

## Two Folktales in Lhagang Tibetan (Minyag Rabgang Khams) *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 Khams, 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 Khams, language material, folktale

1. Introduction
2. *Three Birds*
3. *Lark and Partridge*

### 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 Khams, 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

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

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<sup>1</sup> The sound system of Lhagang Tibetan is as follows: Suprasegmentals: word-tone; ˥ : high level [55/44]; ˧ : rising [24/35]; ˨˨ : falling [53/42]; ˨˨˨ : rising-falling [24/3]; Consonants: /p<sup>h</sup>, p, b, t<sup>h</sup>, t, d, t<sup>h</sup>, t̪, d̪, k<sup>h</sup>, k, g, q<sup>h</sup>, q, g, ʔ, ts<sup>h</sup>, ts, dz, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, tɕ, dz, ɬ, s<sup>h</sup>, s, z, ʂ<sup>h</sup>, ʂ, ɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ, z, x<sup>h</sup>, x, ɣ, β, h, fi, m, m̥, n, ŋ, ŋ̥, ŋ̥, ŋ̥, l, l̥, r, w, j/. Preaspiration and prenasalisation can appear as a preinitial; Vowels: /i, e, e, a, a, o, o, u, u, u, e, ə/. Length and nasalisation are distinctive. The maximum syllable structure is <sup>c</sup>CGVC.

## 2. Three Birds

2.1. Text with glossing<sup>2</sup>

- (1.1) 'ɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:                    ʰhɛiʔ                    ʰndzo: mo                    ʰhɛiʔ                    'te  
grey duck<sup>3</sup>                    one                    lark                    one                    then  
ʔə təə ruw                    'ze:-<sup>h</sup>dzuu                    ʰhɛiʔ                    ^joʔ reʔ-zə reʔ  
PPN                    say-NML                    one                    EXV-HS<sup>4</sup>  
'There was a grey duck, a lark and one that is called Qijiru.'
- (1.2)<sup>5</sup> 'ɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:-<sup>ndə</sup>                    ʰsõ<sup>m</sup>ba                    'ze:-k<sup>h</sup>a                    ʰha ^ko-reʔ-mo ji: na  
grey duck-this                    guard                    say-when                    understand-STA-CONFIRM<sup>6</sup>  
'This grey duck (was) a guard; you understand (the word) guard, right?'
- (1.3) ʰsõ<sup>m</sup>ba                    'ze:-k<sup>h</sup>a                    ʰsõ<sup>m</sup>ba                    'ze:-k<sup>h</sup>a                    'ŋa-rə-t<sup>h</sup>o  
guard                    say-when                    guard                    say-when                    1-self-PL  
ʔə<sup>ndə</sup>                    'ze:-<sup>h</sup>dzuu                    ʰhɛiʔ                    ^reʔ-mo-ta  
this                    say-NML                    one                    CPV-PART<sup>7</sup>-CONJ  
'(The word) 'guard', when we say 'guard', we mean someone like this:'
- (1.4) ʰpe ʰzaʔ ʰna                    ʰʔa<sup>ndə</sup> zə                    ʰtəə                    ʰʔə-fio:                    ʰta-ŋ<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:-<sup>h</sup>ɛiʔ  
for example<sup>8</sup>                    like that                    what                    Q-come                    see-NML-NDEF  
ʰʔə-fio:                    ʰta-ŋ<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:-<sup>h</sup>ɛiʔ                    'ɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:                    'tə t<sup>h</sup>o  
Q-come                    see-NML-NDEF                    grey duck                    those  
'ɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:-la                    ʰsõ<sup>m</sup>ba                    ^joʔ reʔ-zə reʔ  
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) 'ɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:-<sup>ndə</sup>hɛiʔ                    'ji:-na                    ʰpe ʰzaʔ ʰna                    'ji:-na  
grey duck-HUM-NDEF                    CPV-CONJ                    for example                    CPV-CONJ

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

<sup>3</sup> This term denotes a specific species of the bird (cf. 1.11). The form can correspond to WrT *bya gag* 'duck, grey duck'; however, the spoken form seems to correspond to WrT *bya dkar* 'white-bird'.

<sup>4</sup> A voiceless form /-sə reʔ/ is also attested. However, this storyteller clearly uses the voiced counterpart.

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

<sup>6</sup> The last utterance is oriented to the audience.

<sup>7</sup> The function with a gloss PART is still unclear.

<sup>8</sup> 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) ʼɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:            ʰtei?            ʰsõ m̥ba            ʰtei?            ʱjoʔ reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
grey duck            one            guard            one            EXV-PART  
‘one grey duck was being a guard.’
- (1.7) ʰsõ m̥ba-tə            ʰi duʔ po            ʱji:-reʔ-zə reʔ  
guard-DEF            miserable            CPV-STA-HS  
‘The guard was miserable.’
- (1.8) ʰza-ʰdzuu            ʰtəə ʔə lɛ:            ʼraʔ ʱma-reʔ-zə reʔ  
eat-NML            anything            get NEG-CPV-HS  
‘He (the guard) did not get anything to eat.’
- (1.9) ʰʔa<sup>n</sup>ɖa zə nə            ʰtẽõ ma-<sup>n</sup>ɖa            ʰtẽõ ma-<sup>n</sup>ɖa  
like that            hardwoods-like            hardwoods-like  
ʰɛ<sup>h</sup>i p<sup>h</sup>õ-ʰtei?            ʰŋo            ʰdzaʔ-nə            ʰʔa<sup>n</sup>ɖa  
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) ʼta rə            ʼma lu: ʼja: la            ʼmə-<sup>n</sup>ɖa            ʰʔə-ʰio:  
and then            from there to here<sup>9</sup>            person-HUM            Q-come  
ʰta-nə            ʰɛ<sup>h</sup>i ɛ<sup>h</sup>i            ʰta            ʱn duʔ-ʰgo:-zə reʔ  
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)<sup>10</sup> ʼɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:            ʼze:-nə            ʼte            ʰqo<sup>n</sup>go            ʼriʔ            ʰtei?  
grey duck            say-CONJ            then            chicken            kind            one  
ʱjoʔ-mo ji na            ʰŋo ma tɛi?            ʱjoʔ-mo            ʰka: po-tɛi?  
EXV-PART            very similar one            EXV-PART            white-NDEF  
ʱjoʔ-mo            ʼri: ʰʔə-ŋõ  
EXV-PART            see Q-experience<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> This is an idiomatic phrase denoting ‘from there to here’.

<sup>10</sup> The story-teller again explained to the audience (the second author) what the grey duck was.

<sup>11</sup> 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) ʼtə-la                    ʼɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:                    ʰze:-reʔ  
that-DAT                    grey duck                    say-STA  
‘That is called a grey duck.’
- (2.1) ʼɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:                    ʰtɛiʔ                    ʰjoʔ reʔ-zə reʔ  
grey duck                    one                    EXV-HS  
‘There was a grey duck.’
- (2.2) ʼte                    ʰndzo: mo                    ʰtɛiʔ                    ʰjoʔ reʔ-zə reʔ  
then                    lark                    one                    EXV-HS  
‘Then, there was a lark.’
- (2.3) [ʼta            ʼtə            ʼɛa-la            ʰtɛə            ʼmĩ            ʰtɑʔ-ʰgo reʔ]  
then            that            bird-DAT            what            name            call-FUT  
‘Then, which name is that bird called...’
- (2.4) ʰqə tɛə ru            ʼze:-ʰdzɯ            ʰtɛiʔ            ʰjoʔ reʔ-zə reʔ  
PPN                    say-NML            one                    EXV-HS  
‘There was one (bird) called Qijiru.’
- (2.5) [ʼta                    ʰqə tɛə ru                    ʰze:-tu-pa]  
then                    PPN                    say-SEN-INFR  
‘Then, it was called Qijiru, probably.’
- (2.6) ʼte                    ʰsuĩ tu                    ʼte                    ʼɛa<sup>h</sup>ka:                    ʰsõ m̥ba  
then                    the three                    then                    grey duck                    guard  
ʰreʔ-mo ji: na  
CPV-CONFIRM  
‘Then, of the three (birds), the grey duck was the guard.’
- (2.7) ʼkõ-la                    ʰta-nə                    ʰduʔ-joʔ reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
top-LOC                    see-CONJ                    sit-CONT-PART  
‘He (the grey duck) sat watching on the top (of the tree).’

- (2.8) ʼkõ-la                    ʰta-n̄duʔ-nɛ:  
top-LOC                    see-sit-CONJ  
‘He sat watching, and’
- (2.9) [ʼte                    ʳdzɔ: mo-la                    ʰtəə tə                    ʰzu-kʰa h̄təuʔ-zə reʔ  
then                    lark-DAT                    what                    do-CAUS-AOR  
ʰgə:  
need                    say-SEN-CONJ  
‘then, I am wondering what the lark was made do, and’
- (2.10) [ʔo                    ʼea h̄ka:                    ʰsõ m̄ba                    ʰzu-sʰa ʰma-reʔ]  
INTJ                    grey duck                    guard                    do-NEG.EPI  
‘oh, the grey duck might not have been as a guard.’
- (2.11) ʳdzɔ: mo-la                    ʰta-kʰa ʰtəuʔ-zə ji:-na  
lark-DAT                    see-CAUS-AOR<sup>12</sup>-CONJ  
‘If the lark had been made watch (someone coming),’
- (2.12) ʳdzɔ: mo                    ʼkõ-la                    ʰta-nə                    ʰduʔ-zə reʔ  
lark                    top-LOC                    see-CONJ                    sit-AOR  
‘the lark sat on the top, watching.’
- (2.13) ʔo                    ʼea h̄ka:                    ʼkõ-la                    ʰta-nə                    ʳduʔ  
INTJ                    grey duck                    top-LOC                    see-CONJ                    sit  
‘Oh, the grey duck sat watching on the top.’
- (2.14) ʳdzɔ: mo                    ʰta-nə                    ʼtə                    ʼfia kʰe tə                    ʼtea ma  
lark                    see-CONJ                    then                    other                    cook  
ʰzu-kʰa h̄təuʔ-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
do-CAUS-AOR-HS  
‘The lark watched, and then the other (Qijiru) was made to serve as a cook.<sup>13</sup>’
- (2.15) ʼta                    ʼtə                    ʰqə təə ruu                    ʼze:-ʰdzuu                    ʼtə-la  
then                    that                    PPN                    say-NML                    that-DAT

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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, /ʼfia kʰe tə/ ‘the other’ here denotes Qijiru. See (2.15).

‘Then, that was the (bird) called Qijiru.’

- (3.1) ‘te            ^ze:-nə            ‘ma lu            ‘ka: ɕʰiʔ  
 then            say<sup>14</sup>-CONJ            from there            somewhere  
 ‘ja: la            [ˈtəə tə            ‘ji:-ʰgo:            ‘ŋa-rə-tsʰo-gə]<sup>15</sup>  
 upwards            what            CPV-FUT            1-self-PL-ERG  
 ‘Then, one said: “somewhere upwards from there...,” how should we say it? ...’
- (3.2) ‘ʔə ˈnə            ^fio:-tə            ^ze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 this<sup>16</sup>            come-CMPL            say-AOR-HS  
 ‘One said: “that (person) is coming”.’
- (3.3) ˈfi mō ˈm̩ba            ^fio:-tə            ^ze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 hunter            come-CMPL            say-AOR-HS  
 ‘One said: “a hunter is coming”.’
- (3.4) ˈfi mō ˈm̩ba            ‘ze:-kʰa            ˈfi mō            ˈda-ŋkʰe:            ‘ta  
 hunter            say-when            game            hunt-NML            then  
 ˈkʰo tsʰo            ˈtʰoʔ-la            ˈfi da            ‘tɛ: mɛ            ^fio:-reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
 3.PL            top-LOC            enemy            a few            come-STA-PART  
 ‘(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            ‘tə ˈtəɛ po            ^reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ            ˈhpe ˈzaʔ  
 then            like this            CPV-PART            for example  
 ‘Then, it was like this, for example.’
- (3.6) ˈfi mō ˈm̩ba            ^fio:-tə            ‘ze:-kʰa-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            ˈndzo: mo-gə            ˈtəə təə            ^fio:-tu            ‘ze:-kʰa-la  
 then            lark-ERG            someone            come-SEN            say-when-LOC  
 ‘Then, when the lark said: “Someone is coming”,’

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> This part is a monologue.

<sup>16</sup> This demonstrative denotes ˈfi mō ˈm̩ba/ ‘hunter’ in (3.3). The narrator just forgot the word when she uttered the sentence (3.2).

- (3.8) 'te                    'ea<sup>h</sup>ka:                    ^ji:-nə                    ˉteiʔ-gə                    'kã<sup>n</sup>də  
 then                    grey duck                    CPV-EPI                    one-ERG                    how  
 'reʔ-fə                    'ze:-k<sup>h</sup>a e<sup>h</sup>iʔ  
 CPV-SFP                    say-when  
 'then, it could have been the grey duck..., anyway, when one said: "Who is it?"'

- (3.9) ˘h<sup>h</sup>teiʔ                    ^fi<sup>h</sup>dzaʔ-nə                    'ea<sup>h</sup>ka:                    ˉq<sup>h</sup>oʔ  
 one                    hit-CONJ                    grey duck                    poor  
 ˘h<sup>h</sup>sɛʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 kill-put-AOR-HS  
 '(the grey duck) was hit, and the poor grey duck was killed (by the hunter).'

- (3.10) ˘h<sup>h</sup>sɛʔ-<sup>h</sup>zaʔ-k<sup>h</sup>a                    'te                    'fi<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>e tə qə                    ˉfi<sup>h</sup>mō<sup>m</sup>ba  
 kill-put-when                    then                    the other                    hunter  
 ˘h<sup>h</sup>sɛʔ-<sup>h</sup>fi<sup>o</sup>:-reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
 kill-come-STA-PART  
 'When he (the grey duck) was killed, the hunter would come to kill the other (bird).'

- (4.1) 'te                    ˉqə tɛə ruu-gə                    'tu tu ʔe:                    'tu tu ʔe:                    ^ze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 then                    PPN-ERG                    INTJ                    INTJ                    say-AOR-HS  
 'Then, Qijiru crowed: "Tutughe, tutughe".'

- (4.2) 'ta                    ˉk<sup>h</sup>o-rə-gə                    'tea                    ˘h<sup>h</sup>ke:-<sup>h</sup>go:- ^ma-reʔ-mo  
 then                    3-self-ERG                    meal<sup>17</sup>                    make-need-NEG.STA-SFP  
 'Then, he did not have to make a meal.'

## 2.2. Full translations

### 2.2.1. English<sup>18</sup>

(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

<sup>17</sup> The role of Qijiru is a cook (see 2.14). /'tea/ (derived from Literary Tibetan *ja* 'tea') does not denote 'tea' but 'meal'.

<sup>18</sup> Narrative asides or commentary are indicated with square brackets.





‘Once upon a time, there was a lark.’

- (1.2) ʼte           <sup>h</sup>soʔ qa           <sup>h</sup>teiʔ           <sup>^</sup>jo reʔ  
 then           partridge           one           EXV  
 ‘Then, there was a partridge.’

- (1.3) <sup>n</sup>dzɔ: mo-gə           <sup>ˉ</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>õ-<sup>n</sup>də           <sup>^</sup>zɑʔ-la           <sup>^</sup>h<sup>i</sup>zɑʔ-zə reʔ-pa  
 lark-GEN           nest-this           under-LOC           put-AOR-INFR  
 ‘The nest of the lark was possibly built down low.’

- (1.4) <sup>h</sup>soʔ qa-gə           <sup>ˉ</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>õ-<sup>n</sup>də           <sup>ˉ</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>e <sup>m</sup>bo-gə           <sup>˘</sup>t<sup>h</sup>oʔ-la  
 partridge-GEN           nest-this           bush-GEN           upper-LOC  
 ‘The nest of the partridge (was) on the bush.’

- (1.5) ʼta           <sup>h</sup>teiʔ           <sup>^</sup>zɑʔ-la           <sup>h</sup>teiʔ           <sup>˘</sup>t<sup>h</sup>oʔ-la  
 then           one           under-LOC           one           upper-LOC  
<sup>^</sup>h<sup>i</sup>zɑʔ-reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
 put-STA-PART  
 ‘Then, one was lower, and the other was higher.’

- (1.6) ʼte           <sup>n</sup>dzɔ: mo-la           <sup>^</sup>ze:-nə           <sup>h</sup>soʔ qa-gə           <sup>^</sup>ze:-nə  
 then           lark-DAT           say-CONJ           partridge-ERG           say-CONJ  
 ‘Then, the partridge said to the lark.’

- (1.7) <sup>ˉ</sup>te<sup>h</sup>oʔ           <sup>h</sup>teõ <sup>h</sup>tsa-la           <sup>ˉ</sup>ŋge: eiʔ ʼma-<sup>n</sup>duʔ           ʼmə ts<sup>h</sup>ε  
 2           root of the bush-LOC           move always NEG-ROOT           otherwise  
 ‘“You, don’t keep moving the root of the bush, otherwise,”’

- (1.8) <sup>˘</sup>k<sup>h</sup>õ-gə           <sup>ˉ</sup>t<sup>h</sup>u ɣu           <sup>˘</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ã tæeʔ           <sup>ˉ</sup>h<sup>i</sup>la ʼh<sup>i</sup>bi:-tu  
 3-GEN           child           all           frighten and lose the soul<sup>19</sup>-SEN  
<sup>^</sup>ze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 say-AOR-HS  
 ‘“all of my children will be so frightened they’ll lose their souls.”, (the partridge) said.’

<sup>19</sup> This is an idiomatic phrase denoting ‘become frightened and lose the soul’.

- (1.9) ʔa ʔa                    ʔge: zɑʔ-k<sup>h</sup>a-la                    ʔtɑʔ-reʔ-mo ʔji: na  
like this                    move-when-LOC                    fear-STA-PART  
'When someone moved (the bush) like this, one would be frightened, and'
- (1.10) ʔte                    ʔdzɔ: mo-gə                    ʔze:-nə  
then                    lark-ERG                    say-CONJ  
'then, the lark said:'
- (1.11) ʔte<sup>h</sup>oʔ                    ʔtɑʔ re:                    ʔʔa ʔa ma                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>duu-nə                    ʔma-fio:  
2                    piece of cloth                    bad                    collect-CONJ                    NEG-come  
ʔmə ts<sup>h</sup>ɛ  
otherwise  
'“You, don't pick up bad pieces of cloth (and bring them home), otherwise,”'
- (1.12) ʔk<sup>h</sup>ō-gə                    ʔŋɑ: ŋoʔ                    ʔt<sup>h</sup>ǎ tɛɛʔ                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>miʔ ʔ<sup>h</sup>doʔ ʔlō-tu                    ʔze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
3-GEN                    child                    all                    be blind-SEN                    say-AOR-HS  
'“All of my children will be blind”, (the lark) said.'
- (1.13) ʔte                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>ŋi: ka                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzi: re                    ʔt<sup>h</sup>uʔ-reʔ-mo ʔji: na  
then                    the two                    quarrel                    encounter-STA-PART  
'Then, the two commenced quarrelling.'
- (1.14) ʔriʔ tea                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzi: re                    ʔte                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzi:-nə te                    ʔze:-nə  
everyday                    quarrel                    then                    quarrel-CONJ                    say-CONJ  
ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzo: mo-gə                    ʔze:-nə  
lark-ERG                    say-CONJ  
'(They) quarrelled every day and quarrelled; the lark said (in this manner).'
- (2.1) ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzo: mo                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>ŋi-<sup>h</sup>tɛiʔ                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>dzo: mo                    ʔreʔ-fio  
lark                    day-one                    lark                    CPV-SFP  
'One day, the lark... yes, the lark,'
- (2.2) ʔ<sup>h</sup>ŋi-<sup>h</sup>tɛiʔ                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>ō la                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>tse:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
day-one                    earlier                    arrive-AOR-HS  
'One day, (the lark) came back home earlier (than the partridge).'
- (2.3) ʔ<sup>h</sup>tse:-zə                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>soʔ qa ʔt<sup>h</sup>w ʔyu                    ʔt<sup>h</sup>ǎ tɛɛʔ                    ʔ<sup>h</sup>dō-zə reʔ                    ʔtə nə  
arrive-CONJ                    child of partridge                    all                    strike-AOR                    or

ʰsɛʔ-zə reʔ-zə reʔ

kill-AOR-HS

‘After (the lark) arrived, (she<sup>20</sup>) hit the partridge’s children, or (maybe) killed them.’

- (2.4) ʰtɛiʔ                    ʰzũ-nə                    ʰtsa fia ʰtsa ʰgɛ:-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) ʼte                    ʰkʰo-rə                    ʌma: la                    ʔo                    ʰsɛʔ-joʔ sʰa reʔ  
 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                    ʼte                    ʰkʰo-rə                    ʌma: la                    ʰtʰe:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 kill-CONJ                    then                    3-self                    downwards                    go.PF- AOR-HS  
 ‘After killing [the partridge’s children], she (the lark), went downwards.’

- (3.1) ʼte                    ʰdzɔ: mo-tə                    ʰkʰa ʰde mo-ta  
 then                    lark-DEF                    have the gift of gab-ASS  
 ʼmə ʰtʰ: ʰgʷ ʰtʰ:-ʰtɛiʔ                    ʌji:-reʔ-zə reʔ-mo ji: na  
 full of cunning tricks-NDEF                    CPV-EPI-HS-PART  
 ‘Then, the lark might have the gift of gab and be full of cunning tricks.’

- (3.2) ʼte                    ʰʔə ʰdə                    ʌze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ                    ʼte:  
 then                    this                    say-AOR-HS                    then  
 ‘Then, she (the lark) said this, and then...’

- (3.3) ʰti fiw                    ʰti fiw                    ʰpʰa: ru:                    ʰkɔ̃ teʰw                    ʰzã ba  
 INTJ                    INTJ                    thither                    mountain river                    bridge  
 ʰle:-ʰkʰɛ:                    ʰti fiw                    ʰti fiw  
 make-NML                    INTJ                    INTJ  
 ‘“Tiwu, tiwu! You who are making a bridge (on) the mountain river over there,<sup>21</sup>  
 tiwu, tiwu!”’

<sup>20</sup> Seeing (4.9), we know that the lark is female.

<sup>21</sup> This noun phrase functions as a vocative.

- (3.4) <sup>ʌ</sup>dzɔ: mo      <sup>^</sup>ma: la      ʔə-tʰe:      ʔe:-na      <sup>^</sup>ma-tʰe:  
lark              downwards      Q-go.PF      say-CONJ      NEG-go.PF  
ʔe:-roʔ      <sup>^</sup>ze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
say-SFP      say-AOR-HS  
‘“If someone asks whether (you have seen<sup>22</sup>) a lark going down, please say that she did not go (down)”, (she) said.’
- (3.5) ʔe:      ʔə nɔ̃      <sup>^</sup>ma: la      ʔio:      ʰsəʔ qa      ʔeʔ-mo ji: na  
then      from there      downwards      come      partridge      CPV-PART  
‘Then, it was the partridge who came down from there.’
- (3.6) ʰsəʔ qa      ʔe  
partridge      that  
‘(It was) that partridge.’
- (3.7) ʔpu ʔe ʔe:      ʔpu ʔe ʔe:      ʔpʰa: ru:      ʔzã ɲe:      ʔe:-ʰkʰe:-tsʰo  
INTJ              INTJ              thither              bad bridge              make-NML-COL  
<sup>ʌ</sup>dzɔ: mo-<sup>ʌ</sup>ɕa      <sup>^</sup>ma: la      ʔə-tʰe:      <sup>^</sup>ze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
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) ʔe      ʔtsʰiʔ ka ʔza-za      ʔŋiʔ ka  
then              get angry-RDP              get angry  
‘Then, (the bridge-makers) got very angry.’
- (3.9) ʔzã ɲe:      ʔe:-kʰa-la      ʔtsʰiʔ ka ʔza-zə reʔ-mo ji: na  
bad bridge              say-when-LOC              get angry-AOR-PART  
‘Since (the partridge) said a ‘bad bridge’, they got angry.’
- (3.10) ʔə      ʔma-riʔ-zə ji:-ʔio:      <sup>^</sup>ze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
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) ʔe      ʔjɔ̃      <sup>^</sup>ma: la      ʔdɔ-kʰa      ʔkʰa ʔhde mo-ʰtɛiʔ  
then      again      downwards      go.NPF-when      have the gift of gab-NDEF

<sup>22</sup> The verb /ʔə-tʰe:/ is considered to contain a sensory evidential sense.

ʼji:-k<sup>h</sup>e:-fiə:

CPV-PFT.NSEN-SFP

‘Then, when she (the lark) went downwards again, she indeed had the gift of gab.’

- (4.2) ʼndzo: mo-<sup>n</sup>da-<sup>n</sup>də      ʼte      ʼp<sup>h</sup>a: ru:      ʼɛu ruu      ʼfi dɔ̃ mbo  
lark-HUM-this      then      thither      coral      tree  
ʼ<sup>h</sup>tɛɛʔ-<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:      ʼʔo  
cut-NML      INTJ

‘This lark then said: “You who are cutting coral trees<sup>23</sup> over there.”’

- (4.3) ʼti fiu      ʼti fiu      ʼp<sup>h</sup>a: ru:      ʼɛu ruu      ʼfi dɔ̃ mbo  
INTJ      INTJ      thither      coral      tree  
ʼ<sup>h</sup>tɛɛʔ-<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ɛ:      ʼji: na tei?  
cut-NML      say like that

“‘Tiwu, tiwu! You who are cutting coral trees over there”, (she) said like that.’

- (4.4) ʼndzo: mo      ʼma: la      ʼʔə-t<sup>h</sup>e:      ʼze:-na      ʼma-t<sup>h</sup>e:  
lark      downwards      Q-go.PF      say-CONJ      NEG-go.PF  
ʼze:-roʔ      ʼti fiu      ʼti fiu      ʼze:-nə      ʼmboʔ-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
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) ʼte      ʼfiə k<sup>h</sup>ə tə gə      ʼjã      ʼ<sup>h</sup>səʔ qa      ʼq<sup>h</sup>o  
then      the other      again      partridge      poor  
ʼpəʔ-fiə:-reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
come out-come-STA-PART

‘Then, the other one, the poor partridge, again came out.’

- (4.6) ʼpuu tɛ tɛ:      ʼpuu tɛ tɛ:      ʼtə nɔ̃      ʼma: la      ʼʔo  
INTJ      INTJ      from there      downwards      INTJ

“‘Putretre, putretre!’ Then, (he came) from there downwards, oh,’

- (4.7) ʼpuu tɛ tɛ:      ʼpuu tɛ tɛ:      ʼfi dza fi goʔ      ʼk<sup>h</sup>a ts<sup>h</sup>a  
INTJ      INTJ      wild onion      spicy

<sup>23</sup> This is understood as a nice expression.

<sup>h</sup>tʰɛʔ-ŋkʰɛ:                    ʼpu ʈe ʈe:  
 cut-NML                            INTJ  
 ‘“Putretre, putretre! Those who are cutting spicy wild onions, putretre!”’

(4.8) ʳdzɔ: mo-ŋdʰa            ʳdzɔ: mo                    ʼma wu-tsʰo-ŋdʰa                    ʳʔə-tʰe:  
 lark-HUM                    lark                            mother and child-COL-HUM                    Q-go.PF  
 ʼze:-zə reʔ  
 say-SFP  
 ‘“Have you seen a mother-lark with child-larks going (down)?” (he) said.’

(4.9) ʈtsʰiʔ ka ʼza-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 get angry-AOR-HS  
 ‘They (wild onion collectors) got angry.’

(4.10) ʰidza ʰgoʔ                    ʰkʰa tsʰa                    ʰze:-tu                    ʰsã-nə                    ʰma-tʰe:  
 wild onion                    spicy                            say-SEN                    think-CONJ                    NEG-go.PF  
 ʼze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 say-AOR-HS  
 ‘They were thinking that he (the partridge) said spicy wild onion and said that they have not seen them (the larks) going (down).’

(5.1) ʳdzɔ: mo                    ʼte                    ʳdzɔ: mo                    ʼjã                    ʰma: la                    ʳdʰo-nə  
 lark                    then                    lark                    again                    downwards                    go.NPF-CONJ  
 ‘The lark, then, she went downwards again, and’

(5.2) ʈteʰu                    ʼle:-ŋkʰɛ:                    ʰtʰeiʔ-la                    ʰtʰuʔ-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 water                    fetch-NML                    1-DAT                    meet-AOR-HS  
 ‘she met one who is fetching water.’

(5.3) ʼte                    ʈti fiu                    ʈti fiu                    ʈpʰa: ru:                    ʰteʰu ŋi: ʼma: kʰu  
 then                    INTJ                    INTJ                    thither                    butter-like water  
 ʼle:-ŋkʰɛ:                    ʈti fiu                    ʈti fiu  
 fetch-NML                    INTJ                    INTJ  
 ‘Then, “Tiwu, tiwu! You, that are fetching butter-like water,<sup>24</sup> tiwu, tiwu!”’

<sup>24</sup> This is understood as a nice expression.

- (5.4) ʔte<sup>h</sup>oʔ      ʔdzɔ: mo      ʔma: la      ʔʔə-t<sup>h</sup>e:      ʔze:-na  
 2      lark      downwards      Q-go.PF      say-CONJ  
 ʔma-t<sup>h</sup>e:      ʔze:-roʔ      ʔti fiu      ʔti fiu      ʔze:-k<sup>h</sup>a-k<sup>h</sup>a e<sup>h</sup>iʔ  
 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) ʔte:      ʔjã      ʔhsɔʔ qa      ʔpəʔ-ʔio:-reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
 then      again      partridge      come out-come-STA-PART  
 ‘Then, again, the partridge came out, right?’
- (5.6) ʔhsɔʔ qa      ʔma: la      ʔʔio:-nə      ʔze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 partridge      downwards      come-CONJ      say-AOR-HS  
 ‘The partridge came downwards and said:’
- (5.7) ʔp<sup>h</sup>a: ru:      ʔte<sup>h</sup>u ŋi: ʔda: qu      ʔle:-ʔk<sup>h</sup>ɛ:      ʔze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 thither      muddy water      fetch-NML      say-AOR-HS  
 ‘“You who are fetching muddy water over there,” (he) said.’
- (5.8) ʔle:      ʔŋɛ mba      ʔda: qu      ʔle:-ʔk<sup>h</sup>ɛ:      ʔji: na tɛiʔ  
 karma      bad      muddy      fetch-NML      say like that  
 ‘The guy with bad karma (the partridge) said “you who are fetching muddy (water)”.’
- (5.9) ʔpu tɛ tɛ:      ʔpu tɛ tɛ:      ʔtə nə      ʔma: la      ʔdzɔ: mo  
 INTJ      INTJ      then      downwards      lark  
 ʔtɛiʔ-ʔda      ʔʔə-t<sup>h</sup>e:      ʔze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 one-HUM      Q-go.PF      say-AOR-HS  
 ‘“Putretre, putretre! Have you seen a lark going downwards?” he (the partridge) said.’
- (5.10) ʔma-ri:-ʔio:      ʔze:-zə reʔ-zə reʔ  
 NEG-see-SFP      say-AOR-HS  
 ‘“I did not see (the lark)”, he (the water-fetcher) said.’
- (6.1) ʔte:      ʔdzɔ: mo      ʔma wu-t<sup>h</sup>o      ʔma: la  
 then      lark      mother and child-COL      downwards  
 ʔt<sup>h</sup>a ts<sup>h</sup>a-reʔ-mo ʔə reʔ  
 escape-STA-PART



‘Then, the mother-lark and the child-larks successfully escaped downwards (from the partridge).’

(6.2)<sup>25</sup> ‘te            -<sup>h</sup>teiʔ            ʔŋi ma            <sup>fi</sup>gõ-la            -<sup>h</sup>ε̃:ε̃:  
then            happy            sun            sky-LOC            rise  
‘Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.’

(6.3) -<sup>fi</sup>duʔ            ʔpε̃ <sup>fi</sup>ga            ʔte<sup>h</sup>u-gə            ʔk<sup>h</sup>u:  
sadness            stick            water-INS            flush  
‘A stick of sadness was flushed by the water.’

(6.4) ʔto ma            ʔma: k<sup>h</sup>u:  
silverweed<sup>26</sup>            butter soup            ʔnə-la            -<sup>fi</sup>te<sup>h</sup>əʔ  
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.

<sup>25</sup> 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).

<sup>26</sup> A.k.a. *Potentilla anserina*.



ལྷོ་འདི་ནང་མར་ལ། མོ། འུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ འུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ རྒྱ་སྐོག་ཁ་ཚ་སྐོག་མཐའ་། འུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ འཛིན་ལོ་འདྲ། འཛིན་ལོ་མ་སུ་ཚོ་འདྲ་ཞེ་ཐལ་ཟེར་བྱེད་ཟེད།  
 འཛིན་ལོ་ཟེར་བྱེད་ཟེད། རྒྱ་སྐོག་ཁ་ཚ་ཟེར་དྲུག་འཕམ་མཚན་ལ། མཐལ་ཟེར་བྱེད་ཟེད།

༥ འཛིན་ལོ། དེ་འཛིན་ལོ་ཡང་མར་ལ་འགྲོ་ནས། རྒྱ་ལེན་མཐའ་མཚམས་ལ་ཐུག་བྱེད་ཟེད་ཟེད། དེ་ཉི་མུ་ཉི་མུ། དྲུང་ལོ་གང་ས་  
 མོ། དྲུང་ལོ་ལྷོ་ཉིང་མར་སུ་ལེན་མཐའ་། ཉི་མུ་ཉི་མུ། རྒྱ་དང་འཛིན་ལོ་མར་ལ་ཞེ་ཐལ་ཟེར་ན། མཐལ་ཟེར་ལོ་གསལ། ཉི་མུ་ཉི་མུ་ཟེར་འགའ་ཤིག་ དེ་  
 ཡང་སྤྲེག་གསུམ་ཡོང་ཟེད་མོད་ཞེ་ཟེད། སྤྲེག་གསུམ་ལ་འོང་ནས་ཟེར་བྱེད་ཟེད་ཟེད། དུང་ལོ་ལྷོ་ཉིང་འདྲུག་སུ་ལེན་མཐའ་ཟེར་བྱེད་  
 ཟེད་ཟེད། ལས་ངན་ས། འདྲུག་སུ་ལེན་མཐའ་ཡིན་ན་ཅིག་ ཉི་མུ་ཉི་མུ། མོ། འུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ འདི་ནང་མར་ལ་འཛིན་ལོ་མཚམས་ལ་འདྲེ་ཞེ་  
 ཐལ་ཟེར་བྱེད་ཟེད་ཟེད། མ་འོ་མེ་ཞེ་ཟེར་བྱེད་ཟེད།

༦ དེ་འཛིན་ལོ་མ་སུ་ཚོ་མར་ལ་མར་ཚང་ཟེད་མོད་ཞེ་ཟེད། དེ་སྐྱིད་ཉི་མང་གོང་ལ་འདྲ། ཐུག་སྤྲེག་རྒྱ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་མཐའ་མཐའ་ལ་མཚོད།

Abbreviations

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

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