

UC Santa Barbara

Himalayan Linguistics

Title

Five folktales of Bragkhoglung Tibetan of Cone [HL Archive 11]

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8h61w7r8>

Journal

Himalayan Linguistics, 0(0)

Authors

Zou, Yuxia

Suzuki, Hiroyuki

Publication Date

2022-07-30

DOI

10.5070/H90052025

Copyright Information

Copyright 2022 by the author(s). This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

himalayan linguistics

A free refereed web journal and archive devoted to the study of the
languages of the Himalayas

Five folktales of Bragkhoglung Tibetan of Cone

Yuxia Zou (gYu' brug mtsho) ; Hiroyuki Suzuki

Minzu University of China; Kyoto University

Himalayan Linguistics

Archive 11

Himalayan Linguistics Archive No. 11 1-85

ISSN 1544-7502

© 2022. All rights reserved

Abstract

This article provides five stories of Bragkhoglung Tibetan, a lesser-known Tibetic variety spoken in Zhagulu Town, Cone County, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province, China. The five folktales are entitled: ‘The Hare and the Lion’, ‘Hare’s Wisdom’, ‘The Hare and the Tiger’, ‘The Ewe and the Wolf’, and ‘Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo’. These contain 296 lines (sentences) in total. A brief grammatical sketch, principally based on the materials from the stories, is also provided. Each of the five texts contains a full text in phonetic symbols, interlinear linguistic analysis consisting of phonological description, Tibetan transcription, and glossing as well as English sentence translation, full English translation of the story, and full Tibetan transcription based on the spoken language (Bragkhoglung Tibetan). Each sentence is enumerated consistently within each story. The objective of the article is primarily as materials of linguistic research on Bragkhoglung Tibetan and secondarily as materials for literature study and conservation of oral culture of this variety.

Keywords

narrative material, folktale, Tibetosphere, Tibetic, Cone

1 Introduction

The objective of this article is to provide five stories of Bragkhoglung Tibetan, primarily as materials of linguistic research on Bragkhoglung Tibetan, a lesser-known variety in academia, and secondarily as materials for descriptive and literature study as well as conservation of oral culture of this variety. Bragkhoglung Tibetan is a Tibetic language spoken in Cone County, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province, China.

1.1 Cone County and its Tibetic languages

Cone County is located at the eastern edge of the Qinghai–Tibet Plateau, in the southern region of Gansu Province, between 102°46′ – 104°02′ east longitude and 34°10′ – 35°10′ north latitude. It contacts with Zhang and Min Counties of Dingxi Municipality to the east, Thewo and mDzorge County (Sichuan) to the south, Kluchu and gSangchu Counties to the west, and Hezheng and Kangle Counties of Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture to the north. It also contacts Lintan County within the county. In 2014, the total population of Cone County was 104,359, consisting of more than ten ethnic groups such as Tibetan, Chinese, Hui, Mongol, Tu, and Miao. The population of Tibetans is 74,345, corresponding to 71.24% of the total population. Cone County consists of four towns and eleven townships.¹

The target language is spoken in Dungrimdo (Diliduo) Hamlet of Bragkhoglung (Zhagulu) Town, located in the north-western part of Cone County along the Taohe River. This town is the crossroads of two routes; namely Min–Ma (Minxian–Malu) and Jiang–Die (Jiangkehe–Diebu), as well as at the three-river crossing of Kluchu (Taohe), Chaspu’i chuwo (Chebahe), and rGyamkhar chuwo (Jiangkehe). It is also the geometric centre of the three county seats of Cone, Lintan, and gTsod Municipality. Bragkhoglung Town has 41 hamlets within eight villages; its total population is 6,153. That of Dungrimdo Hamlet is 297, all of whom are ethnic bilingual Tibetans who speak Tibetan and Chinese (North-western Mandarin).

Although the local Tibetic vernacular is a communication language between local Tibetans, there are several mutually unintelligible varieties due to their different historical background. Moreover, since Cone County is located on the Sino–Tibetan cultural border area, the local Mandarin functions as a *lingua franca*.² Except for Tibetan villages, inhabitants are principally bilingual in Tibetan and Chinese in ethnically diverse villages. In particular, the Tibetic language has gradually been less spoken in gTsangbawa and Taoyan Towns in the easternmost area of the county. In these places, only the elderly speak the local Tibetic language; people in the younger generation basically do not use it anymore, but instead rely on Chinese for their communication.

Tibetic varieties spoken in Cone have received attention by scholars due to their dialectal characteristics. They are generally classified as the ‘Khams dialect’, as found in *Zhongguo Yuyan Dituji* (2012). Recently, Tournadre (2014) has established a ‘fourth’ group called Eastern Section, in which he classifies Cone Tibetan.³ The latter linguistic classification is also examined and supported by Suzuki (2015, 2016b). The earliest study on Cone Tibetan is Qu (1962). We also find other works

¹ These statistics were obtained from the Cone County government.

² See Roche and Suzuki (2018) and Xu (2021) for details of the multilingual situation in this area.

³ See also Tournadre and Suzuki (2022) for a more detailed description of ‘Eastern Section’.

on Cone Tibetan: Yang (1995), rNam-rgyal Tshe-brten (2008), dKon-mchog Rin-chen and 'Brug-mtsho-skyid (2012), Suzuki (2012, 2016a), Jacques (2014), and bKra-shis Tshe-ring (2019). These studies, however, describe varieties within the county which display significant differences from one another. Among them, Suzuki (2012) deals with Bragkhoglung Tibetan; however, due to the differences between hamlets, we find phonetic features differing between his and ours. Hence, in a strict sense, our linguistic materials are to add new data for studies on Tibetic languages in Cone, which can be useful for the conservation of a precious linguistic heritage for the next generations.

1.2 Content of folktales

The five stories in the article were collected through fieldwork conducted in January 2020 by the first author. The narrator is Norbu Tshering, a local Tibetan (male, aged 79) from Dungrimdo Hamlet. He is bilingual in Bragkhoglung Tibetan and local Chinese. The storytelling was conducted in the narrator's house in the presence of his family members.

The folktales (with the total lines [sentences]) are entitled as follows:

The Hare and the Lion (24 lines)

Hare's Wisdom (63 lines)

The Hare and the Tiger (74 lines)

The Ewe and the Wolf (112 lines)

Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo (23 lines)

We assigned titles based on the contents of each story since folktales do not generally possess a fixed title. The stories, except for the fifth story,⁴ belong to the animal-protagonist type. Stories with similar plots are attested in the Tibetosphere (a.k.a. Tibetan cultural area) other than Cone, and four of the stories have been recorded and published (Table 1).

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

Title in the article	Previous publications
<i>The Hare and the Lion</i>	O'Connor's (1906 [1977]: 51-55) <i>The Hare and the Lions</i> ; Shelton's (1925: 81-85) <i>How the Rabbit</i> ⁵ <i>Killed the Lion</i>
<i>Hare's Wisdom</i>	Shelton's (1925: 136-137) <i>How the Wolf, the Fox, and the Rabbit Committed a Crime</i>
<i>The Hare and the Tiger</i>	O'Connor's (1906 [1977]: 1-3) <i>How the Hare got his Split Lip</i> ⁶
<i>The Ewe and the Wolf</i>	O'Connor's (1906 [1977]: 56-59) <i>The Sheep, the Lamb, the Wolf and the Hare</i> ; Kajihama's (2004: 51-53) <i>The Ewe and the Wolf</i> ; Lin's (2016: 320-321) <i>The Old Woman and the Tiger</i> (partially similar)

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

⁴ One of the reviewers suggests that Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo in the fifth story is a protagonist as a renowned merchant mythologised in the Tibetan operatic performance.

⁵ Shelton (1925) uses the word 'rabbit'; however, as O'Connor (1906) does, it should have been translated as 'hare'.

⁶ The story corresponds to the first part of O'Connor's *How the Hare got his Split Lip*.

Each of the five texts contains interlinear linguistic analysis, full English translation of the story, and full Tibetan transcription based on the spoken language. We follow the practice of Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017a, b, 2018b, 2021a, c) as a model of providing narrative materials of a Tibetic language, although writing an oral variety in the Literary Tibetan orthography is not widely accepted in the Tibetan community.

1.3 Notes on the description

Each story contains four parts: a full text in phonetic symbols, enumerated by sentence (see, for example, Schwieger's (1989) presentation); an interlinear glossing text; a full English translation; and a Tibetan transcription. The latter two reflect minimum editing of the original narrative forms to facilitate story comprehension and reproduction; necessary corrections of the mistakes in storytelling are also reflected. In addition, the Tibetan transcription is based on the oral style, by using the Tibetan script, not romanisation.

Each interlinear glossing analysis consists of at least four lines. The first line is a phonetic transcription; the second is a Written Tibetan form adjusted to the Braghkholung counterpart; the third is a linguistic analysis; the fourth is an interlinear English translation. If a sentence is long, a set of the first, second, and third lines are repeated before providing an interlinear English translation. Each sentence is enumerated consistently within each story.

In the phonetic transcription, we respect actual realisation of the pronunciation. Hence, there is a possibility that the same word is differently transcribed depending on stories or even sentences in a single story.

The use of spacing should be specified. The article does not use a space between syllables when a given form is an independent lexical word. Affixes and functional words are connected with a hyphen in all cases. Some grammatical forms, which can be further analysed from a morphosyntactic aspect, contain a space between syllables for a potential historical, grammatical analysis; however, we give a single gloss for such forms, since we adapt a synthetic description (see Zeisler 2004) as our glossing rule. In other words, we do not provide analytic glossing for affixes even though we can find independent functions for a series of morphemes.

For interlinear glossing, we simplify the description. We do not provide any morphological analysis of compound words; we only give a minimal description of functional words. In particular, our analysis method of the verb suffix system (tense-aspect-modality-evidential-epistemic complex) refers to Oisel (2017) [Lhasa Tibetan], Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2018a) [Lhagang Tibetan of Khams], and Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki (2018) [Mabzhi Tibetan of Amdo], as well as Suzuki et al. (2021) [five Tibetic languages including Braghkholung Tibetan], based on Tournadre and LaPolla's (2014) understanding on evidentiality; see Section 2 for details. We do not mark 'singular' in number, 'absolutive' in case marking, and 'statemental' in evidential category for the sake of simplicity, as they are unmarked in the relevant categories. See also the next section, a brief grammatical notes, for details.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR GLOSSING

-	morpheme boundary	INS	instrumental
1	first person pronoun	INTJ	interjection
2	second person pronoun	LOC	locative
3	third person pronoun	NDEF	nondefinite marker
ACP	accomplished	NEG	negative
AOR	aurist	NI	non-imperative stem
CIS	cislocative	NML	nominaliser
COL	collective	NPF	nonperfect stem
COM	comitative	NSEN	non-sensory
CONJ	conjunction	PART	particle
CPV	copulative verb	PF	perfect stem
DAT	dative	PFT	perfect
DEF	definite marker	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PPN	proper name
EMPH	emphatic	PROG	progressive
ERG	ergative	Q	question marker
EXV	existential verb	QUOT	quotative
F	feminine	RDP	reduplication
FUT	future	SEN	sensory
GEN	genitive	SFT	sentence final tag
HS	hearsay	SNINFR	sensory inferential
IM	imperative stem	STA	stative
IMPRX	imperative auxiliary	TOP	topic marker
INCL	inclusive	TRA	translocative
INE	inessive	TQ	tag question

MARKS IN TRANSCRIPTION, INTERLINEAR GLOSSING AND TRANSLATION

^c before a word-by-word translation in glossing denotes a Chinese word inserted in a sentence as code-switching, not as borrowing. Such a word does not always follow the sound system of Bragkhoglung Tibetan.

Square brackets in transcription denote wrong words, and thus do not form parts of the story.

Parentheses in the translation line denote necessary words that do not appear in the original story to make a complete English sentence.

Square brackets in the translation line denote words specifying its precedent demonstrative or pronoun to avoid ambiguity.

2 Brief phonological and grammatical notes of Bragkhoglong Tibetan

We present a brief linguistic overview of Bragkhoglung Tibetan, focusing on its phonological and morphosyntactic aspects. The data are taken from the stories in the article with cross-references indicated as story numbers and line numbers in parentheses.⁷ This overview will help readers understand the interlinear analysis of the stories.

2.1 Phonology

Bragkhoglung Tibetan is a language with distinctive tones.⁸ The syllable structure is relatively simple. Most obstruent consonants show a tripartite voicing distinction of voiceless aspirated, voiceless nonaspirated, and voiced. Vowels generally exhibit distinctions in length (short/long⁹) and nasalisation (plain/nasalised). Considering that the article's objective is to provide narrative materials, we decided to use the phonetic transcription following the Chinese style, that is, 5-grade tonal description that reflects height and length of a syllable, with some modification of segmental phonetic symbols; for instance, we do not use 'tʂ' but 'tʂ̥' instead. Due to these different manners and customs, the appearance of the phonetic forms (cf. Zou 2021) differs from the sound system provided by Suzuki (2012).¹⁰ The sound system that we use here is the following.

2.1.1 Syllable structure

The maximum structure is ^cC_iGVC, in which ^c is for prenasalisation (ⁿ) and preaspiration (^h); C is occupied by all the consonants; G is for /w/ and /j/ (very marginally); V is occupied by all the vowels; the C is for nasals in loanwords (very marginally). A minimum structure is C_iV.

2.1.2 Consonantism

There are following phonemes: /p^h, p, b, t^h, t, d, k^h, k, g, ʔ, ts^h, ts, dz, tʂ^h, tʂ, dʒ, tɕ^h, tɕ, dz, v, s^h, s, z, ʂ^h, ʂ, ɕ^h, ɕ, z, x, ɣ, h, fi, m, n, ŋ, l, l̥, r [z], w, j/.

Prenasalisation and preaspiration (marginally) appear as ^cC_i.

2.1.3 Vocalism

There are following vowels: /i, e, ε, a, a, o, u, ə/.

Each of them has a nasalised counterpart, but nasalised vowels appear marginally.

A diphthong /ei/ is marginally attested.

⁷ For example, (1: 2) denotes Story 1 (*The Hare and the Lion*), Line (2).

⁸ We can note the variation of suprasegmentals in the Tibetic languages of Eastern Section. See Suzuki (2017, 2022:295-303).

⁹ There is an analysis that the vowel length belongs to suprasegmentals, as in the present material.

¹⁰ Suzuki (2012) provides the following sound system: Consonantism: /p^h, p, b, t^h, t, d, t^h, t, d, k^h, k, g, ʔ, ts^h, ts, dz, tʂ^h, tʂ, dʒ, tɕ^h, tɕ, dz, s^h, s, z, l̥, ʂ^h, ʂ, z, x^h, x, ɣ, h, fi, m, n, ŋ, l, l̥, r, w, j, uɣ/; Vocalism: /i, e, ε, a, v, a, ə, o, u, u, ə, ə/; Suprasegmentals: word-tone system with two types, ⁻ high and ^ˊ low.

2.1.4 *Suprasegmentals*

The suprasegmental analysis and description applied in the article follows the Chinese manner: notation with numbers after every syllable, representing a combination of pitch pattern with vowel length.

55 (high level short), 51 (falling short), 12 (low short), and 14 (low long) are attested for a monosyllabic word. For disyllabic combinations, another set of four pitch height patterns appears: 55-55, 11-55, 11-51, and 11-14 (no length distinction). In sentences, other combinations also appear in sporadic occurrences.

There are morphophonological phenomena, which are described in 2.2.

2.2 *Morphosyntax*

We describe morphosyntactic features divided into nominal phrases, verb predicates, and other features. Moreover, similar to other Tibetic languages, Bragkhoglung Tibetan is a verb-final language.

2.2.1 *Noun phrase*

2.2.1.1 **Basic structure**

The basic order within a noun phrase is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Noun phrase structure.

relative clause+NML/ noun phrase+GEN	HEAD	adjective	quantifier / definiteness marker / DEM	case marker	TOP / EMPH
---	------	-----------	--	-------------	---------------

Examples:

- (1) head + demonstrative
 tɔ⁵¹ n̄dɔ¹²
 tiger DEM
 ‘this tiger.’ (3: 44)

- (2) head + definiteness marker
 dza¹¹k^he¹¹wa⁵⁵-zɔ⁵⁵
 merchant-NDEF
 ‘a merchant.’ (3: 3)

- (3) head + adjective + definiteness marker
 ni¹² ʂ^he¹⁴ ni¹¹ma¹¹ʂa⁵⁵-zɔ¹²
 person special poor-NDEF
 ‘a really poor man.’ (5: 1)

(4) head + case marker

tʂa¹¹-na¹⁴

cliff-INE

‘into the cliff.’ (3: 44)

(5) head + DEM + EMPH

dza¹¹k^he¹¹wa⁵⁵ n^hdə¹²-ta⁵⁵

merchant

DEM-EMPH

‘this merchant.’ (3: 6)

(6) head + demonstrative + case marker

ta¹¹gẽ¹⁴-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵

old horse-NDEF-DAT

‘to an old horse.’ (4: 36)

(7) relative clause + head

mã¹¹fið¹⁴

mə¹¹fiə¹⁴

na¹⁴

n^hdzo¹¹-si⁵⁵

lð¹⁴

ewe

mother and daughter

both

go-NML.GEN

road

‘the road where both Ewe and her daughter were walking.’ (4: 13)

(8) noun phrase + GEN + head + DEM

ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵

hã¹¹fið⁵⁵

tə⁵⁵

sorcerer.GEN

shoe

DEM

‘those shoes of the sorcerer.’ (2: 40)

2.2.1.2 Personal pronouns

Singular (absolutive): /ŋa¹²/ ‘1’, /tɕ^ho⁵⁵/ ‘2’, /k^ho⁵⁵/ ‘3’, /k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵/ ‘3’, /mo⁵⁵/ ‘3.F’

Plural (absolutive): /ʔə¹¹tʂ^ho⁵⁵/ ‘1PL.INCL’, /tɕ^hi¹¹/ ‘2PL’, /k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵tʂ^ho⁵⁵/ ‘3PL’

The third person in a conversation citation often denotes the first person.

Dual-like forms (root+ morpheme ‘both’) are attested in the stories: /ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵/ ‘1.INCL.both’, /tɕ^hi¹¹na⁵⁵/ ‘2.both’, /k^hə⁵⁵na⁵⁵/ ‘3.both’.

2.2.1.3 Interrogative words

The following interrogative words are attested in the stories: /tʂ^hi¹¹/ ‘what, why’, /ka¹⁴/ ‘who’, /ka¹¹ra⁵⁵/ ‘where’, and /tʂa⁵⁵, tʂ^ho⁵⁵/ ‘how’.

2.2.1.4 Demonstratives and definiteness markers

Demonstrative pronouns appear in the head position; demonstrative adjectives appear in a slot between an adjective and a case marker. There are three forms: /n^hdə¹²/ (proximal), /tɕ^ho⁵⁵/ (distal), and /kɛ¹⁴/ (neutral).

The distal demonstrative form, with a slight vowel change, functions as a definite marker /-tə⁵⁵/. The nondefinite counterpart is /-zə/. An emphasised definite marking /-to¹¹ho⁵⁵/ is also attested; it appears with a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. 3: 34).

2.2.1.5 Case markers

The case system of Bragkhoglung Tibetan shows ergative-absolutive marking. There are four grammatical cases, ergative (/ -kə⁵⁵/, /-γə⁵⁵/), dative (/ -le⁵⁵/, /-lə⁵⁵/), and comitative¹¹ (/ -da¹⁴/, /-no⁵⁵/; tone varies), as well as absolutive (zero-morpheme), and five local cases, that is, genitive (/ -kə⁵⁵/, /-γə⁵⁵/; tone varies), locative (/ -le⁵⁵/), inessive (/ -na¹²/, /-na⁵⁵/; tone varies), ablative (/ -ne⁵⁵/), and instrumental (/ -kə⁵⁵/). The surface forms indicate that ergative, genitive, and instrumental are the same. However, ergative and genitive are distinctive when the vowel alternation is concerned; see Tables 3 and 4.

Some case markers, especially comitative, semantically function as a conjunction (see Tournadre 2010). Example:

(9) comitative case marker functioning as a conjunction

ʔeŋ ¹⁴	k ^h o ⁵⁵	to ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵	lo ¹⁴	k ^h o ¹¹ -γə ⁵⁵ tə ⁵⁵ -lə ⁵⁵ -da ¹⁴
INTJ	3	still	lung	be sick-PROG-NML-COM
ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴	n ^h da ¹²	k ^h e ⁵⁵	zũ ¹⁴ -kə ⁵⁵	n ^h dza ⁵⁵ -dze ¹²
hare	DEM	3.ERG	catch.PF-NML	go.NPF-QUOT

‘Hare said: “Yeah, his lungs are still sick, so he will catch me and go.”’ (2: 14)

2.2.1.6 Nominalisers

We find the following nominalisers in the stories.

- /-mo⁵⁵/: implies an agent of an action in future and nonperfect, see (1: 7).
- /-təi⁵⁵/: implies a patient of an action in future and nonperfect, see (3: 63).
- /-lo⁵⁵/, /-lə⁵⁵/: implies an action or status in nonperfect, see (1: 17).
- /-lā¹¹ ka⁵⁵/: appears in a fixed, reduplicated expression, see (2: 20).
- /-kə⁵⁵/, /-γə⁵⁵/: makes a serial verb construction (V1-kə⁵⁵ V2), see (2: 44).
- /-le⁵⁵/: implies a local function of an action or status, see (4: 78).
- /-no⁵⁵/: implies an object, see (3: 34).
- /-ma⁵⁵/: implies an action in perfect, see (4: 51).

A nominalised phrase functions as a head with case marking as follows:

(10) NML + LOC

mã ¹¹ fiō ¹⁴	mã ¹¹ fiō ¹⁴	n ^h dzo ¹¹ -se ⁵⁵	s ^h o ¹⁴ -mi ⁵⁵
ewe	ewe	go-NML.LOC	go-EMPH

‘“Ewe, (you should) go to the place where you are going.”’ (4: 102)

¹¹ Tournadre (2010) names this case ‘associative’.

2.2.1.7 Stem alternation

A vowel and tonal alternation of pronouns and nouns in open syllables occurs when forming the ergative, dative, genitive, and marginally locative forms. See Table 3 and 4.

Table 3 Monosyllabic pronouns in various cases.

Gloss	absolutive	genitive (GEN)	ergative (ERG)	dative (DAT)
1	ŋa ¹²	ŋə ¹²	ŋa ⁵⁵	ŋa ⁵¹
2	tɛ ^h o ⁵⁵	tɛ ^h o ¹⁴	tɛ ^h e ⁵⁵	tɛ ^h o ⁵¹
3	k ^h o ⁵⁵	k ^h o ¹⁴	k ^h e ⁵⁵	k ^h o ¹⁴
DEM (proximal)	ⁿ də ¹²	ⁿ dɪ ¹²	ⁿ dɪ ¹²	ⁿ dɛ ¹²
DEM (distal)	tɛ ⁵⁵	tɪ ⁵⁵	tɪ ⁵⁵	*

Table 4 Open syllable nouns with vowel alternation in various cases.

Meaning	absolutive	genitive (GEN)	ergative (ERG)	dative (DAT)
lion	s ^h i ¹¹ gə ⁵⁵	*	s ^h i ¹¹ gi ⁵⁵	*
mirror	ŋo ¹¹ ta ⁵⁵	ŋo ¹¹ tə ⁵⁵	*	*
fox	wa ⁵⁵	*	*	wi ¹⁴
mouth	k ^h a ⁵⁵	*	*	k ^h e ⁵⁵ (LOC)
magpie	ɛa ¹¹ ɣa ⁵⁵	ɛa ¹¹ ɣi ⁵⁵	*	*
ewe	mã ¹¹ fĩð ¹⁴	*	mã ¹¹ fĩ ⁵⁵	*

2.2.2 Verb predicate

2.2.2.1 Basic structure

The basic order within a verb phrase is presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Verb phrase construction.

directional adverb	NEG / Q	STEM	TAME-E marking	QUOT	SFT / NML / EMPH	CONJ
--------------------	---------	------	----------------	------	------------------	------

Examples:

(11) NEG + stem

ŋe¹² tɛ^ho⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʂ^ha⁵⁵
 1.ERG 2 NEG-eat.NPF

‘I [Wolf] won’t eat you [Ewe]!’ (4: 19)

(12) NEG + stem + TAME-E marking

s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵ ma¹¹-h^hə⁵¹-kə⁵⁵
 lion.ERG NEG-persuade-SEN

‘Lion did not mediate (their affair).’ (1: 5)

(13) Q + stem

te^ho⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-ko⁵⁵ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
2 Q-need say-CONJ

‘(Uncle Hare) said: “Do you want (it)?”’ (3: 64)

(14) directional adverb + stem + TAME-E marking

na¹⁴ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ lu¹¹-sə¹⁴
inside downwards fall-PFT.TRA

‘(Wolf) fell into (the hole).’ (4: 11)

(15) stem + TAME-E marking + EMPH

ta⁵⁵ ge¹¹-sə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
now old-PFT.TRA-EMPH

‘Now (Dzo) has gotten old.’ (4: 64)

(16) stem + QUOT

ri¹¹wə¹⁴ n^hdə¹² k^he⁵⁵ zũ¹⁴-kə⁵⁵ n^hdza⁵⁵-dze¹²
hare DEM 3.ERG catch.PF-NML go.NPF-QUOT

‘Hare said: “He will catch this [me] and go.”’ (2: 14)

(17) stem + TAME-E marking + QUOT

k^he⁵⁵ tɕa¹¹lə⁵⁵tɕi¹¹lə⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹-fi⁴⁴-sei¹⁴
3.ERG vague-NDEF see-STA.SEN-QUOT

‘(Hare) said: “I see vaguely.”’ (3: 39)

(18) NEG + stem + TAME-E marking + QUOT

to¹¹tsi⁵⁵ ni⁵¹-na¹⁴ mə¹¹-rə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵-dze¹²
like this eye-both NEG-similar-STA-QUOT

‘(Tiger) said: “In such a way, both the eyes are not similar!”’ (3: 34)

(19) Q + stem + TAME-E marking + QUOT

te^he⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-t^ho¹¹-fi⁴⁴-dze¹¹
2.ERG Q-see-STA.SEN-QUOT

‘(Hare) said: “Do you see?”’ (3: 39)

(20) stem + CONJ

pə¹¹tɕa⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t^ho¹⁴ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵
boy DEM business go-CONJ

‘The boy went for business, and...’ (5: 15)

(21) stem + TAME-E marking + CONJ

k^he⁵⁵ ko¹¹ri⁵⁵ tɕ^he⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵
3.ERG bread eat.PF-PFT-CONJ

‘(Hare said:) “I ate bread and...”’ (2: 60)

2.2.2.2 Verb classes and stem alternation

Verb stems are classified into three categories: copulative (CPV), existential (EXV), and lexical verbs. The first two are also used as part of TAME-E (tense-aspect-modality-evidentiality-epistemicity¹²) marking. Several lexical verb stems exhibit a stem alternation between imperative and non-imperative or nonperfect and perfect-imperative stems (Table 6).

Table 6 Verb stem alternation from the stories.

Meaning	nonperfect (NPF)	perfect (PF)	imperative (IM)
go	ⁿ dza ⁵⁵	pi ¹¹	*
catch	zi ¹¹	zi ¹⁴	*
look	ta ⁵⁵	te ⁵⁵	te ¹¹
put	ra ⁵¹	ra ⁵¹	*
eat	tʂ ^h a ¹¹	tʂ ^h e ¹¹	*

2.2.2.3 Directional adverb

Pre-verbal directional adverbs denote either a concrete or psychological direction of an action. We find the following adverbs: /ɕ^hə⁵⁵/ ‘behind’, /lə¹¹ɕ^hi⁵⁵/ ‘upwards’, and /t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵/ ‘downwards’.

2.2.2.4 TAME-E system

We provide a short description of the TAME-E system based on the data of the stories.

For the tense-aspect category, future, nonperfect, perfect, progressive, and stative are distinctive. Perfect (statemental evidential) as well as aorist (statemental evidential) are further classified into translocative (action ‘thither’) and cislocative (action ‘hither’).

Examples:

(22) future

ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ zi¹¹-teⁱ⁵⁵ dze¹²-nə⁵⁵
 sorcerer.ERG hare catch.NPF-FUT.E say-CONJ

‘The sorcerer will say: “I will catch Hare.”’ (2: 15)

(23) nonperfect

dza¹¹k^he¹¹wi¹⁴ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ teo¹¹ye¹⁴teo¹¹ye¹⁴ ⁿdzo¹¹-yə⁵⁵ də⁵⁵ zi⁵⁵
 merchant.GEN front again limping go-NPFT.SEN

‘(Hare) was again going in front of the merchant, limping.’ (3: 5)

(24) perfect translocative

ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ teo¹¹ye¹⁴teo¹¹ye¹⁴ pi¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 hare sorcerer.GEN front limping go.PF-PFT.TRA

¹² We follow Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) for the definition of ‘evidentiality’. The evidential system of Bragkhoglung Tibetan consists of egophoric, statemental, sensory, and inferential as ‘access-type’ evidentials, as well as hearsay and quotative as ‘source-type’ evidentials. See Suzuki et al. (2021) for a contrastive description of the ‘access-type’ evidentiality in Tibetic languages. See also Tournadre and Suzuki (2022) for the TAME-E system in Tibetic languages.

‘Hare would go in the front of the sorcerer, limping.’ (2: 13)

(25) perfect cislocative

ʂ^hɿ¹⁴ n^hbə¹¹-tɕi⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹-ɣə⁵⁵ jo⁵⁵-mo⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ jo⁵⁵-ɣə⁵⁵ na¹⁴
 firewood burn-NML pick-PFT.CIS-NML-NDEF come.NI-PROG.SEN
 ‘Someone who gathers firewood to burn is coming, leading a donkey.’ (3: 63)

(26) aorist translocative

tɕ⁵¹ tɕ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ sə⁵⁵
 tiger lead-AOR.TRA
 ‘(Hare) led Tiger away.’ (3: 42)

(27) aorist cislocative

k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵tʂ^ho⁵⁵ ts^hɑ¹¹-nə⁵⁵ de¹¹-tə⁵⁵-ti⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ dzə¹¹-ko⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵
 3PL gather.PF-CONJ sit.PF-PFT-CONJ hare run-AOR.CIS
 ‘When they were sitting and having a meeting, Hare came (to their place), running.’ (2: 56)

(28) progressive

k^he⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ la⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹-ɣə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ dze¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 3.ERG 3.GEN eye take.PF-CONJ eat.NPF-PROG.E say-NSEN
 ‘“I [Hare] took out my eye and am eating it,” said (Hare).’ (3: 23)

(29) stative

lo¹⁴ mə¹¹-za¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 lung NEG-good-STA.SEN
 ‘(Hare said): “The lungs are not good.”’ (2: 10)

For the evidential-epistemic category, egophoric, statemental, sensory, inferential, and quotative are distinctive. Evidentiality is divided into two categories: access and source. They are assigned to separate slots. The access-type evidential marking is combined with the TAM system, and the source-type—quotative—appears in the slot next to TAME-E.

The evidential system is common to all the verbs. However, copulative and existential verbs generally do not take TAM marking. Table 7 shows the evidential category of copulative and existential verbs in affirmative; Table 8 shows an extract list of TAME-E suffixes for lexical verbs in affirmative. Note that there are several phonetic surface forms for these morphemes depending on the prosodic environment and intonation.

Table 7 Evidential system of copulative and existential verbs from the stories.

Verb category	egophoric	statemental	sensory
copulative (CPV)	jɿ ¹⁴ (4: 100)	re ⁵¹ (1: 1)	*
existential (EXV)	ji ⁵¹ (1: 12)	jə ¹¹ lə ¹² re ⁵¹ (2: 1)	nɑ ¹¹ gə ⁵⁵ (1: 2)

Table 8 Verb stem alternation from the stories.

TA	egophoric	statemental	sensory
future (FUT)	-tɛi ⁵⁵ (2: 15)	-tɛi ⁵⁵ ri ¹¹ (3: 49)	-tɛi ⁵⁵ na ¹¹ gə ⁵⁵ (3: 40)
nonperfect (NPFT)	*	-lə ¹¹ re ⁵¹ (4: 20)	-kə ⁵⁵ tə ⁵⁵ ti ⁵⁵ (1: 7) -ɣə ⁵⁵ də ⁵⁵ zi ⁵⁵ (3: 5)
stative (STA)	*	-ɣe ⁵⁵ (1: 4) -kə ⁵⁵ (3: 34)	-fi ⁴⁴ (2: 10)
progressive (PROG)	-ɣə ⁵⁵ ti ⁵⁵ (3: 23)	-kə ⁵⁵ də ⁵⁵ (3: 1)	-ɣə ⁵⁵ tə ⁵⁵ kə ⁵⁵ (2: 8) -ɣə ⁵⁵ na ¹⁴ (3: 63)
aorist (AOR)	*	-kə ⁵⁵ sə ⁵⁵ (2: 23) -ko ⁵⁵ zə ⁵⁵ (2: 56) -nə ⁵⁵ re ⁵¹ (5: 9) ¹³	*
perfect (PFT)	-ri ⁵⁵ (3: 64)	-ya ¹¹ zə ⁵⁵ (1: 3) -tə ¹¹ kə ⁵⁵ (2: 13) -ɣə ⁵⁵ jo ⁵⁵ (3: 63) -sə ⁵⁵ (2: 13)	-ti ⁵⁵ (4: 41)

Examples:

(30) future egophoric

ⁿdi¹² tʂ^ha¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵-sei¹⁴
DEM.ERG eat.NPF-FUT.E-QUOT

‘“This [Wolf] said that (he) would eat (me).”’ (4: 42)

(31) future statemental

ŋa⁵¹ ʂ^ha¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵ ri¹¹-ba⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ sɔ̃¹¹-ɣa⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵
1.DAT burn-FUT-SFT DEM think-PFT

‘“(Hare) will burn me,” thought that [Tiger].’ (3: 49)

(32) future sensory

tə⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ s^hə¹¹-na⁵⁵ to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵⁵-ba⁵⁵
tiger-ERG heart-INE also heal-FUT.SEN-SFT

‘Tiger (thought) in his heart that (his eyes) would perhaps heal.’ (3: 40)

(33) sensory inferential

tʂe¹¹mo⁵⁵ tʂe¹¹tʂu⁵¹ tɛə¹¹-lə⁵⁵ tɛə¹¹-lə⁵⁵ mə¹¹ nɔ̃zə¹¹-fi⁴⁴
brown bear baby brown bear happy-STA happy-SNINFR.NEG

‘“(Your) baby brown bears will be so happy.”’ (2: 32)

¹³ This form might be borrowed from Amdo Tibetan.

(34) perfect nonsensory (characterising background information in stories¹⁴)

ta ⁵⁵	sõ ¹¹ ni ⁵⁵	ma ¹¹ -ta ¹⁴ -γə ⁵⁵	lo ⁵¹ -tə ¹¹ zə ⁵⁵
now	thought	NEG-think.NI-PROG	lie-PFT.NSEN

‘Now (he) lay down without thinking of any ideas.’ (5: 7)

Two quotative forms /-dze¹²/ and /-sei¹⁴/ are attested; however, the usage difference is not clear.¹⁵

Examples:

(35) /-dze¹²/-quotative

tə ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ kə ⁵⁵	ri ¹¹ wõ ¹⁴	re ⁵¹ -dze ¹²
DEM	uncle	hare	CPV-QUOT

‘“That was Uncle Hare,” said (Leopard and Brown bear).’ (1: 8)

(36) /-sei¹⁴/-quotative

tə ⁵⁵	re ⁵¹ -sei ¹⁴
DEM	CPV-QUOT

‘“That is (him),” said (Hare).’ (1: 11)

2.2.2.5 Serial verb construction

In general, two verbs are not directly concatenated, but a nominaliser (/ -kə⁵⁵/, /-gə⁵⁵/) or a conjunction (/ -na⁵⁵/) is required for the preceding verb.

(37) /-gə⁵⁵/-nominaliser

ˈbə ¹²	ˈdə ¹²	hə ¹¹ -gə ⁵⁵	mə ¹¹ -tʂə ^{h11} -kə ⁵⁵ -mi ⁵⁵
insect	DEM	fly-NML	NEG-can-STA-EMPH

‘This insect cannot fly.’ (5: 17)

(38) /-na⁵⁵/-conjunction

tə ^{h55}	tʂə ^{h11} -na ⁵⁵	tʂə ^{h11} -kə ⁵⁵	mə ¹¹ -tʂə ^{h55} -na ⁵⁵	tʂə ^{h11} -kə ⁵⁵	dze ¹¹ -zə ⁵⁵
2.ERG	eat.PF-CONJ	can-STA	NEG-eat.PF-CONJ	can-STA	say-NSEN

‘“Do you say whether (Wolf) can eat (me) if (he does so) or not?”’ (4: 43)

For motion verbs, two constructions are found:

(39) /-kə⁵⁵/-nominaliser + motion verb: non-simultaneous action

ge ¹¹ fiə ⁵⁵	ˈdʒə ¹¹ -kə ⁵⁵	jõ ¹¹ -γə ⁵⁵ na ⁵⁵
merit	accumulate-NML	come.NI-STA.SEN

‘“(We) are coming to accumulate merit.”’ (4: 24) [coming *in order to* accumulate]

(40) /-nə⁵⁵/-conjunction + motion verb: simultaneous action

ti ⁵⁵	kɛ ¹¹ -zə ¹¹	ɕə ^{h55}	tə ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵	sʰo ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵ -ta ⁵⁵
DEM.ERG	DEM-NDEF	back	chase-CONJ	go-CONJ-SFT

¹⁴ See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017) for details. The ‘perfect nonsensory’ form is not typical in Bragkhoglung Tibetan.

¹⁵ Cf. Gawne (2021) and Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2021b).

‘That [Wolf] went to chase that [Hare].’ (4: 8) [going *while* chasing]

2.2.3 Other features

2.2.3.1 Conjunction of sentences

Sentences are connected with a conjunction. The form /-nə/, directly following a verb stem in many cases, denotes that events are consecutive (‘and then’). The form /-ti⁵⁵/ indicates a time point (‘when’), which can appear at the end of a noun phrase. The form /-na⁵⁵/ functions as a conjunction denoting a condition (‘if’). Evidential implication is generally not expressed when a conjunction is used.

Examples:

(41) /-nə⁵⁵/-conjunction

tʃe ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵	s ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵	tʃa ⁵¹ -kə ⁵⁵	ŋo ¹⁴ -zə ¹¹ -na ⁵⁵	de ⁵¹ -tə ¹¹ kə ⁵⁵
escape-CONJ	go-CONJ	cliff-GEN	surface-NDEF-LOC	sit.PF-PFT

‘After (Hare) escaped, walked, and he sat down on the edge of a cliff.’ (2: 13)

(42) /-ti⁵⁵/-conjunction

ta ⁵⁵	ts ^h e	n ^h da ¹¹ re ⁵⁵	tsə ⁵⁵ -ti ⁵⁵	k ^h o ⁵⁵
now	lifetime	here	arrive-CONJ	3
əa ¹¹ dze ⁵⁵	te ¹¹ -ta ⁵⁵	te ⁵⁵		
confounded	look.IM-SFT	DEM		

‘Now (I) arrived at this lifetime, you look, I am confounded.’ (4: 75)

(43) /-na⁵⁵/-conjunction

ta ⁵¹	tsi ⁵⁵	se ¹¹ -rə ⁵⁵ -na ⁵⁵	tə ⁵⁵	za ¹¹ -fi ⁴⁴
tiger	one	kill-PFT-CONJ	DEM	good-STA.SEN

‘(The man thought:) “If one tiger has already been killed, that is good.”’ (3: 68)

2.2.3.2 Reduplication

Reduplication of various word classes is found in the stories. It principally functions in forming adverbial expressions.

(44) adverbial expression

ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴	ka ¹¹ lə ⁵⁵ -ka ¹¹ lə ⁵⁵	s ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
hare	slowly-RDP	go-CONJ

‘Hare walked very slowly.’ (2: 21)

(45) emphasised action

sə ¹¹ -lā ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵	sə ¹¹ -lā ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵	ə ^h ə ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵	s ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
kill-NML	kill-NML	do-CONJ	go-CONJ

‘When (the sorcerer) was about to kill (Hare),’ (2: 21)

We find a case of triplication of a verb stem:

(46) verb triplication

k ^h e ⁵⁵	du ⁵¹	t ^h o ¹¹	t ^h o ¹¹	t ^h o ¹¹
3.ERG	sufferance	receive	receive	receive

‘I [Dzo] have received sufferances greatly.’ (4: 74)

2.2.3.3 Imperative auxiliary

There is a noteworthy morpheme /-to¹¹/ functioning as a jussive, for which we provide an independent gloss IMPRX because it can take a negative prefix directly, as seen in (47).

(47) verb stem + NEG + IMPRX

ʔa ⁵⁵	mã ¹¹ fið ¹⁴	ŋo ¹¹ ga ⁵⁵ te ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ ɣa ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ ɣa ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h e ¹⁴ -ma ¹¹ -to ⁵⁵
again	ewe	beg-CONJ	INTJ	INTJ	eat.PF-NEG-IMPRX

‘Again, Ewe begged: “Please, please don’t eat (me)!”’ (4: 81)

2.2.3.4 Sentence final tags

There are several sentence final tags attested in the stories; some of them are as follows:

/-ta⁵⁵/: expresses a command, see (4: 75).

/-ba⁵⁵/: expresses a low probability, see (3: 40).¹⁶

/-wa⁵⁵/: expresses happiness, see (3: 21).

2.2.3.5 Interjections and discourse markers

We find several interjections and discourse markers in the stories, such as the following:

/ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵/: ‘well’, ‘then’, ‘so’, ‘and’, etc.; often functions as a filler, see (1: 4).

/ʔe⁵⁵/, /ʔei¹⁴/: ‘hey’, ‘uh’; often marks the beginning of a conversation, see (3: 16).

/ʔo⁵⁵/: ‘oh’; expresses astonishment, see (4: 15).

/ʔa¹¹ra⁵⁵/: ‘right’; seeks consent for the utterance, see (1: 2).

/ʔa¹¹ɣa⁵⁵/: ‘please’; expresses a courteous demand, see (4: 81).

2.2.3.6 Relationship between case marking and verbs

In general, S (Single argument) is in absolutive; A (Agent) is marked as ergative; and P (Patient) is either in absolutive, dative, or comitative, depending on the verb stem.

(48) S in absolutive

ʔə ¹¹ na ⁵⁵	ʂa ¹¹ -le ⁵⁵	t ^h ə ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵	tʂi ¹¹ -ɣə ⁵⁵	n ^h dza ¹²
1.INCL.both	town-LOC	downwards	ask.PF-NML	go.NPF

‘(Ewe said:) “We two, let’s go to the town and ask (the following).”’ (4: 34)

(49) A in ergative and P in absolutive

ri ¹¹ wõ ¹⁴	n ^h də ¹²	k ^h e ⁵⁵	zũ ¹⁴ -kə ⁵⁵	n ^h dza ⁵⁵ -dze ¹²
hare	DEM	3.ERG	catch.PF-NML	go.NPF-QUOT

¹⁶ This morpheme can be counted as a form in the TAME-E system. See Suzuki et al. (2021).

‘Hare said: “He [the sorcerer] will catch this [me] and go.”’ (2: 14)

(50) A in ergative as a contrastive usage

s^{hi}11gⁱ55 ma¹¹-h^ɕə⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹w^{ɔ̃}14-γə⁵⁵ h^ɕe⁵¹-γa¹¹ zə⁵⁵
lion.ERG NEG-persuade-SEN hare-ERG persuade-PFT.NSEN
‘Lion did not mediate (Leopard and Brown bear’s affair), but Hare mediated (it).’ (1: 5)

(51) P in dative

ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹w^{ɔ̃}14-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ t^hu⁵¹-γa¹¹ zə⁵⁵
uncle hare-NDEF-DAT meet-PFT
‘(Ewe and Wolf) met Uncle Hare.’ (4: 83)

(52) A in absolutive and P in comitative

ⁿbə¹² tə⁵⁵-dɑ¹⁴ k^hə⁵⁵nɑ⁵⁵ ri¹¹-kə⁵⁵
insect DEM-COM 3.both be similar-STA
‘(The boy) and the insect, they two resemble (each other).’ (5: 16)

2.2.3.7 Rhetorical question

A rhetorical question is formed with an interrogative word that precedes a verb stem. Note that the verb in Example (53) is in egophoric.¹⁷

(53) rhetorical question

mã¹¹fĩ⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ lã¹¹-gə⁵⁵ tə¹¹-təo⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ tɕ^hə¹¹ jĩ¹⁴
ewe.ERG 2 take.NPF-PROG-NML-GEN what CPV.E
‘“What is the reason why Ewe is going to take you [Wolf] up?”’ (4: 101)
(meaning: “There is no reason why Ewe is going to take you up.”)

¹⁷ See Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki (2019) and Suzuki and Lozong Lhamo (2021) for similar cases in Mabzhi (Amdo) and Choswateng (Kham), respectively.

STORY 1: THE HARE AND THE LION

Full text in phonetic symbols

(1) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tə⁵⁵ ... tʃh^hē¹¹zā¹⁴kə⁵⁵ dza¹¹wo⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (2) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ ʃ^he¹⁴na¹¹gə⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ra⁵⁵. (3) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹da¹² ... ʔo⁵⁵ ke¹⁴ ta⁵¹da¹² tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ nə¹¹ya⁵⁵lo⁵⁵ ... ʔo⁵⁵ zi⁵¹da¹² tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ nə¹¹ya⁵⁵ dza¹¹ri⁵⁵ ei⁵¹ya¹¹zə⁵⁵. (4) ti⁵⁵ tō¹¹da⁵¹ tə⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵ h^ʃe⁵¹ko¹¹ye⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʃh^hē¹¹zā¹⁴kə⁵⁵ dza¹¹wo⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (5) s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵ ma¹¹h^ʃə⁵¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ya⁵⁵ h^ʃe⁵¹ya¹¹zə⁵⁵. (6) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵ tʃi¹²ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (7) te^hi¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ k^he¹¹ni¹¹ba⁵⁵ dza¹¹ri⁵⁵ ei⁵¹kə⁵⁵tə⁵⁵ti⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ te^hi¹¹ne⁵⁵ tō¹¹da⁵¹ h^ʃə⁵¹-mo⁵⁵ ka¹⁴ re⁵¹dze¹². (8) tə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ re⁵¹dze¹². (9) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ pi⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (10) ʔe⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ te^he¹¹ ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ tō¹¹da⁵¹ h^ʃə⁵¹na⁵⁵ tʃh^hi¹¹ re⁵¹. (11) ʔe⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ma¹¹re⁵¹ kə¹¹ra⁵⁵na¹² tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵ na¹¹na⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴zə⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ re⁵¹sei¹⁴. (12) tə⁵⁵ ka¹¹ra⁵⁵ ji⁵¹. (13) s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵ro¹² k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ ta¹¹ ɲo¹¹ta⁵⁵ na¹¹ya⁵⁵fa⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵ ɲo¹¹ta⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ ra¹⁴ ʃ^ha¹¹tei⁵⁵ jə¹¹lo⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ma¹¹ʃ^he⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (14) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ te^hi⁵¹kə⁵⁵sə⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹na⁵⁵ te^hi⁵¹kə⁵⁵sə⁵⁵na⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ te¹¹ye⁵⁵tʃə¹¹lo⁵⁵tə⁵⁵. (15) k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵na⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ te⁵⁵ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵pa¹¹na⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ te⁵⁵. (16) ri¹¹wō¹⁴le⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ mə¹¹na⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (17) nā¹¹tʃh^ho⁵¹ ri¹⁴lo⁵⁵ me¹¹gə⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹tʃa⁵⁵ mə¹¹na⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (18) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ʃ^he¹⁴ pə⁵⁵ ri¹⁴lə⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (19) t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʃi¹¹ma⁵⁵ ho¹⁴ la⁵⁵na⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ tə¹¹ka⁵⁵ ɲa¹² ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹gə⁵⁵. (20) ɲa⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹h^ʃi⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ne⁵⁵da¹² lə¹¹h^ʃi⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹gə⁵⁵. (21) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵ na¹⁴ ha¹¹to⁵⁵mo⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴re⁵¹. (22) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ya⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵na⁵⁵ ta⁵¹da¹² tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ nə¹¹ye⁵⁵ pa⁵⁵ h^ʃu⁵⁵ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (23) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵ na¹⁴ ha¹¹ta⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ te^he⁵⁵tə⁵⁵. (24) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ hā¹¹sə⁵¹ t^hu⁵¹tsə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ pan¹¹fa⁵⁵ re⁵¹.

Interlinear glossing text

(1) [ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tə⁵⁵] tʃh^hē¹¹zā¹⁴-kə⁵⁵ dza¹¹wo⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 ʔi¹¹ʋɔ̄ ʔi¹¹ ʃəʔkʰ.ʃəʔkʰ.ʃi¹¹ ʃu¹¹ɔ̄ ʃi¹¹ ʔi¹¹ ʔi¹¹
 hare DEM beast-GEN king lion CPV

‘The Hare...no, the king of the beasts is the lion.’

(2) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ ʃ^he¹⁴ na¹¹gə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ra⁵⁵
 ʃi¹¹ ʔi¹¹ ʔi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹
 lion DEM appearance special EXV.SEN- EMPH INTJ

‘Lions have a special appearance, right?’

(3) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ [ta⁵¹-da¹² ʔo⁵⁵ ke¹⁴ ta⁵¹-da¹²
 ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹
 then tiger-COM INTJ DEM tiger-COM
 tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ nə¹¹ya⁵⁵-lo⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵] zi⁵¹-da¹² tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵
 ʔi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹
 brown bear both-PART INTJ leopard-COM brown bear
 nə¹¹ya⁵⁵ dza¹¹ri⁵⁵ ei⁵¹-ya¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹ ʃi¹¹
 both fight-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, Tiger and...no, both Tiger and Brown bear...no, both Leopard and Brown bear fought (with each other).’

- (4) ti^{55} $t\ddot{o}^{11}da^{51}$ $t\ddot{a}^{55}$ $sh^{11}gi^{55}$ $h\ddot{e}^{51}-ko^{11}-ye^{55}$ $sh^{11}g\ddot{a}^{55}$
 དེ་དེ་ རྩོམ་དག་ དེ་ སེང་གེས་ བཤད་དགོས་འི་ སེང་གི་
 DEM.GEN thing DEM lion.ERG persuade-need-STA lion
 $\text{ʔ}\ddot{a}^{11}z\ddot{a}^{55}$ $t\ddot{s}^{h\ddot{e}^{11}}z\ddot{a}^{14}-k\ddot{a}^{55}$ $dza^{11}wo^{55}$ re^{51}
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ གཅམ་གཟམ་གི་ རྒྱལ་བོ་ རེད་
 then beast-GEN king CPV

‘For that event (fight), that Lion needed to persuade (Leopard and Brown bear not to fight), (since Lion) is the king of the beasts.’

- (5) $sh^{11}gi^{55}$ $ma^{11}-h\ddot{e}^{51}-k\ddot{a}^{55}$ $ri^{11}w\ddot{o}^{14}-y\ddot{a}^{55}$ $h\ddot{e}^{51}-ya^{11}z\ddot{a}^{55}$
 སེང་གེས་ མ་བཤད་གི་ རི་བོད་གེས་ བཤད་བཞག་ཟེག
 lion.ERG NEG-persuade-SEN hare-ERG persuade-PFT.NSEN

‘Lion did not mediate (their affair), but Hare mediated (it).’

- (6) $\text{ʔ}\ddot{a}^{11}z\ddot{a}^{55}$ $sh^{11}gi^{55}$ $t\ddot{s}i^{12}-ta^{11}z\ddot{a}^{55}$
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ སེང་གེས་ རྟོས་ད་ཟེག
 then lion.ERG ask.PF-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, Lion asked (Leopard and Brown bear):’

- (7) $te^{h^{11}}na^{55}$ $\text{ʔ}\ddot{a}^{11}z\ddot{a}^{55}$ $k^{h\ddot{e}^{11}}ni^{11}ba^{55}$ $dza^{11}ri^{55}ei^{51}-k\ddot{a}^{55}t\ddot{a}^{55}ti^{55}-mi^{55}$
 རྩོད་ན་ ཞེ་ཟེ་ ཁས་ཉིན་པ་ རྒྱག་རེས་བྱས་གི་བཟུང་དེ་མོ་
 2.both INTJ day before yesterday fight-NPFT.SEN-EMPH
 $te^{h^{11}}ne^{55}$ $t\ddot{o}^{11}da^{51}$ $h\ddot{e}^{51}-mo^{55}$ ka^{14} $re^{51}-dze^{12}$
 རྩོད་ན་འི་ རྩོམ་དག་ བཤད་མོ་ གང་ རེད་ཟེར་
 2.two.GEN thing persuade-NML who CPV-QUOT

‘“Both of you were fighting each other the day before yesterday, who was the one that mediated your business?” said (Lion).’

- (8) $t\ddot{a}^{55}$ $\text{ʔ}a^{11}k\ddot{a}^{55}$ $ri^{11}w\ddot{o}^{14}$ $re^{51}-dze^{12}$
 དེ་ ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོད་ རེད་ཟེར་
 DEM uncle hare CPV-QUOT

‘“That was Uncle Hare,” said (both).’

- (9) $\text{ʔ}\ddot{a}^{11}z\ddot{a}^{55}$ $\text{ʔ}a^{11}k\ddot{a}^{55}$ $ri^{11}w\ddot{o}^{14}$ $pi^{51}-ta^{11}z\ddot{a}^{55}$
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོད་ འབོས་ད་ཟེག
 then uncle hare call-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, (Lion) called Uncle Hare (and asked):’

- (10) ʔe⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ te^he¹¹ ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵
 ཨི་ ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་ རྟོས་ ཨ་ན་ རི་འི་
 INTJ uncle hare 2SG.ERG INTJ DEM.GEN
 tō¹¹da⁵¹ h̥s̥ə⁵¹-nə⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^hi¹¹ re⁵¹
 རོ་ན་དག་ བཤད་ནི་ མཚན་ རེད་
 thing persuade-CONJ¹⁸ what CPV

‘“Hey, Uncle Hare, why do you mediate this business?”’

- (11) ʔe⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ma¹¹-re⁵¹ kə¹¹ra⁵⁵-na¹² tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵ na¹¹-na⁵⁵
 ཨི་ ཁོ་ མ་རེད་ ཀ་ར་ར་ན་ རྒྱ་མཚོ་ ནང་ན་
 INTJ 3 NEG-CPV there-INE sea inside-LOC
 ri¹¹wō¹⁴-zə⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ re⁵¹-sei¹⁴
 རི་བོང་ཟླ་ག་ སྤང་གི་ རེ་ རེད་ཟེར་འི་
 hare-NDEF EXV.SEN DEM CPV-QUOT

‘“Eh, (that) is not me, there is a hare inside the sea, that is him,” said (Hare).’

- (12) tə⁵⁵ ka¹¹ra⁵⁵ ji⁵¹
 རེ་ ཀ་ར་ ཡོད་
 DEM where EXV.E

‘“Where is that [Hare]?” (said Lion).’

- (13) s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵-ro¹² k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ ta¹¹ ŋo¹¹ta⁵⁵
 སེང་གེས་རོ་ ཁོ་རང་གི་ ཏ་ རོ་ལྷ་
 lion.ERG-EMPH 3-GEN EMPH mirror
 na¹¹-yə⁵⁵-fiə⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gi⁵⁵ ŋo¹¹tə⁵⁵ na⁵⁵
 ནང་གི་ སེང་གེས་ རོ་ལྷ་ ནང་
 inside-LOC-EMPH lion.ERG mirror.GEN inside
 ra¹⁴ ʂ^ha¹¹-təi⁵⁵ jə¹¹-lo⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵
 རང་ བྱེད་མུ་ ཡོད་ལོ་ རེ་
 self appear-NML EXV-NML DEM
 ma¹¹-ʂ^he⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵
 མ་ཤེས་ཟླ་ག་
 NEG-know-NSEN

‘Lion himself did not know that he would appear in the mirror.’

- (14) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ te^hi⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ sə⁵⁵ s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ t̥ʂa¹¹ŋo⁵⁵
 སེང་གི་ བྲིད་གི་སོང་ སེང་གི་ བྲག་འགོ་
 lion lead-AOR.TRA lion top of the cliff
 te^hi⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ sə⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ te¹¹-yɛ⁵⁵-t̥ʂa¹¹-lo⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵
 བྲིད་གི་སོང་ནི་ མུར་ན་ ལྷ་འི་འཇུག་ལོ་དེ་
 lead-AOR.TRA-CONJ downwards look.PF-NML-CAUS-SFT-DEM

‘(Hare) took Lion, took him to the top of the cliff, and made him look downwards,’

¹⁸ Concerning the conjunction /nə⁵⁵/, we uniformly transcribe it as *ni* in the Tibetan script regardless of its origin: *nas* (relative) and *ni* (conjunction, topicalisation marker).

- (15) k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵-na⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵
 ཁོ་རང་ ཞི་བེ་ ལྷ་མཚོ་ནང་ སྐར་རྒྱ་
 3 then sea-INE downwards
 tɛ⁵⁵-ti⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵pa¹¹na⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵ tɛ⁵⁵
 ལྷ་ནས་ ལ་ན་མ་ན་བྱིག ལྷ་གི་མོ་ དེ་
 look.PF-CONJ identical-NDEF EXV.SEN-EMPH EMPH
 ‘Then, when he (Lion) looked into the sea, he found the same (figure as him).’
- (16) ri¹¹wɔ¹⁴-le⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 རི་བོང་ལེ་ ཚིགས་ཀ་ མི་སྤང་མོ་
 hare-DAT appearance NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH
 ‘Hare (in the sea) did not have any appearance.’
- (17) nã¹¹tʃ^ho⁵¹ ri¹⁴-lo⁵⁵ me¹¹gə⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹tʃa⁵⁵
 རྩ་ཚག་ རིང་ལོ་ མིན་གི་ ཚིགས་ཀ་ ཅུང་ཅི་
 ear long-NML CPV.NEG appearance a little
 mə¹¹-na⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 མི་སྤང་མོ་
 NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH
 ‘(He [Hare]), except for having long ears, did not have the appearance at all.’
- (18) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ʃ^he¹⁴ pə⁵⁵ ri¹⁴-lə⁵⁵
 སེང་གི་ ཅ་གི་ ཤེན་ ལྷ་ རིང་ལྷ་
 lion indeed special hair long-NML.GEN
 ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ཚིགས་ཀ་ ལྷ་གི་མོ་
 appearance EXV.SEN-EMPH
 ‘Lion has a really special appearance with long hair.’
- (19) t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʃi¹¹ma⁵⁵ ho¹⁴ la⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵
 སྐར་རྒྱ་ ད་རྒྱང་ ཅུང་མ་ རྩ་ ལངས་ནི་
 downwards also a little anger raise-CONJ
 tɛ^ho⁵⁵ tɔ¹¹ka⁵⁵ ŋa¹² ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵t^hɛ¹¹-gə⁵⁵
 ལྷོང་ ཉིལ་ཀ་ ང་ ཚིགས་ཀ་འཐེན་གི་
 2 a little 1 show dignity-SEN
 ‘(Lion) also got angry downwards and (said:) “You showed me a little dignified.”’
- (20) ŋa⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ɛ^hi⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵t^hɛ¹¹-ne⁵⁵-da¹²
 ངས་ ལྷོང་ སྐར་ཕྱིར་ ཚིགས་ཀ་འཐེན་ནས་དང་
 1.ERG 2 downwards show off dignity-CONJ-CONJ
 lə¹¹ɛ^hi⁵⁵ ts^hi¹¹ya⁵⁵t^hɛ¹¹-gə⁵⁵
 ལྷང་ཕྱིར་ ཚིགས་ཀ་འཐེན་གི་
 upwards show off dignity-SEN
 ‘“I showed you my dignity downwards, and I showed you my dignity upwards.”’

- (21) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵ na¹⁴ ha¹¹-to⁵⁵-mo⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴
 སེང་གི་ རྒྱ་མཚོ་ ནང་ འཕངས་དོ་མོ་ རི་བོང་
 lion sea inside throw.PF-PFT-NML hare
 re⁵¹
 རེད་
 CPV
 ‘It was Hare that threw Lion into the sea.’
- (22) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴-yə⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹-da¹² tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ཟླེ་ རི་བོང་འིས་ ལྷོ་ བཀོད་ནི་ ལྷག་དང་ རྩོད་མོང་
 then hare-ERG intelligence use-CONJ tiger-COM brown bear
 nə¹¹ye⁵⁵ pa⁵⁵ h^hsu⁵⁵-ta¹¹zə⁵⁵
 གཉིས་ཀའི་ བར་ རྟོད་ད་ཟླེག
 both.GEN middle persuade-PFT.NSEN
 ‘Then, Hare used his intelligence and persuaded both Tiger and Brown bear.’¹⁹
- (23) s^hi¹¹gə⁵⁵ tea¹¹ts^ho⁵⁵ na¹⁴ ha¹¹-ta⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ te^he⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵
 སེང་གི་ རྒྱ་མཚོ་ ནང་ འཕངས་ད་ཟླེག རྩོས་དེ་
 lion sea inside throw.PF-PFT-NSEN 2.ERG-DEM
 ‘(It was) you [Hare] that threw Lion into the sea.’
- (24) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ hã¹¹sə⁵¹ t^hu⁵¹tsə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ pan¹¹fa⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 ཞེ་ཟླེ་ དེ་ *** *** གི་ *** རེད་
 then DEM Calso C^hare-GEN C^hway CPV
 ‘Then, that is also the way of Hare.’

Full English translation

The Hare and the Lion

The king of the beasts is the lion. Lions have a special appearance, right? Then, Leopard and Brown bear fought with each other. For such an event, Lion should have persuaded Leopard and Brown bear not to fight, since Lion is the king of the beasts. However, Lion did not mediate them, but Hare did. Then Lion asked Leopard and Brown bear, ‘Both of you were fighting each other the day before yesterday. Who was the one that mediated your business?’ Both answered, ‘That was Uncle Hare.’ Then Lion called Uncle Hare and asked, ‘Hey, Uncle Hare, why do you mediate this business?’ Hare answered, ‘Eh, that is not me. There is a hare inside the sea. That is him.’ Lion asked, ‘Where is that hare?’ Lion himself did not know that he would appear in the mirror. Hare took Lion to the top of the cliff and made him look downwards, and when Lion looked into the sea, he found the same figure as him. Hare in the sea did not have any appearance. Hare, except for having long ears, did not have an appearance at all. Lion has a really special appearance with long hair. Looking downwards, Lion also got angry, and Lion in the sea showed the real Lion looking a little dignified,

¹⁹ The narrator mentions Tiger and Brown bear here; however, it should be *Leopard* and Brown bear who fought with each other. See Sentence (3).

STORY 2: HARE'S WISDOM

Full text in phonetic symbols

(1) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ jə¹¹lə¹²re⁵¹. (2) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ɛa¹¹ya⁵⁵ jə¹¹lə¹²re⁵¹. (3) wa⁵⁵ jə¹¹lə¹²re⁵¹. (4) tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ jə¹¹lə¹²re⁵¹. (5) ɛã¹¹kə⁵⁵ jə¹¹lə¹²re⁵¹. (6) nɔ¹²kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ tei¹¹ka⁵⁵ ei¹¹-nə⁵⁵. (7) ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ tʃɔ¹¹tʃo⁵⁵le⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ na¹¹na⁵⁵ ko¹¹ri⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵ ʃ^ha⁵⁵ di¹¹ra⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (8) ʔə⁵⁵ dzo¹¹le⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹nə⁵⁵ ndzo¹¹ɣə⁵⁵tə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (9) ʔə¹¹tʃ^ho⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵tə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho⁵¹to¹¹fi¹⁴. (10) ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴kə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵tə⁵⁵ tʃ^he¹¹de⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹su⁵⁵ lo¹⁴ mə¹¹za¹¹fi⁴⁴. (11) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ t^hi¹¹hwa⁵⁵ jə¹¹na⁵⁵ lo¹⁴ tʃa⁵¹ndzo¹¹fi⁴⁴ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (12) tə¹¹ti⁵⁵ to⁵⁵h⁵⁵ʃə¹¹tei⁵⁵ jə¹¹lə⁵⁵re⁵¹. (13) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ɲa¹¹so⁵⁵ teo¹¹ye¹⁴teo¹¹ye¹⁴ pi¹¹sə⁵⁵. (14) ʔeɲ¹⁴ k^ho⁵⁵ to¹¹ri⁵⁵ lo¹⁴ k^ho¹¹ɣə⁵⁵tə⁵⁵lə⁵⁵da¹⁴ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ nɔ¹²k^he⁵⁵ zū¹⁴kə⁵⁵ ndza⁵⁵dze¹². (15) ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ zɪ¹¹tei⁵⁵ dze¹²nə⁵⁵ dzo¹¹le⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹tə⁵⁵lo⁵⁵ dʒi¹¹ɣə⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (16) dzo¹¹kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t^ha¹⁴ ra⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (17) tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ jo¹¹nə⁵⁵ ɛ^hə¹¹kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹sə⁵⁵. (18) tə⁵⁵ ɲa¹¹se⁵⁵ ko¹¹pa⁵⁵ ra⁵⁵ri¹¹kə⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ to¹¹ ei¹¹ha⁵⁵da¹⁴ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tə⁵¹. (19) ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tə¹¹lə¹¹da¹⁴ t^he⁵⁵ tʃo¹¹ka⁵⁵ tə¹¹ tʃ^ho⁵¹. (20) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho¹¹fi⁵⁵ tə¹¹ ɛə¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ ji¹¹ka⁵⁵zə¹¹le⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tʃə¹¹lã¹¹ka⁵⁵ tʃə¹¹lã¹¹ka⁵⁵ ɛə¹¹nə⁵⁵. (21) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ sə¹¹lã¹¹ka⁵⁵ sə¹¹lã¹¹ka⁵⁵ ɛə¹¹nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵. (22) pa⁵⁵zə¹¹kə⁵⁵ tsə¹¹nə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ lo¹¹dza⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ ʃ^hi¹¹si⁵⁵ra⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ tʃe¹¹sə⁵⁵. (23) ta⁵⁵ ɛ^hi⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹da⁵¹kə⁵⁵ tsi¹¹ke⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹da⁵¹ ka¹¹ra⁵⁵ ji⁵¹ tʃa¹¹da⁵¹ jə¹¹lo⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵ tʃ^ho⁵¹kə⁵⁵sə⁵⁵. (24) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho¹¹fi⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹da⁵¹ tʃa¹¹da⁵¹ tə¹¹ ge¹¹le⁵⁵re⁵¹. (25) n^go¹² ʃa¹¹na⁵¹ ɛa¹¹ya⁵⁵ t^ho⁵¹ za¹¹fi⁴⁴dze¹². (26) ʃa¹¹na⁵¹ tei¹¹k^hə⁵⁵na⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ na¹¹gə⁵¹ ɛa¹¹yi⁵⁵ ts^ha¹⁴ t^ho⁵¹ ts^ha¹⁴ ra⁵¹ko¹¹fi⁴⁴. (27) t^ho⁵¹ ts^ha¹⁴ ei¹¹da¹⁴ t^ho⁵⁵ du⁵¹ t^ho¹⁴ mə¹¹ko¹¹fi⁴⁴. (28) ndi¹² na¹⁴ t^he⁵⁵ kō¹⁴ ra¹¹da¹⁴ t^he⁵⁵ ɛa¹¹tʃu⁵¹ t^hə¹¹ta⁵⁵ za¹¹fi⁴⁴. (29) ɛa¹¹yi⁵⁵ kō¹⁴ k^hə¹¹ra¹⁴ k^hə¹¹ra¹⁴ da¹¹bo⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ na¹⁴ lu¹¹nə⁵⁵ tʃa⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (30) k^hə¹¹rã¹⁴ k^hə¹¹rã¹⁴ tʃa⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (31) ʔeɲ¹⁴ tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵le⁵⁵ ɲa⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹ra¹¹zə⁵⁵. (32) t^ho¹⁴ tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ tʃe¹¹tʃu⁵¹ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ndi¹² t^ho⁵⁵le⁵⁵ ra⁵¹ta¹¹nə⁵⁵ va¹¹le⁵⁵ ndʒi¹¹to⁵⁵ta⁵⁵ teə¹¹lə⁵⁵ teə¹¹lə⁵⁵ mə¹¹ndʒa¹¹fi⁴⁴. (33) t^ho¹⁴ tə⁵⁵ tso¹¹mə⁵⁵tsa¹¹le⁵⁵ ga¹¹fi⁴⁴. (34) tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ tʃe¹¹tʃu⁵¹ ʔa¹¹to⁵⁵ tso¹¹mə⁵⁵tsa¹¹le⁵⁵ ga¹¹fi⁴⁴. (35) ʔa¹¹li⁵⁵ li¹¹tʃu⁵¹ tə¹¹ko⁵⁵ tso¹¹mə⁵⁵tsa¹¹yi⁵⁵fi⁵⁵. (36) ɲa¹¹ye⁵⁵ t^ho⁵⁵le⁵⁵ ra⁵¹ta¹¹nə⁵⁵ va¹¹le⁵⁵ ndʒi¹²ta¹¹ti⁵⁵na⁵⁵ so¹¹lə⁵⁵ so¹¹lə⁵⁵ re⁵¹sei¹⁴. (37) tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ tʃe¹¹tʃu⁵¹ko¹⁴ ɲa¹¹ye⁵⁵ t^ho⁵⁵le⁵⁵ ra⁵¹nə⁵⁵ va¹¹le⁵⁵ ndʒi¹²ta¹¹lo⁵⁵tə⁵⁵ jə¹¹lo⁵⁵ se¹¹ya¹¹zə⁵⁵. (38) tə¹¹re⁵⁵ tsə¹¹nə⁵⁵da¹⁴ ɛã¹¹ki¹⁴ hã¹¹fi⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹ya⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (38) hã¹¹fi⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t^ho⁵¹ za¹¹fi⁴⁴. (40) ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ hã¹¹fi⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t^ho⁵⁵ ka¹¹dʒi⁵⁵le⁵⁵ k^hə⁵⁵da¹⁴ ɛã¹¹kə⁵⁵ t^ho⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ko¹¹fi¹⁴ t^hə¹¹le⁵⁵ ɲã¹¹kə⁵⁵. (41) t^ho⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ tə¹¹kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹tʃ^hə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (42) t^he⁵⁵ hã¹¹fi⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ kē¹¹da¹¹ za¹¹fi⁴⁴. (43) hã¹¹fi⁵⁵ kē¹¹nə⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹tʃa⁵⁵ mə¹¹jo¹¹fi⁴⁴. (44) lu⁵¹ k^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ sə¹¹kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹tʃ^hə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (45) wi¹⁴ n^bu⁵¹ ɛi¹¹ta⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (46) wa¹¹tʃu⁵¹ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ɛa¹¹nə⁵⁵ tʃe¹¹nə⁵⁵ la⁵⁵ t^ha¹¹sə⁵⁵. (47) ʔeɲ¹⁴ ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ tei¹¹ka⁵⁵ ei¹¹nə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵re⁵¹. (48) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ʔə¹¹tʃ^ho⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ n^go¹¹jo⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹tʃ^ho⁵⁵ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵ le¹¹nə⁵⁵ t^ho⁵¹ tə⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (49) ɲa⁵¹ tə⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (50) kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵tʃ^hu¹¹kə⁵⁵. (51) k^ha⁵⁵ ɛ^hi⁵⁵ ko¹¹nə⁵⁵ h⁵⁵ʃə¹¹lo⁵⁵ da¹¹bo⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ dʒi¹⁴ k^hə¹¹ru⁵⁵ re⁵¹ ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹ru⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (52) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵ re⁵¹ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (53) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹tʃ^ho⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ h⁵⁵ʃə¹¹kə⁵⁵ ndza¹² dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (54) ʔə¹¹tʃ^ho⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ pa¹¹to⁵⁵ ʃi¹¹to⁵⁵fi⁵⁵ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (55) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵ ɛi⁵¹to¹¹fi⁵⁵ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (56) ʔə⁵⁵ tsi¹¹ke⁵⁵ tʃi⁵¹ s^ho¹¹-lo⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵ ... ʔə⁵⁵ k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵tʃ^ho⁵⁵ ts^ha¹¹nə⁵⁵ de¹¹tə⁵⁵ti⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ dzə¹¹ko⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (57) dzə¹¹ko⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ t^hi¹¹ko⁵⁵ tʃa⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ei⁵⁵ti⁵⁵. (58) ndã¹⁴ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (59) ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ tʃ^he⁵⁵ tē¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹tʃ^ho⁵⁵ ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹ya⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (60) k^he⁵⁵ ko¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʃ^he⁵⁵tə⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ da¹¹bo⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ʃ^ho⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (61) ʔe⁵⁵ tə¹¹ le⁵⁵ dã¹¹kə⁵⁵. (62) ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴le⁵⁵ le⁵⁵ ɲã¹⁴ ɛi¹¹kə⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵tʃ^hə¹¹zi⁵⁵. (63) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ lo⁵⁵ ko¹¹nə⁵⁵ tə¹¹ti⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho¹¹fi⁴⁴lo⁵⁵ ɲã¹⁴ ɛi⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ndi¹².

Interlinear glossing text

(1) ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 ཞེ་ཞེ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 then sorcerer²⁰-NDEF EXV
 ‘Well, there was a sorcerer.’

(2) ་འཇུག་པོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 ཞེ་ཞེ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 then magpie EXV
 ‘Then, there was a magpie.’

(3) ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 fox EXV
 ‘There was a fox.’

(4) ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 brown bear EXV
 ‘There was a brown bear.’

(5) ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 wolf EXV
 ‘There was a wolf.’

(6) ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 DEM all discuss-CONJ
 ‘All of these have discussed (as follows).’

(7) ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 sorcerer-NDEF reciting²¹-LOC go-CONJ inside-LOC bread
 ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 EXV.SEN meat pack.PF-PFT.SEN

‘“There is a sorcerer going to reciting (sutra); there is bread inside (his pack), and he packed meat in there.”’

²⁰ This term denotes a sorcerer of the Bon religion.

²¹ This term denotes a place that the sorcerer goes to recite.

- (8) ༔ཅ་⁵⁵ dzo¹¹-le⁵⁵ k^hཅ་¹¹-nཅ་⁵⁵ ⁿdzo¹¹-ལཅ་⁵⁵ tཅ་⁵⁵ kཅ་⁵⁵
ཨ་ ཟླ་བ་ལེ་ ལྷ་ར་ནི་ འགྲོ་འི་འདག་གི
then back-LOC carry-CONJ go-PROG.SEN
‘Then, he is walking, carrying (the pack) on his back.’
- (9) ༔ཅ་¹¹ཚྭ་⁵⁵ ༔ཅ་¹¹nཅ་⁵⁵-tཅ་⁵⁵ ཚྭ་⁵¹-to¹¹-fa¹⁴
འ་ཚྭ་ ཨ་ནེ་དེ་ འཕྲོག་དོ་འ་
1PL.INCL sorcerer-DEF rob-IMPRX-SFT
‘Shall we rob the sorcerer (of the pack)?’
- (10) ༔ཅ་⁵⁵ ri¹¹wཅ་¹⁴-kཅ་⁵⁵ ༔ཅ་¹¹nཅ་⁵⁵-tཅ་⁵⁵ ཚྭ་^he¹¹de⁵⁵ k^hཅ་¹¹su⁵⁵
ཨ་ རི་བོང་གིས་ ཨ་ནེ་དེ་ ཚེས་དྲ་ས་ ***
then hare-ERG sorcerer-DEF always ^ccough
lo¹⁴ mཅ་¹¹-za¹¹-fi⁴⁴
སློ་བ་ མི་བཟང་གི
lung NEG-good-STA.SEN
‘Then, Hare (said): “The sorcerer always coughs, (so) the lungs are not good.”’
- (11) ri¹¹wཅ་¹⁴ te^hi¹¹hwa⁵⁵ ja¹¹-na⁵⁵ lo¹⁴ ཚྭ་⁵¹
རི་བོང་ མ་ཚེན་པ་ ཡོད་ན་ སློ་བ་ འགོ་བཤམ་
hare liver EXV-CONJ lung heal
ⁿdzo¹¹-fi⁴⁴ dze¹¹-nཅ་⁵⁵
འགྲོ་འི་ ཟེར་ནི་
go-STA.SEN say-CONJ
‘If there is a hare’s liver, (the disease of the sorcerer’s) lung will be healed,” said (Hare).’
- (12) tཅ་¹¹-ti⁵⁵ to⁵⁵ hཅཅ་¹¹-tei⁵⁵ ja¹¹ lཅ་⁵⁵ re⁵¹
དེ་དྲ་ས་ དོ་ བཤད་ལྟ་ ཡོད་ལེ་རེད་
DEM-CONJ like that say-NML EXV.STA
‘At that time, there was a saying like that.’
- (13) ri¹¹wཅ་¹⁴ ༔ཅ་¹¹ni⁵⁵ ་ja¹¹so⁵⁵ teo¹¹ye¹⁴teo¹¹ye¹⁴ pi¹¹-sཅ་⁵⁵
རི་བོང་ ཨ་ནེ་འི་ སློན་སྐོར་ རྒྱག་འི་རྒྱག་འི་ བྱད་སོང་
hare sorcerer.GEN front limping go.PF-PFT.TRA
‘Hare would go in the front of the sorcerer, limping.’
- (14) ༔ཅེ¹⁴ k^ho⁵⁵ to¹¹ri⁵⁵ lo¹⁴ k^ho¹¹-ལཅ་⁵⁵ tཅ་⁵⁵-lཅ་⁵⁵-da¹⁴
ཨིན་ ཁོ་ ད་དྲ་ད་ སློ་བ་ ཁོད་འི་འདག་ལེ་དང་
INTJ 3 still lung be sick-PROG-NML-COM
ri¹¹wཅ་¹⁴ ⁿda¹² k^he⁵⁵ zཱ་¹⁴-kཅ་⁵⁵ ⁿdza⁵⁵-dze¹²
རི་བོང་ འདི་ ཁོས་ བཟུང་གི་ འགྲོ་ཟེར་
hare DEM 3.ERG catch.PF-NML go.NPF-QUOT
‘Hare said: “Yeah, his lungs are still sick, so he will catch me and go.”’

- (15) ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ zi¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹²-nə⁵⁵ dzo¹¹-le⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ zi¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹²-nə⁵⁵ dzo¹¹-le⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ zi¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹²-nə⁵⁵ dzo¹¹-le⁵⁵
 sorcerer.ERG hare catch.NPF-FUT.E say-CONJ back-LOC
 k^hə¹¹-tə⁵⁵-lo⁵⁵ dʒi¹¹-yə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ zi¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹²-nə⁵⁵ dzo¹¹-le⁵⁵
 carry-PFT-NML heavy-SEN-EMPH

‘The sorcerer will say: “I will catch Hare”, (but the thing) that he carries on his back is heavy, right?’

- (16) dzo¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t^ha¹⁴ ra⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 dzo¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t^ha¹⁴ ra⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 dzo¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t^ha¹⁴ ra⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 back-GEN DEM ground.LOC put.NI-PFT.NSEN

‘(He) will put that (pack) on the back on the ground.’

- (17) tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ɛ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ɛ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 tʃe¹¹mo⁵⁵ jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ɛ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 brown bear come.NI-CONJ back-GEN DEM get-PFT.TRA

‘Brown bear will come, and (he) will get that (pack) from behind.’

- (18) tə⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹se⁵⁵ ko¹¹pa⁵⁵ ra⁵⁵-ri¹¹-kə⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵
 tə⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹se⁵⁵ ko¹¹pa⁵⁵ ra⁵⁵-ri¹¹-kə⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵
 tə⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹se⁵⁵ ko¹¹pa⁵⁵ ra⁵⁵-ri¹¹-kə⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵
 DEM earlier way put.NI-PFT-STA 3.ERG
 to¹¹ ei¹¹-ha⁵⁵-da¹⁴ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ɛ^hə⁵⁵
 tə⁵⁵ ei¹¹-ha⁵⁵-da¹⁴ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ɛ^hə⁵⁵
 tə⁵⁵ ei¹¹-ha⁵⁵-da¹⁴ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ɛ^hə⁵⁵
 like that do-wish-COM sorcerer 3.DAT behind
 tə⁵¹ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ɛ^hə⁵⁵
 tə⁵¹ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ɛ^hə⁵⁵
 chase

‘As we saw the way earlier, when I do like that, the sorcerer will chase me from behind.’

- (19) ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tə¹¹-lə¹¹-da¹⁴ tɛ^he⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tə¹¹-lə¹¹-da¹⁴ tɛ^he⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tə¹¹-lə¹¹-da¹⁴ tɛ^he⁵⁵
 sorcerer 3 behind chase-NPFT-COM 2.ERG
 tʃo¹¹ka⁵⁵ tə¹¹ tʃ^ho⁵¹
 tʃo¹¹ka⁵⁵ tə¹¹ tʃ^ho⁵¹
 tʃo¹¹ka⁵⁵ tə¹¹ tʃ^ho⁵¹
 solid food DEM rob

‘The sorcerer chases me, and you rob (him) of the solid food (in the pack).’

- (20) ʔa¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho¹¹fu⁵⁵ tə¹¹ ɛə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho¹¹fu⁵⁵ tə¹¹ ɛə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho¹¹fu⁵⁵ tə¹¹ ɛə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹nə⁵⁵
 then all DEM do-CONJ sorcerer
 ji¹¹ka⁵⁵-zə¹¹-le⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tʃ^hə¹¹-lə¹¹ ka⁵⁵ tʃ^hə¹¹-lə¹¹ ka⁵⁵ ɛə¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ji¹¹ka⁵⁵-zə¹¹-le⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tʃ^hə¹¹-lə¹¹ ka⁵⁵ tʃ^hə¹¹-lə¹¹ ka⁵⁵ ɛə¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ji¹¹ka⁵⁵-zə¹¹-le⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tʃ^hə¹¹-lə¹¹ ka⁵⁵ tʃ^hə¹¹-lə¹¹ ka⁵⁵ ɛə¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 long time-NDEF-EMPH behind catch up-NML catch up-NML do-CONJ

‘Then, after all (of them) did it [what Hare had said], the sorcerer took a long time (to catch Hare), then just when he was about to catch up with (Hare),’

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|--|--|
| (21) | ʔə ¹¹ zə ⁵⁵
ཨ་ཟེ་
then
sə ¹¹ -lā ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵
བསང་ལ་ཁང་
kill-NML | ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴
རི་བོང་
hare
eə ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
བྱེད་ནི་
do-CONJ | ka ¹¹ lə ⁵⁵ -ka ¹¹ lə ⁵⁵
ག་ལེར་ག་ལེར་
slowly-RDP
s ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
སོང་ནི་
go-CONJ | s ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
སོང་ནི་
go-CONJ | sə ¹¹ -lā ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵
བསང་ལ་ཁང་
kill-NML |
|------|--|---|--|--|--|

‘Then, Hare walked very slowly, and just when the sorcerer was about to kill (Hare),’

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|---|---|
| (22) | pa ⁵⁵ zə ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵
པར་བྱིག་གི་
for a while
tʃe ¹¹ -sə ⁵⁵
ཕྱིས་སོང་
escape-PFT | tsə ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
ཐོན་ནི་
arrive-CONJ | ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴
རི་བོང་
hare | lo ¹¹ dza ⁵⁵ ka ⁵⁵
ལྷོ་རྒྱག་གི་
suddenly | ʃ ^h i ¹¹ sə ⁵⁵ ra ⁵⁵ nə ⁵⁵
ཤར་སོང་བཞག་ནི་
like smoke |
|------|--|---|--|---|---|

‘After a while, when (the sorcerer) arrived, Hare suddenly escaped like smoke.’

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|--|--|--|---|
| (23) | ta ⁵⁵
ང་
then
ka ¹¹ ra ⁵⁵
ག་ར་ན་
where
tʃ ^h o ⁵¹ -kə ⁵⁵ sə ⁵⁵
འཕྲོག་གི་སོང་
rob-AOR.TRA | e ^h i ⁵⁵
ཕྱིར་
back
ji ⁵¹
ཡོང་
EXV.E | tʃa ¹¹ da ⁵¹ -kə ⁵⁵
ཅ་ལག་གི་
thing-GEN
tʃa ¹¹ da ⁵¹
ཅ་ལག
thing | tsi ¹¹ ke ⁵⁵
རྩིབ་ཀ་
side
jə ¹¹ lo ⁵⁵
ཡོང་ལོ་
all | tʃa ¹¹ da ⁵¹
ཅ་ལག་
thing
ro ⁵⁵
གཞན་
other |
|------|--|--|--|--|---|

‘Then, (the sorcerer walked) back to the side of (his) things, he became aware, what had happened with the things, of all the things stolen by someone.’

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|--|---|--------------------------------|---|
| (24) | ʔə ¹¹ zə ⁵⁵
ཨ་ཟེ་
then | tʃ ^h o ¹¹ fiu ⁵⁵
ཚོང་བོས་
all | tʃa ¹¹ da ⁵¹
ཅ་ལག
thing | tə ¹¹
དེ་
DEM | ge ¹¹ -lə ⁵⁵ re ⁵¹
བཞོས་ལེ་རེད་
divide-STA |
|------|--|--|---|--------------------------------|---|

‘Then, (they [all the animals] began to) share all of those things.’

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|--|--|---|--|
| (25) | ⁿ go ¹²
མགོ་
first | ʃa ¹¹ na ⁵¹
ཞ་ནག
black hat | ea ¹¹ ya ⁵⁵
སྐ་ཀ་
magpie | te ^h o ⁵¹
བྱོང་
2.DAT | za ¹¹ -fi ⁴⁴ -dze ¹²
བཟང་གི་བྱེར་
good-STA.SEN-QUOT |
|------|--|--|--|---|--|

‘(Hare) said: “First, (this) black hat suits you well, Magpie.”’

(26) $\text{ʂa}^{11}\text{na}^{51}$ $\text{tɕi}^{11}\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{55}}\text{-na}^{55}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{u}^{14}}$ $\text{na}^{11}\text{gə}^{51}$ $\text{ɕa}^{11}\text{y}\text{i}^{55}$
 ཞ་ནག་ དགྲིལ་ལྷལ་ན་ ལུང་ ལྷུང་གི་ ལྷ་ཀའི་
 black hat middle-LOC hole EXV.SEN magpie.GEN
 $\text{ts}^{\text{h}\text{a}^{14}}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{o}^{51}}$ $\text{ts}^{\text{h}\text{a}^{14}}$ $\text{ra}^{51}\text{-ko}^{11}\text{fi}^{44}$
 ཚང་ རྩེང་ ཚང་ བཞག་དགོས་འི་
 nest 2.DAT nest put.NI-FUT.SEN
 ‘“There is a hole in the middle of the black hat, (so) Magpie, you may put your nest (inside it).”’

(27) $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{o}^{51}}$ $\text{ts}^{\text{h}\text{a}^{14}}$ $\text{ɕi}^{11}\text{-da}^{14}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{o}^{55}}$ du^{51}
 རྩེང་ ཚང་ རྩེང་དང་ རྩེང་ ལྷག་
 2.DAT nest do-CONJ 2 suffering
 $\text{t}^{\text{h}\text{o}^{14}}$ $\text{m}\text{ə}^{11}\text{-ko}^{11}\text{-fi}^{44}$
 ཐོང་ མི་དགོས་འི་
 receive NEG-need-STA.SEN
 ‘“If you make a nest, you need not receive any suffering.”’

(28) $^{\text{n}}\text{di}^{12}$ na^{14} $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{e}^{55}}$ ko^{14} $\text{ra}^{11}\text{-da}^{14}$
 འདིའི་ ནང་ རྩེས་ ལྷོང་ བཞག་དང་
 DEM.GEN inside 2.ERG egg put.NI-COM
 $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{e}^{55}}$ $\text{ea}^{11}\text{tʂu}^{51}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{-ta}^{55}$ $\text{za}^{11}\text{-fi}^{44}$
 རྩེས་ བྱ་སྐྱལ་ བྲིང་ད་ བཟང་གི་
 2.ERG baby bird manage-CONJ good-STA.SEN
 ‘“It will be good if you put eggs in this (nest) and look after your babies.”’

(29) $\text{ɕa}^{11}\text{y}\text{i}^{55}$ ko^{14} $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{r}\text{ə}^{14}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{r}\text{ə}^{14}$ $\text{da}^{11}\text{bo}^{55}$
 ལྷ་ཀའི་ ལྷོང་ ལྷུང་རེ་ ལྷུང་རེ་ ལྷག་ལོ་
 magpie.GEN egg one one all
 $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{u}^{14}}$ na^{14} $\text{l}\text{u}^{11}\text{-n}\text{ə}^{55}$ $\text{tʂa}^{51}\text{-ta}^{11}\text{z}\text{ə}^{55}$
 ལུང་ ནང་ ལྷུང་ནི་ བཅག་ད་ཟེག
 hole inside fall-CONJ break-PFT.NSEN
 ‘The eggs of Magpie all fell down one by one from the inside of the hole and broke.’

(30) $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{r}\text{a}^{14}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{r}\text{a}^{14}$ $\text{tʂa}^{51}\text{-ta}^{11}\text{z}\text{ə}^{55}$
 ལྷུང་རང་ ལྷུང་རང་ བཅག་ད་ཟེག
 all at once all at once break-PFT.NSEN
 ‘(The eggs) broke all at once.’

(31) $\text{ʎ}\text{e}\text{ŋ}^{14}$ $\text{tʂe}^{11}\text{m}\text{o}^{55}\text{-le}^{55}$ ŋa^{55} $\text{t}\text{ə}^{55}$ $\text{ɕi}^{11}\text{-ra}^{11}\text{z}\text{ə}^{55}$
 ཨིན་ རྩེང་མོང་ལེ་ རྩེ་ དེ་ ལྷིན་ད་ཟེག
 INTJ brown bear-DAT drum DEM give-PFT.NSEN
 ‘So, Hare gave that drum to Brown bear.’

- (32) $t\acute{e}^{h_0 14}$ $t\text{ʃe}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{ʃe}^{11}t\text{ʃu}^{51}$ $k\acute{o}^{11}k\acute{o}^{55}$ $^n d\acute{i}^{12}$
 ལྷོང་ རྩོད་མོང་ རྩོད་ཕྱག་ ཀྲན་གོ་ འདིའི་
 2.GEN brown bear baby brown bear all DEM.GEN
 $t^{h_0 55}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $r\acute{a}^{51}-t\acute{a}^{11}-n\acute{o}^{55}$ $v\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $^n d\text{ʒi}^{11}-t\acute{o}^{55}-t\acute{a}^{55}$ $t\acute{e}^{11}-l\acute{a}^{55}$
 ཐོག་ལེ་ བཞག་ད་ནི་ བར་ལས་ འགྲོལ་དོ་ད་ རྐྱིད་ལེ་
 top-LOC put.NI-PFT-CONJ down-LOC roll-IMPRX-CONJ happy-STA
 $t\acute{e}^{11}-l\acute{a}^{55}$ $m\acute{o}^{11}-^n d\text{ʒa}^{11}-f\acute{i}^{44}$
 རྐྱིད་ལེ་མི་འདྲ་འི་
 happy-SNINFR.NEG

‘‘If (you) put all of your baby brown bears on top of this and then make them roll down, they will be so happy.’’

- (33) $t\acute{e}^{h_0 14}$ $t\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{so}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{sa}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $g\acute{a}^{11}-f\acute{i}^{44}$
 ལྷོང་ རེ་ རྩོད་མོ་རྩོད་ལེ་ རགའ་འི་
 2.GEN DEM amuse oneself.NPF-NML love-STA.SEN
 ‘‘Yours [babies] will like amusing themselves.’’

- (34) $t\text{ʃe}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{ʃe}^{11}t\text{ʃu}^{51}$ $ʔ\acute{a}^{11}t\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{so}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{sa}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $g\acute{a}^{11}-f\acute{i}^{44}$
 རྩོད་མོང་ རྩོད་ཕྱག་ ཨ་དོ་ རྩོད་མོ་རྩོད་ལེ་ རགའ་འི་
 brown bear baby brown bear especially amuse oneself.NPF-NML love-STA.SEN
 ‘‘Baby brown bears particularly like amusing themselves.’’

- (35) $ʔ\acute{a}^{11}l\acute{i}^{55}$ $l\acute{i}^{11}t\text{ʃu}^{51}$ $t\acute{o}^{11}-k\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{so}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{sa}^{11}-y\acute{i}^{55}-f\acute{i}^{55}$
 ཨ་ལྷའི་ ལྷུ་ཕྱག་ རེ་གོ་ རྩོད་མོ་རྩོད་འིས་འ་
 cat baby cat DEM-COL amuse oneself.NPF-STA.SEN-SFT
 ‘‘(They) amuse themselves like those baby cats.’’

- (36) $\eta\acute{a}^{11}-y\acute{e}^{55}$ $t^{h_0 55}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $r\acute{a}^{51}-t\acute{a}^{11}-n\acute{o}^{55}$ $v\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $^n d\text{ʒi}^{12}-t\acute{a}^{11}-t\acute{i}^{55}-n\acute{a}^{55}$
 རེའི་ ཐོག་ལེ་ བཞག་ད་ནི་ བར་ལས་ འགྲོལ་ད་དས་ན་
 drum-GEN top-LOC put.NI-PFT-CONJ down-LOC roll-PFT-CONJ-CONJ
 $s\acute{o}^{11}-l\acute{a}^{55}$ $s\acute{o}^{11}-l\acute{a}^{55}$ $r\acute{e}^{51}-s\acute{e}i^{14}$
 རྐྱོ་ལེ་ རྐྱོ་ལེ་རེད་ཟེར་འི་
 funny-STA funny-STA-QUOT

‘‘If (you) put (all your baby brown bears) on the drum and then make them roll down, it will be so funny,’’ said (Hare).’

- (37) $t\text{ʃe}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$ $t\text{ʃe}^{11}t\text{ʃu}^{51}-k\acute{o}^{14}$ $\eta\acute{a}^{11}-y\acute{e}^{55}$ $t^{h_0 55}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $r\acute{a}^{51}-n\acute{o}^{55}$
 རྩོད་མོང་ རྩོད་ཕྱག་གོ་ རེའི་ ཐོག་ལེ་ བཞག་ནི་
 brown bear baby brown bear-COL drum-GEN top-LOC put.NI-CONJ
 $v\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$ $^n d\text{ʒi}^{12}-t\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{o}^{55}-t\acute{o}^{55}$ $j\acute{a}^{11}l\acute{o}^{55}$ $s\acute{e}^{11}-y\acute{a}^{11}$ $z\acute{a}^{55}$
 བར་ལས་ འགྲོལ་ད་ལོ་དེ་ ཡོད་ལོ་ བསད་ད་ཟླག་
 down-LOC roll-PFT-NML-DEF all kill-PFT.NSEN

‘Brown bear put the baby brown bears on the top of the drum and made them roll down and it killed all of them.’

(38) tə¹¹re⁵⁵ tsə¹¹-nə⁵⁵-da¹⁴ ɛ̃¹¹ki¹⁴ hã¹¹fið⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹-ya⁵⁵-za⁵⁵
 ㄊㄣ̄.ㄣ̄ ㄊㄣ̄.ㄋㄣ̄.ㄉㄤ ㄝㄢ̄.ㄎㄨ̄.ㄨ̄ ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨ̄.ㄉㄨ̄ ㄝㄨㄢ̄.ㄩㄤ.ㄗㄤ
 there arrive-CONJ-CONJ wolf.DAT²² shoe give-PFT-NSEN

‘They arrived there, then Hare gave Wolf a pair of shoes.’

(39) hã¹¹fið⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ te^ho⁵¹ za¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨ̄.ㄉㄨ̄ ㄊㄣ̄ ㄊㄣ̄ ㄗㄤ.ㄈㄨ̄
 shoe DEM 2.DAT good-STA.SEN

‘(Hare said:) “Those shoes are good with you.”’

(40) ʔa¹¹ni⁵⁵ hã¹¹fið⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ ka¹¹dzi⁵⁵-le⁵⁵
 ʔㄤ.ㄋㄨ̄.ㄋㄨ̄ ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨ̄.ㄉㄨ̄ ㄊㄣ̄ ㄊㄣ̄ ㄎㄤ.ㄉㄗㄨ̄.ㄌㄣ̄
 sorcerer.GEN shoe DEM 2 bare foot-DAT
 k^hə⁵⁵-da¹⁴ ɛ̃¹¹kə⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ko¹¹fi¹⁴
 ㄎㄣ̄.ㄉㄤ ㄝㄢ̄.ㄎㄣ̄ ㄊㄣ̄ ㄏㄤ.ㄎㄣ̄ ㄎㄠ.ㄈㄨ̄
 take-CONJ wolf 2 indeed foot
 te^ha¹¹-le⁵⁵ ŋã¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ㄊㄣ̄.ㄏㄤ.ㄌㄣ̄ ㄋㄨ̄.ㄎㄣ̄
 cold-NML bad-STA.SEN

‘“If you [Wolf] take those sorcerer’s shoes (and put them on) to your bare feet, Wolf, (since) your feet are indeed bad due to cold,”’

(41) te^ho⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ tə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʂ^hə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵
 ㄊㄣ̄ ㄏㄤ.ㄎㄣ̄ ㄊㄣ̄ ㄇㄤ.ㄊㄣ̄
 2 indeed sit.NPF²³-NML NEG-can-STA

‘“You, indeed, cannot sit down,”’

(42) te^he⁵⁵ hã¹¹fið⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ kɛ̃¹¹-da¹¹ za¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 ㄊㄣ̄ ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨ̄.ㄉㄨ̄ ㄊㄣ̄ ㄎㄝ̄.ㄉㄤ ㄗㄤ.ㄈㄨ̄
 2.ERG shoe DEM wear-CONJ good-STA.SEN

‘“If you wear those shoes, it will be good.”’

(43) hã¹¹fið⁵⁵ kɛ̃¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹tʂa⁵⁵
 ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨ̄.ㄉㄨ̄ ㄎㄝ̄.ㄋㄣ̄ ㄏㄤ.ㄎㄣ̄ ㄎㄣ̄ ㄊㄣ̄.ㄊㄣ̄
 shoe wear-CONJ indeed mouth.LOC a little
 mə¹¹-jo¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 ㄇㄤ.ㄗㄠ.ㄈㄨ̄
 NEG-come.NI-STA.SEN

‘(Wolf) put on the shoes, then nothing came to his mouth.’

²² For a Tibetan transcription of various dative forms, we follow the real pronunciation.

²³ The stem alternation (NPF-PF) of the verb ‘sit’ is only attested in an elder generation.

- (44) lu⁵¹ khə¹¹ri⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ sə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʂ^{hə}⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵
 ལུག་ ལྷན་རེ་བྱིག་ བསང་གི་ མི་ཚོག་གི་
 sheep one-NDEF kill-NML NEG-can-STA
 ‘(Wolf) was not able to kill even a sheep.’
- (45) wi¹⁴ ʰbu⁵¹ ɕi¹¹-ta⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵
 ལྷ་འི་ སྐབ་ སྨྲན་ད་བྱིག་
 fox.DAT cymbal give-PFT.NSEN
 ‘(Then, Hare) gave Fox cymbals.’
- (46) wa¹¹tʂu⁵¹ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ɕa¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tʂe¹¹-nə⁵⁵ la⁵⁵
 མ་ཕྱག་ ཀྲན་གོ་ སྐྱམ་ནི་ སྲོས་ནི་ ལྷ་
 baby fox all fear-CONJ escape-CONJ soul
 tɕ^{hə}a¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 འཁྱོར་སྔོང་
 shake-PFT.TRA
 ‘(Then Fox baby) feared (the cymbals), escaped, and lost his [Fox baby’s] soul.’
- (47) ʔeŋ¹⁴ ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ tei¹¹ka⁵⁵ ɕi¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཨིན་ ཨི་བེ་ དེ་ ཀྲན་གོ་ སྲོས་ཀ་བྱིང་ནི་
 INTJ then DEM all discuss-CONJ
 ri¹¹wə¹⁴ ŋä¹¹ba⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 རི་བོང་ ངན་པ་ རེད་
 hare bad CPV
 ‘So, then they all discussed: “Hare is bad.”’
- (48) ri¹¹wə¹⁴ ʔə¹¹tʂ^{hə}⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ʰgo¹¹jo⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹tʂ^{hə}⁵⁵
 རི་བོང་ འཇོ་ ཏ་གེ་ མགོ་གཡོ་ནི་ འཇོ་
 hare 1PL.INCL indeed deceive-CONJ 1PL.INCL
 kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ŋä¹¹ba⁵⁵ le¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tɕ^{hə}⁵¹ tə⁵⁵
 ཀྲན་གོ་ ངན་པ་ ལས་ནི་ བྱིང་ དེ་
 all bad do-CONJ 2.DAT DEM
 re⁵¹
 རེད་
 CPV
 ‘“Hare indeed deceived us, and did bad things to all of us, it is (bad) for you.”’
- (49) ŋa⁵¹ tə⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 ངར་ དེ་ རེད་
 1.DAT DEM CPV
 ‘“It is (bad) for me.”’
- (50) kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ k^{hə}a⁵⁵tʂ^{hə}u¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ཀྲན་གོ་ ལ་འཚམ་གི་
 all get along-STA

“We all get along (with each other).”

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|--|---|---|---|
| (51) | k ^h a ⁵⁵
ཁ་
mouth | e ^h i ⁵⁵
ཕྱི་
back | k ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
འཁོར་ནི་
turn-CONJ | h ^ɕ ə ¹¹ -lo ⁵⁵
བཤད་ལོ་
tell-NML | da ¹¹ bo ⁵⁵
སྤག་པོ་
all |
| | ʔə ¹¹ ze ⁵⁵
ཞི་བླེ་
then | dʒi ¹⁴
རྗེ་
lie | k ^h ə ¹¹ ru ⁵⁵
ལྷན་རྒྱུ་
only | re ⁵¹
རེད་
CPV | ŋã ¹¹ ba ⁵⁵
ངན་པ་
bad |
| | k ^h ə ¹¹ ru ⁵⁵
ལྷན་རྒྱུ་
only | re ⁵¹
རེད་
CPV | | | |

“All (Hare) turned himself back and said are then not only lies but also bad things.”

- | | | | | |
|------|--|---|---------------------------------|--|
| (52) | ʔə ¹¹ ze ⁵⁵
ཞི་བླེ་
then | ŋã ¹¹ ba ⁵⁵
ངན་པ་
bad | re ⁵¹
རེད་
CPV | dze ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
བློ་ནི་
say-CONJ |
|------|--|---|---------------------------------|--|

“(All of them) said: “(Hare) is bad.”

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|--|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (53) | ʔə ¹¹ ze ⁵⁵
ཞི་བླེ་
then | ʔə ¹¹ tʂ ^h o ⁵⁵
འཛོ་
1PL.INCL | tə ⁵⁵
དེ་
DEM | h ^ɕ ə ¹¹ -kə ⁵⁵
བཤད་གི་
tell-NML | ˈdza ¹²
འགྲོ་
go.NPF |
| | dze ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
བློ་ནི་
say-CONJ | | | | |

“(They) said: “Then, we will go to tell that (thing to him).”

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|---|--|
| (54) | ʔə ¹¹ tʂ ^h o ⁵⁵
འཛོ་
1PL.INCL | ha ¹¹ ge ⁵⁵
ཏུ་གི་
indeed | s ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
སོང་ནི་
go-CONJ | pa ¹¹ tə ⁵⁵
སྤགས་ཏི་
skin | ʂi ¹¹ -to ⁵⁵ -fia ⁵⁵
བཤམ་དོ་འ་
peel-IMPRX-SFT |
| | dze ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
བློ་ནི་
say-CONJ | | | | |

“(They) said: “We indeed will go and peel (Hare’s) skin!”

- | | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|--|
| (55) | ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴
རི་བོང་
hare | ŋã ¹¹ ba ⁵⁵
ངན་པ་
bad | ei ⁵¹ -to ¹¹ -fia ⁵⁵
བྱེད་དོ་འ་
do-IMPRX-SFT | dze ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
བློ་ནི་
say-CONJ |
|------|--|---|---|--|

“(They) said: “(We) will do bad things to Hare!”

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|--|---|
| (56) | [ʔə ⁵⁵
ཞི་
then | tʂi ¹¹ ke ⁵⁵
རྩེ་བ་ཀ་
side | tʂi ⁵¹
གཅིག་
one | s ^h o ¹¹ -lo ⁵⁵ -tə ⁵⁵]
སོང་ལོ་དུ་
go-NML-DEM | ʔə ⁵⁵
ཞི་
then |
| | k ^h o ¹¹ ro ⁵⁵ tʂ ^h o ⁵⁵
ཁོ་རང་ཚོ་
3PL | ts ^h a ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵
ཚོགས་ནི་
gather.PF-CONJ | de ¹¹ -tə ⁵⁵ -ti ⁵⁵
བསྐྱེད་འདྲག་དུས་
sit.PF-PFT-CONJ | ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴
རི་བོང་
hare | dza ¹¹ -ko ⁵⁵ ze ⁵⁵
རྒྱགས་གོ་བྱིག་
run-AOR.CIS |

tʂ ^h o ¹¹ fu ⁵⁵ -lo ⁵⁵	ŋã ¹⁴	ɕi ⁵¹ -ta ¹¹ zə ⁵⁵	ri ¹¹ wɔ̃ ¹⁴	ˈdi ¹²
ཚང་ལོ་ལོ་	ངན་	བྱེད་ད་ཟླག	རི་ལོང་	འདིས་
all-NML	bad	do-PFT.NSEN	hare	DEM.ERG

‘Hare used wisdom; at that time, it was Hare who harmed all of them.’

Full English translation

Hare’s Wisdom

(1-23) There was a sorcerer, a magpie, a fox, a brown bear, and a wolf. One day, the animals had a discussion. ‘There is a sorcerer who is going to recite sutra. There is bread inside his pack, and he also packed meat in there. He is walking, carrying the pack on his back. Shall we rob the sorcerer of that pack?’ Then Hare said, ‘The sorcerer always coughs, so his lungs are not good. If he has a hare’s liver, the disease will be healed.’ At that time, there was a saying about the function of a hare’s liver. The animals decided on a plan. Hare would go in front of the sorcerer, limping. Hare said, ‘Yeah, his lungs are still sick, so he will catch me and go.’ The sorcerer will say, ‘I will catch Hare’, but the thing that he carries on his back is heavy, right? He will take his pack off and put it on the ground. Then, Brown bear will come, and he will fetch that thing from behind. As we saw earlier, when I do like that, the sorcerer will chase after me behind him. ‘When the sorcerer chases me, you will rob him of the solid food.’ Then, after all of them did what Hare had said, the sorcerer took a time to catch Hare. Then, just when he was about to catch up with Hare, Hare walked very slowly, and just when the sorcerer was about to kill Hare, Hare suddenly escaped like smoke. When the sorcerer returned to his things, he became aware of what had happened and realised the things had been stolen by someone.

(24-46) Then all the animals began to share the things. Hare said, ‘First, this black hat suits you, Magpie. There is a hole in the middle of the black hat, so you may put your nest inside it. If you make a nest, you need not suffer anymore. It will be good if you put eggs in the nest and look after your babies.’ But the Magpie’s eggs all fell down, one by one, from the inside of the hole and broke. So Hare gave a drum to Brown bear. Hare said, ‘If you put all of your baby brown bears on top of this and then make them roll down, they will be so happy. Your babies will like amusing themselves. Baby brown bears particularly like amusing themselves. They amuse themselves like baby cats. If you put all your baby brown bears on the drum and then make them roll down, it will be so funny’. Brown bear put the baby brown bears on the top of the drum and made them roll down and it killed all of them. The things have happened there, and then Hare gave Wolf a pair of shoes. Hare said, ‘Those shoes are suitable for you. If you take those sorcerer’s shoes and put them on your bare feet, Wolf, since your feet are indeed bad due to cold and you, indeed, cannot sit down, if you wear those shoes, it will be good.’ After Wolf put on the shoes, nothing came to his mouth. He was not able to kill even a sheep. Then Hare gave Fox cymbals, but his baby fox feared the cymbals, escaped, and lost its soul. (47-63) So then they all discussed again. ‘Hare is bad. Hare indeed deceived us and did bad things to all of us. It is bad for you. It is bad for me too. We all get along with each other.’ All Hare turned himself back and said are then not only lies but also bad things. All of them said, ‘Hare is bad. We will go to tell that to him. We indeed will go and peel Hare’s skin! We will do bad things to Hare!’ Then when they were sitting and having a meeting, Hare was running to the place where all the animals gather. Running, Hare said, ‘Hey, what’s up with you all? Look, it is that sorcerer who is bad! That sorcerer recited sutra and then did bad things to us! After I ate bread, my mouth was totally

split! Yeah, that is of course true. All the animals certainly did not harm Hare. Hare used wisdom; at that time, it was Hare who harmed all of them.

Tibetan transliteration

རྩི་བོང་གི་སྒོ་གྲོས། །
ཨ་ཅེ་ཟིག་ཡོད་ལེ་རེད། ཨེ་ཟེ་སྐྱུ་ཀ་ཡོད་ལེ་རེད། སྐ་ཡོད་ལེ་རེད། དྲེད་མོང་ཡོད་ལེ་རེད། ལྷུང་གི་
ཡོད་ལེ་རེད། འདི་ཀུན་གྱི་སྒོ་གྲོས་ཀ་བྱེད་ནི། ཨ་ཅེ་ཟིག་སྒོ་ལ་མཚོན་ལས་སོང་ནི། བར་ན་གོ་རེ་སྐྱུང་གི་
ག་བརྒྱལ་བཞག་གི་ཨེ་སྐྱུ་ལེ་ལྷུང་ནི་འགྲོ་ལེ་འདུག་གི་འུ་ཚོ་ཨ་ཅེ་དེ་འཕྲོག་དོ་ལ། རྩི་བོང་གིས་ཨ་
ཅེ་དེ་ཚེས་དུས་ལྷུང་བ་སྒོ་མི་བཟང་གི་རྩི་བོང་མཚོན་པ་ཡོད་ན་སྒོ་དུགས་འགྲོ་ལེ་ཟེར་ནི། དེ་དུས་དོ་
བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ལེ་རེད། རྩི་བོང་ཨ་ཅེ་ལེ་སྐྱུ་སོང་སྐྱུ་ལེ་སྐྱུ་ལེ་བྱེད་སོང་། ཨིན། ཁོ་ད་ལྷུང་སྒོ་ཁོང་
ལེ་འདུག་ལེ་དང་། རྩི་བོང་འདི་ཁོས་བཟུང་གི་འགྲོ་ཟེར། ཨ་ཅེ་རྩི་བོང་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་ཟེར་ནི། ལྷུང་ལེ་
ལྷུང་འདུག་ལེ་སྐྱེད་ལེ་མོ། ལྷུང་གི་དེ་ཐང་འ་བཞག་ད་ཟིག་དྲེད་མོང་ཡོད་ནི་སྐྱེད་གི་དེ་ལྷུང་སོང་།
དེ་སྐྱེད་སོང་བཤོད་པ་བཞག་བཞིན་གི། ཁོས་དོ་བྱེད་ཉ་དང་། ཨ་ཅེ་ཁོ་སྐྱེད་དེད་ཨ་ཅེ་ཁོ་སྐྱེད་དེད་
ལེ་དང་། ཁྱོས་སྒོ་ག་དེ་འཕྲོག་ཨེ་ཟེ་ཚོང་བོས་དེ་བྱེད་ནི། ཨ་ཅེ་ལྷུང་ག་ཟིག་ལེ་སྐྱེད་ཚོག་ལ་ཁད་
ཚོག་ལ་ཁད་བྱེད་ནི། ཨེ་ཟེ་རྩི་བོང་ག་ལེར་ག་ལེར་སོང་ནི། བསད་ལ་ཁད་བསད་ལ་ཁད་བྱེད་ནི་
སོང་ནི། བར་ཟིག་གི་སྐྱེ་བས་ནི་རྩི་བོང་སྒོ་སྐྱུ་གི་ལྷུང་སོང་བཞག་ནི་སྐྱོས་སོང་། ད་སྐྱེད་ཅ་ལག་གི་
ཚིག་ག་ཅ་ལག་ག་ར་ན་ཡོད། ཅ་ལག་ཡོད་ལེ་རྩི་བོང་འཕྲོག་གི་སོང་། ཨེ་ཟེ་ཚོང་བོས་ཅ་ལག་དེ་བཤོས་
ལེ་རེད། བཤོ་ལུ་ནག་སྐྱུ་ག་ཁྱོད་བཟང་གི་ཟེར། ལུ་ནག་དཀྱིལ་ལྷུང་ན་ལྷུང་སྐྱུང་གི། ལྷུང་གི་ཚོང་
ཁྱོད་ཚོང་བཞག་དཤོས་ལེ། ཁྱོད་ཚོང་བྱེད་ན་ཁྱོད་སྐྱུ་ག་སོང་མི་དཤོས་ལེ། འདི་ལེ་ནང་ཁྱོས་སྐྱོང་
བཞག་དང་། ཁྱོས་བྱ་སྐྱུ་ག་ཁྱོད་ད་བཟང་གི། ལྷུང་ག་སྐྱོང་ལྷུང་ལེ་ལྷུང་ལེ་སྐྱུ་ག་ལེ་ལྷུང་ནང་སྐྱུང་ནི་
བཅག་ད་ཟིག་ལྷུང་རང་ལྷུང་རང་བཅག་ད་ཟིག་ཨིན། དྲེད་མོང་ལེ་རྩི་བོང་དེ་སྐྱེད་ད་ཟིག་ཁྱོད་དྲེད་
མོང་དྲེད་སྐྱུ་ག་ཀུན་གྱི་འདི་ལེ་སོག་ལེ་བཞག་ད་ནི་བར་ལས་འགྲིལ་དོ་ད་སྐྱེད་ལེ་སྐྱེད་ལེ་མི་འདྲ་ལེ།
ཁྱོད་དེ་ཚེད་མོ་ཚེ་ལེ་དགའ་ལེ། དྲེད་མོང་དྲེད་སྐྱུ་ག་ཨ་དོ་ཚེད་མོ་ཚེ་ལེ་དགའ་ལེ། ཨ་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ག་
དེ་གོ་ཚེད་མོ་ཚེ་ལེ་ལེ་ལ། རེ་ལེ་སོག་ལེ་བཞག་ད་ནི་བར་ལས་འགྲིལ་ད་དུས་ན་སྐྱོང་ལེ་སྐྱོང་ལེ་རེད་ཟེར་
ལེ། དྲེད་མོང་དྲེད་སྐྱུ་ག་གོ་རྩི་བོང་ལེ་བཞག་ནི་བར་ལས་འགྲིལ་ད་ལེ་དེ་ཡོད་ལེ་བསད་ད་ཟིག་
དེ་རེ་སྐྱེ་བས་ནི་དང་། ལྷུང་གི་ལེ་སྐྱུ་མོ་སྐྱེན་བཞག་ཟིག་སྐྱུ་མོ་དེ་ཁྱོད་བཟང་གི་ཨ་ཅེ་ལེ་སྐྱུ་མོ་
དེ་ཁྱོད་རྒྱང་རྒྱེན་ལེ་ལྷུང་དང་། ལྷུང་གི་ཁྱོད་ཉ་གོ་རྒྱང་བ་འབྲུགས་ལེ་རན་གི་ཁྱོད་ཉ་གོ་བསད་གི་
མི་ཚོག་གི་ ཁྱོས་སྐྱུ་མོ་དེ་གོན་དང་བཟང་གི་སྐྱུ་མོ་གོན་ནི་ཉ་གོ་ཁའི་ལྷུང་ཅི་མི་ཡོད་ལེ། ལྷུང་
ལྷུང་ལེ་ཟིག་བསད་གི་མི་ཚོག་གི། ཐའི་འདུག་སྐྱེན་ད་ཟིག་སྐྱུ་ག་ཀུན་གྱི་སྐྱུ་ག་ལེ་སྐྱུ་ག་ལེ་སྐྱུ་
སོང་། ཨིན། ཨེ་ཟེ་དེ་ཀུན་གྱི་སྒོ་གྲོས་ཀ་བྱེད་ནི་རྩི་བོང་རན་པ་རེད། རྩི་བོང་འུ་ཚོ་ཉ་གོ་མཐོ་གཡོ་ནི།

འུ་ཚེ་ཀུན་གོ་འཛུགས་པ་ལས་ནི། རྒྱུད་དེ་རེད་འ་དེ་རེད། ཀུན་གོ་ཁ་འཆམ་གི (རི་བོང) ཁ་སྐྱེར་
 འཁོར་ནི་བཤད་ལོ་སྐྱུག་པོ་ཨེ་བེ་རྩུབ་ཁུར་བྱ་རེད། འཛུགས་པ་ཁུར་བྱ་རེད། ཨེ་བེ་འཛུགས་པ་རེད་བེར་ནི།
 ཨེ་བེ་འུ་ཚེ་དེ་བཤད་གི་འགྲོ་བེར་ནི། འུ་ཚེ་ཉ་གི་སོང་ནི་སྐྱུགས་ཉེ་བཤུས་དོ་འབེར་ནི། རི་བོང་
 འཛུགས་པ་བྱེད་དོ་འབེར་ནི། ཨེ་ཚེ་བ་ཀ་གཅིག་སོང་ལོ་དུ། ཨེ་ཁོ་རོག་ཚེ་ཚོགས་ནི་བསྐྱེད་འདུག་དུས་
 རི་བོང་རྒྱགས་གོ་བེག་རྒྱགས་གོ་ནི་རྒྱུད་གོ་རྒྱུད་ཨེ་བྱེད་དུ། བསྐྱེད། ཨེ་ནི་དེ་འཛུགས་པ་བེག་རེད། ཨེ་ནི་
 དེས་ཚོས་འདོན་ནི་འུ་ཚེ་འཛུགས་པ་བྱེད་ད་བེག། ཁོས་གོ་རེ་འཆམ་ད་ནི་ཁོའི་སྐྱུག་པོ་ཁ་གོར་བྱེད་ད་
 བེག་ཨེ་དེ་ལས་བདེན་གི་ཨེ་རི་བོང་ལ་ལས་འཛུགས་པ་བྱེད་གི་མ་ཚོག་བེག། རི་བོང་གྲོ་བཤོད་ནི་དེ་དུས་
 དེ་ཚོང་པོ་ལོ་འཛུགས་པ་བྱེད་ད་བེག་རི་བོང་འདིས།

STORY 3: THE HARE AND THE TIGER

Full text in phonetic symbols

(1) to¹¹ri⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴γə⁵⁵ lo¹¹dzi⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹tʂ^ho⁵⁵ n⁵⁵də¹¹ra⁵⁵ h⁵⁵ʂə⁵¹kə⁵⁵də⁵⁵lə⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (2) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ wa¹¹lə⁵⁵ ɛ^hi¹¹ nə⁵⁵ dza¹¹ri⁵⁵ wa¹¹ri⁵⁵ ne¹¹ ʂ^ho⁵⁵ dze¹¹lə⁵⁵re⁵¹.
(3) ri¹¹wō¹⁴γə⁵⁵ dza¹¹k^he¹¹wa⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ tʂ^ho⁵¹ta⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (4) dza¹¹k^he¹¹wa⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ tʂ^ho¹⁴ dza¹¹kə⁵⁵ n⁵⁵dzo¹¹γə⁵⁵də⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (5) dza¹¹k^he¹¹wi¹⁴ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ tɛ^o11^{ye}14^{ye}14 n⁵⁵dzo¹¹γə⁵⁵də⁵⁵zi⁵⁵. (6) dza¹¹k^he¹¹wa⁵⁵ n⁵⁵də¹²ta⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹si⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (7) to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tɛ^hə¹¹hwa⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵. (8) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ n⁵⁵də¹² k^he¹⁴ zū¹⁴ta¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ se¹¹ta¹¹na⁵⁵ tɛ^hə¹¹hwa⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵ dze¹¹ni⁵⁵. (9) dza¹¹k^he¹¹wi¹⁴ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴nə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹lo⁵⁵tə⁵⁵ dza¹¹k^he¹¹wi¹⁴ ŋə¹² dzo¹¹kə⁵⁵ n⁵⁵də⁵⁵ mə¹¹tɛi⁵⁵na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ŋe¹² n⁵⁵də⁵⁵ zī¹¹kə⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹kə⁵⁵. (10) ʔa⁵⁵ dzo¹¹kə⁵⁵ k^he¹¹kō¹⁴ t^hə¹⁴ pō⁵¹ya¹¹zə⁵⁵. (11) ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹na⁵⁵ zī¹¹kə⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹le⁵⁵ka⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹le⁵⁵ka⁵⁵ ɛ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵ dza¹¹le⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵sə⁵⁵. (12) dza¹¹le⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tʂe¹¹na⁵⁵ jo¹¹na⁵⁵ k^he¹¹kō¹⁴ ti¹¹ na¹⁴ k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹na⁵⁵ tʂe¹¹so⁵⁵.
(13) tʂe¹¹na⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹na⁵⁵ tʂa⁵¹kə⁵⁵ ŋo¹⁴zə¹¹na⁵⁵ de⁵¹tə¹¹kə⁵⁵. (14) tə⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹nə⁵⁵ na¹⁴γə⁵⁵ jā¹¹t^hā¹⁴ta⁵⁵ to⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹tsi⁵⁵ pō¹¹zə⁵⁵. (15) ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ jo¹¹na⁵⁵ta⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tɛ^he⁵⁵ tʂ^he⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹γə⁵⁵ti⁵⁵dze¹². (16) ʔei¹⁴ ta⁵¹ k^he⁵⁵ tʂ^he⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹tɛi⁵⁵fio⁵⁵. (17) tɛ^ho¹¹no⁵⁵ to⁵⁵ ma¹¹re⁵¹. (18) tʂa⁵⁵ sə¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʂ^ha⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹wa⁵⁵ dze¹¹na⁵⁵ ŋa⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ ʂ^he¹⁴ ga¹¹fi¹⁴ta⁵⁵. (19) ŋa⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵ sə¹¹kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹tʂ^hə¹¹kə⁵⁵. (20) ta⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ he⁵⁵fio⁵⁵ tʂ^hu¹⁴sə¹¹na⁵⁵ me¹¹fi⁴⁴. (21) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵ sa¹¹wa⁵⁵ dze¹¹na⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ ʂ^ho⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (22) tsa⁵⁵ se¹¹na⁵⁵ me¹¹fi⁴⁴. (23) ʔə⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ la⁵⁵na⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹γə⁵⁵ti⁵⁵ dze¹¹zə⁵⁵. (24) tɛ^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹to¹¹ho⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ sə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹ta⁵⁵dze¹². (25) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ ma¹¹ɛi¹¹kə⁵⁵. (26) k^ha⁵⁵na⁵⁵ jā¹¹t^hā¹⁴zə⁵⁵ ra⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (27) ʔe⁵⁵ tɛ^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹to¹¹ho⁵⁵ ʂi¹¹gə⁵⁵ta⁵⁵dze¹². (28) ʔə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ tʂi⁵⁵to⁵⁵se¹¹ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ dze¹². (29) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ta¹¹kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ tʂi⁵⁵ta⁵⁵na⁵⁵ta⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵na¹⁴ jā¹¹t^hā¹⁴ ra⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (30) ʔe⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ ʂi¹¹gə⁵⁵dze¹². (31) ʔə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ ja⁵⁵ka⁵⁵ tʂi⁵⁵to⁵⁵ dze¹¹zə⁵⁵. (32) ta¹¹kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹na¹⁴ tʂi⁵⁵ya¹¹zə⁵⁵. (33) ta¹¹kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹na¹⁴ tʂi⁵⁵ta¹¹na⁵⁵ ja⁵⁵ka¹¹γə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵na¹⁴ ɛ^hi⁵⁵ ra⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (34) tə¹¹to¹¹ho⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹ri⁵¹ tʂ^ha¹¹si⁵⁵tʂ^hə¹¹si⁵⁵no⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂo¹¹mə⁵⁵no⁵⁵ to¹¹tsi⁵⁵ni⁵¹na¹⁴ mə¹¹ro⁵⁵kə⁵⁵dze¹². (35) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ to¹¹ re⁵¹. (36) k^he⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ mə¹¹ʂi¹⁴no⁵⁵ ɛ^ho⁵⁵na⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹γə⁵⁵də¹¹nə¹² ʔə⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵¹ ɛi¹¹no⁵⁵ ri¹¹-mi⁵⁵. (37) k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ mə¹¹ʂi¹⁴no⁵⁵tʂa¹¹bo⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹se⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹ta⁵⁵na⁵⁵ to¹¹tsi⁵⁵ h⁵⁵ə¹¹na⁵⁵. (38) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^he⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹t^ho¹¹fi⁴⁴ dze¹¹na⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ tʂa⁵⁵tʂa⁵⁵ mə¹¹t^ho¹¹fi⁴⁴sei¹⁴ ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵. (39) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^he⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹t^ho¹¹fi⁴⁴dze¹¹ k^he⁵⁵ tɛa¹¹lə⁵⁵tɛi¹¹lə⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹fi⁴⁴sei¹⁴ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (40) ʔə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ s^hə¹¹na⁵⁵ to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵na¹¹gə⁵⁵ba⁵⁵. (41) ta⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ la¹¹ta⁵⁵na⁵⁵le⁵⁵ ɛ^hi¹¹ tʂa¹¹kə⁵⁵ba⁵⁵. (42) sō⁵⁵na⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tɛ^hə¹¹kə⁵⁵sə⁵⁵.
(43) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹k^hu⁵⁵zə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ na¹⁴ na¹⁴lo⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ pi¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ s^hə¹¹ne⁵⁵ ŋā¹¹ba⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹tə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (44) ta⁵¹ n⁵⁵də¹² tʂa¹¹na¹⁴ ha¹¹na⁵⁵ ʂe¹¹ta⁵⁵ ko¹¹fi⁴⁴ tə¹² sō¹¹na⁵⁵. (45) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ hə¹¹to⁵⁵ tə¹¹tɛi⁵⁵fio⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹da⁵⁵ tə¹¹tɛi⁵⁵ dze¹¹na¹¹da⁵⁵. (46) ta⁵⁵ ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ k^ho¹¹hə⁵⁵na¹⁴ ŋā¹¹ba⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (47) ta⁵⁵ tɛə¹¹teu⁵⁵ tʂwa¹¹lo⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ n⁵⁵di¹² ŋa⁵¹ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ha¹¹pa⁵⁵ ŋā¹¹ba⁵⁵ le¹¹ra⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (48) ta⁵⁵ ŋə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ mə¹¹t^ho¹¹fi⁴⁴mi⁵⁵. (49) hə¹¹to⁵⁵ də¹¹ta⁵⁵ n⁵⁵di¹² nə⁵⁵ pi¹¹nə⁵⁵ ŋa⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹tɛi⁵⁵ri¹¹ba⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ sō¹¹ya⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (50) k^ho⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹da⁵⁵ də¹¹ha⁵⁵dze¹². (51) k^ha¹¹da⁵⁵ də¹¹ha⁵⁵ dze¹²na⁵⁵ na¹⁴lo⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹k^hu⁵⁵na¹⁴ de¹¹tə⁵⁵na¹¹da⁵⁵. (52) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ro¹¹hi⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ n⁵⁵ba¹¹kə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ ho¹⁴ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (53) ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ ho¹⁴li¹¹ni⁵⁵ka⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ wa¹¹lə⁵⁵ ɛ^hi¹¹ nə⁵⁵ dza¹¹ri⁵⁵ wa¹¹ri⁵⁵ ne⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹kə⁵⁵ n⁵⁵dzo¹¹fi⁴⁴ tɛ^ho¹⁴ pə⁵⁵ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹kə⁵⁵ n⁵⁵dzo¹¹fi⁴⁴dze¹². (54) ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ pə⁵⁵ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ n⁵⁵do¹¹ya⁵⁵ za¹¹fi⁴⁴mi⁵⁵. (55) ʔə⁵⁵ ɛ^hi⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ ɛ^hi⁵⁵ sā¹¹ko⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵. (56) ʔa⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ s^hə¹¹na⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹ɛi¹¹tʂi⁵⁵ ʂ^ha⁵⁵tə¹¹kə⁵⁵. (57) ʔa⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹le⁵⁵ ʂi¹¹ra⁵¹ ʂi¹¹ra⁵¹na⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ n⁵⁵ba¹¹le¹¹da⁵⁵ sā¹¹ko⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵le¹¹ho¹⁴. (58) tə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹t^ho¹¹fi⁴⁴mi⁵⁵. (59) ʔe⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ wa¹¹lə⁵⁵ ɛ^hi¹¹ nə⁵⁵ dza¹¹ri⁵⁵ wa¹¹ri⁵⁵ ne⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹kə⁵⁵

ⁿdzo¹¹fi⁴⁴dze¹². (60) tə¹¹re⁵⁵ ɛ^hi⁵⁵ sã¹¹ko⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ nə¹¹lo⁵⁵tə⁵⁵. (61) ⁿda⁵¹ ta⁵¹ tʃa¹¹na¹⁴ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ ha¹¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (62) ta⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹na¹⁴ ha¹¹nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tʃa¹¹ na⁵⁵γə⁵⁵ ʃ^hə¹¹sə⁵⁵. (63) tə¹¹re⁵⁵ tsə¹¹nə⁵⁵da⁵⁵ ma¹¹na¹¹na¹⁴ na⁵¹kə¹¹ na¹⁴ ʃ^hi¹⁴ n^bə¹¹tei⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹γə⁵⁵jo⁵⁵mo⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ po¹¹lə⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵ jo⁵⁵γə⁵⁵na¹⁴. (64) dʒi¹¹-kə⁵⁵sə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ʔe⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ tə¹¹ra¹¹na⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ se¹¹ri⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ko⁵⁵ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (65) ka¹¹ra⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵dze¹². (66) tə⁵⁵ n^də¹¹ra⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵dze¹². (67) tɛ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ ʃ^hi¹¹ ro⁵⁵ tsi¹¹ke⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵. (68) ro⁵⁵ he¹¹la¹⁴nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ se¹¹rə⁵⁵na⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ za¹¹fi⁴⁴. (69) ta⁵¹kə⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹le⁵⁵ he¹¹la¹⁴nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ pə¹¹tə⁵⁵ ʃ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵. (70) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴γə⁵⁵ po¹¹lə⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ ɛã¹¹kə⁵⁵zə⁵⁵le⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ ɛã¹¹ki⁵⁵ po¹¹li⁵⁵ po¹¹ʃ^ha⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹tʃ^ha⁵⁵tei⁵⁵ tʃi¹¹zə⁵⁵. (71) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ɛã¹¹kə⁵⁵ ga¹¹lə⁵⁵ga¹¹lə⁵⁵ mə¹¹dʒa¹¹fi⁴⁴mi⁵⁵. (72) ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ po¹¹lə⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ ɛã¹¹ki⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ na¹⁴ ra⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (73) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴γə⁵⁵ la¹¹dzo⁵⁵le⁵⁵ tɛ¹¹da⁵⁵. (74) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tə⁵⁵ to¹¹tsə⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ re⁵¹-ja⁵⁵.

Interlinear glossing text

(1)	to ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵	ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴ -γə ⁵⁵	lo ¹¹ dzi ⁵⁵	ʔə ¹¹ tʃ ^h o ⁵⁵	n ^d ə ¹¹ ra ⁵⁵
	ད་རྒྱུང་	རི་བོང་འི་	ལོ་རྒྱུས་	འཕྲོ་ཚོ་	འདི་ར་
	additionally	hare-GEN	tale	1PL.INCL	here
	^h ʃə ⁵¹ -kə ⁵⁵ də ⁵⁵ -lə ⁵⁵	re ⁵¹			
	བཤད་གི་བསྐད་ལེ་	རེད་			
	tell-PROG-NML	CPV			

‘There is another tale of Hare that we narrate here.’

(2)	ʔa ¹¹ kə ⁵⁵	wa ¹¹ lə ⁵⁵	ɛ ^h i ¹¹	nə ⁵⁵	dza ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵ wa ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵
	ཨ་ལུ་	ལམ་ལེ་	ཕྱིར་	ནར་	སྐ་རིས་ལམ་རིས་
	uncle	fox	back	recede	colourful fox fur
	ne ¹¹ ʃ ^h o ⁵⁵	dze ¹¹ -lə ⁵⁵ re ⁵¹			
	བྱེ་སྲིག་	བེར་ལེ་རེད་			
	fire	say-STA			

‘(We) say: “Uncle Fox, move back, or (your) colourful fur will burn.”²⁴’

(3)	ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴ -γə ⁵⁵	dza ¹¹ k ^h e ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵ -zə ⁵⁵	tʃ ^h o ⁵¹ -ta ⁵⁵ zə ⁵⁵
	རི་བོང་འི་	རྒྱ་བི་བ་བྲིག་	འཕྲོག་ད་བྲིག་
	hare-ERG	merchant ²⁵ -NDEF	rob-PFT.NSEN

‘Hare robbed a merchant.’

(4)	dza ¹¹ k ^h e ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵ -zə ⁵⁵	t ^h o ¹⁴ dza ¹¹ -kə ⁵⁵	ⁿ dzo ¹¹ -γə ⁵⁵ də ⁵⁵ kə ⁵⁵
	རྒྱ་བི་བ་བྲིག་	ཚོང་རྒྱག་གི་	འགོ་འི་བསྐད་གི་
	merchant-NDEF	do business-NML	go-PROG.SEN

‘(At the time when) a merchant is going to do business.’

²⁴ This phrase is a folk saying, in which Fox denotes not only a fox but also all the animals. Strictly speaking, the word /wa¹¹lə⁵⁵/ means an animal similar to a fox, which appears in folktales and often scares children.

²⁵ This word denotes a traditional Chinese merchant, who goes to villages to villages for business, carrying a pole.

(5) dza¹¹k^he¹¹wi¹⁴ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ teo¹¹ye¹⁴teo¹¹ye¹⁴ n¹¹dzo¹¹-yʌ⁵⁵ dʌ⁵⁵ zi⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 merchant.GEN front again limping go-NPFT.SEN
 ‘(Hare) was again going in front of the merchant, limping.’

(6) dza¹¹k^he¹¹wa⁵⁵ n¹¹dʌ¹²-ta⁵⁵ tʃ^hʌ¹¹si⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 merchant DEM-EMPH just right CPV
 ‘This merchant (thought): “This is just right.”’

(7) to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tɛ^hʌ¹¹hwa⁵⁵ na¹¹gʌ⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 additionally liver EXV.SEN
 ‘“Moreover, (Hare) has a liver.”’

(8) ri¹¹wɔ̃¹⁴ n¹¹dʌ¹² k^he¹⁴ zũ¹⁴-ta¹¹-na⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ze⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 hare DEM 3.ERG catch.PF-PFT-CONJ then
 se¹¹-ta¹¹-na⁵⁵ tɛ^hʌ¹¹hwa⁵⁵ na¹¹gʌ⁵⁵ dze¹¹-ni⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 kill-PFT-CONJ liver EXV.SEN say-SFT
 ‘He thought: “If I catch this hare, then if I kill him, I will have a liver.”’

(9) dza¹¹k^he¹¹wi¹⁴ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴-nʌ⁵⁵ ri¹¹wɔ̃¹⁴ ka¹¹lʌ⁵⁵-ka¹¹lʌ⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 merchant.GEN front go-CONJ hare slowly-RDP
 s^ho¹¹-lo⁵⁵-tʌ⁵⁵ dza¹¹k^he¹¹wi¹⁴ ŋʌ¹² dzo¹¹-kʌ⁵⁵ n¹¹dʌ⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 go-NML-DEF merchant.ERG 1.GEN back-GEN DEM
 mʌ¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵-na⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹zʌ⁵⁵ ŋe¹² n¹¹dʌ⁵⁵ zɪ¹¹-kʌ⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 EXV.NEG-FUT-CONJ then 1.ERG DEM catch.NPF-NML
 tʃ^hʌ¹¹-kʌ⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 can-STA

‘(Hare) went in front of the merchant and walked slowly, (then) the merchant (thought): “If this (box) were not on my back, then I would be able to catch this.”’

(10) ʔa⁵⁵ dzo¹¹-kʌ⁵⁵ k^he¹¹kɔ̃¹⁴ t^hʌ¹⁴ po⁵¹-ya¹¹ zʌ⁵⁵
 𑖇𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑖿
 again back-GEN box ground.LOC leave-PFT.NSEN
 ‘He [the merchant] again left the box on the back onto the ground.’

- (11) ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵-ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ zɪ¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵-ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ zɪ¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵-ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ zɪ¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 then hare slowly-RDP go-CONJ catch.NPF-NML
 tʂ^hə¹¹-le⁵⁵ ka⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹-le⁵⁵ ka⁵⁵ ɛə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹-nə⁵⁵ dza¹¹-le⁵⁵
 ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵-ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ zɪ¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 can-NML can-NML do-CONJ lead-CONJ far place-LOC
 pi⁵⁵-sə⁵⁵
 go-PFT.TRA

‘Then Hare walked slowly, and when he is about to be caught, he (escaped and) led (the merchant), and took (him) to a far place.’

- (12) dza¹¹-le⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tʂe¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 dza¹¹-le⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tʂe¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 dza¹¹-le⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tʂe¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 far place-LOC go-CONJ again hare escape-CONJ
 jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵ k^he¹¹kō¹⁴ ti¹¹ na¹⁴ k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵
 ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵-ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ zɪ¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 come.NI-CONJ box DEM.GEN inside 3
 k^hə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tʂe¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 ʔə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ ka¹¹lə⁵⁵-ka¹¹lə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ zɪ¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 fetch-CONJ escape-PFT.TRA

‘After (they [Hare and the merchant]) reached the far place, Hare again came back, escaping, and he fetched (things from) inside that box, and escaped.’

- (13) tʂe¹¹-nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tʂa⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ ŋo¹⁴-zə¹¹-na⁵⁵ de⁵¹-tə¹¹ kə⁵⁵
 tʂe¹¹-nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tʂa⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ ŋo¹⁴-zə¹¹-na⁵⁵ de⁵¹-tə¹¹ kə⁵⁵
 tʂe¹¹-nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tʂa⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ ŋo¹⁴-zə¹¹-na⁵⁵ de⁵¹-tə¹¹ kə⁵⁵
 escape-CONJ go-CONJ cliff-GEN surface-NDEF-LOC sit.PF-PFT
 ‘After Hare escaped, he sat down on the edge of a cliff.’

- (14) tə⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹-nə⁵⁵ na¹⁴-γə⁵⁵ jã¹¹tã¹⁴-ta⁵⁵ to⁵⁵
 tə⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹-nə⁵⁵ na¹⁴-γə⁵⁵ jã¹¹tã¹⁴-ta⁵⁵ to⁵⁵
 tə⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹-nə⁵⁵ na¹⁴-γə⁵⁵ jã¹¹tã¹⁴-ta⁵⁵ to⁵⁵
 DEM eat.PF-CONJ inside-GEN ^Ccandy-COM like that
 tʂ^he¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ po¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tsi⁵⁵ po¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 eat.PF-CONJ then tiger one come-NSEN
 ‘(Hare) ate that, the candy inside, ate like that [by sticking his hand]; then a tiger came.’

- (15) ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵
 ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵
 ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵
 tiger one come.NI-CONJ-EMPH then uncle
 ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tɛ^he⁵⁵ tʂ^hə⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹-γə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵-dze¹²
 ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tsi⁵⁵ po¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 hare 2.ERG what eat.NPF-PROG.E-QUOT
 ‘Tiger came (here) and then said: “Uncle Hare, what are you eating?”’

- (16) ʔei¹⁴ ta⁵¹ k^he⁵⁵ tʂ^hə⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹-tei⁵⁵-fi^o⁵⁵
 ʔẽ ɿ tã k^hẽ tʂ^hə̃ tʂ^hã¹¹-teĩ⁵⁵-fĩ^o⁵⁵
 INTJ INTJ 3.ERG what eat.NPF-FUT.E-SFT
 ‘(Hare replied:) “Uh, what am I going to eat?”’
- (17) te^ho¹¹-no⁵⁵ to⁵⁵ ma¹¹-re⁵¹
 tʂ^hõ¹¹-nõ⁵⁵ tõ mã¹¹-rẽ⁵¹
 2-COM like that NEG-CPV
 ‘“(I) am not like you.”’
- (18) tʂa⁵⁵ sə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʂ^ha⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹-wa⁵⁵ dze¹¹-na⁵⁵
 tʂã sə̃¹¹-nə̃⁵⁵ ʂ^hã⁵⁵ tʂ^hã¹¹-wã⁵⁵ dzẽ¹¹-nã⁵⁵
 how kill-CONJ meat eat.NPF-SFT say-TOP
 ŋa⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ ʂ^he¹⁴ ga¹¹-fi¹⁴-ta⁵⁵
 ɿ k^hã ʂ^hẽ¹⁴ gã¹¹-fĩ¹⁴-tã⁵⁵
 1 mouth special like-STA.SEN-SFT
 ‘“How (do I) kill? I say I want to eat meat, my mouth loves (meat) very much.”’
- (19) ŋa⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵ sə¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ɿ hã¹¹gẽ⁵⁵ tə̃ rõ sə̃¹¹-kə̃⁵⁵
 1.ERG indeed DEM other kill-NML
 mə¹¹-tʂ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 mə̃¹¹-tʂ^hə̃¹¹-kə̃⁵⁵
 NEG-can-STA
 ‘“I really cannot kill other (animals).”’
- (20) ta⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ he⁵⁵fi^o⁵⁵ tʂ^hu¹⁴-sə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ me¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 tã hã¹¹gẽ⁵⁵ hẽ⁵⁵fĩ^o⁵⁵ tʂ^hũ¹⁴-sə̃¹¹-nə̃⁵⁵ mẽ¹¹-fĩ⁴⁴
 then indeed body small-PFT-CONJ bad-STA.SEN
 ‘“Then, (my) body is really small, (so killing) doesn’t work.”’
- (21) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵ sa¹¹-wa⁵⁵ dze¹¹-na⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵
 ʔə̃¹¹zẽ⁵⁵ tsã⁵⁵ sã¹¹-wã⁵⁵ dzẽ¹¹-nã⁵⁵ k^hã⁵⁵
 then grass eat.NPF-SFT say-TOP mouth
 k^ha⁵⁵ ʂ^ho⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 k^hã⁵⁵ ʂ^hõ⁵⁵ rẽ⁵¹
 ʂ^hə̃⁵⁵ rẽ⁵¹
 split CPV
 ‘“Then, I say I want to eat grass, (my) mouth is split.”’
- (22) tsa⁵⁵ se¹¹-nə⁵⁵ me¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 tsã⁵⁵ sẽ¹¹-nə̃⁵⁵ mẽ¹¹-fĩ⁴⁴
 grass eat.PF-CONJ bad-STA.SEN
 ‘“Eating grass doesn’t work.”’

(23) ʔə⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ la⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 then 3.ERG 3.GEN eye take.PF-CONJ
 tʂ^ha¹¹-yə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ dze¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 eat.NPF-PROG.E say-NSEN
 ‘Then, I [Hare] took out my eye and am eating it,’ said (Hare).’

(24) te^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹-to¹¹ho⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ sā¹¹ko⁵⁵
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 2.GEN eye-DEF INTJ 3 a little
 eɪ¹¹-ta⁵⁵-dze¹²
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 give-SFT-QUOT
 ‘(Tiger) said: “Hey, please give me a little of that eye of yours.”’

(25) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ ma¹¹-eɪ¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 then 3-ERG eye NEG-give-STA
 ‘Then, he [Hare] did not give (Tiger) his eye.’

(26) k^ha⁵⁵-na⁵⁵ jā¹¹t^hā¹⁴-zə⁵⁵ ra⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 mouth-INE candy-NDEF put.NI-PFT.NSEN
 ‘(Hare) put a candy in the (Tiger’s) mouth.’

(27) ʔe⁵⁵ te^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹-to¹¹ho⁵⁵ ʂi¹¹-gə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵-dze¹²
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 INTJ 2.GEN eye-DEF tasty-STA-SFT-QUOT
 ‘(Tiger) said: “Hey, your eye is tasty!”’

(28) ʔə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ tʂi⁵⁵-to⁵⁵-sei⁵⁵ ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 then 3.GEN eye dig-SFT-QUOT tiger-ERG
 dze¹²
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 say
 ‘Then, dig out my eye!’ said Tiger.’

(29) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ta¹¹-kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ tʂi⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵-na¹⁴
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə
 then tiger-ERG eye dig-PFT-CONJ-SFT mouth-INE
 jā¹¹t^hā¹⁴

 Ccandy put.NI-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, (Hare) dug out Tiger’s eye, and put a candy in (Tiger’s) mouth.’

- (30) ʔə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ ʃi¹¹-gə⁵⁵-dze¹²
 ʔə ʃə ʃi ʃi ʃi
 INTJ 3.GEN eye tasty-STA-QUOT

‘(Tiger) said: “Wow, my eye is tasty!”’

- (31) ʔə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ ja⁵⁵ka⁵⁵ tʃi⁵⁵-to⁵⁵
 ʔə ʃə ʃi ʔə tʃi
 then 3.GEN eye another dig-SFT
 dze¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 ʃə ʃi
 say-NSEN

‘“Then, dig out my other eye!” said (Tiger).’

- (32) ta¹¹-kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹-na¹⁴ tʃi⁵⁵-ya¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ʃə ʃi ʃi ʃi
 tiger-GEN eye-both dig-PFT.NSEN

‘(Hare) dug out both of Tiger’s eyes.’

- (33) ta¹¹-kə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹-na¹⁴ tʃi⁵⁵-ta¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ja⁵⁵ka¹¹yo⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵
 ʃə ʃi ʃi ʔə ʃi
 tiger-GEN eye-both dig-PFT-CONJ another.DEM DEM
 k^ha⁵⁵-na¹⁴ e^hi⁵⁵ ra⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ʃə ʃi ʃi
 mouth-INE back put.NI-PFT.NSEN

‘After (Hare) had dug out both of Tiger’s eyes, he put the other one back in (Tiger’s) mouth.’

- (34) tə¹¹-to¹¹ho⁵⁵ tʃ^hə¹¹ ri⁵¹ tʃ^ha¹¹si⁵⁵tʃ^hə¹¹si⁵⁵-no⁵⁵ ʃ^ha¹¹ri⁵⁵
 ʃə ʃə ʃi ʃə ʃi
 DEM-DEF what CPV²⁶ sparse and moist-NML meatball
 tʃo¹¹-mə⁵⁵-no⁵⁵ to¹¹tsi⁵⁵ ni⁵¹-na¹⁴ mə¹¹-rə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵-dze¹²
 ʃə ʃə ʃi ʃi
 taste-EMPH-NML like this eye-both NEG-similar-STA-QUOT

‘(Tiger) said: “What is this?! A thinly scattered and moist thing, a thing with meatball-taste; in such a way, both the eyes are not similar!”’

- (35) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ to¹¹ re⁵¹
 ʔə ʃə ʃə ʃi
 then 3 like that CPV

‘Then, (Hare said:) “(It) is like that (for me).”’

²⁶ The meaning of /ri⁵¹/ is identical to that of /re⁵¹/. We follow the real pronunciation appearing in the storytelling.

- (36) k^he⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ mə¹¹-ʃi¹⁴-no⁵⁵ ɛ^ho⁵⁵na⁵⁵ tʃʰa¹¹-yʊ⁵⁵ də¹¹-nə¹²
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 3.ERG then NEG-tasty-NML later eat.NPF-PROG-CONJ
 ʔə⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵¹ ɛi¹¹-no⁵⁵ ri¹¹-mi⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 then 2.DAT give-NML CPV-SFT

“I ate the one which was not tasty later, then, (that is the same as) what I gave you.”

- (37) k^ho¹⁴ ni⁵¹ mə¹¹-ʃi¹⁴-no⁵⁵-tʃa¹¹bo⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹se⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 3.GEN eye NEG-tasty-NML-EMPH 3.ERG earlier
 tʃʰe¹¹-ta⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ to¹¹tsi⁵⁵ hʃə¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 eat.PF-PFT-CONJ like that tell-CONJ

“I ate the one which was not tasty earlier,” said (Hare) like this.’

- (38) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^he⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-t^ho¹¹-fi⁴⁴ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 then 2.ERG Q-see-STA.SEN say-CPV 3.ERG
 tʃa⁵⁵tʃa⁵⁵ mə¹¹-t^ho¹¹-fi⁴⁴-sei¹⁴ ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 a little Q-see-STA.SEN-QUOT tiger-ERG

“Then, Tiger said: “Do you see? I don’t see anything.””

- (39) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^he⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-t^ho¹¹-fi⁴⁴-dze¹¹ k^he⁵⁵ tɛa¹¹lɔ⁵⁵tei¹¹lɔ⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 then 2.ERG Q-see-STA.SEN-QUOT 3.ERG vague-NDEF
 t^ho¹¹-fi⁴⁴-sei¹⁴ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 see-STA.SEN-QUOT then

“Then, (Hare) said: “Do you see? I see vaguely.””

- (40) ʔə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ s^hə¹¹-na⁵⁵ to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹-tei⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵⁵-ba⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 then tiger-ERG heart-INE also heal-FUT.SEN-SFT

“Then, Tiger (thought) in his heart that (his eyes) would perhaps heal.’

- (41) ta⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ la¹¹-ta⁵⁵-na⁵⁵-le⁵⁵ ɛ^hi¹¹ tʃa¹¹-kə⁵⁵-ba⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 now eye take.PF-PFT-CONJ-SFT back heal-STA-SFT

“Now he had taken out his eyes, but they would recover.’

- (42) sɔ⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tɛ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ sɔ⁵⁵
 ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵ ʃi⁵⁵
 think-CONJ then tiger lead-AOR.TRA

‘(Tiger) thought of (that), and then (Hare) led him away.’

- (43) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹k^hu⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ na¹⁴ na¹⁴-lo⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹k^hu⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ na¹⁴ na¹⁴-lo⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹k^hu⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ na¹⁴ na¹⁴-lo⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵
 then cave-NDEF-GEN inside both-NML-ERG fire
 pi¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ s^hə¹¹-ne⁵⁵ ŋã¹¹ba⁵⁵
 burn-CONJ uncle hare heart-ABL bad
 s^ha¹¹-tə¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 occur-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, both of them made a fire in a cave; Uncle Hare came up with a bad (thought) in his mind.’

- (44) ta⁵¹ ndə¹² tʂa¹¹-na¹⁴ ha¹¹-nə⁵⁵ se¹¹-tə⁵⁵
 ta⁵¹ ndə¹² tʂa¹¹-na¹⁴ ha¹¹-nə⁵⁵ se¹¹-tə⁵⁵
 ta⁵¹ ndə¹² tʂa¹¹-na¹⁴ ha¹¹-nə⁵⁵ se¹¹-tə⁵⁵
 tiger DEM cliff-INE throw.PF-CONJ kill-EMPH
 ko¹¹-fi⁴⁴ tə¹² sō¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 need-STA.SEN DEM think-CONJ

‘(He [Hare]) thought he wanted to throw this tiger off the cliff and kill (him).’

- (45) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ hə¹¹to⁵⁵ tə¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵-fi^o⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹da⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ hə¹¹to⁵⁵ tə¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵-fi^o⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹da⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ hə¹¹to⁵⁵ tə¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵-fi^o⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹da⁵⁵
 then 2 inside sit.NPF-FUT-CONJ edge
 tə¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵ dze¹¹-nə¹¹-da⁵⁵
 sit.NPF-FUT.E say-CONJ-SFT

‘Then, (Hare) said: “Are you going to sit inside or on the edge?”’

- (46) ta⁵⁵ ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ k^ho¹¹hə⁵⁵-na¹⁴ ŋã¹¹ba⁵⁵ s^ha¹¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ta⁵⁵ ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ k^ho¹¹hə⁵⁵-na¹⁴ ŋã¹¹ba⁵⁵ s^ha¹¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ta⁵⁵ ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ k^ho¹¹hə⁵⁵-na¹⁴ ŋã¹¹ba⁵⁵ s^ha¹¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 now tiger-ERG breast-LOC bad occur-PFT.NSEN

‘Now Tiger came up with a bad (thought) in his heart.’

- (47) ta⁵⁵ teə¹¹teu⁵⁵ tʂwa¹¹-lo⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ ndi¹²
 ta⁵⁵ teə¹¹teu⁵⁵ tʂwa¹¹-lo⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ ndi¹²
 ta⁵⁵ teə¹¹teu⁵⁵ tʂwa¹¹-lo⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ ndi¹²
 now a little Ccatch-CPFT INTJ DEM.ERG
 ŋa⁵¹ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ha¹¹pa⁵⁵ ŋã¹¹ba⁵⁵ le¹¹-ra⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵
 I.DAT indeed perhaps bad do-PFT

‘“Now I’ve understood a little; he must have done a bad thing to me.”’

- (48) ta⁵⁵ ŋə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ mə¹¹-tʰo¹¹-fi⁴⁴-mi⁵⁵
 ད་ ངའི་ རྩིག མི་མཐོང་འི་མོ་
 now 1.GEN eye NEG-see-STA.SEN-SFT
 ‘Now (with) my eyes (I) do not see.’
- (49) hə¹¹to⁵⁵ də¹¹-ta⁵⁵ ndi¹² nə⁵⁵ pi¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 བྲགས་དོང་ བསྐྱང་ད་ འདིས་ བྱེ་ བྲད་ནི་
 inside sit.PF-CONJ DEM.ERG fire burn-CONJ
 ŋa⁵¹ ʂ^ha¹¹-tei⁵⁵ ri¹¹-ba⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ sō¹¹-ya⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵
 ངར་ སྲིག་རྒྱ་རེད་པ་ དེ་ བསམ་ད་བྲིག
 1.DAT burn-FUT-SFT DEM think-PFT
 ‘If (I) sit inside, this [Hare] will make a fire and burn me,’ thought that [Tiger].’
- (50) kʰo⁵⁵ kʰa¹¹da⁵⁵ də¹¹-ha⁵⁵-dze¹²
 ཁོ་ ཁ་འདབས་ བསྐྱང་ཏ་བཟེར
 3 edge sit.PF-SFT-QUOT
 ‘He [Tiger] said: “I want to sit on the edge.”’
- (51) kʰa¹¹da⁵⁵ də¹¹-ha⁵⁵ dze¹²-nə⁵⁵ na¹⁴-lo⁵⁵ tʂa¹¹kʰu⁵⁵-na¹⁴
 ཁ་འདབས་ བསྐྱང་ཏ་ ཟེར་ནི་ ར་ལོ་ བྲག་ཁུང་ནང་
 edge sit.PF-SFT say-CONJ both-NML cave-LOC
 de¹¹-tə⁵⁵-nə¹¹-da⁵⁵
 བསྐྱང་འདྲག་ནི་ད་
 sit.PF-PFT-CONJ-SFT
 ‘(Tiger) said that (he) wanted to sit on the edge, and both of them sat in the cave.’
- (52) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ro¹¹hi⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ ʱba¹¹-kə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵
 ཨེ་བེ་ གཞན་གས བྱེ་ འབར་གི་ བྲག་གི
 then other.ERG fire burn-SEN tiger-GEN
 ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ ho¹⁴-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 སྡོན་སོར་ ཐུང་ན་ བྲད་ད་བྲིག
 front downwards push-PFT.NSEN
 ‘Then, the other [Hare] made a fire and pushed (it) in front of Tiger, downwards.’
- (53) ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ ŋa¹¹so⁵⁵ ho¹⁴-li¹¹-ni⁵⁵ ka⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ wa¹¹lə⁵⁵
 བྲག་གི སྡོན་སོར་ བྲད་ལས་ནི་སྐབས་ ཨ་ཁུ་ ལ་ལེ་
 tiger-GEN front push-NPFT-CONJ uncle fox
 e^hi¹¹ nə⁵⁵ dza¹¹ri⁵⁵wa¹¹ri⁵⁵ ne⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ཕྱིར་ རར་ སྐ་རིས་ལ་རིས་ བྱེར་ སྲིག་གི
 back recede colourful fox fur fire.LOC burn-SEN
 ʱdzo¹¹-fi⁴⁴ te^ho¹⁴ pə⁵⁵ kə¹¹ko⁵⁵ ʂ^ha¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 འགོའི་ རྩོད་ ཐ་ ཀྲན་གོ་ སྲིག་གི
 go-SEN 2.GEN hair all burn-SEN

ⁿdzo¹¹-fi⁴⁴-dze¹²

འགོ་འི་བེར་

go-STA.SEN-QUOT

‘When (Hare) pushed (the fire) in front of Tiger, he said: “Uncle Fox, move back, or (your) colourful fur will be burnt with fire; your hairs are all going to be burnt!”’

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| (54) | ta ⁵¹ -ka ⁵⁵ | pa ⁵⁵ | ka ¹¹ ko ⁵⁵ | ⁿ do ¹¹ ya ⁵⁵ | za ¹¹ -fi ⁴⁴ -mi ⁵⁵ |
| | སྐྱག་གི | སྐ | ཀྲཱ་གོ | མདོག་ཀ | བཟང་གི་མོ་ |
| | tiger-GEN | hair | all | colour | good-STA.SEN-SFT |

‘For Tiger’s hair, the colour was all good.’

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (55) | ʔa ⁵⁵ | ɛ ^h i ⁵⁵ | na ⁵⁵ -na ⁵⁵ | ɛ ^h i ⁵⁵ | sa ¹¹ ko ⁵⁵ |
| | ཨི་ | ཕྱིར་ | ནར་ནི་ | ཕྱིར་ | སུ་གོ |
| | then | back | recede-CONJ | back | a little |

na⁵⁵

ནར་

recede

‘Then, (Tiger) went back, and (again) went back a little.’

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| (56) | ʔa ⁵⁵ | ri ¹¹ wō ¹⁴ | sh ^a na ⁵⁵ | k ^h a ¹¹ ɛi ¹¹ ʈsi ⁵⁵ | ʂ ^h a ⁵⁵ -ta ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵ |
| | འང་ | རི་བོང་ | སེམས་ནང་ | ཁ་སྐྱེན་ཅི་ | ཤར་འདག་གི |
| | again | hare | heart-INE | bad | occur-PFT |

‘Again, Hare came up with a bad (thought) in his mind.’

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| (57) | ʔa ⁵⁵ | t ^h o ¹¹ -le ⁵⁵ | ʂ ^h i ¹¹ | ra ⁵¹ | ʂ ^h i ¹¹ |
| | འང་ | ཐོག་ལས་ | ཤིང་ | བཞག | ཤིང་ |
| | again | top-LOC | firewood | add | firewood |
| | ra ⁵⁵ -na ⁵⁵ | na ⁵⁵ | ⁿ ba ¹¹ -le ¹¹ -da ⁵⁵ | sa ¹¹ ko ⁵⁵ | ʂa ¹¹ so ⁵⁵ -le ¹¹ |
| | བཞག་ནི་ | ཕྱི་ | འབར་ལེ་ད་ | སུ་གོ | སྐྱོན་སྐོར་ལེ་ |
| | add-CONJ | fire | fire-STA-COM | a little | front-LOC |
| | ho ¹⁴ | | | | |
| | ཕྱད་ | | | | |
| | push | | | | |

‘Again, Hare added and added firewood to the top, and when the fire rose up, he pushed Tiger to the front a little.’

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| (58) | ta ⁵⁵ | ta ⁵¹ -ka ⁵⁵ | ma ¹¹ -t ^h o ¹¹ -fi ⁴⁴ -mi ⁵⁵ |
| | དེ་ | སྐྱག་གི | མི་མཐོང་འི་མོ་ |
| | DEM | tiger-ERG | NEG-see-STA.SEN-EMPH |

‘That (action), Tiger does not see, right?’

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| (59) | ʔe ⁵⁵ | ʔa ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵ | wa ¹¹ la ⁵⁵ | ɛ ^h i ¹¹ | na ⁵⁵ |
| | ཨི་ | ཨ་ཁུ་ | ཕ་ལེ་ | ཕྱིར་ | ནར་ |
| | INTJ | uncle | fox | back | recede |

dza¹¹ri⁵⁵wa¹¹ri⁵⁵ ne⁵⁵ ʃ^ha¹¹-kə⁵⁵ ⁿdzo¹¹-fi⁴⁴-dze¹²
 སྐ་རིས་ལྷ་རིས་ རྒྱུར་ སྒྲིག་གི འགྲོ་འི་བེར་
 colourful fox fur fire.LOC burn-NML go-STA.SEN-QUOT
 ‘(Hare) said: “Hey, Uncle Fox, move back, or (your) colourful fur will be burnt with fire.”’

(60) tə¹¹re⁵⁵ e^hi⁵⁵ sā¹¹ko⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ nə¹¹-lo⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵
 དེ་རེ་ རྒྱུར་ སམ་མོ་བྱིག་ རྒྱར་ལོ་དེ་
 then back a little-NDEF recede-NML-SFT
 ‘At that time, (Tiger) went back a little.’

(61) ⁿda⁵¹ ta⁵¹ tʃa¹¹-na¹⁴ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ ha¹¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 འདག་ སྒྲག་ བྲག་ནང་ སྒར་རྒྱ་ འཕངས་ད་བྱིག་
 INTJ Tiger cliff-LOC downwards throw.PF-PFT.NSEN
 ‘Oh my goodness! Tiger was thrown downwards off the cliff.’

(62) ta⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹-na¹⁴ ha¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tʃa¹¹
 ད་ བྲག་ནང་ འཕངས་ནི་ སྒྲག་ བྲག་
 then cliff-INE throw.PF-CONJ tiger cliff
 na⁵⁵-yə⁵⁵ ʃ^hə¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 རྒྱང་གི་ ཤི་སོང་
 inside-GEN die-PFT.TRA
 ‘Then, (Tiger) was thrown from the cliff, and Tiger died at the bottom of the cliff.’

(63) tə¹¹re⁵⁵ tsə¹¹-nə⁵⁵-da⁵⁵ ma¹¹na¹¹-na¹⁴ na⁵¹-kə¹¹ na¹⁴
 དེ་རེ་ ཐོན་ནི་ད་ བར་ནང་ན་ རྒྱས་གི་ རྒྱང་
 then arrive-CONJ-SFT bottom-INE forest-GEN inside
 ʃ^hi¹⁴ ⁿbə¹¹-tei⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹-yə⁵⁵ jo⁵⁵-mo⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ po¹¹lə⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ te^hi¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཤིང་ འབྲུང་རྒྱ་ འགྲོ་འི་ཡོང་མོ་བྱིག་ བོང་སྒྲ་བྱིག་ བྲིང་ནི་
 firewood burn-NML pick-PFT.CIS-NML-NDEF donkey-NDEF lead-CONJ
 jo⁵⁵-yə⁵⁵ na¹⁴
 ཡོང་འི་ན་
 come.NI-PROG.SEN
 ‘Then, someone who gathers firewood to burn in the forest at the bottom (of the cliff) is coming, leading a donkey.’

(64) dzi¹¹-kə⁵⁵ sə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴ ʔe⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ tə¹¹ra¹¹-na⁵⁵
 རྒྱགས་གི་སོང་ ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་ ཞི་ ཁོས་ དེ་ར་ན་
 run-AOR.TRA uncle hare INTJ 3.ERG there-TOP
 ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ se¹¹-ri⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-ko⁵⁵ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 སྒྲག་ ཅིག་ བསད་རེ་ བྲོང་ ཞི་དགོས་ བེར་ནི་
 tiger one kill-PFT.E 2 Q-need say-CONJ
 ‘Running, Uncle Hare said: “I have killed a tiger over there, do you want (it)?”’

(65) ka¹¹ra⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵⁵-dze¹²
 ག་ར་ན་ ལྷང་གི་ཟེར་
 where-LOC EXV.SEN-QUOT
 ‘(The man) said: “Where is (the tiger)?”’

(66) tə⁵⁵ n̄d̄ə¹¹ra⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵⁵-dze¹²
 དེ་ འདི་ར་ ལྷང་གི་ཟེར་
 DEM here EXV.SEN-QUOT
 ‘(Hare) said: “Here it is.”’

(67) tɛ^hi¹¹-nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ t̄ɕ^hi¹¹ ro⁵⁵
 བྲིད་ནི་ སོང་ནི་ ལྷག ཤི་ རྩོ་
 lead-CONJ go-CONJ tiger dead corpse
 tsi¹¹ke⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཟླབ་ཀའི་ བྲིད་ནི་
 side.LOC lead-CONJ
 ‘Leading (him), (Hare) went and led to the side of the corpse of the dead tiger.’

(68) ro⁵⁵ he¹¹la¹⁴-nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ tsi⁵⁵ se¹¹-rə⁵⁵-na⁵⁵
 གཞན་ ཅམ་ལངས་ནི་ ལྷག གཅིག བསད་བཞག་ན་
 other drool-CONJ tiger one kill-PFT-CONJ
 tə⁵⁵ za¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 དེ་ བཟང་འི་
 DEM good-STA.SEN
 ‘Drooling, the other [the man] thought: “If one tiger has already been killed, that is good.”’

(69) ta⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹-le⁵⁵ he¹¹la¹⁴-nə⁵⁵ ta⁵¹ pa¹¹tə⁵⁵
 ལྷག་གི་ ཐོག་ལས་ ཅམ་ལངས་ནི་ ལྷག ལྷགས་ཏི་
 tiger-ERG top-LOC drool-CONJ tiger skin
 t̄ɕ^hi¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 བཤེན་ནི་
 peel-CONJ
 ‘Drooling on the tiger, (the man began to) peel the tiger skin.’

(70) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴-γə⁵⁵ po¹¹lə⁵⁵ tɛ^hi¹¹-nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཨ་ལྷ་ རི་བོང་འཇམ་ བོང་བ་ བྲིད་ནི་ སོང་ནི་
 uncle hare-ERG donkey lead-CONJ go-CONJ
 eã¹¹kə⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ eã¹¹ki⁵⁵ po¹¹li⁵⁵
 ལྷང་གི་ཟེག་ལེ་ ཞེ་ ལྷོང་ ལྷང་གིས་ བོང་ལྷའི་
 wolf-NDEF-DAT INTJ 2 wolf.ERG donkey.GEN
 po¹¹t̄ɕ^ha⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-t̄ɕ^ha⁵⁵-tɛi⁵⁵ t̄ɕi¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 བོང་ཤ་ ཨ་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ རྩིས་ཟེག
 donkey meat Q-eat.NPF-FUT.E ask.PF-NSEN

‘Leading the donkey and walking, Uncle Hare asked to a wolf: “Hey Wolf, do you want to eat donkey meat of the donkey?”’

(71) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ɛ̃¹¹kə⁵⁵ ga¹¹lə⁵⁵-ga¹¹lə⁵⁵ mə¹¹-dza¹¹-fi⁴⁴-mi⁵⁵
 ཞི་ཟླ་ ཟླ་རྒྱུ་གི་ དགའ་ལི་དགའ་ལི་ མི་འདྲ་དེ་མོ་
 then wolf happy-RDP NEG-well-STA.SEN-EMPH
 ‘Then, Wolf became really happy.’

(72) ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ po¹¹lə⁵⁵ te^{h11}-nə⁵⁵ s^{h11}o¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཨ་ན་ ཞི་ཟླ་ བོང་ལུ་ བྲིད་ནི་ སོང་ནི་
 like that then donkey lead-CONJ go-CONJ
 ɛ̃¹¹ki⁵⁵ k^{h11}a⁵⁵-na¹⁴ ra⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ཟླ་རྒྱུ་གིས་ ཁ་ནང་ བཞག་ད་ཟླལ་
 wolf.GEN mouth-INE put.NI-PFT.NSEN
 ‘Like that, then, (Hare) led the donkey (to Wolf), and went to put it in the mouth of Wolf.’

(73) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴-yə⁵⁵ la¹¹dzo⁵⁵-le⁵⁵ te¹¹-da⁵⁵
 ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་འིས་ ལས་རྒྱ་ལས་ བཞུས་ད་
 uncle hare-ERG manner-DAT look.IM-SFT
 ‘Look at the manner of Uncle Hare.’

(74) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ tə⁵⁵ to¹¹tsə⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ re⁵¹-ja⁵⁵
 ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་ དེ་ རོ་ཅི་ཟླལ་ རེད་ཡ་
 uncle hare DEM like this-NDEF CPV-SFT
 ‘That Uncle Hare is like this.’

Full English translation

The Hare and the Tiger

(1-2) There is another tale of Hare that we narrate here. We say, ‘Uncle Fox, move back, or (your) colourful fur will burn.’

(3-12) Hare robbed a merchant when he was going to do business. Hare, again, was going in front of the merchant, limping. This merchant thought, ‘This is just right. Moreover, Hare has a liver. If I catch this hare, then, if I kill him, I will have a liver.’ Hare went in front of the merchant and walked slowly. Then the merchant thought, ‘If this box were not on my back, then I would be able to catch this.’ He again left the box on the back onto the ground. Then Hare walked slowly, and when he was about to be caught, he escaped, made the merchant take chase, and led him to a far place. After they reached the far place, Hare returned and he fetched things from inside that box and then escaped.

(13-42) After Hare escaped, he sat down on the edge of a cliff. He ate the candy he had found inside the box. Then a tiger came and asked, ‘Uncle Hare, what are you eating?’ Hare replied, ‘Uh, what am I going to eat? I am not like you. What can I kill? I say I want to eat meat. My mouth loves meat very much. But I really cannot kill other animals. My body is really small, so I can’t kill. Then I say I want to eat grass, but my mouth is split. I can’t eat grass. So I took out my eye and I am eating it.’ Then Tiger said, ‘Hey, please give me a little of that eye of yours.’ But Hare did not give Tiger his eye. He put a candy in Tiger’s mouth. ‘Hey, your eye is tasty! Dig out my eye!’ said Tiger.

So Hare dug out Tiger's eye and put a candy in Tiger's mouth. Tiger said, 'Wow, my eye is tasty! Dig out my other eye!' Hare dug out both of Tiger's eyes. After Hare had dug out both of Tiger's eyes, he put the other one back in Tiger's mouth. Tiger asked, 'What is this?! A thinly scattered and moist thing, a thing with meatball-taste; in such a way, both the eyes are not similar!' Then Hare said, 'It is like that for me. I ate the one which was not tasty earlier. That is the same as what I gave you', said Hare, like this. Then Tiger asked, 'Can you see? I don't see anything.' Hare answered, 'Can you see? I see vaguely.' Then Tiger thought in his heart that his eyes would perhaps heal. Now he had taken out his eyes, but they would recover. Tiger thought like that. Then Hare led him away.

(43-62) Both of them made a fire in a cave. Uncle Hare came up with a bad idea in his mind. He thought that he wanted to throw this tiger off the cliff and kill him. So Hare asked, 'Are you going to sit inside or on the edge?' Now Tiger came up with a bad idea in his heart. 'Now I've understood a little; he must have done a bad thing to me. Now I do not see anything. If I sit inside, Hare will make a fire and burn me', thought Tiger. Tiger said, 'I want to sit on the edge.' Then both of them sat in the cave. Then Hare made a fire and pushed it in front of Tiger, downwards. When Hare pushed the fire in front of Tiger, he said, 'Uncle Fox, move back, or your colourful fur will be burnt with fire; your hairs are all going to be burnt!' As the colour of Tiger's hair was all good, Tiger went back, and again went back a little. Again, Hare came up with a bad thought in his mind. Again, Hare added and added firewood to the top, and when the fire rose up, he pushed Tiger to the front a little. Tiger does not see that action, right? Hare said, 'Hey, Uncle Fox, move back, or your colourful fur will be burnt with fire.' At that time, Tiger went back a little. Oh my goodness! Tiger fell off the cliff! Then Tiger was thrown from the cliff and died at the bottom of the cliff.

(63-72) Then someone who gathers firewood to burn in the forest at the bottom of the cliff is coming, leading a donkey. Running, Uncle Hare said, 'I have killed a tiger over there, do you want it?' The man asked, 'Where is the tiger?' Hare answered, 'Here it is.' Leading the man, Hare went and took him to the side of the corpse of the dead tiger. Drooling, the man thought, "One tiger has already been killed, that is good." Drooling on the tiger, he began to peel the tiger skin. Leading the donkey and walking, Uncle Hare asked a wolf, 'Hey Wolf, do you want to eat donkey meat?' Then, Wolf became really happy. Like that, then, Hare led the donkey to Wolf, and put it in the mouth of Wolf. (73-74) Look at the manner of Uncle Hare. That Uncle Hare is like this.

Tibetan transliteration

༼ རི་བོང་དང་སྐྱུ་མེད༽
 ད་རུང་རི་བོང་འི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལུ་ཚོ་འདི་ར་བཤད་གི་བསྐྱེད་ལེ་རེད། ཨ་ལུ་ལ་ལེ་སྤྱིར་རུར། རྒྱུ་རིས་ལ་ལ་
 རིས་ལྷེ་སྤྱིག་ཟེར་ལེ་རེད། རི་བོང་འི་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བ་བྱིག་འཕྲོག་ད་བྱིག་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བ་བྱིག་ཚོང་རྒྱུ་གི་འགྲོ་འི་
 བསྐྱེད་གི་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བའི་སྤོན་སོར་འང་ཤྱིག་འི་ཤྱིག་འི་འགྲོ་འི་བསྐྱེད་བྱིག་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བ་འདི་ད་ཚི་སེས་རེད།
 ད་རུང་མཚིན་པ་སྐྱེད་གི་ རི་བོང་འདི་ཁོས་བཟུང་ད་ན་ཨེ་བེ་བསད་ད་ན་མཚིན་པ་སྐྱེད་གི་བེར་
 རི། རྒྱ་ཁེ་བའི་སྤོན་སོར་སོང་ནི་རི་བོང་ག་ལེར་ག་ལེར་སོང་ལོ་དེ་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བས་ངའི་རྒྱུ་གི་འདི་མེད་
 རྒྱ་ལ། ཨེ་བེ་ངས་འདི་འཛིན་གི་ཚོག་གི་ འང་རྒྱུ་གི་ཁེ་ལ་སྐྱེས་ཐང་འ་བབས་ད་བྱིག་ཨེ་རི་བོང་ག་
 ལེར་ག་ལེར་སོང་ནི་འཛིན་གི་ཚོག་ལ་ཁར་ཚོག་ལ་ཁར་བྱེད་ནི་བྲིད་ནི་རྒྱུང་ལེ་བུད་སོང་། རྒྱུང་ལེ་

སྲོང་ནི་འང་རི་པོར་གྲོས་ནི་ཡོང་ནི་ཁེལ་སྐྱམ་དེ་ནང་ཁོ་རྟོག་དགོས་པེ་ཁྱུང་ནི་གྲོས་སོང་། གྲོས་ནི་
སྲོང་ནི་བྲག་གི་རོ་བྱིག་གི་ན་བསྐྱད་འདུག་གི། དེ་འཆས་ནི་ནང་གི་ཀ་ར་ད་དོ་འཆས་ནི་ཨེ་བེ་རྟུག་
ཅིག་ཤུང་བྱིག་རྟུག་ཅིག་ཡོང་ནི་ད་ཨ་ཁྱུང་རི་པོར་ཁྱོས་ཆི་འཆའ་འི་སྲོང་བེར། ཨེ་ད་ཁོས་ཆི་འཆའ་
རྒྱ། ཁྱོད་ལོ་དོ་མ་ཤེད། ཅང་བསད་ནི་ག་འཆའ་བེར་ན་ང་ཁ་གཉིན་དགའ་འི་ད། ང་ཉ་གེ་དེ་གཞན་
བསད་གི་མི་ཆོག་གི་ད་ཉ་གེ་ཤུང་པོ་རྒྱུང་སོང་ནི་མེད་འི། ཨེ་བེ་རྟུ་བ་བ་བེར་ན་ཁ་ཁ་ཤོར་ཤེད། རྒྱ་
བས་ནི་མེད་འི། ཨེ་ཁོས་ཁོའི་མིག་ལངས་ནི་འཆའ་འི་སྲོང་བེར་བྱིག་ཁྱོད་མིག་ཨེ་ཁོ་སན་གོ་རྒྱུན་ད་
བེར། ཨེ་བེ་ཁོ་རྟོག་གི་མིག་མ་རྒྱུན་གི་ཁ་ནང་ཀ་ར་བྱིག་བཞག་ད་བྱིག་ ཨེ་ཁྱོད་མིག་དོ་ཉོ་ཞིན་གི་
ད་བེར། ཨེ་ཁོའི་མིག་ཤུས་དོ་བེར་འི་རྟུག་གིས་བེར། ཨེ་བེ་རྟུག་གི་མིག་ཤུས་ད་ནི་ད་ཁ་ན་ཀ་ར་
བཞག་ད་བྱིག་ ཨེ་ཁོའི་མིག་ཞིན་གི་བེར། ཨེ་ཁོའི་མིག་ཡ་ཀ་ཤུས་དོ་བེར་བྱིག་ རྟུག་གི་མིག་ན་ཤུས་
ད་བྱིག་ རྟུག་གི་མིག་ན་ཤུས་ད་ནི་ཡ་ཀ་འོ་དེ་ཁ་ནང་སྲིར་བཞག་ད་བྱིག་ དེ་དོ་ཉོ་ཆི་ཤེད་ཆ་བེ་རྒྱ་
བེ་ལོ་ག་ཤིས་ཁོ་ལོ་དོ་ཉོ། མིག་ན་མི་རྟོགས་གི་བེར། ཨེ་བེ་ཁོ་དོ་ཤེད། ཁོས་ཨེ་བེ་མི་ཞིན་ལོ་སྲིར་
ན་འཆས་འི་བསྐྱད་ནི་ཨེ་ཁྱོད་རྒྱུན་ལོ་ཤེད་ལོ། ཁོའི་མིག་མི་ཞིན་ལོ་ཅན་པོ་ཁོས་སྲོན་སོར་འཆས་ད་
ནི། དོ་ཉོ་བཤད་ནི། ཨེ་བེ་ཁྱོས་ཨེ་མཚོང་འི་བེར་ནི། ཁོས་ཅང་ཅང་མི་མཚོང་འི་བེར་འི་རྟུག་གིས།
ཨེ་བེ་ཁྱོས་ཨེ་མཚོང་འི་བེར། ཁོས་ གུལ་ལུ་གིལ་ལེ་བྱིག་མཚོང་འི་བེར་འི། ཨེ་བེ་ཨེ་རྟུག་གིས་ཁེམས་
ནང་ད་ཤུང་དྲགས་རྒྱ་རྒྱུང་གི་པ། ད་མིག་ལངས་ད་ན་ལས་སྲིར་དྲགས་གི་པ་བསམ་ནི། ཨེ་རྟུག་
ཁྱིད་གི་སོང། ཨེ་བེ་བྲག་ཁྱུང་བྱིག་གི་ནང་ན་ལོ་གི་ལྷེ་ཤུས་ནི། ཨ་ཁྱུང་རི་པོར་ཁེམས་ནས་ངན་པ་ཤར་
འདུག་བྱིག་ རྟུག་འདི་བྲག་ནང་འཕངས་ནི་བསད་དེ་དགོས་འི་དེ་བསམ་ནི། ཨེ་བེ་ཁྱོད་ཤུགས་དོར་
འདུག་རྒྱ་འོ་ཁ་འདབས་འདུག་རྒྱ་བེར་ནི་ད། ད་རྟུག་གིས་ཁོག་པ་ནང་ངན་པ་ཤར་ད་བྱིག་ ད་རྒྱུང་
ཅོམ་ཆོར་ད་བྱིག་ ཨེ་ན། འདིས་ང་ཉ་གེ་པལ་པ་ངན་པ་ལས་བཞག་གི་ད་ངའི་མིག་མི་མཚོང་འི་ལོ།
ཤུགས་དོར་བསྐྱད་ད་འདིས་ལྷེ་ཤུང་ནས་ད་ཤེག་རྒྱ་ཤེད་པ་དེ་བསམ་ད་བྱིག་ ཁོ་ཁ་འདབས་བསྐྱད་
ཉ་བེར། ཁ་འདབས་བསྐྱད་ཉ་བེར་ནི་ན་ལོ་བྲག་ཁྱུང་ནང་བསྐྱད་འདུག་ནི་ད། ཨེ་བེ་གཞན་གས་ལྷེ་
འབར་གི་རྟུག་གི་སྲོན་སོར་ཤུར་ཤུང་ད་བྱིག་ རྟུག་གི་སྲོན་སོར་ཤུང་ལས་ནི་སྐབས་ཨ་ཁྱུང་མ་ལེ་
སྲིར་ལུར། རྒྱ་རིས་མ་རིས་ལྷེར་ཤེག་འགོ་འི། ཁྱོད་ཤུ་ཀུན་གོ་ཤེག་གི་འགོ་འི་བེར། རྟུག་གི་ཤུ་ཀུན་གོ་
མདོག་ག་བཟང་གི་ལོ། ཨེ་སྲིར་ལུར་ནི། སྲིར་སན་གོ་ལུར། འང་རི་པོར་ཁེམས་ནང་ཁ་སྲིན་ཅི་ཤར་
འདུག་གི་ འང་ཚོག་ལས་ཤིང་བཞག་ཤིང་བཞག་ནི་ལྷེ་འབར་ལེ་ད། སན་གོ་སྲོན་སོར་ལེ་སྲེལ། དེ་
རྟུག་གི་མི་མཚོང་འི་ལོ། ཨེ་ཨ་ཁྱུང་མ་ལེ་སྲིར་ལུར། རྒྱ་རིས་མ་རིས་ལྷེར་ཤེག་འགོ་འི་བེར། དེ་ཤེ་སྲིར་
སན་གོ་བྱིག་ལུར་ལོ་འདག་རྟུག་བྲག་ནང་ཤུར་ཤུང་འཕངས་ད་བྱིག་ ད་བྲག་ནང་འཕངས་ནི་རྟུག་
བྲག་ནང་གི་ཤི་སོང། དེ་ཤེ་སྲོན་ནི་ད་མར་ནང་ན་ནགས་གི་ནང་ཤིང་འདུང་རྒྱ་འཕུ་འི་ཡོང་ལོ་
བྱིག་པོར་ལུ་བྱིག་ཁྱིད་ནི་ཡོང་འི་ན རྒྱགས་གི་སོང་ཨ་ཁྱུང་རི་པོར་ཨེ་ཁོས་དེ་ར་ན་རྟུག་གཅིག་
བསད་ཤེད་ཁྱོད་ཨེ་དགོས་བེར་ནི ག་ར་ན་རྒྱང་གི་བེར དེ་འདི་ར་རྒྱང་གི་བེར། ཁྱིད་ནི་སོང་ནི་

སྐྱུག་གི་རོ་རྩིབ་ཀའི་བྲིད་ནི། གཞན་ཉམ་ལངས་ནི་སྐྱུག་ཅིག་བསད་བཞག་ན་ དེ་བཟང་ལེ། སྐྱུག་གི་
ཐོག་ལེ་ཉམ་ལངས་ནི་སྐྱུག་སྐྱུགས་ཉེ་བལྟས་ནི། ཨ་ཁུ་རི་བོང་འིས་བོང་ལུ་བྲིད་ནི་སོང་ནི་སྐྱུང་གི་
ཟིག་ལེ་ཨེ་བྲོད་སྐྱུང་གིས་བོང་ལུ་འི་བོང་ལ་ཨེ་འཆར་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ཟིག་ ཨེ་ཟེ་སྐྱུང་གི་དགའ་ལེ་དགའ་ལེ་
མི་འདྲ་འི་མོ། ཨ་ན་ཨེ་ཟེ་བོང་ལུ་བྲིད་ནི་སོང་ནི་སྐྱུང་གིས་ཁ་ནང་བཞག་ད་ཟིག་ ཨ་ཁུ་རི་བོང་
འིས་ལས་རྒྱ་ལེ་བལྟས་ད། ཨ་ཁུ་རི་བོང་འདི་དོ་ཅི་ཟིག་འདྲ་ཡ།

STORY 4: THE EWE AND THE WOLF

Full text in phonetic symbols

- (1) lo¹²zə⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ lo⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵ h̥sə⁵¹ ha⁵⁵ ri¹¹ wō¹⁴ tə⁵⁵.
(2) mā¹¹ fiō¹⁴ zə⁵⁵ tō¹¹ na¹⁴ lu¹¹ sə¹⁴. (3) k^ho¹¹ do⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^hə¹¹ ŋa⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵⁵. (4) mā¹¹ fiō¹⁴ tsa⁵⁵ sa¹¹ ye⁵⁵ sa¹¹-ye⁵⁵ ti¹⁴ k^hu¹⁴ na⁵⁵ t̥hə¹¹ ri⁵⁵ ke¹¹ ŋo⁵⁵ tə¹¹ re⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹ nə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ha⁵⁵ ndzi¹² kə⁵⁵ sə⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ t̥hə¹¹ ri⁵⁵ lu¹¹ sə¹⁴. (5) ʔo⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ma¹¹ re⁵¹. (6) ɛä¹¹ kə⁵⁵ re⁵¹.
(7) ɛä¹¹ kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹ nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵. (8) ti⁵⁵ ke¹¹ zə¹¹ ɛə⁵⁵ tə¹¹ nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹ nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵. (9) ri¹¹ wō¹⁴ zə¹¹ kə⁵⁵ ɛ^hə⁵⁵ tə¹¹ nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹ nə⁵⁵ ɛä¹¹ kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^ho¹¹ ne⁵⁵ ɛi⁵¹ nə⁵⁵ ri¹¹ wō¹⁴ ndzō¹¹ ke⁵⁵ t̥ʂi⁵¹ s^ho¹¹ nə⁵⁵ ha¹¹ na¹⁴ na⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ ji⁵¹ ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (10) ɛä¹¹ kə⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ tə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹ kə⁵⁵ ma¹¹ t^ho¹¹ ye⁵⁵. (11) na¹⁴ t̥hə¹¹ ri⁵⁵ lu¹¹ sə¹⁴.
(12) mā¹¹ fiō¹⁴ mə¹¹ fiō¹⁴ ni⁵⁵ ja¹¹ s^he⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ sə⁵⁵. (13) mā¹¹ fiō¹⁴ mə¹¹ fiō¹⁴ na¹⁴ ndzo¹¹ si⁵⁵ lō¹⁴ ti⁵⁵ na¹¹ na⁵⁵ ɛä¹¹ kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ k^hu⁵⁵ na¹¹ na⁵⁵ lu¹¹ tə¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (14) ɛä¹¹ kə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ mā¹¹ fiō¹⁴ dze¹² ta⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵. (15) ʔə¹¹ zə⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ dze¹² nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵. (16) ʔə¹¹ zə⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^hə¹¹ sei¹⁴ dze¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥hə¹⁴ k^ho⁵⁵ la¹¹ ɛi⁵¹ dze¹¹ nə⁵⁵. (17) ʔe⁵⁵ ŋe¹² t̥hə⁵⁵ lā¹⁴ ne⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (18) t̥hə¹⁴ mo⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he⁵⁵ to¹¹ ye⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵. (19) ŋe¹² t̥hə⁵⁵ mə¹¹ t̥ʂ^ha⁵⁵. (20) tə⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^ha⁵⁵ lə¹¹ re⁵¹ dze¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (21) tə⁵⁵ mə¹¹ t̥ʂ^ha⁵⁵ sei¹⁴. (22) ʔə¹¹ ze⁵⁵ mā¹¹ fiō¹⁴ te¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ na⁵⁵ ja¹¹ s^ha⁵⁵ n^hdze¹¹ ye⁵⁵ ndzo¹¹ ye⁵⁵. (23) ʂ^haŋ¹¹ sə⁵⁵ ne¹¹ ɛi¹⁴ na¹⁴ gə⁵⁵. (24) dō¹¹ tsi⁵⁵ ge¹¹ fia⁵⁵ n^hdze¹¹ kə⁵⁵ jō¹¹ ye⁵⁵ na⁵⁵. (25) ta⁵⁵ ɛä¹¹ kə⁵⁵ ma¹¹ la¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ na⁵⁵ na¹¹ wa⁵⁵ ri⁵¹. (26) ndə¹² ni¹¹ ma¹¹ t̥ʂa⁵⁵ də¹¹ re⁵¹. (27) mi¹¹ ye⁵⁵ ʂ^hi¹¹ gə⁵⁵. (28) sa¹¹ t̥e⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na¹¹ mi⁵⁵. (29) la¹¹ ta⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵. (30) la¹¹ ta⁵⁵ t̥si⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵ zə¹¹ kə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ ze⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ho¹⁴ to¹¹ nə⁵⁵ me¹¹ fi⁴⁴. (31) t̥hə⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^ha⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵ ye⁵⁵ dze¹¹ nə⁵⁵. (32) ʔa¹¹ ma⁵⁵ t̥hə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ mə¹¹ t̥ʂ^ha⁵⁵ sə¹¹ ti⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵. (33) tə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ho¹⁴ to¹¹ nə⁵⁵ me¹¹ fi⁴⁴ t̥ʂ^ha¹¹ t̥e⁵⁵ dze¹¹ nə⁵⁵. (34) ʔa¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʂa¹¹ le⁵⁵ t̥hə¹¹ ri⁵⁵ t̥ʂi¹¹ ye⁵⁵ ndza¹². (35) t̥hə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ra¹² ts^ho⁵⁵ ts^ho⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ t̥ə⁵⁵ dā¹¹ ko¹⁴ t̥hə⁵⁵ t̥ə⁵⁵ dā¹¹ kə¹⁴ ʔə¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥ə⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹ ɛ^ha⁵⁵ ko¹¹ ye⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵.
(36) ʔə⁵⁵ t̥hə¹¹ ri⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴ nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ ta¹¹ gē¹⁴ zə⁵⁵ le⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹ t^hu⁵¹ ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (37) t̥ʂ^hi¹¹ sei¹⁴ dze¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ ta¹¹ gē¹⁴ dō¹¹ tsi⁵⁵ ri¹¹ ta⁵⁵. (38) ʔa¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥hə⁵⁵ dō¹¹ tsi⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he¹¹ fi¹¹ mi⁵⁵. (39) k^he¹¹ de¹² dō¹⁴ ɛi¹¹ t̥ə⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ t̥ə⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ na⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵¹. (40) k^he⁵⁵ dō¹⁴ ɛi¹¹ nə⁵⁵ la¹¹ nə⁵⁵ ni¹¹ ma¹¹ t̥ʂa⁵⁵ re⁵¹ sō¹¹ nə⁵⁵ la¹¹ ta⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵. (41) ta⁵⁵ mə¹¹ t̥ʂ^ha⁵⁵ sə¹¹ ti⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵. (42) la¹¹ ta⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ zə⁵⁵ ndi¹² t̥ʂ^ha¹¹ t̥e⁵⁵ sei¹⁴. (43) t̥hə⁵⁵ te¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^hə¹¹ kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹ t̥ʂ^he⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^hə¹¹ kə⁵⁵ dze¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (44) ʔei¹⁴ t̥e¹⁴ k^ha¹¹ tsa⁵⁵ t̥ə¹¹ ri⁵⁵ ri¹¹ mi⁵⁵ le¹² t̥e¹¹ n^hdze⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na¹⁴ mi⁵⁵. (45) t̥ʂ^he¹¹ na⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ h̥sə¹¹ t̥e⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na¹⁴. (46) k^ho⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ na⁵⁵ se¹¹ ko⁵⁵ ji¹¹ ti⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵ ʂ^he¹⁴ ta¹¹ t̥ʂa⁵⁵ t̥ʂo¹¹ nə⁵⁵ du⁵¹ t^ho¹⁴ nə⁵⁵. (47) ta⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹ na¹¹ na⁵⁵ s^ho⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na¹⁴ mi⁵⁵. (48) ʂ^ha⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na¹⁴ mi⁵⁵. (49) ta⁵⁵ mə¹¹ za¹¹ fi⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵. (50) ta⁵⁵ t̥e¹⁴ k^ho¹⁴ dzo¹² le⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ ɛ^hū¹¹ ra¹⁴ kə¹⁴ mi⁵⁵. (51) ndə¹² kə¹¹ go⁵⁵ ni¹² ye⁵⁵ le¹² ri⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (52) nde¹² te¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥e¹¹ n^hdze⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na¹⁴. (53) ta⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵ mə¹¹ t̥ʂə⁵⁵ kə¹¹ mi⁵⁵. (54) k^ho⁵⁵ mə⁵⁵ so⁵⁵ ye⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵. (55) go¹² ɛ^hū¹⁴ ra⁵¹ kə¹¹ mi⁵⁵. (56) te⁵⁵ te¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^ho¹¹ kə⁵⁵. (57) ʔə¹¹ ze⁵⁵ ɛä¹¹ ki⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^ha¹¹ t̥e⁵⁵ dze¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (58) ta¹¹ ke⁵⁵ ndi¹² t̥e¹⁴ dze¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he⁵⁵ na¹² t̥ʂ^ho¹¹ kə⁵⁵ dze¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (59) ʔa⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ ma¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ mā¹¹ fiō¹⁴ dze¹² to¹¹ ri⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he¹⁴ ma¹¹ to⁵⁵. (60) to¹¹ ri⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ sō¹⁴ t̥ʂi¹¹ ya⁵⁵.
(61) ti⁵⁵ ma¹¹ na⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹ nə⁵⁵ ndzo¹¹ gē¹⁴ zə⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵⁵. (62) ndzo¹² ka¹¹ bo⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (63) h̥ʂe¹¹ na⁵⁵ ʂ^ha⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵. (64) ta⁵⁵ ge¹¹ sə⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵. (65) k^ha¹¹ na⁵⁵ s^ho⁵⁵ mə¹¹ na⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵. (66) no¹¹ fiu¹⁴ na⁵⁵ ʂ^ho⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹ ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (67) dzo¹² na⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ ɛ^hū¹¹ ra¹⁴ kə¹⁴. (68) tsa⁵⁵ sa¹¹ ye⁵⁵ mə¹¹ t̥ʂ^ha⁵⁵ kə¹¹. (69) dō¹¹ tsi⁵⁵ le¹² k^ha¹¹ t^hu⁵¹ ya¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (70) ʔə¹¹ zə⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ ndzo¹² t̥hə⁵⁵ ne¹⁴ t̥ə¹¹ kə⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵. (71) ʔə⁵⁵ dō¹¹ no⁵⁵ dō¹¹ no⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (72) k^hə¹¹ ne⁵⁵ ndə⁵⁵ t̥hə⁵⁵ h̥ʂe⁵¹ ɛi⁵⁵ dze¹¹ nə⁵⁵. (73) ʔe⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ dō¹¹ tsi⁵⁵ ji¹¹ nə⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (74) k^he⁵⁵ du⁵¹ t^ho¹¹ nə⁵⁵ k^he¹⁴ ke¹¹ nə⁵⁵ dzo¹² kə¹¹ go⁵⁵ t̥hə⁵¹ mə¹¹ t̥hə⁵¹ da¹¹ po⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ du⁵¹ t^ho¹¹ t^ho¹¹ t^ho¹¹ lo¹² ma¹¹ ŋe⁵⁵ le¹¹ ka⁵⁵ le⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵. (75) ta⁵⁵ ts^he⁵⁵ ndə¹¹ re⁵⁵ tsə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ɛä¹¹ dze⁵⁵ te¹¹ ta⁵⁵ te⁵⁵. (76) dzo¹² na⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵⁵. (77) ta⁵⁵ ge¹¹ sə⁵⁵. (78) ta⁵⁵ mə¹¹ za¹⁴ le⁵⁵ da⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ go¹² ɛ^hū⁵⁵ to⁵¹ ye¹¹ mi⁵⁵. (79) te⁵⁵ te¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥hə⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^he¹¹ na⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^ho¹¹ kə⁵⁵ dze¹¹ ra⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵. (80) ʔa⁵⁵ ɛä¹¹ ki⁵⁵ t̥ʂ^ha¹¹ t̥e⁵⁵ dze¹¹ zə⁵⁵. (81) ʔa⁵⁵

mã¹¹fið¹⁴ ŋo¹¹ga⁵⁵te¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ya⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ya⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹⁴ma¹¹to⁵⁵. (82) to¹¹ri⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵ tʰə¹⁴ tʂi¹¹ya⁵⁵ n¹²dza¹²dze¹¹nə⁵⁵.

(83) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴zə⁵⁵le⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ t^hu⁵¹ya¹¹zə⁵⁵. (84) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴zə⁵⁵le⁵⁵ k^ha⁵⁵ t^hu⁵¹ta¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (85) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tē^he⁵⁵ te¹¹na⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ei¹¹kə⁵⁵ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (86) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹tʂ^ho⁵⁵ n¹²dza¹²da⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ya⁵⁵ n¹²dza¹²-da⁵⁵. (87) ŋe⁵⁵ tə¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂi⁵¹ta¹¹ya⁵⁵da⁵⁵ tʂ^ho⁵¹ ei¹¹tə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (88) tē^ho⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ka⁵⁵fi⁵⁵. (89) la¹⁴na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ka⁵⁵fi⁵⁵ mə¹¹ka⁵⁵fi⁵⁵. (90) ʔə¹¹tʂ^ho⁵⁵ te⁵⁵ye⁵⁵ n¹²dza¹²dze¹². (91) ʔə⁵⁵ tē^hi¹¹nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ ŋō¹¹ ʂ^ho¹⁴ tə¹¹ri⁵⁵ pi¹¹sə⁵⁵. (92) ja⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ tē^ho⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ po⁵¹ta⁵⁵. (93) tē^ho⁵⁵ tʂ^ho⁵⁵ ei¹¹tə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵. (94) tē^ho⁵⁵ ŋo¹²tā¹¹wo⁵⁵ n¹²di¹¹ na¹⁴ tʂ^ho⁵⁵ ei¹¹nə⁵⁵ lu¹¹sə⁵⁵. (95) k^ho⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴zə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹le⁵⁵ tʂ^ho¹¹lo⁵⁵ta⁵⁵ ha¹¹na¹⁴na⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ jə¹¹lo⁵⁵ ma¹¹t^ho¹¹ya⁵⁵. (96) k^he⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴ tʂ^ha¹¹tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴ zī¹¹kə⁵⁵ ma¹¹tʂ^hə¹¹kə⁵⁵. (97) k^hu¹⁴ na¹⁴ lu¹¹sə⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (98) ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ mã¹¹fið¹⁴ ha¹⁴ta⁵⁵ma⁵⁵ ma¹¹ri⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (99) k^hu¹¹na⁵⁵ lu¹¹sə⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ dō¹⁴ re⁵¹ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ k^hu¹¹na⁵⁵ lə¹¹ei⁵⁵ jo¹¹nə⁵⁵ me¹¹fi⁴⁴ya⁵⁵. (100) ta⁵⁵ tē^he⁵⁵ mã¹¹fið¹⁴ tʂ^ha¹¹ye⁵⁵tə¹¹te⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹ jī¹⁴. (101) mã¹¹fi⁵⁵ tē^ho⁵⁵ lā¹¹gə⁵⁵tə¹¹te⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹ jī¹⁴. (102) mã¹¹fið¹⁴ mã¹¹fið¹⁴ n¹²dzo¹¹se⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴mi⁵⁵. (103) eã¹¹kə⁵⁵ tē^ho⁵⁵ lu¹¹si⁵⁵na⁵⁵ tē^ho⁵⁵ hu¹¹ta¹¹ma⁵⁵ ma¹¹ri⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (104) ... t^ha⁵⁵ jə¹⁴ tsə¹¹rən⁵⁵ mə¹¹ju¹⁴.... (105) tē^ho⁵⁵ lu¹¹ya⁵⁵tə⁵⁵ti⁵⁵ mã¹¹fið¹⁴ tə¹¹ra⁵⁵ mə¹¹na¹¹mi⁵⁵. (106) tē^he⁵⁵ n¹²di¹⁴ ŋo⁵⁵ n¹²də¹² tʂ^ha¹¹tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵. (107) tē^ho¹⁴ k^ha¹¹na⁵⁵ mə¹¹jo⁵⁵lə⁵⁵zə⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵ ve¹¹lə⁵⁵ma¹¹re⁵¹ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵ tō¹¹da⁵¹. (108) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ eã¹¹kə⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ ti¹¹na⁵⁵ e^hi⁵⁵ ra⁵¹ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (109) ri¹¹wə¹⁴ hu¹¹tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹ta⁵⁵ eã¹¹ki⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴ tʂ^ha¹¹ye⁵⁵ tsā¹¹po⁵⁵ ei¹¹nə⁵⁵ me¹¹fi⁴⁴. (110) t^hu¹⁴pan¹¹fa¹¹ t^hu¹⁴pan¹¹fa¹¹ sə¹¹lo⁵⁵ta⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹le⁵⁵ jō¹¹le⁵⁵ re⁵¹. (111) t^hu¹⁴pan¹¹fa¹¹ dze¹¹nə⁵⁵ t^hu¹¹tsə⁵⁵ti⁵⁵ pan¹¹fa¹⁴ re⁵¹. (112) tə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴ n¹²di¹² le¹²ri¹¹ma⁵⁵ ma¹¹lə⁵⁵re⁵¹.

Interlinear glossing text

(1)	lo ¹² -zə ⁵⁵	ko ⁵⁵ -lo ⁵⁵ -zə ⁵⁵	h ⁵⁵ ə ⁵¹ -ha ⁵⁵	ri ¹¹ wə ¹⁴	tə ⁵⁵
	ལྟོ་བྱིག	བཀོད་ལོ་བྱིག	བཤད་ཏེ་	རི་བོད་	དེ་
	wisdom-NDEF	use-NML-NDEF	tell-SFT	hare	DEM

‘I will narrate one (story) Hare uses (his) wisdom.’

(2)	[mã ¹¹ fið ¹⁴ -zə ⁵⁵	tō ¹¹	na ¹⁴	[lu ¹¹ -sə ¹⁴]
	མ་ལོ་བྱིག	རྫོང་	ནང་	ལྷན་སོང་
	ewe-NDEF	hole	inside	fall-PFT.TRA

‘An Ewe fell down into the hole.’

(3)	[k ^h o ¹¹ do ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h ə ¹¹ ŋa ⁵⁵ -zə ⁵⁵	na ¹¹ gə ⁵⁵]
	ལྷན་རྫོང་	ཆེན་ལོ་བྱིག	སྤང་གི
	pit	big-NDEF	EXV.SEN

‘There was a big pit.’

(4)	[mã ¹¹ fið ¹⁴	tsa ⁵⁵	sa ¹¹ -ye ⁵⁵	sa ¹¹ -ye ⁵⁵	ti ¹⁴
	མ་ལོ་	རྩ་	བཟང་གི་	བཟང་གི་	དེ་དེ་
	ewe	grass	eat.NPF-PROG	eat.NPF-PROG	DEM.GEN
	k ^h u ¹⁴ -na ⁵⁵	t ^h ə ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵	ke ¹¹	ŋo ⁵⁵	tə ¹¹ re ⁵⁵
	ལྷན་ནང་	ཐོན་ཏེ་	གད་	འགོ	ཐོན་ཏེ་
	hole-INE	downwards	cliff	top	there

s ^h o ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵	la ¹¹ ha ⁵⁵	n ^d zi ¹² -kə ⁵⁵ sə ⁵⁵ -nə ⁵⁵	na ⁵⁵	t ^h ə ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵
སོང་ནི་	ལག་པ་	འདྲེང་གི་སོང་ནི་	ནང་	ཐར་རྒྱ་
go-CONJ	hand	slip-AOR.TRA-CONJ	inside	downwards
lu ¹¹ -sə ¹⁴]				
ལྷུང་སོང་				
fall-PFT.TRA				

‘Ewe was eating and eating grass, then she went inside the hole, no, to the top of the cliff, and she slipped the hands and fell down into (the cave).’

(5) [ʔo⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ma¹¹-re⁵¹]
 ཨོ་ དེ་ མ་རེད་
 INTJ DEM NEG-CPV
 ‘Oh, that [what I told] is not (true).’

(6) [eã¹¹kə⁵⁵ re⁵¹]
 ཟུང་གི་ རེད་
 wolf CPV
 ‘(That) is Wolf.’

(7) eã¹¹kə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵
 ཟུང་གི་ དེ་ སོང་ནི་ད་
 wolf DEM go-CONJ-SFT
 ‘That Wolf walked.’

(8) ti⁵⁵ kɛ¹¹-zə¹¹ e^hə⁵⁵ tə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵
 དེས་ གན་ཟླུག་ སྐྱར་ དེད་ནི་ སོང་ནི་ད་
 DEM.ERG DEM-NDEF back chase-CONJ go-CONJ-SFT
 ‘That [Wolf] went to chase that [Hare].’

(9) ri¹¹wō¹⁴-zə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ e^hə⁵⁵ tə¹¹-nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ eã¹¹kə⁵⁵
 རི་བོང་ཟླུག་གི་ སྐྱར་ དེད་ནི་ སོང་ནི་ ཟུང་གི་
 hare-NDEF-GEN back chase-CONJ go-CONJ wolf
 tə⁵⁵ tʃ^ho¹¹-ne⁵⁵ ei⁵¹-nə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ n^dzə¹¹ke⁵⁵
 དེ་ མཚོང་ན་ན་ སྐྱེད་ནི་ རི་བོང་ འགམ་ཀམ་
 DEM jump-too do-CONJ hare side.LOC
 tʃi⁵¹ s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ha¹¹na¹⁴-na⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ ji⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 གཅིག་ སོང་ནི་ སར་ནང་ན་ ལྷུང་ ཡོད་ད་ཟླུག་
 one go-CONJ opposite-LOC hole EXV-PFT.NSEN

‘(Wolf) went to chase Hare, and that Wolf jumped too much, and Hare went to another side; there was a hole on the opposite side (of Hare).’

(10) eã¹¹kə⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ tə⁵⁵ ni⁵¹-kə⁵⁵ ma¹¹-t^ho¹¹-yə⁵⁵
 ཟུང་གིས་ ལྷུང་ དེ་ སྐྱིག་གིས་ མ་མཐོང་དེ་
 wolf hole DEM eye-INS NEG-see-SEN
 ‘Wolf did not see the hole with his eyes.’

- (11) na¹⁴ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ lu¹¹-sə¹⁴
 ནང་ བྱར་ན་ ལྷང་སྲོང་
 inside downwards fall-PFT.TRA
 ‘(Wolf) fell into (the hole).’
- (12) mā¹¹fiō¹⁴ mə¹¹fiō¹⁴ n a⁵⁵ la¹¹s^{he}⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵-sə⁵⁵
 མ་མོ་ མ་སྲ་ ག་ ལྷ་སར་ སྲང་སྲང་
 ewe mother and daughter two PLN.LOC go-PFT.TRA
 ‘Both Ewe and her daughter were going to Lhasa.’
- (13) mā¹¹fiō¹⁴ mə¹¹fiō¹⁴ na¹⁴ n^odzo¹¹-si⁵⁵ lō¹⁴
 མ་མོ་ མ་སྲ་ ག་ འགྲོ་སའི་ ལམ་
 ewe mother and daughter both go-NML.GEN road
 ti⁵⁵ na¹¹-na⁵⁵ eā¹¹ka⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ k^hu⁵⁵ na¹¹-na⁵⁵
 དེའི་ ནང་ན་ ལྷང་གི་དེ་ ལྷང་ ནང་ན་
 DEM.GEN inside-LOC wolf-DEF hole inside-INE
 lu¹¹-tə¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ལྷང་འདྲག་བྱིག་
 fall- PFT.NSEN
 ‘Wolf fell into the hole on the road where both Ewe and her daughter were walking.’
- (14) eā¹¹ka⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ mā¹¹fiō¹⁴ dze¹²-ta⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵
 ལྷང་གི་ དེས་ ཨ་ མ་མོ་ ཟེར་ད་བྱིག་
 wolf DEM.ERG INTJ ewe say-PFT.NSEN
 ‘That Wolf said: “Hey, Ewe!”’
- (15) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ dze¹²-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵
 ཨེ་ཟེ་ ཨོ་ ཟེར་ནི་ད་
 then INTJ say-CONJ-EMPH
 ‘Then, “Oh!” said (Wolf).’
- (16) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹ sei¹⁴ dze¹¹-na⁵⁵ te^he¹⁴
 ཨེ་ཟེ་ ཚེ་ ཟེར་འི་ ཟེར་ན་ བྱོས་
 then what say say-CONJ 2.ERG
 k^ho⁵⁵ la¹¹ ei⁵¹ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ལོ་ ལངས་ བྱེད་ ཟེར་ནི་
 3 take.PF do say-CONJ
 ‘Then, what (Wolf) said was: “You take me (up)!”’
- (17) ʔe⁵⁵ ŋe¹² te^ho⁵⁵ lā¹⁴ ne⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 ཨེ་ དས་ བྱོད་ ལམ་ ཚོག་ནི་མ་རེད་
 INTJ 1.ERG 2 take.NPF can-STA.NEG
 ‘(Ewe said:) “Eh, I cannot take you up.”’

- (18) te^{h_e14} mo^{55} $tʃ^{h_e55}-to^{11}-ye^{55}-mi^{55}$
 ཁྱིས་ མོ་ འཆས་ རྡོ་ རི་ མོ་
 2.ERG 3F eat.PF-IMPRX-SFT-EMPH
 ‘“You will eat me!”’
- (19) ηe^{12} te^{h_o55} $mə^{11}-tʃ^{h_a55}$
 ངས་ ཁྱོད་ མི་ འཆའ་
 1.ERG 2 NEG-eat.NPF
 ‘(Wolf said:) “I won’t eat you!”’
- (20) $tə^{55}$ $tʃ^{h_a55}-lə^{11} re^{51}$ $dze^{11}-zə^{55}$
 དེ་ འཆའ་ ལེ་ རེད་ ཟེར་ བྱི་
 DEM eat.NPF-NPFT say-NSEN
 ‘(Ewe) said: “That (Wolf) will eat (me).”’
- (21) $tə^{55}$ $mə^{11}-tʃ^{h_a55}-sei^{14}$
 དེ་ མི་ འཆའ་ ཟེར་ རི་
 DEM NEG-eat.NPF-QUOT
 ‘(Wolf) said: “(I) won’t eat that (Ewe).”’
- (22) $\eta ə^{11} ze^{55}$ $mā^{11} fiō^{14}$ $te^{11}-na^{55}$ $\eta ə^{11} na^{55}$ $ja^{11} s^{h_a55}$
 ཞེ་ ཟེ་ མ་ མོ་ བལྟས་ བ་ འ་ བ་ ལྷ་ སར་
 then ewe look-CONJ I.INCL.both PLN
 ${}^n dze^{11}-y ə^{55}$ ${}^n dzo^{11}-y e^{55}$
 བཤའ་ རི་ འགྲོ་ རི་
 pilgrim-NML go-NPFT.SEN
 ‘Then, Ewe thought: “We two are going to Lhasa on a pilgrimage.”’
- (23) $\eta^{h_a} \eta^{11} s ə^{55}$ $ne^{11} ɛ i^{14}$ $na^{14} g ə^{55}$
 *** *** ལྷན་ གི་
 Cthought Cpatience EXV.SEN
 ‘(Ewe) had patience in (her) thought.’
- (24) $d ə^{11} tsi^{55}$ $ge^{11} fi a^{55}$ ${}^n d z ə^{11}-k ə^{55}$ $j ə^{11}-y ə^{55} na^{55}$
 རོ་ ཅི་ ངགེ་ བ་ ལྷན་ བ་ ལོང་ རི་ བ་
 like this merit accumulate-NML come.NI-STA.SEN
 ‘“(We) are coming to accumulate merit like this.”’
- (25) ta^{55} $ɛ ə^{11} k ə^{55}$ $ma^{11}-la^{11}-na^{55}$ $\eta a^{11} na^{55}$ $na^{11} wa^{55}$
 ང་ ལྷན་ གི་ མ་ ལངས་ བ་ ཞ་ བ་ ཉེས་ བ་
 now wolf NEG-take.PF-CONJ EMPH sin
 ri^{51}
 རེད་
 CPV
 ‘“Now if (we) don’t take Wolf up, that will be a sin.”’

- (26) ⁿdə¹² ni¹¹ma¹¹ʈʂa⁵⁵-ⁿdə¹¹ re⁵¹
 འདི་ སྤོང་མ་རྗེ་འདི་ རེད་
 DEM poor-DEF CPV
 ‘“This, that’s poor!”’
- (27) mi¹¹ʎə⁵⁵ ʂ^hi¹¹-gə⁵⁵
 མྱ་གེ་ ཤི་གི
 famine die-STA
 ‘“(Wolf) will die of hunger.’
- (28) sa¹¹-tei⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na¹¹-mi⁵⁵
 ཟ་རྒྱ་ མི་སྤང་མོ་
 eat.NPF-NML NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH
 ‘“(For) there is nothing to eat.”’
- (29) la¹¹-ta⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵
 ལངས་ད་ཟེག
 take.PF-PFT.NSEN
 ‘(Ewe) took (Wolf) up.’
- (30) la¹¹-ta⁵⁵-tʂi⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵-zə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴
 ལངས་ད་ཙོ་གི་ཟེག་གི ཞེ་ཟེ་ ད་ ཁོའི་
 take.PF-PFT-ACP-NSEN-GEN then now 3.GEN
 ho¹⁴ to¹¹-nə⁵⁵ me¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 སོ་བ་ ལྷོགས་ནི་ མེད་འི་
 belly hungry-CONJ bad-STA.SEN
 ‘Just when (Ewe) took (Wolf) up, (Wolf said:) “Now my belly is [I am] really hungry.”’
- (31) tɛ^ho⁵⁵ ʈʂ^ha⁵⁵ ko⁵⁵-ʎe⁵⁵ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཁྱོད་ འཆའ་ དགོས་འི་ ཟེར་ནི་
 2 eat need-NPFT.SEN say-CONJ
 ‘(Wolf) said: “I need to eat you.”’
- (32) ʔa¹¹ma⁵⁵ tɛ^he⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ mə¹¹-ʈʂ^ha⁵⁵ sə¹¹-ti⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ཨ་མ་ བྱིས་ ཁོ་ མི་འཆའ་ ཟེར་དས་མོ་
 INTJ 2.ERG 3 NEG-eat say-PFT.SEN-EMPH
 ‘(Ewe said:) “Oh my goodness! You said you wouldn’t eat me!”’
- (33) tə⁵⁵ k^ho¹⁴ ho¹⁴ to¹¹-nə⁵⁵ me¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 དེ་ ཁོའི་ སོ་བ་ ལྷོགས་ནི་ མེད་འི་
 DEM 3.GEN belly hungry-CONJ bad-STA.SEN
 ʈʂ^ha¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 འཆའ་རྒྱ་ ཟེར་ནི་
 eat.NPF-FUT.E say-CONJ

‘He [Wolf] said: “My belly is [I am] really hungry, I will eat (you).”’

- (34) ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵ ʂa¹¹-le⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂi¹¹-ɣə⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹ ʔə¹¹ ʂa¹¹-le⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂi¹¹-ɣə⁵⁵
 INTJ 1.INCL.both town-LOC downwards ask.PF-NML
ⁿdza¹²
 ʔə¹¹
 go.NPF

‘(Ewe said:) “Then, we two, let’s go to the town and ask (the following).”’

- (35) te^he⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ra¹²ts^ho⁵⁵ts^ho⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ tʂ^he⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵
 tʂ^he⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ ra¹²ts^ho⁵⁵ts^ho⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ tʂ^he⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵
 2.ERG 3 randomly eat.PF-PFT-CONJ 3-TOP
 dā¹¹-ko¹⁴ te^ho⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵ dā¹¹-kə¹⁴ ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹e^ha⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵ tʂ^he⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ k^ha¹¹e^ha⁵⁵
 true-SEN.or 2-TOP true-SEN 1.INCL.both-TOP separate
 ko¹¹-ye⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵
 need-NPFT.SEN-EMPH

‘“Whether you eat me as you like, whether I am right or you are right, we two [Ewe and Wolf²⁷] need (to clarify) a division!”’

- (36) ʔə⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ ta¹¹gə¹⁴-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵
 ʔə⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ ta¹¹gə¹⁴-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵
 then downwards go-CONJ-EMPH old horse-NDEF-DAT
 k^ha¹¹t^hu⁵¹-ta¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 ʔə⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ ta¹¹gə¹⁴-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵
 meet-PFT-NSEN

‘Then, (Ewe and Wolf) went down, and then they met an old horse.’

- (37) tʂ^hi¹¹ sei¹⁴ dze¹¹-na⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ ta¹¹gə¹⁴
 tʂ^hi¹¹ sei¹⁴ dze¹¹-na⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ ta¹¹gə¹⁴
 what say say-CONJ INTJ old horse
 dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵ ri¹¹-ta⁵⁵
 dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵ ri¹¹-ta⁵⁵
 like this CPV-SFT

‘What (Ewe) said was: “Hey, Old Horse, (you) are like this!”’

- (38) ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹-fi¹¹-mi⁵⁵
 ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹-fi¹¹-mi⁵⁵
 INTJ 2 like this big-STA.SEN-EMPH

‘“Oh, you are old like this”’

²⁷ From here on, Ewe’s daughter (see Sentences 12 and 13) does not appear in the story.

- (39) k^he¹¹ n^de¹² dō¹⁴ ei¹¹-tə⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵
 ཁོས་ འདིར་ རྫོང་ རྱེད་འདྲག་གི་ད་ དེ་
 3.ERG DEM.DAT like this do-PFT.SEN-SFT DEM
 k^hu¹⁴ na⁵⁵-na⁵⁵ na¹¹ gə⁵¹
 ལྷང་ བྱང་ན་ ལྷང་གི
 hole inside-INE EXV.SEN
 “I did like this: That (Wolf) was in the hole.”
- (40) k^he⁵⁵ dō¹⁴ ei¹¹-nə⁵⁵ la¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ni¹¹ma¹¹tʂa⁵⁵
 ཁོས་ རྫོང་ རྱེད་ནི་ ལངས་ནི་ ལྷིང་མ་རྗེ་
 3.ERG like this do-CONJ take.PF-CONJ poor
 re⁵¹ sō¹¹-nə⁵⁵ la¹¹-ta⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵
 རེད་ བསམ་ནི་ ལངས་ད་ནི་ད་
 CPV think-CONJ take.PF-PFT-CONJ-SFT
 “I did like this and took (Wolf) up, thinking of (Wolf) being poor, so took (Wolf) up.”
- (41) ta⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʂ^ha⁵⁵ sə¹¹-ti⁵⁵-ta⁵⁵
 ད་ མི་འཆའ་ ཟེར་དྲས་ད་
 now NEG-eat say-PFT.SEN-SFT
 “At that time, (Wolf) said: ‘I won’t eat (you).’”
- (42) la¹¹-ta⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ n^di¹² tʂ^ha¹¹-tei⁵⁵-sei¹⁴
 ལངས་ད་ནི་ ཞེ་ཟེ་ འདིས་ འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་དི་
 take.PF-PFT-CONJ then DEM.ERG eat.NPF-FUT.E-QUOT
 “After I took (Wolf) up, this [Wolf] said that (he) would eat (me).”
- (43) tɕ^he⁵⁵ te¹¹-na⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹-na⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʂ^he⁵⁵-na⁵⁵
 ལྷོས་ བལྟས་ན་ འཆས་ན་ ཚོག་གི་ མ་འཆས་ན་
 2.ERG look-CONJ eat.PF-CONJ can-STA NEG-eat.PF-CONJ
 tʂ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵ dze¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 ཚོག་གི་ ཟེར་ཟེག
 can-STA say-NSEN
 “Do you say whether (Wolf) can eat (me) or not?”
- (44) ʔei¹⁴ tei¹⁴ k^ha¹¹tʂa⁵⁵ tə¹¹ri⁵⁵ ri¹¹-mi⁵⁵ le¹²tei¹¹ndze⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ ལྷས་ ལ་རྩང་དེ་རིང་ རེད་མོ་ ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་
 INTJ horse.ERG recently CPV-EMPH karma
 mə¹¹-na¹⁴-mi⁵⁵
 མི་སྣང་མོ་
 NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH
 (Horse said:) “Hey, I do not have any karma recently.”

- (45) tʃʰe¹¹-na⁵⁵ kʰo⁵⁵ hʃə¹¹-tei⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na¹⁴
 འཇམ་ན་ ཁོ་ བཤད་རྒྱ་ མི་སྤང་
 eat.PF-CONJ 3 tell-NML NEG-EXV.SEN
 “If (the Wolf) eats (me), I have nothing to tell.”
- (46) kʰo⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ se¹¹ko⁵⁵ ji¹¹-ti⁵⁵-na⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵
 ཁོ་ ཨ་ན་ སུ་གོ་ ཡིན་དྲིས་ན་ གཞན་
 3 INTJ small CPV-CONJ-TOP other
 ʃʰe¹⁴ ta¹¹tʃa⁵⁵ tʃo¹¹-nə⁵⁵ du⁵¹ tʰo¹⁴-nə⁵⁵
 ཤེན་ ཏ་ལྷག་ འབྲབ་ནི་ ལྷག་ ཐོང་ནི་
 special horse whip beat-CONJ sufferance receive-CONJ
 “When, ah, I was small, others beat (me) especially with a horse whip, and I received sufferance.”
- (47) ta⁵⁵ kʰa¹¹ na¹¹-na⁵⁵ sʰo⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na¹⁴-mi⁵⁵
 ད་ ཁ་ བཤང་ན་ སོ་ མི་སྤང་མོ་
 now mouth inside-LOC tooth NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH
 “Now there are no teeth in the mouth.”
- (48) ʃʰa⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na¹⁴-mi⁵⁵
 ཤ་ མི་སྤང་མོ་
 meat NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH
 “There is no flesh.”
- (49) ta⁵⁵ mə¹¹-za¹¹-fi⁴⁴-mi⁵⁵
 ད་ མི་བཟང་འི་མོ་
 now NEG-good-STA.SEN-EMPH
 “Now nothing is good.”
- (50) ta⁵⁵ tei¹⁴ kʰo¹⁴ dzo¹²-le⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵
 ད་ ཏམ་ ཁོ་ རྒྱབ་ལེ་ མ་
 now horse.ERG 3 back-LOC scar
 e^hu¹¹-ra¹⁴ kə¹⁴-mi⁵⁵
 བྱང་བཞག་གི་མོ་
 form-PFT.SEN-EMPH
 “The horse (said:) “Now there have formed scars on my back.””
- (51) n̄də¹² kə¹¹go⁵⁵ ni¹²-yə⁵⁵ le¹²-ri⁵⁵-ma⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 འདི་ ཀླན་གོ་ མི་འིས་ ལས་བཞག་མ་ རེད་
 DEM all²⁸ person-ERG do-PFT-NML CPV
 “All these (scars) are what was made by people.”

²⁸ The form /kə¹¹go⁵⁵/ is a variant of the word /kə¹¹ko⁵⁵/. It appears with a special emphasis by the storyteller.

- (52) ⁿde¹² te¹¹-na⁵⁵ tei¹¹ndze⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na¹⁴
 འདིས་ བལྟས་ན་ རྒྱ་འབྲས་ མི་སྤང་
 DEM.DAT look.PF-CONJ karma NEG-EXV.SEN
 ‘‘When (I) look at these, (I) don’t have any karma.’’
- (53) ta⁵⁵ k^he⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʂə⁵⁵-kə¹¹-mi⁵⁵
 ད་ ཁོས་ ཚྱ་ མི་ཚད་གི་མོ་
 now 3.ERG grass NEG-cut-STA-EMPH
 ‘‘Now I cannot cut grass.’’
- (54) k^ho⁵⁵ mə⁵⁵-so⁵⁵-ye⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ཁོ་ མི་གསོ་འི་མོ་
 3 NEG-feed.NPF-NPFT.SEN-EMPH
 ‘‘No one feeds me.’’
- (55) go¹² ɛ^hũ¹⁴-ra⁵¹ kə¹¹-mi⁵⁵
 མྱོ་ བྱང་བཞག་གི་མོ་
 gate drive-PFT.SEN-EMPH
 ‘‘(I) have been driven out of the gate.’’
- (56) te⁵⁵ te¹¹-na⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹¹-na⁵⁵ tʂ^ho¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 དེ་ བལྟས་ན་ འཚས་ན་ ཚོག་གི
 DEM look.PF-CONJ eat.PF-CONJ can-STA
 ‘‘When (I) think of this (situation), if (Wolf) eats (me), it is ok.’’
- (57) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ɛə¹¹ki⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ སྤང་གིས་ འཚའ་རྒྱ་ ཟེར་ནི་
 then wolf.ERG eat.NPF-NML say-NSEN
 ‘‘Then, Wolf said: ‘‘I will eat (Horse).’’
- (58) ta¹¹ ke⁵⁵ ⁿdi¹² tei¹⁴ dze¹¹-na⁵⁵
 ད་ གན་ འདིས་ རྩས་ ཟེར་ན་
 now DEM DEM.ERG horse.ERG say-CONJ
 tʂ^he⁵⁵-na¹² tʂ^ho¹¹-kə⁵⁵ dze¹¹-zə⁵⁵
 འཚས་ན་ ཚོག་གི ཟེར་ཟེག
 eat.PF-CONJ can-STA say-NSEN
 ‘‘Now that (Wolf) said: ‘‘This Horse said: ‘‘(Wolf) can eat (me).’’’’
- (59) ʔa⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ ma¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔe⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵
 འང་ དེའི་ མཚན་ན་ ཞེ་ ད་
 again DEM.GEN downwards INTJ now
 ʔa⁵⁵ mə¹¹fi¹⁴ dze¹² to¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂ^he¹⁴-ma¹¹-to⁵⁵
 འང་ མ་མོ་ ཟེར་ ད་སྤང་ འཚས་མ་དོ་
 again ewe say still eat.PF-NEG-IMPRX

‘Again, (Ewe and Wolf) went downwards, saying “Eh”, and now Ewe still said: “Don’t eat (me)!”’

- (60) to¹¹ri⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ sɔ¹⁴ tʃi¹¹-ya⁵⁵
 ད་རྒྱང་ །ལ་ན་ །ལོ་ གསལ་ །དྲི་འ་
 still 1.INCL.both time three ask.PF-PFT.NSEN
 ‘“We two will further ask three times.”’

- (61) ti⁵⁵ ma¹¹na⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-na⁵⁵ n^hdzo¹¹gɛ¹⁴-zə⁵⁵ na¹¹gə⁵⁵
 དེའི་ མར་ན་ སོང་ནི་ མཛོ་རྒྱན་བྱིག ལྷང་གི་
 DEM.GEN downwards go-CONJ old dzo-NDEF EXV.SEN
 ‘(Ewe and Wolf) went down more, and there was an old Dzo.’²⁹

- (62) n^hdzo¹² ka¹¹bo⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 མཛོ་ ལྷན་པོ་ རེད་
 dzo thin CPV
 ‘(That) was a thin Dzo.’

- (63) h^hse¹¹-na⁵⁵ ʃ^ha⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 བཤའ་ན་ ཤ་ མི་ལྷང་མོ་
 slaughter-CONJ meat NEG-EXV.SEN-SFT
 ‘If (one) slaughters (this Dzo), there will be no meat.’

- (64) ta⁵⁵ ge¹¹-sə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ད་ རྒྱས་སོང་མི་
 now old-PFT.TRA-SFT
 ‘Now (Dzo) has gotten old.’

- (65) k^ha¹¹-na⁵⁵ s^ho⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ཁ་ནང་ སོ་ མི་ལྷང་མོ་
 mouth-INE tooth NEG-EXV.SEN-SFT
 ‘There were no teeth in his mouth.’

- (66) no¹¹ɦu¹⁴ na⁵⁵ʃ^ho⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ལྷ་ལྲ་ ལྷ་ཤོར་བྱིང་ད་བྱིག
 nose split-PFT.NSEN
 ‘His nose had been split.’

- (67) dzo¹²-na⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ ɛ^hũ¹¹-ra¹⁴ kə¹⁴
 ལྷ་བ་ན་ མེ་ བྱང་བཞག་གི་
 back-LOC scar form-PFT.SEN
 ‘There had formed scars on the back.’

²⁹ The Tibetan loanword *dzo* denotes ‘a hybrid of a yak and a cow’.

- (68) tsa⁵⁵ sa¹¹-ya⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʂ^{hə}⁵⁵-kə¹¹
 ཚ་ ཟ་ཡི་ མེ་ཚཱ་མེ་ཀེ་
 grass eat.NPF-NML NEG-can-STA
 ‘(Dzo) was not able to eat grass.’
- (69) dɔ¹¹tsi⁵⁵-le¹² k^ha¹¹ t^hu⁵¹-ya¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 འོ་ཅི་ལེ་ ཁ་ལྷན་ད་ཟིག་
 like this-DAT meet-PFT.NSEN
 ‘(Ewe and Wolf) met one [Dzo] like this.’
- (70) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ n^hdzo¹² tɛ^ho⁵⁵ ne¹⁴-tə¹¹ kə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ ཞ་ མཛོ་ བྱོན་ ཉལ་འདག་གི་མོ་
 then INTJ dzo 2 sleep-PFT.SEN-EMPH
 ‘Then, (Ewe) said: “Hey, Dzo! You keep lying.”’
- (71) ʔə⁵⁵ dɔ¹¹no⁵⁵-dɔ¹¹no⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 ཞེ་ འོ་ནོ་འོ་ནོ་ རེད་
 then thing like this-RDP CPV
 ‘“Then, things are like this, like this.”’
- (72) k^hə¹¹ne⁵⁵ n^hda⁵⁵ tɛ^he⁵⁵ h^hɛ⁵¹ ɛi⁵⁵
 ཁོ་ནའི་ འདི་ བྱོས་ བཤད་ བྱེད་
 3.both.GEN DEM 2.ERG tell do
 dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཟེར་ནི་
 say-CONJ
 ‘“You tell (how) this (situation) is to both of us!” said (Ewe).’
- (73) ʔe⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ dɔ¹¹tsi⁵⁵ ji¹¹ nə⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 ཞེ་ ད་ འོ་ཅི་ ཡིན་ནི་རེད་
 INTJ still like this CPV
 ‘(Dzo said:) “Oh, (the situation) is still like this.”’
- (74) k^he⁵⁵ du⁵¹ t^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ k^he¹⁴ ke¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 བྱོས་ ལྷན་ ཐོང་ནི་ ཁལ་ བཀལ་ནི་
 3.ERG sufferance receive-CONJ pack carry-CONJ
 dzo¹² kə¹¹go⁵⁵ tɛ^ha⁵¹ mə¹¹-tɛ^ha⁵¹ da¹¹po⁵⁵
 རྒྱབ་ ཀྲན་གྱོ་ བྱོས་ མི་བྱོས་ ལྷན་གྱོ་
 back all carry NEG-carry all
 k^he⁵⁵ k^hə⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ du⁵¹ t^ho¹¹ t^ho¹¹
 བྱོས་ ལྷན་ནི་ ལྷན་ ཐོང་ ཐོང་
 3.ERG carry-CONJ sufferance receive receive

t ^h o ¹¹	lo ¹²	ma ¹¹ ŋe ⁵⁵	le ¹¹ ka ⁵⁵	le ⁵⁵ -na ⁵⁵
ཐོང་	ལོ་	མང་དྲི་	ལས་ཀ་	ལས་ནི་
receive	year	many.EMPH	work	do-CONJ

‘I have received sufferances. Carrying a pack, I have carried all that I could carry or not; I have received sufferances greatly; I have worked for many years.’

(75)	ta ⁵⁵	ts ^h e	n ^o da ¹¹ re ⁵⁵	tsə ⁵⁵ -ti ⁵⁵	k ^h o ⁵⁵
	ད་	ཚེ་	འདི་རེ་	སླེབས་དས་	ལོ་
	now	lifetime	here	arrive-CONJ	3
	ea ¹¹ dze ⁵⁵	te ¹¹ -ta ⁵⁵	te ⁵⁵		
	སྤང་ལྟལ་	བཞུས་ད་	དེ་		
	confounded	look.IM-SFT	DEM		

‘Now (I) arrived at this lifetime, you look, I am confounded.’

(76)	dzo ¹² -na ⁵⁵	ma ⁵⁵	na ¹¹ ga ⁵⁵
	རྩུབ་ན་	མ་	སྤང་གི་
	back-LOC	scar	EXV.SEN

‘There are scars on my back.’

(77)	ta ⁵⁵	ge ¹¹ -sa ⁵⁵
	ད་	ནས་སོང་
	then	old-PFT.TRA

‘Then, (I) got old.’

(78)	ta ⁵⁵	mə ¹¹ -za ¹⁴ -le ⁵⁵ -da ⁵⁵	k ^h o ⁵⁵	go ¹²	ɕ ^h ũ ⁵⁵ -to ⁵¹ -yɔ ¹¹ -mi ⁵⁵
	ད་	མི་བཟང་ལེ་དང་	ལོ་	སྐྱོ་	བྱང་དོ་འི་མོ་
	then	NEG-good-NML-CONJ	3	gate	drive-IMPRX-SFT-EMPH

‘Then, when (I) got bad, I was driven out of the gate.’

(79)	te ⁵⁵	te ¹¹ -na ⁵⁵	te ^h o ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h e ¹¹ -na ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h o ¹¹ -ka ⁵⁵
	དེ་	བཞུས་ན་	ཁྱོད་	འཚས་ན་	ཚོག་གི་
	DEM	look.PF-CONJ	2	eat.PF-CONJ	can-STA

dze¹¹-ra⁵⁵-za⁵⁵

ཟེར་བཞག་ཟིག

say-get-NSEN

‘Looking at that, you can eat (me),’ said (Dzo).’

(80)	ʔa ⁵⁵	ɕã ¹¹ ki ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h a ¹¹ -tei ⁵⁵	dze ¹¹ -za ⁵⁵
	འང་	སྤང་གིས་	འཚའ་རྒྱ་	ཟེར་ཟིག
	again	wolf.ERG	eat.NPF-FUT.E	say-NSEN

‘Again, Wolf said: “I will eat (you)!”’

(81)	ʔa ⁵⁵	mã ¹¹ hõ ¹⁴	ŋo ¹¹ ga ⁵⁵ te ¹¹ -na ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ ya ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ ya ⁵⁵
	འང་	མ་མོ་	དོ་དགའ་བསྐྱེད་ནི་	ཨ་ཏ་	ཨ་ཏ་
	again	ewe	beg-CONJ	INTJ	INTJ

ʈʂʰe¹⁴-ma¹¹-to⁵⁵
 འཇམ་མ་དོ་
 eat.PF-NEG-IMPRX
 ‘Again, Ewe begged: “Please, please don’t eat (me)!”’

- (82) to¹¹ri⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹na⁵⁵ tʰə¹⁴ ʈʂi¹¹-yə⁵⁵ n¹²dza¹²
 ད་རུང་ ལཱ་ན་ སྒར་ སྒྲི་འི་ འགྲོ་
 again 1.INCL.both downwards ask.PF-NML go.NPF
 dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཟེར་ནི་
 say-CONJ

‘Again, we two will go downwards and ask.’

- (83) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tʰə¹¹ri⁵⁵ sʰo¹⁴-nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ སྒར་རུ་ སོང་ནི་ ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་ཟེག་ལེ་
 then downwards go-CONJ uncle hare-NDEF-DAT
 kʰa⁵⁵ tʰu⁵¹-ya¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 ལ་སྐྱལ་བཞག་ཟེག
 meet-PFT

‘Then, (Ewe and Wolf) went downwards, and then they met Uncle Hare.’

- (84) ʔa¹¹kə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wə¹⁴-zə⁵⁵-le⁵⁵ kʰa⁵⁵ tʰu⁵¹-ta¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵-dō¹¹tsi⁵⁵
 ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་ཟེག་ལེ་ ལ་སྐྱལ་ད་ནི་ ཞེ་ཟེ་ རོ་ཅི་དོ་ཅི་
 uncle hare-NDEF-DAT meet-PFT-CONJ then like this-RDP
 re⁵¹
 རེད་
 CPV

‘When they two met an Uncle Hare, (Ewe said:) “Uncle Hare, (things) were like this.”’

- (85) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ te^he⁵⁵ te¹¹-na⁵⁵ ʈʂʰə¹¹-zə⁵⁵ ei¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ བྱིས་ བཞུས་ན་ ཚི་ཟེག བྱེད་གི
 then 2.ERG look.PF-CONJ what-NDEF do-STA
 dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཟེར་ནི་
 say-CONJ

‘(Ewe) said: “Then, if you look, what should (we) do?”’

- (86) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹ʈʂʰo⁵⁵ n¹²dza¹²-da⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵-yə⁵⁵ n¹²dza¹²-da⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ ལཱ་ཚོ་ འགྲོ་ད་ ལྟོ་འི་ འགྲོ་ད་
 then 1PL.INCL go.NPF-SFT look.NPF-NML go.NPF-SFT

‘“Then, let’s go, let’s go to look (at the site)!”’

- (87) ŋe⁵⁵ tə¹¹ri⁵⁵ ʈʂi⁵¹ ta¹¹-ya⁵⁵-da⁵⁵ ʈʂʰo⁵¹
 ངས་ དེ་རེ་ གཅིག ལྟོ་འ་དང་ ཚོ་
 1.ERG there one see.NPF-SFT-CONJ how

ei¹¹-tə⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵
 རྩེད་འདག་གི
 do-PFT.SEN

‘(Hare said:) “I will see (the situation) there a little and what it happened.”’

(88) te^ho⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-ka⁵⁵-fi⁵⁵
 རྩོད་ ཞི་དགའ་འི་
 2 Q-difficult-STA.SEN

‘“(I’ll see) whether you are in difficulty.”’

(89) la¹⁴-na⁵⁵ ʔə¹¹-ka⁵⁵-fi⁵⁵ mə¹¹-ka⁵⁵-fi⁵⁵
 ལངས་ན་ ཞི་དགའ་འི་ མི་དགའ་འི་
 take.PF-CONJ Q-difficult-STA.SEN NEG-difficult-STA.SEN

‘“(I’ll see) whether it is difficult or not, if (I) take (you [Wolf] out of the hole).”’

(90) ʔə¹¹tʂ^ho⁵⁵ te⁵⁵-ye⁵⁵ ⁿdza¹²-dze¹²
 འ་ཚོ་ ལྟ་འི་ འགོ་ཟེར་
 1PL.INCL look.PF-NML go.NPF-QUOT

‘“Let’s go to look,” said (Hare)’

(91) ʔə⁵⁵ te^hi¹¹-na⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹-na⁵⁵ ŋø¹¹ ʂ^ho¹⁴
 ཞེ་ གྲིད་ནི་ སོང་ནི་ སློན་ བྲལ་
 then lead-CONJ go-CONJ earlier trace
 tə¹¹ri⁵⁵ pi¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 དེ་རེར་ བྲང་སོང་
 there go.PF-PFT.SEN

‘Then, leading (Hare), (Ewe) went there to the scene (where the event occurred) earlier.’

(92) ja⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ te^ho⁵⁵ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ po⁵¹-ta⁵⁵
 ཡ་ ད་ རྩོད་ སྐར་ན་ འབབ་ད་
 INTJ now 2 downwards fall-SFT

‘(Hare said:) “Okay, now you [Wolf] fall down (into the hole).”’

(93) te^ho⁵⁵ tʂ^ho⁵⁵ ei¹¹-tə⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵
 རྩོད་ ཚོ་ རྩེད་འདག་གི
 2 how do-PFT.SEN

‘“How did you do?”’

(94) te^ho⁵⁵ ŋo¹²tā¹¹wo⁵⁵ ndi¹¹ na¹⁴ tʂ^ho⁵⁵
 རྩོད་ འགོ་དང་པོ་ འདིའི་ ནང་ ཚོ་
 2 at the beginning DEM inside how
 ei¹¹-na⁵⁵ lu¹¹-sə⁵⁵
 རྩེད་ནི་ ལྷང་སོང་
 do-CONJ fall-PFT.TRA

‘“How did you do and fall into this (hole) at the beginning?”’

- (95) k^ho⁵⁵ ri¹¹wõ¹⁴-zə⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹-le⁵⁵ tʂ^ho¹¹-lo⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵ ha¹¹nd¹⁴-na⁵⁵
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 3 hare-NDEF-GEN top-LOC jump-NML-DEF over there-INE
 k^hu¹⁴ jə¹¹-lo⁵⁵ ma¹¹-t^ho¹¹-yə⁵⁵
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 hole EXV-NML NEG-see-STA

‘(Wolf answered:) “I, who jumped on top of Hare, have not seen the existence of a hole over there.”’

- (96) k^he⁵⁵ ri¹¹wõ¹⁴ tʂ^ha¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wõ¹⁴
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 3.ERG hare eat.NPF-FUT.E say-CONJ hare
 z̄i¹¹-kə⁵⁵ ma¹¹-tʂ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 catch.NPF-NML NEG-can-STA

‘He said: “I was going to eat (Hare), but I was not able to catch Hare.”’

- (97) k^hu¹⁴ na¹⁴ ju¹¹-sə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 hole inside fall-PFT.TRA-EMPH

‘“(Then) I fell into the hole.” (said Wolf)’

- (98) ʔa¹¹na⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ mā¹¹f̄õ¹⁴ ha¹⁴-ta⁵⁵-ma⁵⁵ ma¹¹-ri⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 INTJ DEM ewe throw.PF-PFT-NML NEG-CPV-EMPH

‘(Hare said:) “So, (if the situation is) that, Ewe is not one who threw (you [Wolf])!”’

- (99) k^hu¹¹-na⁵⁵ ju¹¹-sə⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ dõ¹⁴
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 hole-INE fall-PFT.TRA-CONJ now 3 like this
 re⁵¹ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ k^hu¹¹-na⁵⁵ lə¹¹ei⁵⁵
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 CPV say-CONJ INTJ hole-INE upwards
 jo¹¹-nə⁵⁵ me¹¹-fi⁴⁴-ya⁵⁵
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 come.NI-CONJ bad-STA.SEN-SFT

‘(Wolf) fell down inside the hole and said: “Now I am like this, oh, I cannot get out of the hole!”’

- (100) ta⁵⁵ tɛ^he⁵⁵ mā¹¹f̄õ¹⁴ tʂ^ha¹¹-ye⁵⁵ tə¹¹-tɛo⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄
 now 2.ERG ewe eat.NPF-PROG-NML-GEN what

jɿ¹⁴
 ཡིན་
 CPV.E

‘(Hare said:) “Now, what is the [there is no] reason why you are going to eat Ewe?”’

- (101) mā¹¹hɿ⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ lã¹¹-gə⁵⁵ tə¹¹-tɛo⁵⁵-kə⁵⁵ tʂ^hə¹¹ jɿ¹⁴
 མ་མོས་ བྱོད་ ལེན་གི་འདག་ལྷ་གི མཚོ་ ཡིན་
 ewe.ERG 2 take.NPF-PROG-NML-GEN what CPV.E
 ‘“What is the [there is no] reason why Ewe is going to take you up?”’

- (102) mā¹¹hɿ¹⁴ mā¹¹hɿ¹⁴ n^odzo¹¹-se⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴-mi⁵⁵
 མ་མོ་ མ་མོ་ འགོ་སའི་ སོང་མོ་
 ewe ewe go-NML.LOC go-EMPH
 ‘“Ewe, (you should) go to the place where you are going.”’

- (103) ɛã¹¹kə⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ lu¹¹-si⁵⁵-na⁵⁵ tɛ^ho⁵⁵ hu¹¹-ta¹¹-ma⁵⁵
 ལྷང་གི་ བྱོད་ ལྷང་སོང་ན་ བྱོད་ སྤང་ད་མ་
 wolf 2 fall-PFT.SEN-CONJ 2 push-PFT-NML
 ma¹¹-ri⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 མ་རེད་མོ་
 NEG-CPV-EMPH
 ‘“Wolf, you fell, (that) is not because (Ewe) pushed you.”’

- (104) [t^ha⁵⁵ jə¹⁴ tsə¹¹rən⁵⁵ mə¹¹-ju¹⁴]
 *** *** *** ***
 C₃ C_{also} C_{responsibility} C_{NEG}-C_{EXV}
 ‘“Even she [Ewe] doesn’t have any responsibility.”’

- (105) tɛ^ho⁵⁵ lu¹¹-γə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵-ti⁵⁵ mā¹¹hɿ¹⁴ tə¹¹ra⁵⁵ mə¹¹-na¹¹-mi⁵⁵
 བྱོད་ ལྷང་འི་འདག་དས་ མ་མོ་ དེ་ར་ མི་སྤང་མོ་
 2 fall-PROG-when ewe there NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH
 ‘“When you fell down, Ewe was not here.”’

- (106) tɛ^he⁵⁵ n^odi¹⁴ n^ogo⁵⁵ n^odə¹² tʂ^ha¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵
 བྱོས་ འདིའི་ མགོ་ འདི་ འཚའ་ལྷ་
 2.ERG DEM.GEN head DEM eat.NPF-FUT.E
 dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 ཟེར་ནི་
 say-CONJ
 ‘“You say you are going to eat this, the head of this [Ewe].”’

- (107) tɛ^ho¹⁴ k^ha¹¹-na⁵⁵ mə¹¹-jo⁵⁵-lə⁵⁵-zə⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹-tɛi⁵⁵ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 བྱོད་ ཁ་ནང་ མི་ཡོང་ལི་ཟིག འཚའ་ལྷ་ ཟེར་ནི་
 2.GEN mouth-INE NEG-come.NI-NML-NDEF eat.NPF-FUT.E say-CONJ

ve¹¹-lə⁵⁵ ma¹¹ re⁵¹ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵ tō¹¹da⁵¹
 བློ་ལེ་མ་རེད་ ཟེར་ནི་ རྩོད་དག
 can-STA.NEG say-CONJ affair

‘“You say you are going to eat one who does not come in the mouth; you cannot (do so), (that is the) thing.” said (Hare).’

(108) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ɛ̃¹¹kə⁵⁵ k^hu¹⁴ ti¹¹-na⁵⁵ ɕ^h₁⁵⁵
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ ལྷང་གི་ ལྷང་ རེ་འི་ནང་ ལྷིར་
 then wolf hole DEM-LOC back
 rd⁵¹-ta¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 བཞག་ད་ཟླིག
 leave-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, Wolf was left in that hole.’

(109) ri¹¹wō¹⁴ hu¹¹-tei⁵⁵ dze¹¹-ta⁵⁵ ɛ̃¹¹ki⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴
 རི་བོང་ ལྷང་རྒྱ་ ཟེར་ད་ ལྷང་གིས་ རི་བོང་
 hare push-FUT say-TOP wolf.ERG hare
 tʂ^ha¹¹-ye⁵⁵ tsã¹¹po⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹-nə⁵⁵ me¹¹-fi⁴⁴
 འཇའ་འིས་ བཅན་པོ་བྱེད་ནི་ མེད་འི་
 eat.NPF-NML force-CONJ bad-STA.SEN

‘It does not work that Wolf eats Hare by force, saying that Hare pushed [Wolf].’

(110) t^hu¹⁴pan¹¹fa¹¹ t^hu¹⁴pan¹¹fa¹¹ sə¹¹-lo⁵⁵-tə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ t^ho¹¹-le⁵⁵
 *** *** ཟེར་ལོ་དེ་ རེ་འི་ ཐོག་ལེ་
^CHare’s way ^CHare’s way say-NML-DEF DEM.GEN top-LOC
 jō¹¹-le⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 ཡོང་ལེ་ རེད་
 come.NI-NML CPV

‘(There is an idiom) *Hare’s way*, What (we) call *Hare’s way* is what comes (from the story) above.’

(111) t^hu¹⁴pan¹¹fa¹¹ dze¹¹-nə⁵⁵ t^hu¹¹tsə⁵⁵-ti⁵⁵ pan¹¹fa¹⁴ re⁵¹
 *** ཟེར་ནི་ *** *** རེད་
^CHare’s way say-CONJ ^Chare-^CGEN ^Cway CPV

‘When (we) say *Hare’s way*, (it) designates the way of Hare.’

(112) tə⁵⁵ ri¹¹wō¹⁴ n^di¹² le¹²-ri¹¹-ma⁵⁵ ma¹¹-lə⁵⁵ re⁵¹
 དེ་ རི་བོང་ འདིས་ ལས་བཞག་མ་ མང་ལེ་རེད་
 DEM hare DEM.ERG³⁰ do-STA-NML many-STA

‘Those (things) that this Hare did are many.’

³⁰ The demonstrative ‘this’ here refers not only to the Hare in this folktale but also to the hare as a general character in folktales.

Full English translation

*The Ewe and the Wolf*³¹

(1) I will narrate one (story): Hare uses (his) wisdom.

(7-11) A Wolf was walking. Wolf went to chase Hare. Wolf jumped too much, and Hare went to a side of a place. There was a hole on his opposite side. Wolf did not see the hole and fell into the hole.

(12-35) Both Ewe and her daughter were going to Lhasa. Wolf fell into the hole on the road where both Ewe and her daughter were walking. That Wolf said, 'Hey, Ewe! Look!' Then what Wolf said was 'Help me up!' Ewe said, 'Eh, I cannot help you up, for you will eat me!' Wolf said, 'I won't eat you!' Ewe said, 'You will eat me.' Wolf said, 'I won't eat you.' Then Ewe thought, 'We two are going to Lhasa on a pilgrimage.' Ewe thought patiently. 'We are going to accumulate merit like this. Now if we don't help Wolf up, that will be a sin. This, that's poor! Wolf will die of hunger, for there is nothing to eat.' Ewe helped Wolf out of the hole. Just when Ewe helped Wolf up, Wolf said, 'Now I'm really hungry. I need to eat you.' Ewe said, 'Oh my goodness! You said you wouldn't eat me!' Wolf said, 'I'm really hungry. I will eat you.' Ewe said, 'Then, we two, let's go to the town and ask whether you can eat me as you like; whether I am right or you are right. We two need to settle our differences of opinion!'

(36-60) Ewe and Wolf went down and then they met an old horse. What Ewe said was, 'Hey, Old Horse, you are like this! Oh, you are so old like this. I did like this. The Wolf was in a hole. I did like this, thinking Wolf was poor, so I helped him up. At that time, Wolf said, "I won't eat you." After I helped Wolf up, he said that he would eat me. What do you say about whether Wolf can eat me or not?' Horse answered, 'Hey, I do not have any karma recently. If the Wolf eats me, I have nothing to tell. When, ah, I was small, others beat me with a horse whip, and I suffered. Now there are no teeth in the mouth. I have no more enough flesh. Now nothing is good. Now scars have formed on my back. All these scars were made by people. When I look at these, I don't have any karma. Now I cannot chew grass. No one feeds me. I have been driven out of the gate. When I think of this situation, if Wolf eats me, it is ok.' Wolf said, 'I will eat him.' This Horse said, 'Wolf can eat me.' Again, Ewe and Wolf went downwards, saying 'Eh', and now Ewe still said, 'Don't eat me! We two will further ask three times.'

(61-82) Ewe and Wolf went down more, and there was an old dzo. That was a thin dzo. If one slaughters this dzo, there will be no meat. Now Dzo has gotten old. There were no teeth in his mouth. His nose had been split. Scars had formed on the back. He was not able to eat grass. Ewe and Wolf met a dzo like this. Then, Ewe said, 'Hey, Dzo! You keep lying. Things are like this. You tell how the situation is to both of us!' Dzo said, 'Oh, the situation is still like this. I have suffered a lot. Carrying a pack, I have carried all that I could carry or not; I have suffered greatly. I have worked for many years. Now I arrived at this lifetime—you look, I am confounded. There are scars on my back. Furthermore, I got old. Then when I could no longer work, I was driven out of the gate. Looking at that situation, you can eat me', said Dzo. Again, Wolf said, 'I will eat you!' Again, Ewe begged, 'Please, please don't eat me! We two will go downwards and ask once more.'

(83-109) Ewe and Wolf went downwards, and then they met Uncle Hare. Ewe said, 'Uncle Hare, things were like this. If you look, what should we do? Let's go, let's go to look at the site!' Hare said, 'I will see the situation there a little and what it happened. I'll see whether you are in difficulty;

³¹ The content from (2) to (6) is a wrong narration. Hence, we do not include it in the full English translation.

whether it is difficult or not, if I go with you. Let's go to look!' Then, leading Hare, Ewe went there to the scene where the event occurred earlier. Hare said, 'Okay, now, Wolf, fall down into the hole. What happened to you? What did you do to fall into the hole at the beginning?' Wolf answered, 'I, who jumped on top of Hare, have not recognised the existence of a hole over there.' He said, 'I was going to eat Hare but I was not able to catch it. Then I fell into the hole.' Hare said, 'So if the situation is that, Ewe is not one who threw you!' Wolf fell down inside the hole and said, 'Now I am like this. Oh! I cannot get out of the hole!' Hare said, 'Now, what is the reason why you are going to eat Ewe? What is the reason why Ewe is going to help you up? Ewe, you should go to the place where you are going. Wolf, you fell. That is not because Ewe pushed you. When you fell down, she was not here. But you say you are going to eat this, the head of Ewe. You say you are going to eat one who does not come in the mouth; you cannot do so, that is the thing.' Then Wolf was left in that hole. It does not work that Wolf eats Hare by force, saying that Hare would have pushed Wolf.

(110-112) There is an idiom *Hare's way*. What we call *Hare's way* is what comes from the story above. When we say *Hare's way*, it designates the way of Hare. There are many things that this Hare did.

Tibetan transliteration

མ་མོ་དང་སྐྱུང་གི་³²

སྐྱོ་བྱིག་བཀོད་ལོ་བྱིག་བཤད་ཏུ། མ་མོ་མ་བྱ་བ་ལྟ་སར་བྱུང་སོང་། མ་མོ་མ་བྱ་བ་འགྲོ་སའི་ལམ་
 དེའི་ནང་ན་སྐྱུང་གི་དེ་ཁྱུང་ནང་ན་སྐྱུང་འདུག་བྱིག་སྐྱུང་གི་དེས་ཨ་མ་མོ་བཟེང་ད་བྱིག་ཨེ་བེ་ཨོ་
 བཟེན་ནི་དུ། ཨེ་བེ་ཆི་བཟེང་འི་བཟེང་ན། བྱིས་ཁོ་ལངས་བྱེད་བཟེང་ནི། ཨོ། ངས་ཁྱོད་ལེན་ཉམས་ནི་མ་རེད།
 བྱིས་མོ་འཆས་དོ་འི་མོ། ངས་ཁྱོད་མི་འཆལ། དེ་འཆལ་ལེ་རེད་བཟེང་ནི། དེ་མི་འཆལ་བཟེང་འི། ཨེ་བེ་མ་
 མོ་བལྟས་ན། ལུ་བ་ལྟ་སར་མཇུག་འི་འགྲོ་འི། བསམ་ན་དེད་པ་སྐྱུང་གི་དོ་ཙོ་དག་བ་སྐྱུང་གི་ཡོང་
 འི་ན། ད་སྐྱུང་གི་མ་ལངས་ན་ཨ་བ་ཉེས་བ་རེད་མོ། འདི་སྐྱུང་མ་རྗེ་འདི་རེད་ལུ་གི་ཤི་གི་བ་རྒྱ་མི་
 སྐྱུང་མོ། ལངས་ད་བྱིག་ལངས་ད་ཙོ་གི་བྱིག་གི་ཨེ་བེ་ད་ཁོའི་སོ་བ་སྐྱོགས་ནི་མེད་འི། ཁྱོད་འཆལ་
 དགོས་འི་བཟེང་ནི། ཨ་མ། བྱིས་ཁོ་མི་འཆལ་བཟེང་དུས་མོ། དེ་ཁོའི་སོ་བ་སྐྱོགས་ནི་མེད་འི་འཆལ་རྒྱ་
 བཟེང་ནི། ཨ་བ་ལུ་བ་སྐྱུང་ལེ་ལུར་རུ་དྲི་འི་འགྲོ། བྱིས་ཁོ་ར་ཚོག་ཚོག་གི་འཆས་ད་ནི་ཁོ་དེ་བདེན་གོ་
 ཁྱོད་དེ་བདེན་གི་ལུ་བ་དེའི་ཁ་སྐྱེད་གོས་འི་མོ། ཨེ་ལུར་རུ་སོང་ནི་དུ། རྩ་རྩུ་བྱིག་ལེ་ཁ་སྐྱུང་ད་
 བྱིག་ཆི་བཟེང་འི་བཟེང་ན། ཨ་རྩ་རྩུ་དོ་ཙོ་རེད་དུ། ཨ་བ་ཁྱོད་དོ་ཙོ་ཆེན་འི་མོ། ཁོས་འདིར་དོ་བྱེད་
 འདུག་གི་དུ། དེ་ཁྱུང་ནང་ན་སྐྱུང་གི་ཁོས་དོ་བྱེད་ནི་ལངས་ནི་སྐྱུང་མ་རྗེ་རེད་བསམ་ནི་ལངས་ད་
 མི་དུ། ད་མི་འཆལ་བཟེང་དུས་དུ། ལངས་ད་ནི་ཨེ་བེ་འདིས་འཆལ་རྒྱ་བཟེང་འི། བྱིས་བལྟས་ན་འཆས་
 བ་ཚོག་གི་མ་འཆས་བ་ཚོག་གི་བཟེང་བྱིག་ཨོ། རྩས་ཁ་རྩུང་དེ་རིང་རེད་མོ། ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་མི་སྐྱུང་མོ།
 འཆས་བ་ཁོ་བཤད་རྒྱ་མི་སྐྱུང་། ཁོ་ཨ་བ་སུ་གོ་ཡིན་དུས་ན་གཞན་ཤིན་རྩ་ལྟ་འབྲས་མི་སྐྱུང་།

³² The content from (2) to (6) is a wrong narration. Hence, we do not include it in the full Tibetan transcription.

སོང་ནི། ད་ཁ་ནང་ན་སོ་མི་སྤང་མོ། ཤ་མི་སྤང་མོ། ད་མི་བཟང་འི་མོ། ད་རྟམ་ཁོ་འི་རྒྱལ་ལེ་མ་ལྟུང་
བཞག་གི་མོ། འདི་ཀུན་གོ་མི་འི་ས་ལས་བཞག་མ་ཤེད། འདིས་བཟམ་ན་རྒྱ་འབྲས་མི་སྤང་། ད་ཁོས་
རྒྱ་མི་ཆད་གི་མོ། ཁོ་མི་གསོ་འི་མོ། རྫོ་ལྟུང་བཞག་གི་མོ། དེ་བཟམ་ན་འཆས་ན་ཆོག་གི་ ཞེ་ཟེ་སྤྱུང་
གིས་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ནི། ད་གན་འདིས་རྟམ་ཟེར་ན་འཆས་ན་ཆོག་གི་ཟེར་ཟིག འང་དེའི་མར་ན།
འང་མ་མོ་ཟེར་ད་འུང་འཆས་མ་དོ། ད་འུང་འུ་ན་འོ་གསུམ་དྲི་ལ། དེའི་མར་ན་སོང་ནི་མཛོ་གན་
ཟིག་སྤང་གི་མཛོ་སྐལ་པོ་ཤེད། བཤའ་ན་ཤ་མི་སྤང་མོ། ད་གས་སོང་མོ་ཁ་ནང་སོ་མི་སྤང་མོ། རྒྱ་ལུ་
རྒྱ་ཤོར་ལྱེད་ད་ཟིག་རྒྱལ་ན་རྒྱ་ལྟུང་བཞག་གི་རྒྱ་བའི་མི་ཆོག་གི་དོ་ཅི་ལེ་ཁ་ལྷག་ད་ཟིག་ ཞེ་ཟེ་ཨ་
མཛོ་ཁྱོད་ཉལ་འདུག་གི་མོ། ཞེ་དོ་ནོ་དོ་ནོ་ཤེད། ཁོ་འི་ན་འདི་ཁྱོས་བཤའ་ལྱེད་ཟེར་ནི། ཞེ། ད་དོ་ཅི་
ཡིན་ནི་ཤེད། ཁོས་སྤྱུག་ཐོང་ནི་ཁལ་བཀལ་ནི་རྒྱལ་ཀུན་གོ་ཁྱལ་མི་ཁྱལ་སྤྱུག་པོ་ཁོས་ཁྱུར་ནི་སྤྱུག་
སོང་སོང་སོང་སོ་མར་དེ་ལས་ཀ་ལས་ནི། ད་ཆོ་འདི་ཤེ་སྤྱེབས་ཏུས་ཁོ་སྤྱུང་རྒྱལ་བཟམ་ད་དེ། རྒྱལ་
ན་རྒྱ་སྤང་གི་ད་གས་སོང། ད་མི་བཟང་ལེ་དང་ཁོ་རྫོ་ལྟུང་དོ་འི་མོ། དེ་བཟམ་ན་ཁྱོད་འཆས་ན་
ཆོག་གི་ཟེར་བཞག་ཟིག འང་སྤྱུང་གིས་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ཟིག འང་མ་མོ་དོ་དགའ་བཟམ་ནི། ཨ་ཏ་ཨ་
ཏ་འཆས་མ་དོ་ད་འུང་འུ་ན་སྤྱུར་དྲི་འི་འགོ་ཟེར་ནི། ཞེ་ཟེ་སྤྱུར་ཏུ་སོང་ནི་ཨ་ཁུ་རི་པོང་ཟིག་ལེ་ཁ་
ལྷག་བཞག་ཟིག ཨ་ཁུ་རི་པོང་ཟིག་ལེ་ཁ་ལྷག་ད་ནི། ཞེ་ཟེ་དོ་ཅི་དོ་ཅི་ཤེད། ཞེ་ཟེ་ཁྱོས་བཟམ་ན་ཆོ་
ཟིག་ལྱེད་གི་ཟེར་ནི། ཞེ་ཟེ་འུ་ཆོ་འགོ་ད། ལྷ་འི་འགོ་ད། དས་དེ་ཤེ་གཅིག་ལྷ་འ་དང། ཆི་ལྱེད་འདུག་
གི་ཁྱོད་ཞེ་དགའ་འི། ལངས་ན་ཞེ་དགའ་འི་མི་དགའ་འི། འུ་ཆོ་ལྷ་འི་འགོ་ཟེར། ཞེ་ཁྱོད་ནི་སོང་ནི་
སྤོན་ལུལ་དེ་ཤེར་ལྟུང་སོང། ཡ། ད་ཁྱོད་སྤྱུར་ཏུ་འབབ་ད། ཁྱོད་ཆི་ལྱེད་འདུག་གི་ཁྱོད་འགོ་དང་པོ་
འདིའི་ནང་ཆོ་ལྱེད་ནི་སྤྱུང་སོང། ཁོ་རི་པོང་ཟིག་གི་ཐོག་ལེ་མཚོང་ལོ་དེ་མར་ནང་ན་ཁྱུང་ཡོད་ལོ་
མ་མཚོང་འི། ཁོས་རི་པོང་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ནི། རི་པོང་འཛིན་གི་མ་ཆོག་གི་ཁྱུང་ནང་སྤྱུང་སོང་ཟིག་
མོ། ཨ་ན། དེ་མ་མོ་འཕངས་ད་མ་མ་ཤེད་མོ། ཁྱུང་ནང་སྤྱུང་སོང་ནི་ད་ཁོ་དོ་ཤེད་ཟེར་ནི། ཁྱུང་ནང་
ལྷུང་སྤྱིར་ཡོང་ནི་མེད་འི་ཨ། ད་ཁྱོས་མ་མོ་འཆའ་འི་འདུག་རྒྱ་གི་ཆི་ཡིན། མ་མོས་ཁྱོད་ལེན་གི་
འདུག་རྒྱ་གི་ཆི་ཡིན། མ་མོ་མ་མོ་འགོ་སའི་སོང་མོ། སྤྱུང་གི་ཁྱོད་སྤྱུང་སོང་ན་ཁྱོད་སྤྱུང་ད་མ་མ་
ཤེད་མོ། ཁོ་ལ་ཡང་ལས་འགན་མི་སྤང། ཁྱོད་སྤྱུང་འི་འདུག་ཏུས་མ་མོ་དེ་ར་ན་མི་སྤང་མོ། ཁྱོས་
འདིའི་མགོ་འདི་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ནི། ཁྱོད་ཁ་ནང་མི་ཡོང་ནི་ལེ་ཟིག་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ནི་མེ་ལེ་མ་ཤེད་
ཟེར་ནི་དོན་དག ཞེ་ཟེ་སྤྱུང་གི་ཁྱུང་དེའི་ནང་སྤྱིར་བཞག་ད་ཟིག རི་པོང་སྤྱུང་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ད། སྤྱུང་གིས་
རི་པོང་འཆའ་འིས། བཅོན་པོ་ལྱེད་ནི་མེད་འི། རི་པོང་བཀོད་པ་རི་པོང་བཀོད་ཀ་ཟེར་ལོ་དེ་དེའི་
ཐོག་ལས་ཡོང་ལེ་ཤེད། རི་པོང་བཀོད་པ་ཟེར་ན་རི་པོང་གི་བཀོད་པ་ཤེད། དེ་རི་པོང་འདིས་ལས་
བཞག་མ་མང་ལེ་ཤེད།

STORY 5: *TSONGPON NORBU ZANGBO*

Full text in phonetic symbols

(1) ts^ho¹¹ p^hã⁵¹ no¹¹ri⁵⁵zã¹¹wo⁵⁵ dze¹¹ni⁵⁵ ngo¹² tã¹¹wo⁵⁵ te⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹dza⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ma⁵⁵ kə¹¹go⁵⁵ mə¹¹na¹⁴ ni¹² ʂ^he¹⁴ ni¹¹ma¹¹tʂa⁵⁵zə¹²re⁵¹. (2) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ go¹¹mo⁵⁵ tʂ^ha¹¹tsi⁵¹ kə⁵⁵ ts^ho¹⁴ dza¹¹ kə⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴lə¹²re⁵¹. (3) ts^ho¹⁴ dza¹¹kə⁵⁵zə⁵⁵kə⁵⁵ ʔo¹¹ gə⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴lə¹²re⁵¹. (4) ʔo¹¹ gə⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴nə⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ gə¹¹ fi⁴⁴ də¹¹ kə⁵⁵ sə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (5) ta⁵⁵ ma¹¹tʂa⁵⁵ mə¹¹na¹⁴. (6) ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ tʂə¹¹ nə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ go¹¹mo⁵⁵ go¹¹mo⁵⁵ mə¹¹na¹⁴. (7) ta⁵⁵ sō¹¹ni⁵⁵ ma¹¹ ta¹⁴ ʔə⁵⁵ lo⁵¹tə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (8) pa¹¹ta¹⁴ zə⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵ na¹⁴ lo⁵¹tə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (9) ⁿbə¹² zə¹¹ kə⁵⁵ te⁵⁵ lō¹⁴ tē¹⁴nə⁵⁵re⁵¹. (10) ⁿbə¹² zə¹¹ jō¹⁴nə⁵⁵da⁵⁵ ⁿbə¹² tə⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵ k^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ zə⁵¹ kə⁵⁵ t^ho⁵¹le¹² n^dzɿ¹²nə⁵⁵ ngo¹² s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ lu¹¹sə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ t^ha¹⁴ t^hə¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʂi⁵¹ lu¹¹sə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (11) k^ho¹¹ro⁵⁵ kə⁵⁵ nə¹¹ kə⁵⁵ t^ho¹⁴ta¹¹zə⁵⁵. (12) ʔa⁵⁵ əō¹⁴ ʔə⁵⁵ ⁿbə¹² tə⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵ tsi⁵¹kə⁵⁵ t^ho⁵¹le¹² n^dzɿ¹²nə⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ ge¹¹fi¹⁴ tsə⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ lu¹¹sə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ t^ha¹⁴ e^hi⁵⁵ lu¹¹sə⁵⁵. (13) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ʔo¹¹ gə⁵⁵ lu¹⁴sə⁵⁵ ⁿbə¹² tə⁵⁵. (14) ⁿbə¹² tə⁵⁵ ʔo¹¹ gə⁵⁵ lu¹⁴sə⁵⁵ lu¹⁴sə⁵⁵ nə⁵⁵ te⁵⁵ t^hi¹¹e¹⁴ eⁱ51ta⁵⁵zə⁵⁵. (15) pə¹¹tʂa⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ ts^ho¹⁴ ʔo¹¹ gi⁵⁵ s^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ də¹¹kə⁵⁵sə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (16) ⁿbə¹² tə⁵⁵da¹⁴ k^hə⁵⁵na⁵⁵ ri¹¹kə⁵⁵. (17) ⁿbə¹² n^də¹² ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ hə¹¹gə⁵⁵ mə¹¹tʂə¹¹kə⁵⁵mi⁵⁵. (18) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ⁿbə¹² tə⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ eⁱ11nə⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ tʂi¹¹ t^ha¹¹ba⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵ le¹¹ la⁵⁵nə⁵⁵ hə⁵⁵sə¹¹zə⁵⁵. (19) ʔo⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ ŋa¹² əō¹⁴ n^dzo¹¹dzi⁵⁵na⁵⁵ tɕiŋ¹¹ʂən¹⁴ wən¹¹t^hi⁵⁵. (20) ts^ho¹⁴ ʔo⁵⁵ tʂi¹¹ t^ha¹¹ba⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴nə⁵⁵ ts^ho¹⁴ za¹¹nə¹² ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ja⁵⁵ kō¹¹tʂo⁵¹le⁵⁵ tʂ^ho¹¹pa⁵⁵ ⁿbu¹¹nə⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ wu¹¹p^hã¹⁴ dze¹¹na⁵⁵ hwa⁵⁵wo⁵⁵da⁵⁵ te⁵⁵ go¹¹mo⁵⁵ eⁱ11nə⁵⁵. (21) ts^ho¹¹ p^hã⁵¹ no¹¹ri⁵⁵zã¹¹wo⁵⁵ dze¹¹ni⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ ʂ^ho¹¹su¹¹m¹¹tsu¹⁴ na¹¹ʔə⁵⁵ ʂ^he¹⁴ʔə⁵⁵ na¹¹ʔə⁵⁵ ngo¹² ʂ^ho⁵⁵sə¹¹zə⁵⁵mi⁵⁵ tɕa¹¹kə⁵⁵tə⁵¹lə¹² re⁵¹. (22) ti⁵⁵ ni¹⁴le⁵⁵ ts^ho¹¹ p^hã⁵¹ no¹¹ri⁵⁵zã¹¹wo⁵⁵ dze⁵⁵lə¹¹re⁵¹. (23) s^ha¹¹ri⁵⁵ pə¹¹tʂa⁵⁵zə¹² re⁵¹ ngo¹² tã¹¹wo⁵⁵ tse¹¹nã¹⁴ jō¹⁴nə⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹dza⁵⁵ ʔa¹¹ma⁵⁵ mə¹¹kə¹¹ du⁵¹ t^ho¹¹nə⁵⁵tə⁵⁵.

Interlinear glossing text

(1)	ts ^h o ¹¹ p ^h ã ⁵¹	no ¹¹ ri ⁵⁵ zã ¹¹ wo ⁵⁵	dze ¹¹ -ni ⁵⁵	ngo ¹²
	ཚོང་དཔོན་	ལོ་རྒྱུ་བཟང་པོ་	བེར་ན་	འགོ་
	business master ³³	PPN	say-TOP	head
	tã ¹¹ wo ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ dza ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ ma ⁵⁵	kə ¹¹ go ⁵⁵
	དང་པོ་	ཨ་ཚུ་	ཨ་མ་	ཀུན་གོ་
	first	father	mother	all
	mə ¹¹ -na ¹⁴	ʂ ^h e ¹⁴	ni ¹¹ ma ¹¹ tʂa ⁵⁵ -zə ¹²	re ⁵¹
	མི་སྤང་	ཤིན་	སྤིང་མ་རྗེ་བྱིག་	རེད་
	NEG-EXV.SEN	person	poor-NDEF	CPV

‘The one who is called Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo was, first of all, a really poor man who had neither a father nor a mother.’

(2)	ʔə ¹¹ zə ⁵⁵	ti ⁵⁵	go ¹¹ mo ⁵⁵	tʂ ^h a ¹¹ tsi ⁵¹ -kə ⁵⁵	ts ^h o ¹⁴ dza ¹¹ -kə ⁵⁵
	ཨི་བླེ་	དེས་	སྒོར་ལོ་	ཚ་ཅིག་གི་	ཚོང་རྒྱལ་གི་
	then	DEM.ERG	money	a little-INS	do business-NML

³³ The idiom /ts^ho¹¹p^hã⁵¹/ denotes ‘a leader of merchants’. In the present text, we interpret it as a title and hence use ‘Tsongpon’ in the translation.

¹²bə tə⁵⁵
 𑖀𑖄 𑖂𑖄
 insect DEM
 ‘Then, that fell down nine times, that insect.’

(14) ¹²bə tə⁵⁵ ʔo¹¹ ɡə⁵⁵ lu¹⁴-sə⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵
 𑖀𑖄 𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖄 𑖄𑖄 𑖀𑖄-𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄
 insect DEM time nine drop-PFT.TRA-CONJ
 te⁵⁵ tʰi¹¹ɛi¹⁴ ɛi⁵¹-ta⁵⁵ zə⁵⁵
 𑖂𑖄 *** 𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄
 DEM.ERG C remind-PFT.NSEN
 ‘The insect fell down nine times, and that reminded him.’

(15) pə¹¹tsa⁵⁵ tə⁵⁵ tʰo¹⁴ ʔo¹¹ ɡi⁵⁵
 𑖄𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖂𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖀𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄
 boy DEM business time nine.EMPH
 s^ho¹¹-nə⁵⁵ k^ho⁵⁵ də¹¹-kə⁵⁵ sə¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄
 go-CONJ 3 lose-AOR.TRA
 ‘The boy went for business even nine times and he lost (every time).’

(16) ¹²bə tə⁵⁵-da¹⁴ k^hə⁵⁵na⁵⁵ ri¹¹-kə⁵⁵
 𑖀𑖄 𑖂𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄
 insect DEM-COM 3.both be similar-STA
 ‘(He) and the insect, they two resemble (each other).’

(17) ¹²bə n¹²də ha¹¹ge⁵⁵ hə¹¹-ɡə⁵⁵ mə¹¹-tʃ^hə¹¹-kə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵
 𑖀𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄
 insect DEM indeed fly-NML NEG-can-STA-EMPH
 ‘This insect cannot fly anyway.’

(18) ʔə¹¹zə⁵⁵ ¹²bə te⁵⁵ ʔə⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵
 𑖀𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖀𑖄 𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖄 𑖄𑖄
 then insect DEM.ERG again look
 ɛi¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ʔo⁵⁵ tʃi¹¹ t^ha¹¹ba⁵⁵ ro⁵⁵ le¹¹
 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖀𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄
 do-CONJ time ten other upwards
 la⁵⁵-nə⁵⁵ hə⁵⁵-sə¹¹ zə⁵⁵
 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄-𑖄𑖄 𑖄𑖄𑖄
 stand-CONJ fly-PFT.TRA.NSEN
 ‘Then, he looked at the insect again, and on the tenth time, that insect stood on the top and flew away.’

- (19) ʔo⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ ŋa¹² ɛo¹⁴ ⁿdzo¹¹-dzi⁵⁵-na⁵⁵
 ʔo⁵⁵ ta⁵⁵ ŋa¹² ɛo¹⁴ ⁿdzo¹¹-dzi⁵⁵-na⁵⁵
 INTJ INTJ 1 later go-FUT-CONJ
 tɛiŋ¹¹ʂən¹⁴ wən¹¹tʰi⁵⁵

^Cmental issue
 ‘Oh, whether I go for a (next) business later, (it will be) a mental issue.’

- (20) ts^ho¹⁴ ʔo⁵⁵ tʂi¹¹ t^ha¹¹ba⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴-nə⁵⁵ ts^ho¹⁴
 ʔo⁵⁵ tʂi¹¹ t^ha¹¹ba⁵⁵ s^ho¹⁴-nə⁵⁵ ts^ho¹⁴
 business time ten go-CONJ business
 za¹¹-nə¹² ʔə¹¹ze⁵⁵ ja⁵⁵ kɔ¹¹tʂo⁵¹-le⁵⁵ tʂ^ho¹¹pa⁵⁵
 ʂə¹¹zə¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹
 good-CONJ then upwards triratna-DAT butter lamp
^mbu¹¹-nə⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ wu¹¹p^hā¹⁴ dze¹¹-na⁵⁵ hwa⁵⁵wo⁵⁵-da⁵⁵
 ʂə¹¹zə¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹
 offer-CONJ downwards poor people say-TOP poor people-COM
 te⁵⁵ go¹¹mo⁵⁵ ɛi¹¹-nə⁵⁵
 tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹ tʂi¹¹
 DEM money give-CONJ

‘Then, (he) went for business a tenth time, that was good, then (he) offered butter lamps to the triratna upwards, and gave money to poor people downwards, and...’

- (21) ts^ho¹¹p^hā⁵¹ no¹¹ri⁵⁵zā¹¹wo⁵⁵ dze¹¹-ni⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵
 ʔo¹¹p^hā⁵¹ no¹¹ri⁵⁵zā¹¹wo⁵⁵ dze¹¹-ni⁵⁵ ha¹¹ge⁵⁵
 business master PPN say-TOP indeed
 ʂ^ho¹¹su¹¹mī¹¹tsu¹⁴ na¹¹-yə⁵⁵ ʂ^he¹⁴-yə⁵⁵ na¹¹-yə⁵⁵ ⁿgo¹²
 *** ʂ^ho¹¹su¹¹mī¹¹tsu¹⁴ na¹¹-yə⁵⁵ ʂ^he¹⁴-yə⁵⁵ na¹¹-yə⁵⁵ ⁿgo¹²
^Cethnic minority inside-GEN special-EMPH inside-GEN head
 ʂ^ho⁵⁵-sə¹¹ zə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵ tea¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵¹-lə¹² re⁵¹
 ʂ^ho⁵⁵-sə¹¹ zə⁵⁵-mi⁵⁵ tea¹¹-kə⁵⁵ tə⁵¹-lə¹² re⁵¹
 exceed-PFT.TRA-EMPH make noise-PROG-NML CPV

‘The one who is called Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo really exceeded others within the ethnic minority people, (he) is the one who got famous.’

- (22) ti⁵⁵ ni¹⁴-le⁵⁵ ts^ho¹¹p^hā⁵¹ no¹¹ri⁵⁵zā¹¹wo⁵⁵ dze⁵⁵-lə¹¹ re⁵¹
 ti⁵⁵ ni¹⁴-le⁵⁵ ts^ho¹¹p^hā⁵¹ no¹¹ri⁵⁵zā¹¹wo⁵⁵ dze⁵⁵-lə¹¹ re⁵¹
 DEM.GEN name-DAT business master PPN say-STA
 DEM.GEN name-DAT business master PPN say-STA

‘The name of that (man) is Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo.’

- (23) s^ha¹¹ri⁵⁵ pə¹¹tsa⁵⁵-zə¹² re⁵¹ ⁿgo¹² tǎ¹¹wo⁵⁵
 s^ha¹¹ri⁵⁵ pə¹¹tsa⁵⁵-zə¹² re⁵¹ ⁿgo¹² tǎ¹¹wo⁵⁵
 child boy-NDEF CPV head first

tse ¹¹ nā ¹⁴	jō ¹⁴ -nə ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ dza ⁵⁵	ʔa ¹¹ ma ⁵⁵	mə ¹¹ -kə ¹¹
***	ཡོང་ནི་	ཨ་ལྷ་	ཨ་མ་	མེད་གི་
^C disaster	come.NI-CONJ	father	mother	EXV.NEG-CONJ
du ⁵¹	tʰo ¹¹ -nə ⁵⁵ -tə ⁵⁵			
སྐྱག་	ཐོང་ནི་དེ་			
hard life	receive-STA-DEF			

‘The child was a boy to whom the disaster had come at first: since he did not have parents, he had a hard life.’

Full English translation

Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo

The one who is called Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo was, first of all, a really poor man who had neither a father nor a mother. He went to do business for a little money. He went nine times to do business. He went nine times and lost every time, and now his capital is gone. Then he was discouraged and he had no money at all. He lay down without thinking of any ideas. He lay down on grass. An insect showed a road to that man. An insect came. The insect caught a blade of grass, and it climbed up it and then fell down onto the ground once. He saw it doing so with his eyes. After that, the insect again caught a blade of grass and climbed up, and when it reached the top, it again fell onto the ground. That insect fell down nine times, and that reminded him that even though the man had gone for business nine times he lost every time. He and the insect resemble each other. This insect cannot fly anyway. Then he looked at the insect again, and on the tenth time, that insect stood and flew upwards. He thought: ‘Oh, whether I go for another business later, it will be a mental issue’. Then, he went for business a tenth time, and that was good. He offered butter lamps to the triratna upwards and gave money to poor people downwards, and so on. The one who is called Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo really exceeded others within the ethnic minority people, and he is the one who got famous. The name of that man is Tsongpon Norbu Zangbo. The child was a boy to whom disaster had come at first: since he did not have parents, he had a hard life.

Tibetan transliteration

ཚོང་པོ་ནོ་བུ་བཟང་པོ་།
ཚོང་པོ་ནོ་བུ་བཟང་པོ་ཟེར་ན། འཕོ་དང་པོ་དེ་ཨ་ལྷ་ཨ་མ་ཀུན་གོ་མི་སྤང་། མི་ཤིན་སྤིང་མ་
རྐྱེ་བྱིག་རེད། ཞེ་བེ་དེས་སྐོར་མོ་ཆ་ཅིག་བྱིག་གི་ཚོང་རྒྱག་གི་སོང་ལེ་རེད། ཚོང་རྒྱག་གི་བྱིག་གི་འོར་
དགུ་སོང་ནི། འོར་དགུ་པོ་རྒྱུ་གི་སོང་བྱིག་ད་མ་ཚ་མི་སྤང་། ཞེ་བེ་ཆད་ནི་ད་ཉ་གི་སྐོར་མོ་སྐོར་མོ་
མི་སྤང་། ད་བསམ་ཉིད་མ་བཏང་འི་ལོག་བསྐྱད་བྱིག་སྤང་ཐང་བྱིག་གི་ནང་ལོག་བསྐྱད་བྱིག་འབྲུ་
བྱིག་གིས་དེ་ལམ་བསྐྱན་ནི་རེད། འབྲུ་བྱིག་ཡོང་ནས་ད། འབྲུ་དེ་རྩ་ལུར་རེ་བྱིག་གི་སོག་ལེ་འཇུས་
ནི། མགོ་སོང་ནི་འང་རྒྱུང་སོང་བྱིག་འང་ཐང་ལུར་ཏུ་གཅིག་རྒྱུང་སོང་བྱིག། ཁོ་རོག་གི་མིག་གིས་
མཐོང་ད་བྱིག་འང་སྤྱིར་འི་འབྲུ་དེ་རྩ་བྱིག་གི་སོག་ལས་འཇུས་ནི་སོང་ནི། གན་འི་སྤེལས་ཏུས་འང་
རྒྱུང་སོང་བྱིག་འང་ཐང་སྤྱིར་རྒྱུང་སོང་། ཞེ་བེ་དེ་འོར་དགུ་རྒྱུང་སོང་འབྲུ་དེ། འབྲུ་དེ་འོར་དགུ་རྒྱུང་

སོང་ནི་དེ་དྲན་སྐྱལ་བྱས་ད་ཟིག སུ་ཚེ་དེ་ཚོང་འོར་དགའི་སོང་ནི། ཁོ་དྲིབ་གི་སོང་ཟིག འབྲུ་དེ་
དང་ཁོ་ན་རིགས་གི་འབྲུ་འདི་ཉ་གེ་འབྲུར་གི་མི་ཚོག་གི་མོ། ཞེ་ཟེ་འབྲུ་དེ་འང་ཉུ་བྱེད་ནི། འོར་བཅུ་
ཐམ་པ་གཞན་མྱད་ལངས་ནི་འབྲུར་སོང་ཟིག ཞོ། ད་ང་སྤྱིར་འགོ་རྒྱ་ན་འབྲུ་ཤེས་གནད་དོན་རེད།
ཚོང་འོར་བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་སོང་ནི། ཚོང་བཟང་ནི་ཞེ་ཟེ་ཡར་དགོན་མཚོག་ལས་མཚོང་པ་སྤུལ་ནི། མར་
དབུལ་སོངས་ཟེར་ན་དབུལ་སོ་དང་དེ་སྒོར་མོ་སྤྱིན་ནི། ཚོང་དཔོན་ནོར་སུ་བཟང་སོ་ཟེར་ནི་ཉ་གེ་
གྲངས་ཉུང་མི་རིགས་ནང་གི་ཤིན་འེ་ནང་གི་མགོར་ཤོར་སོང་ཟིག་མོ། གྲགས་གི་བསྐྱད་ལེ་རེད།
དེའི་མིང་ལེ་ཚོང་དཔོན་ནོར་སུ་བཟང་སོ་ཟེར་ལེ་རེད། སར་བྱིས་སུ་ཚེ་ཟིག་རེད། འགོ་དང་སོ་
དགའ་ངལ་ཡོང་ནི། ཞེ་རྒྱ་ཞེ་མ་མེད་གི་སྤྲུག་སོང་ནི་དེ།

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research was funded by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from JSPS entitled 'Investigation of Undescribed Languages in the Eastern Tibetosphere and their Geolinguistic Research' (headed by Hiroyuki Suzuki, No. JP17H04774). We thank anonymous reviewers, whose insightful comments improved the article. However, any remaining errors or omissions are our own responsibility.

REFERENCES

- Gawne, Lauren. 2021. "Reported evidentiality in Tibeto-Burman languages". *Himalayan Linguistics* 20(1): 80-115. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5070/H920152301>
- Jacques, Guillaume. 2014. "A phonological profile of Cone". In: Sun, Jackson T.-S. (ed.), *Phonological profiles of little-studied Tibetic varieties* 265-371. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Kajihama, Ryoshun. 2004. *Folk tales from Eastern Tibet*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives.
- dKon-mchog Rin-chen & 'Brug-mtsho-skyid. 2012. "Zangyu Zhuonihua yuyin yanjiu---yi Niba cun wei li (Study on the Cone dialect of Tibetan: A case study on Niba Village)". *Feitian* 22: 33-35.
- bKra-shis Tshe-ring. 2019. *Zangyu Zhuonihua yuyin yanjiu (Study on the Cone dialect of Tibetan)*. MA thesis, Xizang Daxue.
- Lin, Jifu, ed. 2016. *Zangzu minjian gushi (Tibetan folktales)*. Chengdu: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe.
- rNam-rgyal Tshe-brten. 2008. *Co-ne'i bod-skad-la dpyad-pa (Study on Cone Tibetan)*. MA thesis, Zhongyang Minzu Daxue.
- O'Connor, William Frederick Travers. 1906 [1977]. *Folk tales from Tibet with illustrations by a Tibetan artist and some verses from Tibetan love-songs*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Oisel, Guillaume. 2017. "Re-evaluation of the evidential system of Lhasa Tibetan and its atypical functions". *Himalayan Linguistics* 16(2): 90-128. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5070/H916229119>
- Qu, Aitang. 1962. "Zhuoni Zangyu de shengdiao ji shengyumu de guanxi (Relationship between tone and initial-rhyme in Cone Tibetan)". *Zhongguo Yuwen* 1963(3): 331-339.
- Roche, Gerald and Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2018. "Tibet's minority languages: Diversity and endangerment". *Modern Asian Studies* 52(4): 1227-1278. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X1600072X>
- Schwieger, Peter. 1989. *Tibetisches Erzählgut aus Brag-g.yab : Texte mit Übersetzungen, grammatischem Abriss und Glossar*. Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.
- Shelton, A. L. 1925. *Tibetan folk tales*. New York: George H. Doran Company.
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2012. "Kansyukusyoo Gannan-syuu Zhuoni-ken no tibettogo hoogen ni tuite: Zoobun taioo keisiki kara mita Zhagulu [Bragkhoglung] hoogen no hoogen tokutyoo (On Tibetan dialects of Cone County, Kanlho Prefecture, Gansu Province: Dialectal characteristics of the Bragkhoglung dialect from the viewpoint of the correspondence with Written Tibetan)". *Kyoto University Linguistic Research* 31: 1-23. doi: <https://doi.org/10.14989/182195>

- Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2015. “Gannan syuu Zhuoni Diebu Zhouqu 3-ken no tibettokei syogengo to sono kaibunrui siron (Essay on a dialect classification of the Tibetic languages in three counties of Cone, Thewo, and mBrugchu of Kanlho Prefecture)”. *Nidaba* 44: 1-9. URI: <http://ir.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/00045560>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2016a. “Zhuoni tibettogo Wanmao Diguduo [’Oggangdrug] hoogen ni okeru doosigokan no keitairon (Morphology of verb stems in the ’Oggangdrug dialect of Cone Tibetan)”. *Nidaba* 45: 31-38. URI: <http://ir.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/00045561>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2016b. “Zangyu fangyanxue yanjiu yu yuyan ditu: Ruhe kandai ‘Kangfangyan’ (Tibetan dialectology and linguistic map: How to deal with ‘Khams dialect’)”. *Minzu Xuekan* 2: 1-13+92-94. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1674-9391.2016.02.001>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2017. “Suprasegmentals in Tibetic languages of the eastern Tibetosphere: From a geolinguistic perspective”. *Studies in Asian Geolinguistics VII — Tone and Accent—* 41-49. Online: https://publication.aa-ken.jp/sag7_tone_2017.pdf
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2022. *Geolinguistics in the eastern Tibetosphere: An introduction*. Tokyo: Geolinguistic Society of Japan. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5989176>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Lozong Lhamo. 2021. “/ka-/ negative prefix in Choswateng Tibetan (Shangri-La, Yunnan)”. *Language and Linguistics* 22(4): 393-629. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1075/lali.00092.suz>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Sonam Wangmo. 2017a. “King’s pig: A story in Lhagang Tibetan with a grammatical analysis in a narrative mode”. *Himalayan Linguistics* 16(2): 129-163. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5070/H916233598>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Sonam Wangmo. 2017b. “Prince’s Wife become a lark in Lhagang Tibetan of Khams”. *Kyoto University Linguistic Research* 36: 71-91. doi: <https://doi.org/10.14989/230688>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Sonam Wangmo. 2018a. “Kamutibettogo Tagong [Lhagang] hoogen no zytubu ni hyoozi sareru syookosei (Evidentiality marked in predicates of the Lhagang dialect of Khams Tibetan)”. *Journal of Kijutsuken* 10: 13-42. URI: <http://id.nii.ac.jp/1422/00002000/>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Sonam Wangmo. 2018b. “Two folktales in Lhagang Tibetan (Minyag Rabgang Khams): *Three Birds* and *Lark and Partridge*”. *Asian and African Languages and Linguistics (AALL)* 13: 131-150. doi: <https://doi.org/10.15026/92954>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Sonam Wangmo. 2021a. “Two folktales in Lhagang Tibetan of Minyag Rabgang Khams: *The Sheep and the Wolf* and *The Hare and the Tiger*”. *Tokyo University Linguistic Papers (eTULIP)* 43: e114-e142. doi: <https://doi.org/10.15083/0002002787>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki and Sonam Wangmo. 2021b. “Hearsay evidential marking strategy in Lhagang Tibetan: A case study on folktales and legends”. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 44(2): 141-167. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1075/ltba.21001.suz>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki & Sonam Wangmo. 2021c. “*White mDzomo*, a folktale in Lhagang Tibetan of Minyag Rabgang Khams”. *Kyoto University Linguistic Research* 40: 39-63. doi: <https://doi.org/10.14989/269461>
- Suzuki, Hiroyuki, Sonam Wangmo and Tsering Samdrup. 2021. “A contrastive approach to the evidential system in Tibetic languages: Examining five varieties from Khams and Amdo”. *Gengo Kenkyu* 159: 69-101. doi: https://doi.org/10.11435/gengo.159.0_69

- Tournadre, Nicolas. 2010. "The Classical Tibetan cases and their transcategoriality: From sacred grammar to modern linguistics". *Himalayan Linguistics* 9(2): 87-125. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5070/H99223480>
- Tournadre, Nicolas. 2014. "The Tibetic languages and their classification". In: Owen-Smith, Thomas and Hill, Nathan W. (eds.), *Trans-Himalayan linguistics: Historical and descriptive linguistics of the Himalayan area* 105-129. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110310832.105>
- Tournadre, Nicolas and LaPolla, Randy J. 2014. "Towards a new approach to evidentiality: Issues and directions for research". *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37(2): 240-263. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1075/ltba.37.2.04tou>
- Tournadre, Nicolas and Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2022. *The Tibetic languages: An introduction to the family of languages derived from Old Tibetan*. With the collaboration of Xavier Becker and Alain Brucelle for the cartography. Villejuif: LACITO Publications.
- Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2018. "Evidential system in Mabzhi Tibetan of Amdo". *Proceedings of the 51st International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics* 913-925. URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/2433/235311>
- Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki, Hiroyuki. 2019. "Humilifics in Mabzhi pastoralist speech of Amdo Tibetan." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 42(2): 222-259. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1075/ltba.17008.sam>
- Xu, Dan. 2021. "Intertwined model of syntactic borrowing in the Gansu-Qinghai linguistic area". *Himalayan Linguistics* 20(3): 146-168. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5070/H920353799>
- Yang, Shihong. 1995. *Yi he liang jiang liuyu Zangyu fangyan huiyao* (Materials of Tibetan dialects in Taohe, Bailongjiang, and Jialingjiang). Lanzhou: Gansu Minzu Chubanshe.
- Zeisler, Bettina. 2004. *Relative tense and aspectual values in Tibetan languages: A comparative study*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110908183>
- Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Yuyan Yanjiusuo, Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Minzuxue yu Renleixue Yanjiusuo, and Xianggang Chengshi Daxue Yuyan Zixun Kexue Yanjiu Zhongxin. 2012. *Zhongguo yuyan dituji (di 2 ban): Shaoshu minzu yuyan juan* (Language atlas of China (2nd edition): Ethnic minorities' languages). Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan.
- Zou, Yuxia. 2021. *Zangyu Zhuonihua yuyin de lishiybian yanjiu* (Study on historical phonological change of Cone Tibetan). MA thesis, Zhongyang Minzu Daxue.

Yuxia Zou
2062315486@qq.com

Hiroyuki Suzuki
minibutasan@gmail.com