Two Folktales in Lhagang Tibetan (Minyag Rabgang Kham)

Three Birds and Lark and Partridge

Suzuki, Hiroyuki
Universitetet i Oslo / National Museum of Ethnology

Sonam Wangmo
Universitetet i Oslo

This article presents two folktales narrated in Lhagang Tibetan, a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Kham, spoken in Lhagang Village, Lhagang Town, Darmdo Municipality, Kandze Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China, with interlinear glossing and English translation, followed by full English and Tibetan translations. The folktales are entitled Three Birds and Lark and Partridge.

Keywords: Lhagang Tibetan, Minyag Rabgang Kham, language material, folktale

1. Introduction

In this article, we present two folktales narrated in Lhagang Tibetan accompanied by interlinear glossing, followed by full translations in English as well as Tibetan. Lhagang Tibetan is a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Kham, a Tibetic language spoken in Lhagang Town, Darmdo County, Kandze Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. Lhagang Village used to be a Khams Tibetan-speaking area; however, there are various languages spoken in the village, such as Khams Tibetan, Amdo Tibetan, and Lhagang Choyu, due to an influx of immigrants from the surrounding pastoral areas (Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2017a). According to Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015), Khams Tibetan itself has at least two


This study was funded by two Grants-in-Aid from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science: “International Field Survey of Tibeto-Burman Link Languages” (headed by Yasuhiko Nagano; no. 16H02722) and “Investigation of undescribed languages in the eastern Tibetosphere and their geolinguistic research” (headed by the first author; no. 17H04774). Our thanks go to Pantsho who shared her stories with us.
sociolinguistic varieties called Lhagang-A (a Khams variety more influenced by Amdo; see Suzuki (2006)) and Lhagang-B (a Khams variety less influenced by Amdo). The language described in this article is Lhagang-B, which reflects the sedentary variety from Lhagang Village less influenced by the pastoralists’ speech.

The two folktales are entitled *Three Birds* and *Lark and Partridge*. They were narrated by a woman in her fifties from Lhagang Village and were recorded in 2016 by Sonam Wangmo. The lark appears in both folktales; it is considered an ordinary bird in Lhagang Village. There is another folktale in Lhagang Tibetan mentioning a lark; see Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017c).

We first provide interlinear glossing with a translation for each sentence. Footnotes regarding grammatical phenomena, etymological notes, and cultural background are also provided when necessary for parts of either a sentence, gloss, or interlinear translation. The line breaks within the story are primarily based on the content presented, and secondarily based on maintaining standard sentence structure. The numbering is presented as paragraph, then line. For example, (2.3) refers to the third line of text in the second paragraph. Due to the length of the story, the paragraph number is also provided in the full translation.

Our sound descriptions follow Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016). However, the narrator of the folktales possesses additional phonological features, such as uvular sounds. Our grammatical analysis of the folktales is based on Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016, 2018). We employed a syllable-by-syllable method for the description of Lhagang Tibetan. The Tibetan translation provided in the article follows the Lhagang dialect, not Literary Tibetan. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017b,c) for details about this practice. Note that due to the language structure, a hearsay evidential marker appears at the end of many narrations in Lhagang Tibetan; however, this feature is not reflected in the English translations.

The stories presented below were edited to some extent by the present authors. However, we took different approaches to each story. The first story, *Three Birds*, contains some confusion regarding the description of the protagonists, so the narration includes multiple self-interrogations. In the text with glossing, we include several of these self-interrogative expressions, indicated by square brackets, since they might function as examples of discursive strategies. However, in the full translations, we remove them and present the consistent plot points of the story. The second story, *Lark and Partridge*, is edited by omitting unnecessary repetitions and fillers from the text, and we provide a refined version of the story.

---

1 The sound system of Lhagang Tibetan is as follows: Suprasegmentals: word-tone: ‘: high level [tíº44]; ‘: rising [tíº53]; ‘: falling [tíº24]; ‘: rising-falling [tíº245]; Consonants: /pʰ, b, t, d, ʈ, ʈʰ, k, g, qʰ, q, ʔ, tsʰ, ts, dz, tsʰ, ts, dz, ʃ, s, s, z, s, ʃ, ʃ, c, z, x, y, x, y, h, ʰ, m, n, q, ɳ, ɲ, ɲ, ɾ, r, w, j/. Preaspiration and prenasalisation can appear as a preinitial; Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, o, u, u, o, ʊ/. Length and nasalisation are distinctive. The maximum syllable structure is [CGVC].
2. Three Birds

2.1. Text with glossing

(1.1) \( \text{\textquote{ca} }^\text{h} \text{ka:} \quad \text{\textquote{h}tei?} \quad \text{\textquote{n}dzo:} \text{ mo} \quad \text{\textquote{h}tei?} \quad \text{\textquote{te}} \)

grey duck\(^3\) one lark one then

\( \text{\textquote{q}o} \text{ \textquote{t}a} \text{ \textquote{ru} \text{ \textquote{ze}-\textquote{h}dzu} \quad \text{\textquote{h}tei?} \quad \text{\textquote{jo} re?-\textquote{z}a} \text{ re?} \)

PPN say-NML one EXV-HS\(^4\)

‘There was a grey duck, a lark and one that is called Qijiru.’

(1.2) \( \text{\textquote{ca} }^\text{h} \text{ka:} \quad \text{\textquote{n}d} \quad \text{\textquote{h}sa} \text{ \textquote{mb}a \quad \text{\textquote{ze}-\textquote{h}k} \text{a} \quad \text{\textquote{ha} }^\text{h} \text{ko-re?} \text{ mo ji:} \text{ na} \)

grey duck-this guard say-when understand-STA-CONFIRM\(^6\)

‘This grey duck (was) a guard; you understand (the word) guard, right?’

(1.3) \( \text{\textquote{h}sa} \text{ \textquote{mb}a \quad \text{\textquote{ze}-\textquote{h}k} \text{a} \quad \text{\textquote{h}sa} \text{ \textquote{mb}a \quad \text{\textquote{ze}-\textquote{h}k} \text{a} \quad \text{\textquote{ja}-\textquote{r} \text{\textquote{a}} \text{ts} \text{ \textquote{h}o} \)

guard say-when guard say-when 1-self-PL

\( \text{\textquote{h}a} \text{ \textquote{sa} \text{ \textquote{do} \quad \text{\textquote{ze}-\textquote{h}dzu} \quad \text{\textquote{h}tei?} \quad \text{\textquote{re?} re?-\textquote{mo} ta} \)

this say-NML one CPV-PART\(^7\)-CONJ

‘(The word) ‘guard’, when we say ‘guard’, we mean someone like this;’

(1.4) \( \text{\textquote{h}pe} \quad \text{\textquote{z}a? } \text{\textquote{na} \quad \text{\textquote{h}a} \text{ \textquote{za} \text{ \textquote{z}a} \quad \text{\textquote{t}a} \text{ \textquote{ts} \text{ ta}} \quad \text{\textquote{hu} \text{ \textquote{ta}-\textquote{h}k} \text{e-\textquote{h}tei?} \)

for example\(^8\) like that what Q-come see-NML-NDEF

\( \text{\textquote{h}a} \text{ \textquote{mo} \text{ \textquote{fo}} \quad \text{\textquote{h}ta} \text{ \textquote{h}k} \text{e-\textquote{h}tei?} \quad \text{\textquote{ca} }^\text{h} \text{ka:} \quad \text{\textquote{to} \text{\textquote{ts} \text{ \textquote{h}o} \)

Q-come see-NML-NDEF grey duck those

\( \text{\textquote{ca} }^\text{h} \text{ka:} \text{ \textquote{la} \quad \text{\textquote{h}sa} \text{ \textquote{mb}a \quad \text{\textquote{jo} re?-\textquote{z}a} \text{ re?} \)

grey duck-DAT guard EXV-HS

‘For example, like that, one who watches to see if someone is coming; (and) they, the grey duck (and other two), have the grey duck as a guard, who watches to see if someone is coming.’

(1.5) \( \text{\textquote{ca} }^\text{h} \text{ka:} \quad \text{\textquote{n}d} \quad \text{\textquote{h}tei?} \quad \text{\textquote{ji}-\text{na} \quad \text{\textquote{h}pe} \quad \text{\textquote{h}za? } \text{\textquote{na} \quad \text{\textquote{ji}-\text{na} \)

grey duck-HUM-NDEF CPV-CONJ for example CPV-CONJ

---

\(^2\) In monologue parts, the whole form of Lhagang Tibetan will be in square brackets. See (2.3) and (2.5) for instance.

\(^3\) This term denotes a specific species of the bird (cf. 1.11). The form can correspond to Wt\(^\text{h} \text{bya} \text{ g} \text{ag} \quad \text{‘duck, grey duck’}; however, the spoken form seems to correspond to Wt\(^\text{h} \text{bya} \text{ \textquote{dk} \text{ar} \quad \text{‘white-bird’}.

\(^4\) A voiceless form /-sa re?/ is also attested. However, this storyteller clearly uses the voiced counterpart.

\(^5\) The story-teller posed a question to the audience (the second author) and explained what the grey duck was (1.2 to 1.5).

\(^6\) The last utterance is oriented to the audience.

\(^7\) The function with a gloss PART is still unclear.

\(^8\) This is an idiomatic phrase denoting ‘for example’. We do not provide a word-by-word translation for idioms.
'A grey duck is, for example;'

(1.6) 'ca^hka: 'hṭei? 'hso^mba 'hṭei? ñjo? re?-mo ña re?
grey duck one guard one EXV-PART
‘one grey duck was being a guard.’

(1.7) 'hso^mba-tə ñdu? po ñji?-re?-za re?
guard-DEF miserable CPV-STA-HS
‘The guard was miserable.’

(1.8) ñza^-dzu ñṭə lɛ: ñra? ñma-re?-za re?
eat-NML anything get NEG-CPV-HS
‘He (the guard) did not get anything to eat.’

(1.9) ñʔa ñda zə nə ñhṭe5 ma-ⁿḍa ñhṭe5 ma-ⁿḍa
like that hardwoods-like hardwoods-like
ñc'i p^ő-hṭei? ñgə ñdzə?-nə ñʔa ñḍa
coniferous tree-NDEF top climb-CONJ like that
‘In that manner, he climbed to the top of trees such as hardwoods and a coniferous tree.’

(1.10) ñta rə ñma lu: ŋja: la ñmə-ⁿḍa ñʔə-fio:
and then from there to here9 person-HUM Q-come
ñhta-nə ñc'i ñhjí ñhṭa ñⁿdu^-gə-za re?
see-CONJ always see sit-need-HS
‘And then he (the guard) always needed to watch to see if someone came from there to here.’

(1.11) ñʔa^hka: ñse^-nə ñte ñqo ñgə ñrí? ñhṭei?
grey duck say-CONJ then chicken kind one
ñjo?-mo jí na ñhjo ma tei? ñjo?-mo ñhka: po-tei?
EXV-PART very similar one EXV-PART white-NDEF
ñjo?-mo ñrí: ñʔə-nə̀ ñhka: po-tei?
EXV-PART see Q-experience11

---

9 This is an idiomatic phrase denoting ‘from there to here’.
10 The story-teller again explained to the audience (the second author) what the grey duck was.
11 This question is oriented to the audience.
‘That which is called a grey duck is, then, a kind of chicken, very similar to one (to a chicken), and a white kind; have you seen it?’

(1.12) 'ta-la 'ca bka: ^ze-re?
that-DAT grey duck say-STA
‘That is called a grey duck.’

(2.1) 'ca bka: 'hθi? ^jo? re?-zə re?
grey duck one EXV-HS
‘There was a grey duck.’

(2.2) 'te 'ŋdzo: mo 'hθi? ^jo? re?-zə re?
then lark one EXV-HS
‘Then, there was a lark.’

(2.3) [ 'ta 'tə 'ca-la 'teə 'mǐ 'hθa?-6go re?]
then that bird-DAT what name call-FUT
‘Then, which name is that bird called...’

(2.4) 'qə teə ru 'zə:-6dzɯ 'hθi? ^jo? re?-zə re?
PPN say-NML one EXV-HS
‘There was one (bird) called Qijiru.’

(2.5) [ 'ta 'qə teə ru ^ze:-tu-pa]
then PPN say-SEN-INFR
‘Then, it was called Qijiru, probably.’

(2.6) 'te 'hso tə 'te 'ca bka: ^hso na
then the three then grey duck guard
^re?-mo ji: na
CPV-CONFIRM
‘Then, of the three (birds), the grey duck was the guard.’

(2.7) 'kə-la 'hθa-nə 'ndu?-jo? re?-mo ?ə re?
top-LOC see-CONJ sit-CONT-PART
‘He (the grey duck) sat watching on the top (of the tree).’
(2.8) 'kō-la
  top-LOC
  see-sit-CONJ
  'He sat watching, and'

(2.9) ['te
  'ndzo: mo-la
  'teə tə
  'nzu-kʰa h tüʔ-žə reʔ?
then
  lark-DAT
  what
  do-CAUS-AOR

'gə:
  ^ze-tu-ta]

need
  say-SEN-CONJ

'then, I am wondering what the lark was made do, and'

(2.10) ['ʔo
  'ca h'ka:
  'nšō mba
  'nzu-sʰa ^ma-reʔ?]

INTJ
grey duck
  guard
  do-NEG.EPI

'oh, the grey duck might not have been as a guard.'

(2.11) 'ndzo: mo-la
  'nla-kʰa
  'h tüʔ-žə ji:-na
lark-DAT
  see-CAUS-AOR12-CONJ

'If the lark had been made watch (someone coming),'

(2.12) 'ndzo: mo
  'kō-la
  'nla-nə
  'nduʔ-žə reʔ?
lark
  top-LOC
  see-CONJ
  sit-AOR

'the lark sat on the top, watching.'

(2.13) 'ʔo
  'ca h'ka:
  'kō-la
  'nla-nə
  'ndu?
INTJ
grey duck
  top-LOC
  see-CONJ
  sit

'Oh, the grey duck sat watching on the top.'

(2.14) 'ndzo: mo
  'nla-nə
  'tə
  'fi a kʰe tə
  'teə ma
lark
  see-CONJ
  then
  other
  cook

'nzu-kʰa h tüʔ-žə reʔ-žə reʔ?
do-CAUS-AOR-HS

'The lark watched, and then the other (Qijiru) was made to serve as a cook.13'

(2.15) 'tə
  'tə
  'ʔə teə ru
  'ze:-h'zu
  'tə-la
then
  that
  PPN
  say-NML
  that-DAT

12 The morphological feature is related to 'egophoric'; however, in a subordinate clause closed by a conjunction /-na/ 'when, if', the egophoric form does not mean egophoric but neutral from an evidential perspective.

13 The story-teller confused which bird (the lark or the grey duck) was a guard. The rest refers to Qijiru, who has not been described in the story; therefore, /'fi a kʰe tə/ 'the other' here denotes Qijiru. See (2.15).
‘Then, that was the (bird) called Qijiru.’

(3.1) ́te ̣zeːⁿa ́ma lu ́ka: ̣hi?
then say14-CONJ from there somewhere
‘Then, that was somewhere called Qijiru.’

(3.2) ́ʔən ̣fiː-tə ̣zeːⁿa reʔ-zə reʔ?
this16 come-CMPL say-AOR-HS
‘One said: “that (person) is coming”.’

(3.3) ̣mô mba ̣fiː-tə ̣zeːⁿa reʔ-zə reʔ?
hunter come-CMPL say-AOR-HS
‘One said: “a hunter is coming”.’

(3.4) ̣mô mba ̣z:ʔkʰa ̣mô ̣də-ʔkʰe: ́ta
hunter say-when game hunt-NML then
‘(The word) ‘hunter’ means one who hunts game; sometimes they (the three birds)
have a few enemies who come upon (their heads).’

(3.5) ́ta ́ʔə ́wê po ̣reʔ-mo ̣ʔə reʔ ̣pe ̣ʔzə?
then like this CPV-PART for example
‘Then, it was like this, for example.’

(3.6) ̣mô mba ̣fiː-tə ̣z:ʔkʰa-la ́te
hunter come-CMPL say-when-LOC then
‘When he (the grey duck as a guard) said that a hunter was coming,’

(3.7) ́te ̣dzə: mo-gə ́ʔə ̣fiː-tu ̣z:ʔkʰa-la
then lark-ERG someone come-SEN say-when-LOC
‘Then, when the lark said: “Someone is coming”,’

14 This verb’s agent is not described in the course of the story; however, it is not a hearsay evidential marker, but a
action verb.
15 This part is a monologue.
16 This demonstrative denotes /̣mô mba/ ‘hunter’ in (3.3). The narrator just forgot the word when she uttered the
sentence (3.2).
(3.8) ˊte ˊca hka: ˋji:-nə ˇtei?-gə ˊkə =də
then grey duck CPV-EPI one-ERG how
ˊre?-fiə ˊze:-kʰa ɕʰi?
CPV-SFP say-when
ʻthen, it could have been the grey duck..., anyway, when one said: “Who is it?”

(3.9) ʰtei? ʰdza?-nə ˊca hka: ˇqʰo?
one hit-CONJ grey duck poor
ʰseʔ-ʰzaʔ-zə reʔ-zə reʔ
kill-put-AOR-HS
ʻ(the grey duck) was hit, and the poor grey duck was killed (by the hunter).’

(3.10) ʰseʔ-ʰzaʔ-kʰa ˊte ˇfiə kʰe tə qə ʰmə məba
kill-put-when then the other hunter
ʰseʔ-ʰfoʔ:-reʔ-_mo ?ə reʔ
kill-come-STA-PART
ʻWhen he (the grey duck) was killed, the hunter would come to kill the other (bird).’

(4.1) ˊte ˇqə tə reciprocal ʻtə tuŋ ke: ˊtə tuŋ ke: ˇze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ
then PPN-ERG INTJ INTJ say-AOR-HS
ʻThen, Qijiru crowed: “Tutughe, tutughe”.’

(4.2) ˊta ʰkʰo-rə-gə ˊteə ʰke:-ʰgo:- ^ma-reʔ-mo
then 3-self-ERG meal17 make-need-NEG.STA-SFP
ʻThen, he did not have to make a meal.’

2.2. Full translations

2.2.1. English18

(1) Once upon a time, there was a grey duck, a lark, and a bird named Qijiru. The grey duck served as a guard for the three birds. [When we say ‘guard’, we mean, for example, someone who serves as a lookout.] Thus, the three birds use the grey duck as a guard, a lookout. The grey duck was miserable as a guard. He did not get anything to eat. Even so, he climbed to the top of trees, including hardwoods and a coniferous tree, from which he

---

17 The role of Qijiru is a cook (see 2.14). ˊteə (derived from Literary Tibetan ja ˊtea’) does not denote ‘tea’ but ‘meal’.
18 Narrative asides or commentary are indicated with square brackets.
always needed to watch to see if someone approached. [The kind of bird known as a grey duck is, then, a kind of chicken, or very similar to the chicken, and a white bird. Have you seen such a bird? That is called a grey duck.]

(2) There was a grey duck. Also, there was a lark and a bird name Qijiru. Anyhow, of the three birds, the grey duck was the guard. He sat watching on the top of the tree. The lark was watching also, and so the other bird, Qijiru, was made to work as a cook.

(3) Then, one of the birds said: ‘Somewhere over there, there is a hunter coming!’ [Sometimes, the three birds have a few enemies who come upon their heads.] When the grey duck, or perhaps it was the lark, said: ‘There is a hunter coming’, the other one of them said: ‘Who is it?’, but the poor grey duck was hit and killed by the hunter. After the grey duck had been killed, the hunter killed the other bird as well.

(4) Then, Qijiru crowed: ‘Tutughe, tutughe’, for he did not have to cook a meal anymore.

2.2.2. Tibetan

3. Lark and Partridge

3.1. Text with glossing

(1.1) 'ṇi ma "ňa: ʰna-la "dzo: mo "htci? ʰjo? re?
old time-LOC lark one EXV
‘Once upon a time, there was a lark.’

(1.2) ˊte สะ่า qa หเทิ่ โจ re?
then partridge one EXV
‘Then, there was a partridge.’

(1.3) ˊ nd zo: mo-ก ฮ ต สะ่า น่า qa หเทิ่ สะ่า reʔ-ก สะ่า reʔ-ก
lark-GEN nest-this under-LOC put-AOR-INFR
‘The nest of the lark was possibly built down low.’

(1.4) สะ่า qa-ก ตั้ท สะ่า น่า ต้น bo-ก หเทิ่ สะ่า reʔ-ก
partridge-GEN nest-this bush-GEN upper-LOC
‘The nest of the partridge (was) on the bush.’

(1.5) ฃ หเทิ่ สะ่า reʔ-ก สะ่า reʔ-ก นะ reʔ
ten one under-LOC one upper-LOC put-STA-PART
‘Then, one was lower, and the other was higher.’

(1.6) сход zo: mo-la สะ่า reʔ-ก qa-ก สะ่า reʔ-ก
then lark-DAT say-CONJ partridge-ERG say-CONJ
‘Then, the partridge said to the lark:’

(1.7) สะ่า reʔ-ก สะ่า reʔ-ก สะ่า reʔ-ก น่า: เกิ่ ม a-ดุ?
2 root of the bush-LOC move always NEG-ROOT otherwise
‘‘You, don’t keep moving the root of the bush, otherwise,’”

(1.8) นะ la สะ่า reʔ-จะ reʔ
call all frighten and lose the soul19-SEN
‘‘all of my children will be so frightened they’ll lose their souls.”, (the partridge)
said.’

19 This is an idiomatic phrase denoting ‘become frightened and lose the soul’. 
(1.9)  "ʔa 'ɖa  "ŋe: zaʔ-kʰa-la  "həʔ-reʔ-mo ^ji: na
like this  move-when-LOC  fear-STA-PART
‘When someone moved (the bush) like this, one would be frightened, and’

(1.10)  'te  "ndzo: mo-gə  ^ze:-nə
then  lark-ERG  say-CONJ
‘then, the lark said:’

(1.11)  "teʰo?  'taʔ re:
2  piece of cloth  bad  collect-CONJ  NEG-come
'mə tsʰə
go otherwise
‘“You, don’t pick up bad pieces of cloth (and bring them home), otherwise,”’

(1.12)  'kʰo-gə  ʰə: ʰə  'tʰu  tseeʔ  ʰmə  ʰdoʔ  'lɔː-tu  ^ze:-za  reʔ-za  reʔ
g-GEN  child  all  be blind-SEN  say-AOR-HS
‘All of my children will be blind’, (the lark) said.’

(1.13)  'te  "nji: ka  ^nzi: re  ^tʰuʔ-reʔ-mo ^ji: na
then  the two  quarrel  encounter-STA-PART
‘Then, the two commenced quarrelling.’

(1.14)  'riʔ tə  ^nzi: re  'te  ^nzi:-nə te  ^ze:-nə
everyday  quarrel  then  quarrel-CONJ  say-CONJ
'nə ndzo: mo-gə  ^ze:-nə
lark-ERG  say-CONJ
‘(They) quarrelled every day and quarrelled; the lark said (in this manner).’

(2.1)  nə ndzo: mo  ^nji-hətciʔ  nə ndzo: mo  ^reʔ-ʃə
lark  day-one  lark  CPV-SFP
‘One day, the lark... yes, the lark,’

(2.2)  nji-hətciʔ  ʰdə la  ^tse:-za  reʔ-za  reʔ
day-one  earlier  arrive-AOR-HS
‘One day, (the lark) came back home earlier (than the partridge).’

(2.3)  ^tse:-za  ʰsoʔ qa  "tʰu  yu  ʰtʰu  tseeʔ  ^də:-za  reʔ  'tə  nə
arrive-CONJ  child of partridge  all  strike-AOR  or
`hsɛʔ-zə reʔ-zə re?
kill-AOR-HS
‘After (the lark) arrived, (she\textsuperscript{20}) hit the partridge’s children, or (maybe) killed them.’

(2.4) `həi? ʰzū-nə ʰtsa ʰtsa ʰge:-zə-nə
one do-CONJ be beaten black and blue-AOR-CONJ
‘(The lark) did one (of these things, hit or killed them), and they were beaten black and blue.’

(2.5) `te ʰkọ-ro ʰma: la ʰʔo ʰseʔ-joʔ sʰa re?
then 3-self downwards INTJ kill-CONT.EPI
‘Then, she (the lark) (went) downwards... Oh, she might have killed [the partridge’s children].’

(2.6) `hsɛʔ-nə `te ʰkọ-ro ʰma: la ʰte:-zə reʔ-zə re?
kill-CONJ then 3-self downwards go.PF-AOR-HS
‘After killing [the partridge’s children], she (the lark), went downwards.’

(3.1) `te ʰdzọ: mo-tə ʰkʰa ʰde mo-ta
then lark-DEF have the gift of gab-ASS
‘mo hʔu: ʰguu hʔu:-ʰəi?
full of cunning tricks-\textsuperscript{NDEF}
r^ji:-reʔ-zə reʔ-mo jî: na CPV-EPI-HS-PART
‘Then, the lark might have the gift of gab and be full of cunning tricks.’

(3.2) `te ʰʔa ʰdə ʰze:-zə reʔ-zə re?
then this say-AOR-HS then
‘Then, she (the lark) said this, and then...’

(3.3) `tì fiu `tì fiu ʰpʰa: ru: ʰkʰ teʰtu ʰzù ba
INTJ INTJ thither mountain river bridge
‘le:-ʰkʰɛ:\ ʰtì fiu ʰtì fiu
make-NML INTJ INTJ
‘“Tiwu, tiwu! You who are making a bridge (on) the mountain river over there,\textsuperscript{21} tiwu, tiwu!”’

\textsuperscript{20} Seeing (4.9), we know that the lark is female.
\textsuperscript{21} This noun phrase functions as a vocative.
(3.4) ^ndzo: mo ^ma: la `?a-tʰe: `ze:-na ^ma-tʰe: lark downwards Q-go.PF say-CONJ NEG-go.PF `ze:-ro? ^ze:-zo re?-zo re? say-SFP say-AOR-HS

‘“If someone asks whether (you have seen) a lark going down, please say that she did not go (down)”, (she) said.’

(3.5) ʰte: ʰtə nɔ ^ma: la ʰho: ʰhso? qa ʰre?-mo ji: na then from there downwards come partridge CPV-PART

‘Then, it was the partridge who came down from there.’

(3.6) ʰhso? qa ʰte partridge that

‘(It was) that partridge.’

(3.7) ʰpuː ʰte: ʰpuː ʰte: ʰpʰa: ru: ʰzə ʰne: ʰle:-ʰkʰe:-ʰtʰo INTJ INTJ thither bad bridge make-NML-COL

^ndzo: mo-ʰdə ^ma: la `?a-tʰe: ^ze:-zo re?-zo re? lark-HUM downwards Q-go.PF say-AOR-HS

‘“Putretre, putretre! You who are making a bad bridge over there, have you seen the lark going down?” (the partridge) said.’

(3.8) ʰte ʰtsʰi? ka ʰza-za ʰnɨ ka then get angry-RDP get angry

‘Then, (the bridge-makers) got very angry.’

(3.9) ʰzə ʰne: ʰze:-ʰkʰa-la ʰtsʰi? ka ʰza-za re?-mo ji: na bad bridge say-when-LOC get angry-AOR-PART

‘Since (the partridge) said a ‘bad bridge’, they got angry.’

(3.10) ʰtə `ma-ɾi?-zo ji:-ho: ^ze:-zo re?-zo re? that NEG-see-AOR.E-SFP say-AOR-HS

‘“(I) indeed did not see that (the lark going down)”, (one of the bridge makers) said.’

(4.1) ʰte ʰjɔ ^ma: la ʰdɔ-ʰkʰa ʰkʰa `ʰde mo-ʰtei? then again downwards go.NPF-when have the gift of gab-NDEF

---

22 The verb `/ʔa-ʈʰe/ is considered to contain a sensory evidential sense.
‘Then, when she (the lark) went downwards again, she indeed had the gift of gab.’

(4.2) ʰdзо: mo-ʰдa-ʰdə ʰte ʰpʰa: ru: ʰeu ru ʰd³ ʰbʰ
lark-HUM-this then thither coral tree
ʰtæe?-ʰkʰe: ʰʔo
cut-NML INTJ
‘This lark then said: “You who are cutting coral trees over there,”’

(4.3) ʰti fiu ʰti fiu ʰpʰa: ru: ʰeu ru ʰd³ ʰbʰ
INTJ INTJ thither coral tree
ʰtæe?-ʰkʰe: ʰʔə ʰtʃiʔ ʰʔə
say-NML INTJ say like that
“‘Tiwu, tiwu! You who are cutting coral trees over there’,” (she) said like that.

(4.4) ʰdзо: mo ʰma: la ʰʔe-ʰe: ʰze:-nah ʰma-ʰe:
lark downwards Q-go.PF say-CONJ NEG-go.PF
ʰze:-roʔ ʰti fiu ʰti fiu ʰze:-na ʰmboʔ-ʔə ʔə-ʔə ʔə
say-SFP INTJ INTJ say-CONJ call-AOR-HS
“If someone asks whether (you have seen) a lark going down, please say that she
did not go (down)”, (she) said.

(4.5) ʰte ʰfa ʰkʰa ʰʔə ʰɡə ʰjä ʰhəʔ ʔə ʰqʰo
then the other again partridge poor
ʰʔuʔ-ʰioʔ-ʔə-ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
come out-come-STA-PART
‘Then, the other one, the poor partridge, again came out.’

(4.6) ʰʔuʔ ʰte: ʰʔuʔ ʰte: ʰʔə ʰnə ʰma: la ʰʔo
INTJ INTJ from there downwards INTJ
“‘Putretre, putretre!’ Then, (he came) from there downwards, oh,’

(4.7) ʰʔuʔ ʰte: ʰʔuʔ ʰte: ʰdza ʰʔə ʰkʰa ʰtsʰa
INTJ INTJ wild onion spicy

23 This is understood as a nice expression.
"Putretre, putretre! Those who are cutting spicy wild onions, putretre!" 

"Have you seen a mother-lark with child-larks going (down)?" (he) said.'

'They (wild onion collectors) got angry.'

'They were thinking that he (the partridge) said spicy wild onion and said that they have not seen them (the larks) going (down).'

'The lark, then, she went downwards again, and'

'she met one who is fetching water.'

'Then, “Tiwu, tiwu! You, that are fetching butter-like water, tiwu, tiwu!”'
(5.4) "teʰo? "ndzo: mo ^ma: la ^ʔo-tʰe: ^ʔe:-na
2 lark downwards Q-go.PF say-CONJ
^ma-tʰe: ^ʔe:-ro? ^tʰi fiu ^tʰi fiu ^ʔe:-kʰa-kʰa eʰʔ?
NEG-go.PF say-SFP INTJ INTJ say-when-when
" "If someone asks whether (you have seen) a lark going down, please say that she
did not go (down), tiwu, tiwu!"; when (she) said (in this manner),"

(5.5) te: ^jā ^hsoʔ qa ^puʔ-ɦo: reʔ-mo ?o reʔ
then again partridge come out-come-STA-PART
'Then, again, the partridge came out, right?'

(5.6) ^hsoʔ qa ^ma: la ^ʔo:-na ^ʔe:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ
partridge downwards come-CONJ say-AOR-HS
'The partridge came downwards and said:'

(5.7) ^pʰa: ru: "teʰu nï: "ndə: quʔ ^le:-ŋkʰe: ^ʔe:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ
thither muddy water fetch-NML say-AOR-HS
" "You who are fetching muddy water over there," (he) said.'

(5.8) ^le: ^ŋë mbə ^nə: quʔ ^le:-ŋkʰe: ^ji: nə teʔ?
karma bad muddy fetch-NML say like that
'The guy with bad karma (the partridge) said "you who are fetching muddy (water)".'

(5.9) ^puʔ teʔ: ^puʔ teʔ: ^tə nə ^ma: la ^ndzo: mo
INTJ INTJ ^ma: la ^ndzo: mo
one-HUM Q-go.PF say-AOR-HS
" "Putretre, putretre! Have you seen a lark going downwards?" he (the partridge)
said.'

(5.10) ^ma-ri:-ɦo: ^ʔe:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ
NEG-see-SFP say-AOR-HS
" "I did not see (the lark)"", he (the water-fetcher) said.'

(6.1) te: ^ndzo: mo ^ma wu-tsʰo ^ma: la
then lark mother and child-COL downwards
^ʔa tsʰa-reʔ-mo ?o reʔ
escape-STA-PART
‘Then, the mother-lark and the child-larks successfully escaped downwards (from the partridge).’

(6.2)²⁵ˈ te ʰteiʔ ʰni ma ʰgō-la ʰeʰc:
then happy sun sky-LOC rise
‘Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.’

(6.3) ʰduʔ ʰpeʰga ʰtʰɯ-gə ʰkʰɯ:
sadness stick water-INS flush
‘A stick of sadness was flushed by the water.’

(6.4) ʰto ma ʰma: kʰɯ: ʰnə-la ʰtʰəʔ
silverweed²⁶ butter soup sky-LOC offer
‘Silverweed and butter soup were offered to the sky.’

3.2. Full translations

3.2.1. English

(1) Once upon a time, there was a lark and a partridge. The nest of the lark was down low, and the partridge’s nest was in the bush, up above the lark’s nest. Once, the partridge said to the lark: ‘You, don’t keep moving the root of the bush; otherwise, my children will be so frightened, they’ll lose their souls’. Then, the lark said: ‘You, don’t pick up bad pieces of cloth and bring them back here; otherwise, my children will be blind’. Then, the two descended into quarrelling. They quarrelled and quarrelled every day, as the lark described it.

(2) One day, the lark came back home earlier than the partridge. After the lark arrived, she hit the partridge’s children, or perhaps even killed them. The lark hit or killed them, and the partridge’s children were beaten black and blue. Then, she came down from the partridge’s nest... Oh, she might have killed the partridge’s children! After killing them, the lark went downwards.

(3) Now, the lark just so happened to have the gift of gab and was full of cunning tricks, so she spoke this way: ‘Tiwu, tiwu! You who are making a bridge on the mountain river over there, tiwu, tiwu! If someone asks whether you have seen a lark flying down, please say that you did not’. Next, the partridge flew down. ‘Putretre, putretre! You who are making a bad bridge over there, have you seen the lark flying down?’ the partridge asked.

²⁵ The last three sentences are one set of verses which mention three auspicious phenomena, and often appear at the end of a story. See also Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017b).
²⁶ A.k.a. Potentilla anserina.
Then, the bridge-makers got very angry, since the partridge had called the bridge ‘bad’. ‘Indeed, I did not see the lark’, one of the bridge-makers said.

(4) Then, when the lark went downwards again, she indeed had the gift of gab. The lark said: ‘You who are cutting coral trees over there! Tiwu, tiwu! You who are cutting coral trees over there! If someone asks whether you have seen a lark flying down, please say that that you have not’. Then the poor partridge came down again, and said: ‘Putretre, putretre! You who are cutting spicy wild onions, putretre! Have you seen a mother lark with her children flying down?’ The gatherers became angry that the partridge had said spicy wild onions, and they said that they have not seen the larks flying down.

(5) The lark flew downwards again, and she met a person who was fetching water. She said: ‘Tiwu, tiwu! You, that are fetching butter-like water, tiwu, tiwu! If someone asks whether you have seen a lark flying down, please say that you did not, tiwu tiwu!’ After she had said this, the partridge flew out once again. He, the one with bad karma, flew downwards and said: ‘You who are fetching muddy water over there. Putretre, putretre! Have you seen a lark flying downwards?’ ‘I did not see (the lark)’, the water-fetcher said.

(6) Thus, the lark and her children successfully escaped downwards from the partridge. Then, the happy sun rose into the sky. A stick of sadness was flushed by the water. Silverweed and butter soup were offered to the sky.

3.2.2. Tibetan

Tibetan text...
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>morphological boundary</td>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>humilific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>inferential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOR</td>
<td>aorist</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASS</td>
<td>associative</td>
<td>NDEF</td>
<td>nondefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>complimentiser</td>
<td>NML</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>collective</td>
<td>NPF</td>
<td>nonperfect stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFIRM</td>
<td>confirmation</td>
<td>NSEN</td>
<td>nonsensory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfect stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPV</td>
<td>copulative verb</td>
<td>PFT</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
<td>PPN</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>egophoric</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPI</td>
<td>epistemic</td>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>ROOT</td>
<td>verb root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXV</td>
<td>existential verb</td>
<td>SEN</td>
<td>sensory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>sentence final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>STA</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td>hearsay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


