>təə ʔə-ko/ displays a coexistence of an interrogative pronoun /<sup>h</sup>təə/ 'what' and a question prefix /<sup>h</sup>ʔə-/. In this case, the interrogative pronoun is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun 'something'.

The pronoun /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>o ts<sup>h</sup>o/ 'they' here does not fit in a syntactic position. It denotes 'king's family', including the following /<sup>h</sup>dza: po <sup>h</sup>pu zə/ 'king's son'.

The use of the copulative verb /<sup>h</sup>ʈi:/ for a non-egophoric description is attested in a citation or a subordinate clause. Cf. (5.2).

(6.4)

The sentence just after /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>o-gə/ 'he' to /<sup>h</sup>ze:-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ 'said' is direct speech. The ergative marker appears, probably in order to clarify the agent of the verb /<sup>h</sup>ze:/ 'say'.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>h</sup>e:/ 'know, can' is used as a secondary verb just connecting to a verb root. However, when the negative prefix is used, it is attached to the second verb thus the two verbs are divided as in /<sup>h</sup>zu <sup>h</sup>mə-ɛ<sup>h</sup>e:/ '(he) cannot do'.

The component /<sup>h</sup>mə ts<sup>h</sup>e/ can be used directly after a clause without a nominaliser.

The pronoun /<sup>h</sup>tə/ means 'I' here if one considers the citation as direct speech. Different from the definition of direct/indirect speech in English, Lhagang Tibetan does not have strict rules regarding the speech citation form.

(6.5)

This sentence also includes a citation, but the utterer is not the monk but the person of the king's family's side.

Within the verb predicate /<sup>h</sup>zu-<sup>h</sup>go-lə reʔ/ 'should do', /<sup>h</sup>go/ is a secondary verb 'need, should' rather than a TAM suffix denoting an obligatory future because it is followed by another TAM suffix /-lə reʔ/, a non-egophoric nonperfect. Two suffixes for future/nonperfect do not seem to co-occur.

(6.6)

This sentence is also mainly a citation. The utterer is the monk.

The repetitive phrases /tə ri ʰdə reʔ/ are not a filler here, but an indication with a gesture by the narrator. The detailed gesture is, however, not explained in a spoken form.

The nominaliser /-k<sup>h</sup>a ʰtɛiʔ/ is an irregular form, and generally only /-k<sup>h</sup>a/ is needed. This nominaliser is used in a collocation 'V-k<sup>h</sup>a ʰt<sup>h</sup>o:' meaning 'can have the status of V'.

The co-occurrence of two prefixes of /ʔə/ 'question prefix' and /mə/ 'negative prefix' in /ʔə-mə-t<sup>h</sup>o:/ 'might' is counted as a marginal usage. Judging from the tonal phenomenon that the two prefixes have each pitch pattern, this phrase should be an unusual case. Both the prefixes have a meaning of polarity, dubitative and negative; thus the whole meaning of the phrase should be 'relatively positive possibility to obtain'.

(6.7)

The final verb /ze:-tu/ 'say' has an unusual use of the TAM suffix /-tu/, which is principally employed after stative verbs and the existential verb to denote a directly sensory confirmation. However, /ze:/ 'say' is an action verb. We interpret this as a repetitive action 'always say' here. The citation expressed by this /ze:/ 'say' is a report of the person at the king's family's side who asked the monk in (6.3).

(6.8)

This sentence is also a citation of the words of the person at the king's family's side, following (6.8).

Topic markers, appearing as /-na/ and /-nə/, function well within multiple sentences in order to highlight each topic component.

The expression /tɛi ʰtə lə tə/ 'anything' cannot be analysed anymore.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>meʔ tu/, negative existential verb, is used as a possession construction. The possessor, marked with a dative, is /<sup>h</sup>la ʰgɛ-la/ 'the monk', and the object of possession is /tɛi ʰtə lə tə ʰle:-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ 'anything to do'.

(6.9)

This whole sentence seems to represent the feeling of the narrator.

The expression /ʔə-ji: ʰɲi: ʰdzə-te:/ 'it is so pitiful' is an insertion of the words generated from the feeling of the narrator for the situation of the story as if it were an interjection. The grammatical construction is given in the interlinear glossing, however, it is not well explained.

/tə-la/ 'for him' is not a grammatical case marking but a benefactive use. It refers to the king's son based on the context.

The last two components /<sup>h</sup>la ʰgɛ-gə ʰno: ba/ 'the monk's mistake' is a nominal predicate. Compare (7.4, 7.5) in which /ʰno: ba/ is also used, but it is followed by a copulative verb.

(7.1)

The part between two verbs /sã/ 'think' is a citation of the monk's thinking, which consists of two conditional clauses to describe an event which is to happen in the next day: 'he would have no things to do if he did not have a mdzo mo with a turquoise, and he would not gain anything if the king's son did not heal.'

The noun phrase /<sup>h</sup>ju<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>to ka <sup>n</sup>dzo mo <sup>h</sup>to? ri ma/ means 'the mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise'. Although /<sup>h</sup>ju<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>to ka/ 'with an azure turquoise' functions as a modifier, it precedes a head; however, this is a fixed order.

Since the last verb /<sup>s</sup>ā/ 'think' is attached with /-nə/, the sentence continues to (7.2) with the same agent /<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>gε/ 'monk' in (7.1).

(7.2)

Two noun phrases /<sup>h</sup>tsa <sup>h</sup>pa: ra? kō/ 'a pile of grass' and /<sup>h</sup>tsa <sup>h</sup>tεa <sup>h</sup>pa: ra? kō/ 'a pile of grey grass' are of an appositional relationship; we can understand that the latter is a corrected version of the former.

The expression /<sup>?</sup>ə <sup>n</sup>da zə nə ta/ 'like that' is accompanied by a gesture of the narrator.

The position noun /-nō/ 'inside' in /<sup>?</sup>tε<sup>h</sup>a? k<sup>h</sup>ō <sup>h</sup>tei?-nō/ 'inside the toilets' behaves as a typical case marker. The numeral /<sup>h</sup>tei?/ 'one' here will mean 'nondefiniteness' of /<sup>?</sup>tε<sup>h</sup>a? k<sup>h</sup>ō/ 'toilets' because the previous context has no description regarding the toilets.

(7.3)

The expression /<sup>?</sup>ə <sup>n</sup>da zə nə/ 'like that' is accompanied by a gesture of /<sup>h</sup>ηu: ηu: <sup>h</sup>dza?/ 'listen secretly' of the narrator. Cf. (7.2).

The expression /<sup>h</sup>ηu: ηu: <sup>h</sup>dza?/ 'listen secretly' can be formulated as 'V (reduplicated) + light verb'. A reduplication of a verb root, which weakens a meaning of the verb, seems to be non-productive in Lhagang Tibetan, so this might be a fixed expression.

(7.4)

The form /-na/ appearing twice has different meanings from each other. The first is a conjunction marker, which indicates that the following part is a beginning of a citation, while the second functions as a topic marker. The first /-na/ has a higher pitch which is different from the case of /-nə/, and perhaps due to this, the closing reporting verb does not appear. Based on the context, the citation continues until the end of (7.5).

The noun phrase /<sup>h</sup>dza: po <sup>^</sup>pu zə <sup>na</sup>-<sup>h</sup>tεε/ means 'the reason why the king's son is sick'. /<sup>h</sup>tεε/ is a nominaliser to make a noun phrase of reason.

(7.5)

The whole sentence in (7.5) is a continuing part of the king's maid's speech even though it lacks a reporting verb.

The position noun /<sup>?</sup>zə k<sup>h</sup>a/ 'side' seems to function as a case marker with an independent tone. Polysyllabic position nouns have a tendency to possess an independent tone bearing unit.

The noun phrase /<sup>?</sup>pε:-s<sup>h</sup>a-gə/ 'of the place where (the monk) pulled' has a genitive case marker following the nominaliser to denote a place.

The noun /<sup>?</sup>ri? <sup>m</sup>bo lo?/ 'hill' is a general noun which is not usually uttered in conversations. It appears as an animate role in this story and speaks words in (7.10). A phonetic variant includes [riŋ<sup>?</sup> <sup>m</sup>bo lo?], hence the first syllable might mean 'intelligent, clever', as in Literary Tibetan *rig*.

We find a copulative verb at the end of the sentence, which confirms that the word /<sup>?</sup>no: ba/ 'mistake' is a noun, not a stative verb.

(7.6)

The noun phrase /ŋa<sup>h</sup>jaʔ ʔk<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>m</sup>ba ʔze:-<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ε<sup>h</sup> ʔh<sup>h</sup>teiʔ/ ‘one which is called *lba g.yag kham pa* (brown wild yak)’ has a nominaliser making an agent /-<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ε<sup>h</sup>/, which could be alternative with another nominaliser /-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ as in (1.7) and (2.3). /ŋa<sup>h</sup>jaʔ ʔk<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>m</sup>ba/ should be analysed as a proper name.

The case marker /-gə/ in the noun phrase /<sup>h</sup>tə-gə ʔno: ba/ ‘mistake of it (of the yak)’ is genitive, while the second /-gə/ as in /<sup>h</sup>tə-gə/ ‘because of it’ is ergative, of which the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun /<sup>h</sup>tə/ demonstrates /<sup>h</sup>tə-gə ʔno: ba/ ‘mistake of it’.

The conjunction /-nε:/ in /<sup>h</sup>tεe:-nε:/ is interpreted as a causal conjunction ‘because’ here, and thus we can translate the whole phrase /<sup>h</sup>tεe:-nε:/ as ‘because of’.

The verbal predicate /<sup>h</sup>mə-ŋε:-lə ji:-k<sup>h</sup>ε:/ ‘will not be right’ is an egophoric nonperfect originally; however, in the story, it is used in a description that things have already not been right.

(7.7)

This sentence includes a part of the repetition of (7.3).

The verb predicate /<sup>h</sup>tε<sup>h</sup>αʔ k<sup>h</sup>ʔn-<sup>h</sup>n̄<sup>h</sup> ʔma la ʔtə ʔda ʔze:-k<sup>h</sup>ε:/ ‘(someone) says from downwards in the toilets like this’ has several noteworthy points. First, /<sup>h</sup>tε<sup>h</sup>αʔ k<sup>h</sup>ʔn-<sup>h</sup>n̄<sup>h</sup>/ ‘in the toilets’ might be not a component of this verb predicate, it just designates the place where the monk, appearing in (7.1), is sitting, and there is a pause after this within the story-telling. Second, the directional adverb /<sup>h</sup>ma la/ generally means a direction ‘towards a lower place’, however, here it will be interpreted as a provenance ‘from a lower place’. The sound, i.e., someone’s voice, narrates the part from (7.8) to (7.14). Third, the agent of the verb /<sup>h</sup>ze:-k<sup>h</sup>ε:/ ‘said’ does not appear in (7.7). This verb just functions as an introductory word to the forthcoming citations.

(7.8)

The expression /<sup>h</sup>ma-reʔ ʔts<sup>h</sup>a-reʔ/ is glossed as ‘NEG-CPV complete-CPV’, however, the first component might be ‘NEG-be correct’, not a reading of ‘copulative verb’. The two verbs are in a sequence, and with the temporal expression /<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>ʔ ʔŋ̄/ ‘tomorrow’, the verb predicate means ‘it will be bad, it will be over’.

The agent of another verb predicate /<sup>h</sup>ŋa ts<sup>h</sup>o-la ʔp<sup>h</sup>αʔ ʔgo ʔloʔ h<sup>h</sup>te ʔ<sup>h</sup>zu-lə ji: s<sup>h</sup>a reʔ/ is missing in the sentence; however, it is the monk in (7.1). The utterer, the king’s maid, mentions the possibility that the ritual *phag mgo log bstan* that the monk conducted indicates that they are the origin of misfortune. The TAM suffix /-lə ji: s<sup>h</sup>a reʔ/ is actually a non-egophoric form in spite of the use of /-lə ji:/. The suffix of potentiality /-s<sup>h</sup>a reʔ/ follows an egophoric form, which is, in fact, a default in a reported speech.

The nominal phrase /<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>αʔ ʔgε<sup>h</sup> ʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ h<sup>h</sup>teiʔ ʔjoʔ-zə/ ‘the one pig where was (here)’ is a nominalisation of a head-internal relative clause, The existential verb is used as an existential, not as a location. The fact is that the pig is dead because its head was cut down, however, the verb predicate says /<sup>h</sup>seʔ-t<sup>h</sup>ε:/ ‘killed, confirmed with a sensory observation’. The sensory-confirmed perfect TAM suffix /-t<sup>h</sup>ε:/ is used because the sentence is a citation of the speech of the king’s maid. This expression implies that she has seen the pig killed in (6.9). One cannot ‘kill a dead pig’, thus, the component /<sup>h</sup>joʔ-zə/ ‘which was’ has no independent temporal meaning for the main verb /<sup>h</sup>seʔ/ ‘kill’.

(7.9)

The last verb /<sup>h</sup>ze:-k<sup>h</sup>ε:/ marks an end of the citation of the king’s maid, which started from the beginning of (7.8).

(7.10)

This sentence includes a citation of the speech of the hill called /riʔ mbo loʔ/. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun with an ergative marker exceptionally in high tone /tə-gə/ should be used as an emphasis of the ‘animate’ hill speaking words.

The verb predicate /<sup>ˈ</sup>nə̃ p<sup>h</sup>aʔ ʔgo ʔloʔ hte-gə ʔko/ ‘know this by the ritual *phag mgo log bstan*’ lacks an agent in the sentence, but the context suggests that the agent is the monk. However, the translation of this sentence can hide an agent by using a passive. The verb /ʔko/ should be followed directly by a TAM suffix /-reʔ/ as a statement, however, it is interrupted by an enforcing adverb /s<sup>h</sup>ě t<sup>h</sup>aʔ/ ‘definitely’, and due to the split of the tonal boundary, the following /reʔ/ is glossed as a copulative verb. Cf. (7.13).

(7.11)

The noun /<sup>h</sup>iʔaʔ <sup>h</sup>ge ʔk<sup>h</sup>ã mba/ ‘brown wild yak’ designates the equivalent thing to /<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>iʔaʔ ʔk<sup>h</sup>ã mba/ in (7.6). It is followed by an ergative marker, which might be contrasted to the utterer, the hill, appearing in (7.10).

(7.12)

The verb /<sup>h</sup>dzuʔ/ generally means ‘run’, but ‘be performed’ here. The TAM suffix attached to this verb /-t<sup>h</sup>e:/ implies that the utterer, brown wild yak, confirmed the event through its sensory observation.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun /k<sup>h</sup>o-la/ denotes the utterer itself. It is frequently observed that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun replaces 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun in direct speech.

The agent of the verb predicate /k<sup>h</sup>o-la ʔduʔ <sup>h</sup>iʔaʔ ʔk<sup>h</sup>ã mba ʔze:-nə/ is the monk, conductor of the ritual. The whole translation is ‘(he) said to me by using the name *bdud g.yag kham pa* (which literally means ‘evil brown yak’)’.

(7.13)

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun /k<sup>h</sup>o/ here also denotes the utterer itself.

(7.14)

The noun /<sup>h</sup>doʔ hteiʔ/ ‘single one’ is used not as an emphasised numeral. The context cannot determine which one is the utterer of the following citation among the king’s maid, brown wild yak, and the hill.

The use of the directly sensory experience TAM suffix /-tu/ as /<sup>h</sup>zu-tu/ is unusual in terms of the cooccurrence with an action verb. However, the intention is shown in the translation: ‘how do we do?’.

(7.15)

From this sentence, the scene changed. All the speeches are an idea of the monk who imagines how he will do tomorrow, and it functions as the monk’s rehearsal. The first question /tə̃ tə̃ <sup>h</sup>zu/ ‘how to do’ is either a word of the king’s servant appearing in (6.3) or someone at the king’s family’s side. In addition, it might function as an attention word to the audience by the narrator. After this, a description of the methodology to solve the misfortune begins to be told by the monk, who is absent in this sentence.

The position noun with a locative marker /<sup>h</sup>gɔ̃-la/ ‘on’ appears twice, and it is interpreted literally, as: ‘wood on the yak on the hill’. This means that the yak loaded with woods is on the hill.

The word /<sup>h</sup>dza/ is interpreted as a measurement unit which is equivalent to the Chinese counterpart *jin* ‘500g’ in the context of the narrator who lives in the contemporary society of Lhagang. We have not found so far whether the number 180 has any specific implications; thus it is translated as ‘90kg’.

The verbs /<sup>h</sup>kɛ:-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ/ ‘drag’ and /<sup>h</sup>saʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ/ ‘burn’ are analysed as an imperative mode because they do not take any TAM suffixes in the ordinary utterance. Regardless of the style, a description or a citation, TAM suffixes generally appear as displayed in the sentences above.

The last verb /<sup>h</sup>ze:-nə/ is ended by a conjunction marker, which means that the sentence is continuing to the next one.

(7.16)

This sentence reveals that the ritual *phag mgo log bstan* is *to be done* to find the turquoise under the definition of the monk, however, displaying the conversation from (7.8) to (7.14), the ‘evil three’ are under the impression that the ritual had already begun when the pig was killed.

The element /-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ following two verb roots, /<sup>h</sup>taʔ-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ ‘heal’ and /<sup>h</sup>raʔ-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ ‘find’, is interpreted as a part of the future TAM marker rather than a nominaliser. The third verb /<sup>h</sup>reʔ ts<sup>h</sup>a:/ ‘realise’ is thus posited in parallel to the two verbs, and finalises the verb predicate with a full nonperfect TAM marker. The difference between /-<sup>h</sup>dzu reʔ/ and /-lə reʔ/ primarily depends on the possibility of realisation, and the former implies less possibility than the latter.

The ergative marking of /<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>aʔ <sup>h</sup>go <sup>h</sup>loʔ <sup>h</sup>te-gə/ ‘with *phag mgo log bstan*’ is an instrumental reading.

(8.1)

The undergoer of the verb /<sup>h</sup>ga-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ ‘was glad’ is absent, but it is the monk according to the story.

The expression /<sup>h</sup>ma lu <sup>h</sup>nɔ̃-la/ ‘from the house of the lower side’ includes a locative marker, which means a stative position or a direction, however, it is also used for an ablative, The noun /<sup>h</sup>nɔ̃/ designates a ‘house’, which can be the same as the toilets where he stayed and secretly listened to the conversations.

The last component /<sup>h</sup>ze: <sup>h</sup>dzu tə na/ is a fixed collocation which means ‘like this’. A similar expression appears in (1.6). There might be an omission of sentences. Judging from the content of (8.2), it seems that a description of how the monk spends one night is missing.

(8.2)

This sentence also lacks an agent. However, it is interpreted as a question raised by the king’s servant appearing in (6.3) or someone at the king’s family’s side.

(8.3)

The first two components /<sup>h</sup>təə <sup>h</sup>da <sup>h</sup>zu/ forms an independent sentence of a question ‘how do we do?’, however, it is just an introduction to how we will do.

The rest part of the sentence is a repetition of the content mentioned in (7.15). However, there are some changes. One action is added: /<sup>h</sup>ei <sup>h</sup>tsi: <sup>h</sup>go: tə ra <sup>h</sup>ŋi <sup>h</sup>teiʔ <sup>h</sup>dzaʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ/ ‘make a bird nest with as a large size as a goat’. Another difference is that the process mentioned here does not relate

making the yak drag woods to burning the maid on the hill. The original idea mentioned in (7.15) is that the yak is also on the hill even though it is not specified whether the yak is also burnt.

The final verb /<sup>h</sup>saʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-ta/ 'burn' is an imperative mode, and /-ta/ is a particle to be attached to a verb root in a soft imperative meaning.

(8.4)

The first component /<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>uʔ ts<sup>h</sup>o/ 'you (plural)' shows that it is used in a citation, denoting the king's family. It is not followed by a genitive marker, but it does mean 'your' connecting the next word /<sup>h</sup>pu zə/ 'son'.

The two verbs /<sup>h</sup>taʔ-lə reʔ/ 'will heal' and /<sup>h</sup>raʔ-<sup>h</sup>dzu/ 'will obtain' are followed by different TAM suffixes (nonperfect and future). Moreover, the second is a noncomplete form. This case can be explained as follows: the first is a full sentence, whereas the second is just nominalised and becomes a complement of the verb /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ε: le:/ 'promise'. This verb has no TAM suffixes because it means an utterer's will, i.e., the monk's will. A sentence is ended till this verb.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>o/ 'he' here denotes the utterer and should be interpreted as the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun in direct speech.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>go:/ is also without TAM suffixes in order to present his will.

(8.5)

The form /-nə/ used as a topic marker is rare, and here it might function as a filler.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>ga-<sup>h</sup>ga-nə/ 'be very glad' is a reduplicated form which is not frequently attested in Lhagang Tibetan. Here the reduplication means an augmentation of the meaning of the original verb.

The expression /<sup>h</sup>ei: ŋi<sup>h</sup> mba la/ 'next day' is fixed, and /<sup>h</sup>ze: <sup>h</sup>dzu tə na/ 'like this' is used instead of a complete sentence with a verb as in (8.1).

There are three verbs which express three different, consecutive actions /<sup>h</sup>ke:/ 'drag', /<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ/ 'make', and /<sup>h</sup>saʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>ε:/ 'burnt', of which only the last has a TAM suffix. This is frequently attested in general conversations to explain various consecutive actions.

The noun /<sup>h</sup>me<sup>h</sup> dzə/ 'bonfire' denotes the same thing as /<sup>h</sup>ei<sup>h</sup> tsi: <sup>h</sup>go: tə ra<sup>h</sup> ŋi<sup>h</sup> tɛiʔ/ 'bird nest with as a large size as a goat' in (8.3).

(8.6)

The form /<sup>h</sup>tə la/ is usually used for 'there', but it denotes 'immediately', in a temporal sense, here.

(8.7)

The noun phrase /<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>aʔ <sup>h</sup>gε<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>go/ 'pig's head' is regarded as a compound without a genitive marker.

The agent of the verb /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ə/ 'carry with hands' is absent; however, it is the monk.

The verb predicate /<sup>h</sup>ʔə<sup>h</sup> n<sup>h</sup>da<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>zu-nə/ 'do in this way' is mainly explained with a gesture of the narrator; however, the following verb /<sup>h</sup>tsuʔ-nə/ 'point' indicates a more concrete action.

The expression repeated thrice /<sup>h</sup>ndə<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>ʔə-reʔ/ 'is it this?' describes the monk's action to point mdzo mo's dung on the wall one by one with the pig's head, accompanied by a gesture of the narrator.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ə lo: loʔ-zə/ 'pretended' is not a reduplicated form, but a light verb construction using the verb root /<sup>h</sup>loʔ/. Because the monk has already marked on the dung where the turquoise

exists, his action is just a pretence. See (8.8). The aorist TAM suffix is a type without copulative verbs; however, this form is frequently attested.

(8.8)

The part from the beginning to /<sup>h</sup>re-moʔ/ ‘right?’ can be analysed either as an explanatory sentence of the background or as a narration addressing the audience.

After this part, the story describes the actions of the monk, who does not appear in the sentence.

The verb /<sup>h</sup>ze:-nə:/ ‘say’ here is not a reporting verb but an action verb, however, the sentence structure is the same and the part of /<sup>n</sup>də ʔreʔ/ ‘this is that’ is a direct speech by the monk.

(9.1)

The noun phrase /<sup>h</sup>la <sup>h</sup>ge-la/ appears twice, but the grammatical function is different. The first is in a grammatical dative case, and the second is in a local dative case which is not required by a verb root.

(9.2)

The usage of reduplication of the verb /<sup>h</sup>ga-<sup>h</sup>ga/ ‘be very glad’ is the same as that in (8.5).

The expression /<sup>n</sup>ə la lə ʔnə:/ ‘especially’ is fixed and not analysable. It modifies the preceding verb /<sup>h</sup>ga-<sup>h</sup>ga/.

The last verb predicate /<sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>o k<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃ <sup>h</sup>nɔ̃-la ʔja la <sup>h</sup>zaʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ is literally translated as ‘have put in the shrine room’. This implies that the king’s family treat the monk as a deity; however, the verb ‘put’ just means ‘worship’ here.

The final verb /<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ has two roots of /<sup>h</sup>zaʔ/. However, this is not a reduplication; the main verb is the first one, and the second is a secondary verb.

The story is ended here.

(9.3)

This is the concluding words which tell the story’s significance transmitted from generation to generation.

The first /<sup>t</sup>ə <sup>n</sup>ɕa/ ‘like this’ is an introductory word and thus independent.

The noun /<sup>m</sup>ə/ ‘person’ is modified by relative clause /<sup>l</sup>e: la ʔo: mo <sup>h</sup>ze:-<sup>h</sup>dzu-tə/ ‘who is called very lucky’, of which /<sup>l</sup>e: la ʔo mo/ is a fixed expression. A similar form is found in (4.4). The nominalised verb /<sup>h</sup>ze:-<sup>h</sup>dzu-tə/ ‘wo calles/ is called’ modifies /<sup>m</sup>ə/ ‘person’.

The second /<sup>t</sup>ə <sup>n</sup>ɕa/ ‘like this’ denotes ‘a person like the monk in the story’.

The very last verb /<sup>h</sup>ji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ is an egophoric copulative verb with a non-sensory perfect TAM suffix. See (1.1) and (1.2).

As the last remark, in narratives of Lhagang, in general, there is a fixed expression to conclude a story, and other stories narrated by the present storyteller have it. However, in this narrative, the sentence (9.3) appears instead. The general concluding expression would consist of three sentences: /<sup>h</sup>te <sup>h</sup>teɪʔ ʔni ma <sup>h</sup>gɔ̃-la <sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>e:/ ‘then, the happy sun rose to the sky’, /<sup>h</sup>duʔ ʔpe <sup>h</sup>ga <sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>u-gə <sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>u:/ ‘a stick of sadness was flushed by the water’, and /<sup>h</sup>to ma ʔma: k<sup>h</sup>u: <sup>h</sup>nə-la <sup>h</sup>te<sup>h</sup>əʔ/ ‘Silverweed and butter soup were offered to the sky’. These sentences are one set of verses which mention three auspicious phenomena. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017c).

## 4 Concluding words

This article analysed a narrative story *King's pig* with a grammatical annotation. We found several features which are principally attested in a story-telling:

- Use of /-k<sup>h</sup>e:/ as a general TAM suffix as well as a hearsay marker
- Use of egophoric form for a non-egophoric statement
- Verb stem reduplication
- Double use of a reporting verb before and after a citation
- Head-internal relative clause

These phenomena rarely appear in general conversations and elicitations. This suggests that a narrative grammar is to some extent different from a conversation counterpart. We should pay attention to this aspect, and give an appropriate annotation when writing a grammar of Lhagang Tibetan.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was funded by a Grant-in-Aid of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science “International Field Survey of Tibeto-Burman Link Languages” (headed by Yasuhiko Nagano; No. 16H02722). We also would love to thank Anu for sharing her stories with us.

## ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	INTJ	interjection
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	NEG	negative
ACH	achievement	NDEF	nondefinite marker
AOR	aorist	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NML	nominaliser
CIL	collective	NPFT	nonperfect
COM	comitative	PART	particle
CONJ	conjunction marker	PFT	perfect
CPV	copulative verb	PFT.NSEN	non-sensory perfect
DAT	dative	PFT.SEN	sensory perfect
DEF	definite marker	PL	plural
DIR	directional marker	POT	potential
DSE	directly sensor experienced	PPN	proper name
ERG	ergative	Q	question marker
EXV	existential verb	RDP	reduplication
FUT	future	STA	stative
GEN	genitive	STT	statement
IMPR	imperative stem	TOP	topic marker
INS	instrumental		

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དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ས་ཕྱེད་ཀའི་བླ་ཆེན་ལ་སྦྱིན་ཁལ། བླ་ཆེན་ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་ཕྱེད་ཀའི་དོ་ཤོར་བཞག་ཁལ། དེ་དག་འདྲག་འཇག་མ་ལ་ལང་ནས་འདྲི་  
དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ས་ཕྱེད་ཀའི་བླ་ཆེན་ལ་སྦྱིན་ཁལ། དེ་དེ་འདྲུ་མི་ལས་ལ་དྲོག་མི་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་དེ་  
དེ་འདྲུ་མི་ཡིན་ཁལ།