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## Five folktales of Bragkhoglung Tibetan of Cone

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## **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.<sup>1</sup>

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*.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> These statistics were obtained from the Cone County government.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup></i>
<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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

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

<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>c</sup> 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 Bragkhoglong 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.<sup>7</sup> This overview will help readers understand the interlinear analysis of the stories.

### 2.1 Phonology

Bragkhoglong Tibetan is a language with distinctive tones.<sup>8</sup> 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/long<sup>9</sup>) 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).<sup>10</sup> The sound system that we use here is the following.

#### 2.1.1 Syllable structure

The maximum structure is <sup>c</sup>C<sub>i</sub>GVC, in which <sup>c</sup> is for prenasalisation (<sup>n</sup>) and preaspiration (<sup>h</sup>); 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<sub>i</sub>V.

#### 2.1.2 Consonantism

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

Prenasalisation and preaspiration (marginally) appear as <sup>c</sup>C<sub>i</sub>.

#### 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.

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

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

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

<sup>10</sup> Suzuki (2012) provides the following sound system: Consonantism: /p<sup>h</sup>, p, b, t<sup>h</sup>, t, d, t<sup>h</sup>, t, d, k<sup>h</sup>, k, g, ʔ, ts<sup>h</sup>, ts, dz, tʂ<sup>h</sup>, tʂ, dʒ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, tɕ, dz, s<sup>h</sup>, s, z, l̥, ʂ<sup>h</sup>, ʂ, z, x<sup>h</sup>, 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, <sup>-</sup> high and <sup>ˊ</sup> 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
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Examples:

- (1) head + demonstrative  
 tɑ<sup>51</sup>                    n̄dɑ<sup>12</sup>  
 tiger                    DEM  
 ‘this tiger.’ (3: 44)

- (2) head + definiteness marker  
 dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wa<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 merchant-NDEF  
 ‘a merchant.’ (3: 3)

- (3) head + adjective + definiteness marker  
 ni<sup>12</sup>                    ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>                    ni<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>11</sup>ʂa<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>12</sup>  
 person                    special                    poor-NDEF  
 ‘a really poor man.’ (5: 1)

(4) head + case marker

tʂa<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>

cliff-INE

‘into the cliff.’ (3: 44)

(5) head + DEM + EMPH

dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wa<sup>55</sup>      n<sup>h</sup>də<sup>12</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>

merchant

DEM-EMPH

‘this merchant.’ (3: 6)

(6) head + demonstrative + case marker

ta<sup>11</sup>gẽ<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>

old horse-NDEF-DAT

‘to an old horse.’ (4: 36)

(7) relative clause + head

mã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>14</sup>

mə<sup>11</sup>fiə<sup>14</sup>

na<sup>14</sup>

n<sup>h</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-si<sup>55</sup>

lð<sup>14</sup>

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

ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>

hã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>55</sup>

tə<sup>55</sup>

sorcerer.GEN

shoe

DEM

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

### 2.2.1.2 Personal pronouns

Singular (absolutive): /ŋa<sup>12</sup>/ ‘1’, /tɕ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>/ ‘2’, /k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>/ ‘3’, /k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>/ ‘3’, /mo<sup>55</sup>/ ‘3.F’

Plural (absolutive): /ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>/ ‘1PL.INCL’, /tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>/ ‘2PL’, /k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>/ ‘3PL’

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

Dual-like forms (root+ morpheme ‘both’) are attested in the stories: /ʔə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>/ ‘1.INCL.both’, /tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>/ ‘2.both’, /k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup>/ ‘3.both’.

### 2.2.1.3 Interrogative words

The following interrogative words are attested in the stories: /tʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>/ ‘what, why’, /ka<sup>14</sup>/ ‘who’, /ka<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>/ ‘where’, and /tʂa<sup>55</sup>, tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>/ ‘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<sup>h</sup>də<sup>12</sup>/ (proximal), /tɕ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>/ (distal), and /kɕ<sup>14</sup>/ (neutral).

The distal demonstrative form, with a slight vowel change, functions as a definite marker /-tə<sup>55</sup>/. The nondefinite counterpart is /-zə/. An emphasised definite marking /-to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup>/ 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 (/ -kə<sup>55</sup>/, /-γə<sup>55</sup>/), dative (/ -le<sup>55</sup>/, /-lə<sup>55</sup>/), and comitative<sup>11</sup> (/ -da<sup>14</sup>/, /-no<sup>55</sup>/; tone varies), as well as absolutive (zero-morpheme), and five local cases, that is, genitive (/ -kə<sup>55</sup>/, /-γə<sup>55</sup>/; tone varies), locative (/ -le<sup>55</sup>/), inessive (/ -na<sup>12</sup>/, /-na<sup>55</sup>/; tone varies), ablative (/ -ne<sup>55</sup>/), and instrumental (/ -kə<sup>55</sup>/). 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 <sup>14</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	to <sup>11</sup> ri <sup>55</sup>	lo <sup>14</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -γə <sup>55</sup> tə <sup>55</sup> -lə <sup>55</sup> -da <sup>14</sup>
INTJ	3	still	lung	be sick-PROG-NML-COM
ri <sup>11</sup> wō <sup>14</sup>	n <sup>h</sup> da <sup>12</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> e <sup>55</sup>	zũ <sup>14</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>	n <sup>h</sup> dza <sup>55</sup> -dze <sup>12</sup>
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.

- /-mo<sup>55</sup>/: implies an agent of an action in future and nonperfect, see (1: 7).
- /-təi<sup>55</sup>/: implies a patient of an action in future and nonperfect, see (3: 63).
- /-lo<sup>55</sup>/, /-lə<sup>55</sup>/: implies an action or status in nonperfect, see (1: 17).
- /-lā<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>/: appears in a fixed, reduplicated expression, see (2: 20).
- /-kə<sup>55</sup>/, /-γə<sup>55</sup>/: makes a serial verb construction (V1-kə<sup>55</sup> V2), see (2: 44).
- /-le<sup>55</sup>/: implies a local function of an action or status, see (4: 78).
- /-no<sup>55</sup>/: implies an object, see (3: 34).
- /-ma<sup>55</sup>/: implies an action in perfect, see (4: 51).

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

(10) NML + LOC

mã <sup>11</sup> fiō <sup>14</sup>	mã <sup>11</sup> fiō <sup>14</sup>	n <sup>h</sup> dzo <sup>11</sup> -se <sup>55</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>14</sup> -mi <sup>55</sup>
ewe	ewe	go-NML.LOC	go-EMPH

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

<sup>11</sup> 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 <sup>12</sup>	ŋə <sup>12</sup>	ŋa <sup>55</sup>	ŋa <sup>51</sup>
2	tɛ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	tɛ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>14</sup>	tɛ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>55</sup>	tɛ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>51</sup>
3	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>14</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> e <sup>55</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>14</sup>
DEM (proximal)	<sup>n</sup> də <sup>12</sup>	<sup>n</sup> dɪ <sup>12</sup>	<sup>n</sup> dɪ <sup>12</sup>	<sup>n</sup> dɛ <sup>12</sup>
DEM (distal)	tɛ <sup>55</sup>	tɪ <sup>55</sup>	tɪ <sup>55</sup>	*

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

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

## 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
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Examples:

(11) NEG + stem

ŋe<sup>12</sup>                      tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>  
 1.ERG                      2                      NEG-eat.NPF

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

(12) NEG + stem + TAME-E marking

s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup>      ma<sup>11</sup>-h<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 lion.ERG      NEG-persuade-SEN

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

(13) Q + stem

te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>-ko<sup>55</sup>                      dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
2                                  Q-need                      say-CONJ

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

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

na<sup>14</sup>                                  t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                                  lu<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>14</sup>  
inside                                  downwards                                  fall-PFT.TRA

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

(15) stem + TAME-E marking + EMPH

ta<sup>55</sup>                                  ge<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
now                                  old-PFT.TRA-EMPH

‘Now (Dzo) has gotten old.’ (4: 64)

(16) stem + QUOT

ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup>                      n<sup>h</sup>də<sup>12</sup>                                  k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                      zũ<sup>14</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                      n<sup>h</sup>dza<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
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<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                      tɕa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>tɕi<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>                      t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-sei<sup>14</sup>  
3.ERG                      vague-NDEF                                  see-STA.SEN-QUOT

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

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

to<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>                      ni<sup>51</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>                      mə<sup>11</sup>-rə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
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<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-dze<sup>11</sup>  
2.ERG                      Q-see-STA.SEN-QUOT

‘(Hare) said: “Do you see?”’ (3: 39)

(20) stem + CONJ

pə<sup>11</sup>tɕa<sup>55</sup>                      tə<sup>55</sup>                      t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>                      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
boy                                  DEM                      business                      go-CONJ

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

(21) stem + TAME-E marking + CONJ

k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                      ko<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                      tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
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-epistemicity<sup>12</sup>) 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	<sup>n</sup> dza <sup>55</sup>	pi <sup>11</sup>	*
catch	zi <sup>11</sup>	zũ <sup>14</sup>	*
look	ta <sup>55</sup>	te <sup>55</sup>	te <sup>11</sup>
put	ra <sup>51</sup>	ra <sup>51</sup>	*
eat	tʂ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>11</sup>	*

### 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<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>/ ‘behind’, /lə<sup>11</sup>ɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>/ ‘upwards’, and /t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>/ ‘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

ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>      zi<sup>11</sup>-te<sup>i</sup><sup>55</sup>      dze<sup>12</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 sorcerer.ERG    hare                    catch.NPF-FUT.E    say-CONJ

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

(23) nonperfect

dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wi<sup>14</sup>      ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup>      ʔa<sup>55</sup>      teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup>teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup>      <sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup> də<sup>55</sup> zi<sup>55</sup>  
 merchant.GEN    front                    again      limping                    go-NPFT.SEN

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

(24) perfect translocative

ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>      ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup>      teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup>teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup>      pi<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 hare                    sorcerer.GEN    front                    limping                    go.PF-PFT.TRA

<sup>12</sup> 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<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>14</sup>                    n<sup>h</sup>bə<sup>11</sup>-tɕi<sup>55</sup>                    t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>55</sup>-mo<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>                    jo<sup>55</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup>  
 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

tɕ<sup>51</sup>                                    tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>55</sup>  
 tiger                                    lead-AOR.TRA  
 ‘(Hare) led Tiger away.’ (3: 42)

(27) aorist cislocative

k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                    ts<sup>h</sup>ɑ<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    de<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup>                    ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>                    dzə<sup>11</sup>-ko<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                    k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>                    ni<sup>51</sup>                    la<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup>                    dze<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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

lo<sup>14</sup>                                    mə<sup>11</sup>-za<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 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 <sup>14</sup> (4: 100)	re <sup>51</sup> (1: 1)	*
existential (EXV)	ji <sup>51</sup> (1: 12)	jə <sup>11</sup> lə <sup>12</sup> re <sup>51</sup> (2: 1)	nɑ <sup>11</sup> gə <sup>55</sup> (1: 2)

Table 8 Verb stem alternation from the stories.

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

Examples:

(30) future egophoric

<sup>n</sup>di<sup>12</sup>                      tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>-sei<sup>14</sup>  
DEM.ERG            eat.NPF-FUT.E-QUOT

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

(31) future statemental

ŋa<sup>51</sup>                      ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>-ba<sup>55</sup>            tə<sup>55</sup>                      sɔ̃<sup>11</sup>-ɣa<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
1.DAT                    burn-FUT-SFT            DEM                    think-PFT

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

(32) future sensory

tə<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>            s<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>                      to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>            tʂa<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>-ba<sup>55</sup>  
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

tʂe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>            tʂe<sup>11</sup>tʂu<sup>51</sup>                      tɛə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>55</sup>            tɛə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> nɔ̃zə<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
brown bear            baby brown bear            happy-STA            happy-SNINFR.NEG

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

<sup>13</sup> This form might be borrowed from Amdo Tibetan.

(34) perfect nonsensory (characterising background information in stories<sup>14</sup>)

ta<sup>55</sup>            sɔ̃<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>            ma<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>14</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup>            lo<sup>51</sup>-tə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 now            thought            NEG-think.NI-PROG            lie-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Now (he) lay down without thinking of any ideas.’ (5: 7)

Two quotative forms /-dze<sup>12</sup>/ and /-sei<sup>14</sup>/ are attested; however, the usage difference is not clear.<sup>15</sup>

Examples:

(35) /-dze<sup>12</sup>/-quotative

tə<sup>55</sup>            ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>            ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>            re<sup>51</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 DEM            uncle            hare            CPV-QUOT  
 ‘“That was Uncle Hare,” said (Leopard and Brown bear).’ (1: 8)

(36) /-sei<sup>14</sup>/-quotative

tə<sup>55</sup>            re<sup>51</sup>-sei<sup>14</sup>  
 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 (/kə<sup>55</sup>/, /gə<sup>55</sup>/) or a conjunction (/na<sup>55</sup>/) is required for the preceding verb.

(37) /-gə<sup>55</sup>/-nominaliser

<sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup>            <sup>n</sup>də<sup>12</sup>            hə<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup>            mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂə<sup>h</sup><sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 insect            DEM            fly-NML            NEG-can-STA-EMPH  
 ‘This insect cannot fly.’ (5: 17)

(38) /-na<sup>55</sup>/-conjunction

tə<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>            mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>            dze<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) /-kə<sup>55</sup>/-nominaliser + motion verb: non-simultaneous action

ge<sup>11</sup>fiə<sup>55</sup>            <sup>n</sup>dzə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>            jō<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup>  
 merit            accumulate-NML            come.NI-STA.SEN  
 ‘“(We) are coming to accumulate merit.”’ (4: 24) [coming *in order to* accumulate]

(40) /-nə<sup>55</sup>/-conjunction + motion verb: simultaneous action

ti<sup>55</sup>            kɛ<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>            ɕ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>            tə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>            s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 DEM.ERG            DEM-NDEF            back            chase-CONJ            go-CONJ-SFT

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

<sup>15</sup> 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 /-ti<sup>55</sup>/ indicates a time point (‘when’), which can appear at the end of a noun phrase. The form /-na<sup>55</sup>/ functions as a conjunction denoting a condition (‘if’). Evidential implication is generally not expressed when a conjunction is used.

Examples:

(41) /-nə<sup>55</sup>/-conjunction

tʃe <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>	tʃa <sup>51</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>	ŋo <sup>14</sup> -zə <sup>11</sup> -na <sup>55</sup>	de <sup>51</sup> -tə <sup>11</sup> kə <sup>55</sup>
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) /-ti<sup>55</sup>/-conjunction

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

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

(43) /-na<sup>55</sup>/-conjunction

ta <sup>51</sup>	tsi <sup>55</sup>	se <sup>11</sup> -rə <sup>55</sup> -na <sup>55</sup>	tə <sup>55</sup>	za <sup>11</sup> -fi <sup>44</sup>
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 <sup>11</sup> wō <sup>14</sup>	ka <sup>11</sup> lə <sup>55</sup> -ka <sup>11</sup> lə <sup>55</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>
hare	slowly-RDP	go-CONJ

‘Hare walked very slowly.’ (2: 21)

(45) emphasised action

sə <sup>11</sup> -lā <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>55</sup>	sə <sup>11</sup> -lā <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>55</sup>	ə <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>
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 <sup>h</sup> e <sup>55</sup>	du <sup>51</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup>
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 /-to<sup>11</sup>/ 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 <sup>55</sup>	mã <sup>11</sup> fið <sup>14</sup>	ŋo <sup>11</sup> ga <sup>55</sup> te <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> ɣa <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> ɣa <sup>55</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>14</sup> -ma <sup>11</sup> -to <sup>55</sup>
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:

/-ta<sup>55</sup>/: expresses a command, see (4: 75).

/-ba<sup>55</sup>/: expresses a low probability, see (3: 40).<sup>16</sup>

/-wa<sup>55</sup>/: 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:

/ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>/: ‘well’, ‘then’, ‘so’, ‘and’, etc.; often functions as a filler, see (1: 4).

/ʔe<sup>55</sup>/, /ʔei<sup>14</sup>/: ‘hey’, ‘uh’; often marks the beginning of a conversation, see (3: 16).

/ʔo<sup>55</sup>/: ‘oh’; expresses astonishment, see (4: 15).

/ʔa<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>/: ‘right’; seeks consent for the utterance, see (1: 2).

/ʔa<sup>11</sup>ɣa<sup>55</sup>/: ‘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 <sup>11</sup> na <sup>55</sup>	ʂa <sup>11</sup> -le <sup>55</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>11</sup> ri <sup>55</sup>	tʂi <sup>11</sup> -ɣə <sup>55</sup>	n <sup>h</sup> dza <sup>12</sup>
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 <sup>11</sup> wõ <sup>14</sup>	n <sup>h</sup> də <sup>12</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> e <sup>55</sup>	zũ <sup>14</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>	n <sup>h</sup> dza <sup>55</sup> -dze <sup>12</sup>
hare	DEM	3.ERG	catch.PF-NML	go.NPF-QUOT

<sup>16</sup> 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<sup>hi</sup>11g<sup>i</sup>55      ma<sup>11</sup>-h<sup>ɕ</sup>ə<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>w<sup>ɔ̃</sup>14-γə<sup>55</sup>      h<sup>ɕ</sup>e<sup>51</sup>-γa<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
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

ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>w<sup>ɔ̃</sup>14-zə<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup>-γa<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
uncle      hare-NDEF-DAT    meet-PFT  
‘(Ewe and Wolf) met Uncle Hare.’ (4: 83)

(52) A in absolutive and P in comitative

<sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>-dɑ<sup>14</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>nɑ<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
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.<sup>17</sup>

(53) rhetorical question

mã<sup>11</sup>fĩ<sup>55</sup>      tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      lã<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>-təo<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>      jĩ<sup>14</sup>  
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.”)

<sup>17</sup> 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) ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ... tʂ<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>11</sup>zā<sup>14</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (2) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>. (3) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>da<sup>12</sup> ... ʔo<sup>55</sup> ke<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>da<sup>12</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> ... ʔo<sup>55</sup> zi<sup>51</sup>da<sup>12</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup>ya<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (4) ti<sup>55</sup> tō<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup> h<sup>ʂ</sup>e<sup>51</sup>ko<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>11</sup>zā<sup>14</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (5) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>h<sup>ʂ</sup>ə<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> h<sup>ʂ</sup>e<sup>51</sup>ya<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (6) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>12</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (7) te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>ti<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ne<sup>55</sup> tō<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> h<sup>ʂ</sup>ə<sup>51</sup>-mo<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>14</sup> re<sup>51</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (8) tə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> re<sup>51</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (9) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> pi<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (10) ʔe<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> tō<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> h<sup>ʂ</sup>ə<sup>51</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (11) ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>re<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>na<sup>12</sup> tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>sei<sup>14</sup>. (12) tə<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>51</sup>. (13) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup>ro<sup>12</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> ɲo<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>fa<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup> ɲo<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>14</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (14) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup>tʂə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>. (15) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup>ʔə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>pa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup>. (16) ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (17) nā<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> ri<sup>14</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>tʂa<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (18) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> pə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>14</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (19) t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>55</sup> ho<sup>14</sup> la<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ɲa<sup>12</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>. (20) ɲa<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>h<sup>ʂ</sup>i<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>11</sup>ne<sup>55</sup>da<sup>12</sup> lə<sup>11</sup>h<sup>ʂ</sup>i<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>. (21) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (22) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>da<sup>12</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup> pa<sup>55</sup> h<sup>ʂ</sup>u<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (23) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>. (24) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> hā<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup>tsə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>.

Interlinear glossing text

(1) [ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>] tʂ<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>11</sup>zā<sup>14</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 ʁi·wō<sup>14</sup>· tɛ· tʂɛ<sup>11</sup>zā<sup>14</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 hare DEM beast-GEN king lion CPV

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

(2) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>  
 ʁi<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> ʂɛ<sup>14</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>  
 lion DEM appearance special EXV.SEN- EMPH INTJ

‘Lions have a special appearance, right?’

(3) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> [ta<sup>51</sup>-da<sup>12</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> ke<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>-da<sup>12</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> [ta<sup>51</sup>-da<sup>12</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> ke<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>-da<sup>12</sup>  
 then tiger-COM INTJ DEM tiger-COM  
 tʂe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup>] zi<sup>51</sup>-da<sup>12</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>  
 ʁɛ<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup>] zi<sup>51</sup>-da<sup>12</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>  
 brown bear both-PART INTJ leopard-COM brown bear  
 nə<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup>-ya<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ɲə<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup>-ya<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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 <sup>55</sup>	tõ <sup>11</sup> da <sup>51</sup>	tə <sup>55</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup> gi <sup>55</sup>	h <sup>ɕ</sup> e <sup>51</sup> -ko <sup>11</sup> -ye <sup>55</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup> gə <sup>55</sup>
དེའི་	དོན་དག་	དེ་	སེང་གེས་	བཤད་དགོས་འི་	སེང་གི་
DEM.GEN	thing	DEM	lion.ERG	persuade-need-STA	lion
ʔə <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>11</sup> zä <sup>14</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>	dza <sup>11</sup> wo <sup>55</sup>	re <sup>51</sup>		
ཨི་ཟེ་	གཅན་གཟུན་གི་	རྒྱལ་པོ་	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) 

s <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup> gi <sup>55</sup>	ma <sup>11</sup> -h <sup>ɕ</sup> ə <sup>51</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>	ri <sup>11</sup> wõ <sup>14</sup> -yə <sup>55</sup>	h <sup>ɕ</sup> e <sup>51</sup> -ya <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>
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) 

ʔə <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup> gi <sup>55</sup>	tʂi <sup>12</sup> -ta <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>
ཨི་ཟེ་	སེང་གེས་	དྲིས་ད་ཟེག
then	lion.ERG	ask.PF-PFT.NSEN

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

- (7) 

te <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup> na <sup>55</sup>	ʔə <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> e <sup>11</sup> ni <sup>11</sup> ba <sup>55</sup>	dza <sup>11</sup> ri <sup>55</sup> ei <sup>51</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup> tə <sup>55</sup> ti <sup>55</sup> -mi <sup>55</sup>
ཁྱོད་ཅ་	ཨི་ཟེ་	ཁས་ཉིན་པ་	རྒྱག་རེས་བྱས་གི་བཟུང་དེ་མོ་
2.both	INTJ	day before yesterday	fight-NPFT.SEN-EMPH
te <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup> ne <sup>55</sup>	tõ <sup>11</sup> da <sup>51</sup>	h <sup>ɕ</sup> ə <sup>51</sup> -mo <sup>55</sup>	ka <sup>14</sup> re <sup>51</sup> -dze <sup>12</sup>
ཁྱོད་ཅའི་	དོན་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) 

tə <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> kə <sup>55</sup>	ri <sup>11</sup> wõ <sup>14</sup>	re <sup>51</sup> -dze <sup>12</sup>
དེ་	ཨ་ཁྱ་	རི་བོད་	རེད་ཟེར་
DEM	uncle	hare	CPV-QUOT

‘“That was Uncle Hare,” said (both).’

- (9) 

ʔə <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> kə <sup>55</sup>	ri <sup>11</sup> wõ <sup>14</sup>	pi <sup>51</sup> -ta <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>
ཨི་ཟེ་	ཨ་ཁྱ་	རི་བོད་	འདོས་ད་ཟེག
then	uncle	hare	call-PFT.NSEN

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

- (10) ʔe<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup>  
 ཨི་ ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་ རྩོས་ ཨ་ན་ རི་འི་  
 INTJ uncle hare 2SG.ERG INTJ DEM.GEN  
 tō<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> hʂə<sup>51</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 རོ་ན་དག་ བཤད་ནི་ མཚོ་ རེད་  
 thing persuade-CONJ<sup>18</sup> what CPV  
 ‘“Hey, Uncle Hare, why do you mediate this business?”’

- (11) ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>-re<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>12</sup> tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 ཨི་ ཁོ་ མ་རེད་ ཀ་ར་ར་ན་ རྒྱ་མཚོ་ ནང་ན་  
 INTJ 3 NEG-CPV there-INE sea inside-LOC  
 ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>-sei<sup>14</sup>  
 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) tə<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>51</sup>  
 རེ་ ཀ་ར་ ཡོད་  
 DEM where EXV.E  
 ‘“Where is that [Hare]?” (said Lion).’

- (13) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup>-ro<sup>12</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> ɲo<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>  
 སེང་གེས་རོ་ ཁོ་རང་གི་ ད་ རོ་ལྷ་  
 lion.ERG-EMPH 3-GEN EMPH mirror  
 na<sup>11</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup>-fiə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gi<sup>55</sup> ɲo<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup>  
 ནང་གི་ སེང་གེས་ རོ་ལྷ་ ནང་  
 inside-LOC-EMPH lion.ERG mirror.GEN inside  
 ra<sup>14</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-təi<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>  
 རང་ བྱེད་མུ་ ཡོད་ལོ་ རེ་  
 self appear-NML EXV-NML DEM  
 ma<sup>11</sup>-ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 མ་ཤེས་ཟླ་ག་  
 NEG-know-NSEN  
 ‘Lion himself did not know that he would appear in the mirror.’

- (14) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>nɡo<sup>55</sup>  
 སེང་གི་ བྲིད་གི་སོང་ སེང་གི་ བྲག་འགོ་  
 lion lead-AOR.TRA lion top of the cliff  
 te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup>-yɛ<sup>55</sup>-tʂə<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>  
 བྲིད་གི་སོང་ནི་ མུར་རུ་ 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,’

<sup>18</sup> Concerning the conjunction /nə<sup>55</sup>/, we uniformly transcribe it as *ni* in the Tibetan script regardless of its origin: *nas* (relative) and *ni* (conjunction, topicalisation marker).

- (15) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                      tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>                      t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>  
 ཁོ་རང་                      ཞི་བེ་                      ལྷ་མཚོ་ནང་                      སྐར་རྒྱ་  
 3                      then                      sea-INE                      downwards  
 tɛ<sup>55</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup>                      ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>pa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>                      na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>                      tɛ<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷ་ནས་                      ལ་ན་མ་ན་བྱིག                      སྐར་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) ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>                      ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>                      mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 རི་བོང་ལེ་                      ཚིགས་ཀ་                      མི་སྐར་མོ་  
 hare-DAT                      appearance                      NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH  
 ‘Hare (in the sea) did not have any appearance.’
- (17) nã<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>                      ri<sup>14</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>                      me<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>                      ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>                      tʃa<sup>11</sup>tʃa<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩ་ཚག་                      རིང་ལོ་                      མིན་གི་                      ཚིགས་ཀ་                      ཅུང་ཅི་  
 ear                      long-NML                      CPV.NEG                      appearance                      a little  
 mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 མི་སྐར་མོ་  
 NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH  
 ‘(He [Hare]), except for having long ears, did not have the appearance at all.’
- (18) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>                      ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>                      ʃ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>                      pə<sup>55</sup>                      ri<sup>14</sup>-lə<sup>55</sup>  
 སེང་གི་                      ཅ་གི་                      ཤེན་                      སྐ་                      རིང་ལྷ་  
 lion                      indeed                      special                      hair                      long-NML.GEN  
 ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>                      na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཚིགས་ཀ་                      སྐར་གི་མོ་  
 appearance                      EXV.SEN-EMPH  
 ‘Lion has a really special appearance with long hair.’
- (19) t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                      to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                      tʃi<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>55</sup>                      ho<sup>14</sup>                      la<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 སྐར་རྒྱ་                      ད་རྒྱང་                      ཅུང་མ་                      རྩ་                      ལངས་ནི  
 downwards                      also                      a little                      anger                      raise-CONJ  
 tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      tɔ<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>                      ŋa<sup>12</sup>                      ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ŋa<sup>55</sup>                      tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>                      ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>11</sup>-ne<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>12</sup>  
 ངས་                      ལྷོང་                      སྐར་ཕྱིར་                      ཚིགས་ཀ་འཐེན་ནས་དང་  
 1.ERG                      2                      downwards                      show off dignity-CONJ-CONJ  
 lə<sup>11</sup>ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>                      ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup>  
 སྐར་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<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>      tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      na<sup>14</sup>      ha<sup>11</sup>-to<sup>55</sup>-mo<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>  
 སེང་གི་      རྒྱ་མཚོ་      ནང་      འཕངས་དོ་མོ་      རི་བོང་  
 lion      sea      inside      throw.PF-PFT-NML      hare  
 re<sup>51</sup>  
 རེད་  
 CPV  
 ‘It was Hare that threw Lion into the sea.’
- (22) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup>      lo<sup>55</sup>      ko<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ta<sup>51</sup>-da<sup>12</sup>      tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>  
 ཞེ་ཟླེ་      རི་བོང་འིས་      ལྷོ་      བཀོད་ནི་      ལྷག་དང་      རྩོད་མོང་  
 then      hare-ERG      intelligence      use-CONJ      tiger-COM      brown bear  
 nə<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup>      pa<sup>55</sup>      h<sup>h</sup>su<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>  
 གཉིས་ཀའི་      བར་      རྟོད་ད་ཟླེག  
 both.GEN      middle      persuade-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Then, Hare used his intelligence and persuaded both Tiger and Brown bear.’<sup>19</sup>
- (23) s<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>      tea<sup>11</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      na<sup>14</sup>      ha<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>      te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      hã<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>51</sup>      t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup>tsə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>55</sup>      re<sup>51</sup>  
 ཞེ་ཟླེ་      དེ་      \*\*\*      \*\*\* གི་      \*\*\*      རེད་  
 then      DEM      Calso      C<sup>h</sup>are-GEN      C<sup>h</sup>way      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,

<sup>19</sup> 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) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (2) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ɛa<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (3) wa<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (4) tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (5) ɛã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (6) nɔ<sup>12</sup>kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> tei<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>. (7) ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʃɔ<sup>11</sup>tʃo<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> di<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (8) ʔə<sup>55</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ndzo<sup>11</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (9) ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>to<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>14</sup>. (10) ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>de<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>su<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>14</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>za<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (11) ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>hwa<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>14</sup> tʃa<sup>51</sup>ndzo<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (12) tə<sup>11</sup>ti<sup>55</sup> to<sup>55</sup>h<sup>55</sup>ʃə<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (13) ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup> ɲa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup> teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup>teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup> pi<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (14) ʔeɲ<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>da<sup>14</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> nɔ<sup>12</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> zū<sup>14</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ndza<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (15) ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>12</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> dʒi<sup>11</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (16) dzo<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (17) tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (18) tə<sup>55</sup> ɲa<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>55</sup>ri<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>ha<sup>55</sup>da<sup>14</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>51</sup>. (19) ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>11</sup>da<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tʃo<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>. (20) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup> ɛə<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tʃə<sup>11</sup>lã<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> tʃə<sup>11</sup>lã<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ɛə<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (21) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>lã<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>lã<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ɛə<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (22) pa<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tsə<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> lo<sup>11</sup>dza<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>si<sup>55</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tʃe<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (23) ta<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>11</sup>ke<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>51</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> ro<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>.

(24) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup> tə<sup>11</sup> ge<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (25) n<sup>g</sup>o<sup>12</sup> ʃa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>51</sup> ɛa<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> za<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (26) ʃa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>51</sup> tei<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>51</sup> ɛa<sup>11</sup>yi<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ko<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (27) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>da<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> du<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (28) ndi<sup>12</sup> na<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> kɔ<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>11</sup>da<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ɛa<sup>11</sup>tʃu<sup>51</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> za<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (29) ɛa<sup>11</sup>yi<sup>55</sup> kɔ<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>14</sup> da<sup>11</sup>bo<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> na<sup>14</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (30) k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>rã<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>rã<sup>14</sup> tʃa<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (31) ʔeɲ<sup>14</sup> tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ɲa<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (32) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> tʃe<sup>11</sup>tʃu<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ndi<sup>12</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> va<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ndʒi<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> teə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> teə<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>ndʒa<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (33) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> tso<sup>11</sup>mə<sup>55</sup>tsa<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ga<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (34) tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> tʃe<sup>11</sup>tʃu<sup>51</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup> tso<sup>11</sup>mə<sup>55</sup>tsa<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ga<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (35) ʔa<sup>11</sup>li<sup>55</sup> li<sup>11</sup>tʃu<sup>51</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> tso<sup>11</sup>mə<sup>55</sup>tsa<sup>11</sup>yi<sup>55</sup>fi<sup>55</sup>. (36) ɲa<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> va<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ndʒi<sup>12</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>ti<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> so<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> so<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>sei<sup>14</sup>. (37) tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> tʃe<sup>11</sup>tʃu<sup>51</sup>ko<sup>14</sup> ɲa<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> va<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ndʒi<sup>12</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (38) tə<sup>11</sup>re<sup>55</sup> tsə<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>da<sup>14</sup> ɛã<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>14</sup> hã<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (38) hã<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> za<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (40) ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup> hã<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>dʒi<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>da<sup>14</sup> ɛã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (41) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (42) tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> hã<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> kɛ<sup>11</sup>da<sup>11</sup> za<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (43) hã<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> kɛ<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>tʃa<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>jo<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (44) lu<sup>51</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (45) wi<sup>14</sup> n<sup>b</sup>u<sup>51</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (46) wa<sup>11</sup>tʃu<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ɛa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tʃe<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>.

(47) ʔeɲ<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> tei<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (48) ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> n<sup>g</sup>o<sup>11</sup>jo<sup>55</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> le<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (49) ɲa<sup>51</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (50) kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (51) k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> h<sup>55</sup>ʃə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> da<sup>11</sup>bo<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> dʒi<sup>14</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ru<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ru<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (52) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (53) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> h<sup>55</sup>ʃə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ndza<sup>12</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (54) ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> pa<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup> ʃi<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (55) ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup>to<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (56) ʔə<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>11</sup>ke<sup>55</sup> tʃi<sup>51</sup>s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup> ... ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> de<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>ti<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup> dzə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (57) dzə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ei<sup>55</sup>ti<sup>55</sup>. (58) ndã<sup>14</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (59) ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ɲã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (60) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>15</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> da<sup>11</sup>bo<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>ʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (61) ʔe<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> dã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (62) ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> le<sup>55</sup> ɲã<sup>14</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>zi<sup>55</sup>. (63) ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ti<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> ɲã<sup>14</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wɔ<sup>14</sup>ndi<sup>12</sup>.

*Interlinear glossing text*

(1) ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་  
 ཞེ་ཞེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ལྷ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ལྷ་  
 then sorcerer<sup>20</sup>-NDEF EXV  
 ‘Well, there was a sorcerer.’

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

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

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

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

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

(7) ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་  
 ལྷ་མྱེ་ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་  
 sorcerer-NDEF reciting<sup>21</sup>-LOC go-CONJ inside-LOC bread  
 ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་ ལྷ་མྱེ་  
 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.”’

<sup>20</sup> This term denotes a sorcerer of the Bon religion.

<sup>21</sup> This term denotes a place that the sorcerer goes to recite.

- (8) ༔ཅ་<sup>55</sup>                      dzo<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>ཅ་<sup>11</sup>-nཅ་<sup>55</sup>                      <sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-ལཅ་<sup>55</sup> tཅ་<sup>55</sup> kཅ་<sup>55</sup>  
ཨ་                      རྒྱབ་ལེ་                      ལྷུ་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་<sup>11</sup>ཚཱ་<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      ༔ཅ་<sup>11</sup>nཅ་<sup>55</sup>-tཅ་<sup>55</sup>                      ཚཱ་<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>-to<sup>11</sup>-fa<sup>14</sup>  
འ་ཚོ་                      ཨ་ནེ་དེ་                      འཕྲོག་དོ་འ་  
1PL.INCL                      sorcerer-DEF                      rob-IMPRX-SFT  
‘Shall we rob the sorcerer (of the pack)?’
- (10) ༔ཅ་<sup>55</sup>                      ri<sup>11</sup>wཅ་<sup>14</sup>-kཅ་<sup>55</sup>                      ༔ཅ་<sup>11</sup>nཅ་<sup>55</sup>-tཅ་<sup>55</sup>                      ཚཱ་<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>de<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>ཅ་<sup>11</sup>su<sup>55</sup>  
ཨ་                      རི་བོང་གིས་                      ཨ་ནེ་དེ་                      ཚེས་དྲིས་                      \*\*\*  
then                      hare-ERG                      sorcerer-DEF                      always                      <sup>c</sup>cough  
lo<sup>14</sup>                      mཅ་<sup>11</sup>-za<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
སློབ་                      མི་བཟང་གི  
lung                      NEG-good-STA.SEN  
‘Then, Hare (said): “The sorcerer always coughs, (so) the lungs are not good.”’
- (11) ri<sup>11</sup>wཅ་<sup>14</sup>                      te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>hwa<sup>55</sup>                      ja<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>                      lo<sup>14</sup>                      ཚཱ་<sup>51</sup>  
རི་བོང་                      མཚེན་པ་                      ཡོད་ན་                      སློབ་                      འགོ་  
hare                      liver                      EXV-CONJ                      lung                      heal  
<sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>                      dze<sup>11</sup>-nཅ་<sup>55</sup>  
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་<sup>11</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup>                      to<sup>55</sup>                      hཅཱ་<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>                      ja<sup>11</sup> lཅ་<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
དེ་དྲིས་                      དོ་                      བཤད་རྒྱ་                      ཡོད་ལེ་རེད་  
DEM-CONJ                      like that                      say-NML                      EXV.STA  
‘At that time, there was a saying like that.’
- (13) ri<sup>11</sup>wཅ་<sup>14</sup>                      ༔ཅ་<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>                      ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup>                      teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup>teo<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>14</sup>                      pi<sup>11</sup>-sཅ་<sup>55</sup>  
རི་བོང་                      ཨ་ནེ་འི་                      སློན་སྐོར་                      རྒྱུག་འི་རྒྱུག་འི་                      བྱད་སོང་  
hare                      sorcerer.GEN                      front                      limping                      go.PF-PFT.TRA  
‘Hare would go in the front of the sorcerer, limping.’
- (14) ༔ཅེ<sup>14</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                      lo<sup>14</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-ལཅ་<sup>55</sup> tཅ་<sup>55</sup>-lཅ་<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>  
ཨིན་                      ཁོ་                      ད་དྲིས་                      སློབ་                      ཁོད་འི་འདག་ལེ་དང་  
INTJ                      3                      still                      lung                      be sick-PROG-NML-COM  
ri<sup>11</sup>wཅ་<sup>14</sup>                      <sup>n</sup>da<sup>12</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                      zཱ་<sup>14</sup>-kཅ་<sup>55</sup>                      <sup>n</sup>dza<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
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) ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>      zi<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>      dze<sup>12</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      dzo<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>      zi<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>      dze<sup>12</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      dzo<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>      zi<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>      dze<sup>12</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      dzo<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 sorcerer.ERG    hare            catch.NPF-FUT.E    say-CONJ        back-LOC  
 k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>      dʒi<sup>11</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>      zi<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>      dze<sup>12</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      dzo<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 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) dzo<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup>      ra<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 dzo<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup>      ra<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 dzo<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup>      ra<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 back-GEN        DEM            ground.LOC      put.NI-PFT.NSEN

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

- (17) tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>      jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>      jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 tʃe<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>      jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 brown bear    come.NI-CONJ    back-GEN        DEM            get-PFT.TRA

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

- (18) tə<sup>55</sup>            ŋa<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup>      ko<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>      ra<sup>55</sup>-ri<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>  
 tə<sup>55</sup>            ŋa<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup>      ko<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>      ra<sup>55</sup>-ri<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>  
 tə<sup>55</sup>            ŋa<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup>      ko<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>      ra<sup>55</sup>-ri<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>  
 DEM            earlier        way            put.NI-PFT-STA    3.ERG  
 to<sup>11</sup>            ei<sup>11</sup>-ha<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>            ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>  
 tə<sup>55</sup>            ei<sup>11</sup>-ha<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>            ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>  
 tə<sup>55</sup>            ei<sup>11</sup>-ha<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>            ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>  
 like that      do-wish-COM    sorcerer        3.DAT            behind

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

- (19) ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>  
 sorcerer        3            behind        chase-NPFT-COM    2.ERG  
 tʃo<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>  
 tʃo<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>  
 solid food      DEM            rob

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

- (20) ʔa<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fu<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>      ɛə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fu<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>      ɛə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fu<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>      ɛə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>  
 then            all            DEM            do-CONJ        sorcerer  
 ji<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>      ɛə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>      ɛə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔa<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>      ɛə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 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 <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup><br>ཨ་ཟེ་<br>then<br>sə <sup>11</sup> -lā <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>55</sup><br>བསང་ལ་ཁང་<br>kill-NML | ri <sup>11</sup> wō <sup>14</sup><br>རི་བོང་<br>hare<br>eə <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup><br>བྱེད་ནི་<br>do-CONJ | ka <sup>11</sup> lə <sup>55</sup> -ka <sup>11</sup> lə <sup>55</sup><br>ག་ལེར་ག་ལེར་<br>slowly-RDP<br>s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup><br>སོང་ནི་<br>go-CONJ | s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup><br>སོང་ནི་<br>go-CONJ | sə <sup>11</sup> -lā <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>55</sup><br>བསང་ལ་ཁང་<br>kill-NML |
|------|--|---|--|--|--|

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

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

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

- |      |  |  |  |  |   |
|------|--|--|--|--|---|
| (23) | ta <sup>55</sup><br>ང་<br>then<br>ka <sup>11</sup> ra <sup>55</sup><br>ག་ར་ན་<br>where<br>tʃ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>51</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup> sə <sup>55</sup><br>འཕྲོག་གི་སོང་<br>rob-AOR.TRA | e <sup>h</sup> i <sup>55</sup><br>ཕྱིར་<br>back<br>ji <sup>51</sup><br>ཡོང་<br>EXV.E | tʃa <sup>11</sup> da <sup>51</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup><br>ཅ་ལག་གི་<br>thing-GEN<br>tʃa <sup>11</sup> da <sup>51</sup><br>ཅ་ལག<br>thing | tsi <sup>11</sup> ke <sup>55</sup><br>རྩིབ་ཀ་<br>side<br>jə <sup>11</sup> lo <sup>55</sup><br>ཡོང་ལོ་<br>all | tʃa <sup>11</sup> da <sup>51</sup><br>ཅ་ལག་<br>thing<br>ro <sup>55</sup><br>གཞན་<br>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 <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup><br>ཨ་ཟེ་<br>then | tʃ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> fiu <sup>55</sup><br>ཚོང་བོས་<br>all | tʃa <sup>11</sup> da <sup>51</sup><br>ཅ་ལག<br>thing | tə <sup>11</sup><br>དེ་<br>DEM | ge <sup>11</sup> -lə <sup>55</sup> re <sup>51</sup><br>བཞོས་ལེ་རེད་<br>divide-STA |
|------|--|--|---|--------------------------------|---|

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

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

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

(26)  $\text{ʂa}^{11}\text{na}^{51}$        $\text{tɕi}^{11}\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{55}}\text{-na}^{55}$        $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{u}^{14}}$        $\text{na}^{11}\text{gə}^{51}$        $\text{ɕa}^{11}\text{y}\text{i}^{55}$   
 ʂ.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་      ལྷོང་      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)  $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{o}^{51}}$        $\text{ts}^{\text{h}\text{a}^{14}}$        $\text{ɕi}^{11}\text{-da}^{14}$        $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{o}^{55}}$        $\text{du}^{51}$   
 ལྷོང་      ཚང་      ལྷོང་དང་      ལྷོང་      ལྷག་  
 2.DAT      nest      do-CONJ      2      suffering  
 $\text{t}^{\text{h}\text{o}^{14}}$        $\text{m}\text{ə}^{11}\text{-ko}^{11}\text{-fi}^{44}$   
 ལྷོང་      མི་དགོས་འི་  
 receive      NEG-need-STA.SEN  
 ‘“If you make a nest, you need not receive any suffering.”’

(28)  $^{\text{n}}\text{di}^{12}$        $\text{na}^{14}$        $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{e}^{55}}$        $\text{k}\text{o}^{14}$        $\text{ra}^{11}\text{-da}^{14}$   
 འདིའི་      ནང་      ལྷོས་      ལྷོང་      བཞག་དང་  
 DEM.GEN      inside      2.ERG      egg      put.NI-COM  
 $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{e}^{55}}$        $\text{ea}^{11}\text{tʂu}^{51}$        $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{-ta}^{55}$        $\text{za}^{11}\text{-fi}^{44}$   
 ལྷོས་      བྱ་སྐྱལ་      ལྷིང་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)  $\text{ea}^{11}\text{y}\text{i}^{55}$        $\text{k}\text{o}^{14}$        $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{r}\text{ə}^{14}$        $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{ə}^{11}}\text{r}\text{ə}^{14}$        $\text{da}^{11}\text{bo}^{55}$   
 ལྷ་ཀའི་      ལྷོང་      ལྷུང་རེ་      ལྷུང་རེ་      ལྷག་ལོ་  
 magpie.GEN      egg      one      one      all  
 $\text{k}^{\text{h}\text{u}^{14}}$        $\text{na}^{14}$        $\text{l}\text{u}^{11}\text{-n}\text{ə}^{55}$        $\text{tʂa}^{51}\text{-ta}^{11}\text{z}\text{ə}^{55}$   
 ལྷུང་      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)  $\text{ʎ}\text{e}\text{ŋ}^{14}$        $\text{tʂe}^{11}\text{m}\text{o}^{55}\text{-le}^{55}$        $\text{ŋa}^{55}$        $\text{t}\text{ə}^{55}$        $\text{ɕi}^{11}\text{-ra}^{11}\text{z}\text{ə}^{55}$   
 ཨིན་      ཅྲིང་མོང་ལེ་      རྩ་      དེ་      ལྷིན་ད་ཟེག  
 INTJ      brown bear-DAT      drum      DEM      give-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘So, Hare gave that drum to Brown bear.’

- (32)  $t\acute{e}^{h_0 14}$   $t\text{ʃe}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$   $t\text{ʃe}^{11}t\text{ʃu}^{51}$   $k\acute{o}^{11}k\acute{o}^{55}$   ${}^n d\acute{i}^{12}$   
 བྱོད་ རྩོད་མོང་ རྩོད་ཕྱག་ ཀྲན་གོ་ འདིའི་  
 2.GEN brown bear baby brown bear all DEM.GEN  
 $t^{h_0 55}-l\acute{e}^{55}$   $r\acute{a}^{51}-t\acute{a}^{11}-n\acute{o}^{55}$   $v\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$   ${}^n d\text{ʒi}^{11}-t\acute{o}^{55}-t\acute{a}^{55}$   $t\acute{e}\acute{o}^{11}-l\acute{o}^{55}$   
 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  
 $t\acute{e}\acute{o}^{11}-l\acute{o}^{55}$   $m\acute{o}^{11}-{}^n d\text{ʒ}\acute{a}^{11}-f\acute{i}^{44}$   
 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)  $t\acute{e}^{h_0 14}$   $t\acute{o}^{55}$   $t\text{so}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$   $t\text{sa}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$   $g\acute{a}^{11}-f\acute{i}^{44}$   
 བྱོད་ དེ་ རྩོད་མོ་རྩོད་ལེ་ དགའ་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་ དགའ་འི་  
 brown bear baby brown bear especially amuse oneself.NPF-NML love-STA.SEN  
 ‘‘Baby brown bears particularly like amusing themselves.’’

- (35)  $ʔ\acute{a}^{11}l\acute{i}^{55}$   $l\acute{i}^{11}t\text{ʃu}^{51}$   $t\acute{o}^{11}-k\acute{o}^{55}$   $t\text{so}^{11}m\acute{o}^{55}$   $t\text{sa}^{11}-y\acute{i}^{55}-f\acute{i}\acute{a}^{55}$   
 ཨ་ལྷའི་ ལྷ་ཕྱག་ དེ་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)  $\eta\acute{a}^{11}-y\acute{e}^{55}$   $t^{h_0 55}-l\acute{e}^{55}$   $r\acute{a}^{51}-t\acute{a}^{11}-n\acute{o}^{55}$   $v\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$   ${}^n d\text{ʒi}^{12}-t\acute{a}^{11}-t\acute{i}^{55}-n\acute{a}^{55}$   
 རྩའི་ 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  
 $s\acute{o}^{11}-l\acute{o}^{55}$   $s\acute{o}^{11}-l\acute{o}^{55}$   $r\acute{e}^{51}-s\acute{e}i^{14}$   
 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་ རྩའི་ ཐོག་ལེ་ བཞག་ནི་  
 brown bear baby brown bear-COL drum-GEN top-LOC put.NI-CONJ  
 $v\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{e}^{55}$   ${}^n d\text{ʒi}^{12}-t\acute{a}^{11}-l\acute{o}^{55}-t\acute{o}^{55}$   $j\acute{o}^{11}l\acute{o}^{55}$   $s\acute{e}^{11}-y\acute{a}^{11}$   $z\acute{o}^{55}$   
 བར་ལས་ འགྲོལ་ད་ལོ་དེ་ ཡོད་ལོ་ བསད་ད་ཟློག་  
 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) tə<sup>11</sup>re<sup>55</sup>      tsə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      ɛ̃<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>14</sup>      hã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>55</sup>      ɛi<sup>11</sup>-ya<sup>55</sup>-za<sup>55</sup>  
 ㄊㄣ̄.ㄣㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄.ㄋㄣ̄.ㄉㄚ      ㄝㄢ̄.ㄎㄨㄣ̄      ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨㄣ̄      ㄝㄨㄣ̄.ㄩㄚ.ㄗㄚ  
 there      arrive-CONJ-CONJ      wolf.DAT<sup>22</sup>      shoe      give-PFT-NSEN

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

(39) hã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>      za<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄      ㄗㄚ.ㄈㄨㄣ̄  
 shoe      DEM      2.DAT      good-STA.SEN

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

(40) ʔa<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>      hã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      ka<sup>11</sup>dzi<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔㄚ.ㄋㄨㄣ̄      ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄      ㄎㄚ.ㄉㄗㄨㄣ̄.ㄌㄣ  
 sorcerer.GEN      shoe      DEM      2      bare foot-DAT  
 k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      ɛ̃<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>      te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>      ko<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>14</sup>  
 ㄎㄣ̄.ㄉㄚ      ㄝㄢ̄.ㄎㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄      ㄏㄚ.ㄎㄣ̄      ㄎㄠ.ㄈㄨ  
 take-CONJ      wolf      2      indeed      foot  
 te<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>      ŋã<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ㄊㄣ̄.ㄏㄚ.ㄌㄣ      ㄋㄣ̄.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<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ㄊㄣ̄      ㄏㄚ.ㄎㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄      ㄇㄚ.ㄊㄡ.ㄎㄣ̄  
 2      indeed      sit.NPF<sup>23</sup>-NML      NEG-can-STA

‘“You, indeed, cannot sit down,”’

(42) te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>      hã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      kɛ̃<sup>11</sup>-da<sup>11</sup>      za<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 ㄊㄣ̄      ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨㄣ̄      ㄊㄣ̄      ㄎㄣ̄.ㄉㄚ      ㄗㄚ.ㄈㄨㄣ̄  
 2.ERG      shoe      DEM      wear-CONJ      good-STA.SEN

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

(43) hã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>55</sup>      kɛ̃<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>      tʂa<sup>11</sup>tʂa<sup>55</sup>  
 ㄏㄢ̄.ㄈㄨㄣ̄      ㄎㄣ̄.ㄋㄣ̄      ㄏㄚ.ㄎㄣ̄      ㄎㄣ̄      ㄊㄡ.ㄊㄡ  
 shoe      wear-CONJ      indeed      mouth.LOC      a little  
 mə<sup>11</sup>-jo<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 ㄇㄚ.ㄗㄠ.ㄈㄨ  
 NEG-come.NI-STA.SEN

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

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

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

- (44) lu<sup>51</sup> khə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>hə</sup><sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) wi<sup>14</sup> ʱbu<sup>51</sup> ɕi<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷ་འི་ སྐབ་ སྨིན་ད་བྱིག་  
 fox.DAT cymbal give-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘(Then, Hare) gave Fox cymbals.’
- (46) wa<sup>11</sup>tʂu<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ɕa<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>55</sup>  
 མ་ཕྱག་ ཀླུ་གོ་ སྐྱེ་ཉི་ སྦྱོས་ཉི་ ལྷ་  
 baby fox all fear-CONJ escape-CONJ soul  
 tɕ<sup>hə</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 འཁྱོར་སྔོང་  
 shake-PFT.TRA  
 ‘(Then Fox baby) feared (the cymbals), escaped, and lost his [Fox baby’s] soul.’
- (47) ʔeŋ<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> tei<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ɕi<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཨིན་ ཨི་བེ་ དེ་ ཀླུ་གོ་ སྦྱོས་ཀ་བྱིང་ཉི་  
 INTJ then DEM all discuss-CONJ  
 ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> ŋä<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 རི་བོང་ ངན་པ་ རེད་  
 hare bad CPV  
 ‘So, then they all discussed: “Hare is bad.”’
- (48) ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>hə</sup><sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> ʱgo<sup>11</sup>jo<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>hə</sup><sup>55</sup>  
 རི་བོང་ འཇོ་ ཏ་གེ་ མགོ་གཡོ་ཉི་ འཇོ་  
 hare 1PL.INCL indeed deceive-CONJ 1PL.INCL  
 kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ŋä<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> le<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tɕ<sup>hə</sup><sup>51</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཀླུ་གོ་ ངན་པ་ ལས་ཉི་ བྱིང་ དེ་  
 all bad do-CONJ 2.DAT DEM  
 re<sup>51</sup>  
 རེད་  
 CPV  
 ‘“Hare indeed deceived us, and did bad things to all of us, it is (bad) for you.”’
- (49) ŋa<sup>51</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 ངར་ དེ་ རེད་  
 1.DAT DEM CPV  
 ‘“It is (bad) for me.”’
- (50) kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> k<sup>hə</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tʂ<sup>hə</sup>u<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཀླུ་གོ་ ལ་འཚམ་གི་  
 all get along-STA

“We all get along (with each other).”

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

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

- |      |   |   |                                 |  |
|------|---|---|---------------------------------|--|
| (52) | ʔə <sup>11</sup> ze <sup>55</sup><br>ཞི་བེ་<br>then | ŋã <sup>11</sup> ba <sup>55</sup><br>ངན་པ་<br>bad | re <sup>51</sup><br>རེད་<br>CPV | dze <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup><br>བེར་ནི་<br>say-CONJ |
|------|---|---|---------------------------------|--|

“(All of them) said: “(Hare) is bad.”

- |      |  |  |                                |   |                                       |
|------|--|--|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (53) | ʔə <sup>11</sup> ze <sup>55</sup><br>ཞི་བེ་<br>then        | ʔə <sup>11</sup> tʂ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup><br>འུ་ཚོ་<br>1PL.INCL | tə <sup>55</sup><br>དེ་<br>DEM | h <sup>ɕ</sup> ə <sup>11</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup><br>བཤད་གི་<br>tell-NML | ˈdza <sup>12</sup><br>འགྲོ་<br>go.NPF |
|      | dze <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup><br>བེར་ནི་<br>say-CONJ |  |                                |   |                                       |

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

- |      |  |   |  |   |  |
|------|--|---|--|---|--|
| (54) | ʔə <sup>11</sup> tʂ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup><br>འུ་ཚོ་<br>1PL.INCL | ha <sup>11</sup> ge <sup>55</sup><br>ཏུ་གི་<br>indeed | s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup><br>སོང་ནི་<br>go-CONJ | pa <sup>11</sup> tə <sup>55</sup><br>སྤགས་ཏི་<br>skin | ʂi <sup>11</sup> -to <sup>55</sup> -fia <sup>55</sup><br>བཤམ་དོ་འ་<br>peel-IMPRX-SFT |
|      | dze <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup><br>བེར་ནི་<br>say-CONJ             |   |  |   |  |

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

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

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

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



tʂ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> fu <sup>55</sup> -lo <sup>55</sup>	ŋã <sup>14</sup>	ɕi <sup>51</sup> -ta <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>	ri <sup>11</sup> wɔ̃ <sup>14</sup>	ˈdi <sup>12</sup>
ཚང་ལོ་ལོ་	ངན་	བྱེད་ད་ཟླག	རི་བོད་	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



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་རྩིབ་ཀ་གཅིག་སོང་ལོ་དུ། ཨེ་ཁོ་རོག་ཚེ་ཚོགས་ནི་བསྐྱད་འདུག་དུས་  
རི་བོང་རྒྱགས་གོ་བེག་རྒྱགས་གོ་ནི་རྒྱུད་གོ་རྒྱུད་ཨེ་བྱེད་དུ། བསྐྱུག་ཨེ་ནི་དེ་འཛུགས་པ་བེག་རེད། ཨེ་ནི་  
དེས་ཚོས་འདོན་ནི་འུ་ཚེ་འཛུགས་པ་བྱེད་ད་བེག་ ཁོས་གོ་རེ་འཆས་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) to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>γə<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>11</sup>dzi<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>də<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup> h<sup>55</sup>ʂə<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>də<sup>55</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (2) ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> wa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> wa<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>11</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>re<sup>51</sup>.  
(3) ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>γə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wa<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (4) dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wa<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>γə<sup>55</sup>də<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (5) dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wi<sup>14</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>o</sup>11<sup>ye</sup>14<sup>ye</sup>14 n<sup>55</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>γə<sup>55</sup>də<sup>55</sup>zi<sup>55</sup>. (6) dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wa<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>də<sup>12</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>si<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (7) to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>hwa<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>. (8) ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> n<sup>55</sup>də<sup>12</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> zū<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>hwa<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>. (9) dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wi<sup>14</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>wi<sup>14</sup> ŋə<sup>12</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>də<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>tɛi<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ŋe<sup>12</sup> n<sup>55</sup>də<sup>55</sup> zī<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (10) ʔa<sup>55</sup> dzo<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>kō<sup>14</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>14</sup> pō<sup>51</sup>ya<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (11) ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> zī<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (12) dza<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>kō<sup>14</sup> ti<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup>.  
(13) tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ŋo<sup>14</sup>zə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> de<sup>51</sup>tə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (14) tə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup>γə<sup>55</sup> jā<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ā<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> to<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup> pō<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (15) ta<sup>51</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>γə<sup>55</sup>ti<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (16) ʔei<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tɛi<sup>55</sup>fio<sup>55</sup>. (17) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>no<sup>55</sup> to<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (18) tʂa<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>wa<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> ga<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>. (19) ŋa<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ro<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (20) ta<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> he<sup>55</sup>fio<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>sə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (21) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup> sa<sup>11</sup>wa<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (22) tsa<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (23) ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> la<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>γə<sup>55</sup>ti<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (24) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> sã<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (25) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>ɛi<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (26) k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> jā<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ā<sup>14</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (27) ʔe<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup> ʂi<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (28) ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> tʂi<sup>55</sup>to<sup>55</sup>sei<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>12</sup>. (29) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> tʂi<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>na<sup>14</sup> jā<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ā<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (30) ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> ʂi<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (31) ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> ja<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>55</sup>to<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (32) ta<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>na<sup>14</sup> tʂi<sup>55</sup>ya<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (33) ta<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>na<sup>14</sup> tʂi<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ja<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>11</sup>γo<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>na<sup>14</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (34) tə<sup>11</sup>to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>51</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>si<sup>55</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>si<sup>55</sup>no<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> tʂo<sup>11</sup>mə<sup>55</sup>no<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>ni<sup>51</sup>na<sup>14</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (35) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (36) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>ʂi<sup>14</sup>no<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>γə<sup>55</sup>də<sup>11</sup>na<sup>12</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>no<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>. (37) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>ʂi<sup>14</sup>no<sup>55</sup>tʂa<sup>11</sup>bo<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup> h<sup>55</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>. (38) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>55</sup>tʂa<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>sei<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (39) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>dze<sup>11</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tɛa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>tɛi<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>sei<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (40) ʔə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>. (41) ta<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> la<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>. (42) sō<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>.  
(43) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup> na<sup>14</sup>lo<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> s<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ne<sup>55</sup> ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (44) ta<sup>51</sup> n<sup>55</sup>də<sup>12</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʂe<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup> tə<sup>12</sup> sō<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>. (45) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> hə<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>tɛi<sup>55</sup>fio<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>tɛi<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>na<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>. (46) ta<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>hə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>14</sup> ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (47) ta<sup>55</sup> tɛə<sup>11</sup>teu<sup>55</sup> tʂwa<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>di<sup>12</sup> ŋa<sup>51</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup> ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> le<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (48) ta<sup>55</sup> ŋə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (49) hə<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup> də<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>di<sup>12</sup> na<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tɛi<sup>55</sup>ri<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> sō<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (50) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup> də<sup>11</sup>ha<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (51) k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup> də<sup>11</sup>ha<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>12</sup>na<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup>na<sup>14</sup> de<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>. (52) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> ro<sup>11</sup>hi<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>ba<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ho<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (53) ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup> ho<sup>14</sup>li<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> wa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> wa<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> pə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (54) ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> pə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> n<sup>55</sup>do<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> za<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (55) ʔə<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> sã<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>. (56) ʔa<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> s<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ɛi<sup>11</sup>tʂi<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (57) ʔa<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ʂi<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>51</sup> ʂi<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>51</sup>na<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup>ba<sup>11</sup>le<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup> sã<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup>le<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>14</sup>. (58) tə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (59) ʔe<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> wa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> wa<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>

<sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (60) t<sup>11</sup>re<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> sã<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>. (61) <sup>n</sup>da<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (62) ta<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (63) t<sup>11</sup>re<sup>55</sup> tsə<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>da<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>na<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup> na<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>14</sup> n<sup>b</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup>jo<sup>55</sup>mo<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>55</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>14</sup>. (64) dzi<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (65) ka<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (66) tə<sup>55</sup> n<sup>d</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (67) t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> ro<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>11</sup>ke<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (68) ro<sup>55</sup> he<sup>11</sup>la<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>rə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> za<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (69) ta<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> he<sup>11</sup>la<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> pa<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (70) ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ɛã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ɛã<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>li<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>ʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> tʃi<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (71) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> ɛã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ga<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>ga<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>dʒa<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (72) ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ɛã<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (73) ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>ɣə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup>dzo<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>. (74) ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup>tsə<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>-ja<sup>55</sup>.

*Interlinear glossing text*

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

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

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

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

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

‘Hare robbed a merchant.’

(4)	dza <sup>11</sup> k <sup>h</sup> e <sup>11</sup> wa <sup>55</sup> -zə <sup>55</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>14</sup> dza <sup>11</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>	<sup>n</sup> dzo <sup>11</sup> -ɣə <sup>55</sup> də <sup>55</sup> kə <sup>55</sup>
	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.’

<sup>24</sup> This phrase is a folk saying, in which Fox denotes not only a fox but also all the animals. Strictly speaking, the word /wa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>/ means an animal similar to a fox, which appears in folktales and often scares children.

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



- (11) ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 then hare slowly-RDP go-CONJ catch.NPF-NML  
 tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>55</sup> ɛə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 can-NML can-NML do-CONJ lead-CONJ far place-LOC  
 pi<sup>55</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) dza<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 dza<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 dza<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 far place-LOC go-CONJ again hare escape-CONJ  
 jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>kō<sup>14</sup> ti<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 come.NI-CONJ box DEM.GEN inside 3  
 k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tʂe<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-ka<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> zɪ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) tʂe<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> ŋo<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> de<sup>51</sup>-tə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>  
 tʂe<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> ŋo<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> de<sup>51</sup>-tə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>  
 tʂe<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tʂa<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> ŋo<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> de<sup>51</sup>-tə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) tə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup>-γə<sup>55</sup> jã<sup>11</sup>tã<sup>14</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> to<sup>55</sup>  
 tə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup>-γə<sup>55</sup> jã<sup>11</sup>tã<sup>14</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> to<sup>55</sup>  
 tə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup>-γə<sup>55</sup> jã<sup>11</sup>tã<sup>14</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> to<sup>55</sup>  
 DEM eat.PF-CONJ inside-GEN <sup>C</sup>candy-COM like that  
 tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ta<sup>51</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ta<sup>51</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ta<sup>51</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>  
 tiger one come.NI-CONJ-EMPH then uncle  
 ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-γə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 hare 2.ERG what eat.NPF-PROG.E-QUOT

‘Tiger came (here) and then said: “Uncle Hare, what are you eating?”’

- (16) ʔei<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>-fi<sup>o</sup><sup>55</sup>  
 ʔẽ ɿ tã k<sup>h</sup>ẽ tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə̃ tʂ<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>11</sup>-teĩ<sup>55</sup>-fĩ<sup>o</sup><sup>55</sup>  
 INTJ INTJ 3.ERG what eat.NPF-FUT.E-SFT  
 ‘(Hare replied:) “Uh, what am I going to eat?”’
- (17) te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-no<sup>55</sup> to<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>-re<sup>51</sup>  
 tʂ<sup>h</sup>õ<sup>11</sup>-nõ<sup>55</sup> tõ mã<sup>11</sup>-rẽ<sup>51</sup>  
 2-COM like that NEG-CPV  
 ‘“(I) am not like you.”’
- (18) tʂa<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-wa<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 tʂã sə̃<sup>11</sup>-nə̃<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>ã tʂ<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>11</sup>-wã<sup>55</sup> dzẽ<sup>11</sup>-nã<sup>55</sup>  
 how kill-CONJ meat eat.NPF-SFT say-TOP  
 ŋa<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> ga<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>14</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 ɿ k<sup>h</sup>ã ʂ<sup>h</sup>ẽ<sup>14</sup> gã<sup>11</sup>-fĩ<sup>14</sup>-tã<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ŋa<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ro<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ɿ hã<sup>11</sup>gẽ<sup>55</sup> tə̃ rõ sə̃<sup>11</sup>-kə̃<sup>55</sup>  
 1.ERG indeed DEM other kill-NML  
 mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 mə̃<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə̃<sup>11</sup>-kə̃<sup>55</sup>  
 NEG-can-STA  
 ‘“I really cannot kill other (animals).”’
- (20) ta<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> he<sup>55</sup>fi<sup>o</sup><sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>-sə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 tã hã<sup>11</sup>gẽ<sup>55</sup> hẽ<sup>55</sup>fĩ<sup>o</sup><sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ũ<sup>14</sup>-sə̃<sup>11</sup>-nə̃<sup>55</sup> mẽ<sup>11</sup>-fĩ<sup>44</sup>  
 then indeed body small-PFT-CONJ bad-STA.SEN  
 ‘“Then, (my) body is really small, (so killing) doesn’t work.”’
- (21) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup> sa<sup>11</sup>-wa<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə̃<sup>11</sup>zẽ<sup>55</sup> tsã sã<sup>11</sup>-wã<sup>55</sup> dzẽ<sup>11</sup>-nã<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>55</sup>  
 then grass eat.NPF-SFT say-TOP mouth  
 k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 k<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>õ<sup>55</sup> rẽ<sup>51</sup>  
 ʂ<sup>h</sup>ə̃<sup>55</sup> rẽ<sup>51</sup>  
 split CPV  
 ‘“Then, I say I want to eat grass, (my) mouth is split.”’
- (22) tsa<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 tsã sẽ<sup>11</sup>-nə̃<sup>55</sup> mẽ<sup>11</sup>-fĩ<sup>44</sup>  
 grass eat.PF-CONJ bad-STA.SEN  
 ‘“Eating grass doesn’t work.”’

(23) ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> la<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə  
 then 3.ERG 3.GEN eye take.PF-CONJ  
 tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>-to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> sā<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>  
 tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>-to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> sā<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>  
 2.GEN eye-DEF INTJ 3 a little  
 ɛ<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə  
 give-SFT-QUOT  
 ‘(Tiger) said: “Hey, please give me a little of that eye of yours.”’

(25) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>-ɛ<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə  
 then 3-ERG eye NEG-give-STA  
 ‘Then, he [Hare] did not give (Tiger) his eye.’

(26) k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> jã<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> jã<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 mouth-INE Ccandy-NDEF put.NI-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘(Hare) put a candy in the (Tiger’s) mouth.’

(27) ʔe<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>-to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup> sɿ<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ʔe<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup>-to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup> sɿ<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 INTJ 2.GEN eye-DEF tasty-STA-SFT-QUOT  
 ‘(Tiger) said: “Hey, your eye is tasty!”’

(28) ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> tʃi<sup>55</sup>-to<sup>55</sup>-sei<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə  
 then 3.GEN eye dig-SFT-QUOT tiger-ERG  
 dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə  
 say  
 ‘Then, dig out my eye!’ said Tiger.’

(29) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> tʃi<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>  
 ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə ʔə  
 then tiger-ERG eye dig-PFT-CONJ-SFT mouth-INE  
 jã<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>14</sup>  
 \*\*\*  
 Ccandy put.NI-PFT.NSEN

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

- (30) ʔə<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>                      ni<sup>51</sup>                      ʃi<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ʔə                      ʃə                      ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi  
 INTJ                      3.GEN                      eye                      tasty-STA-QUOT

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

- (31) ʔə<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>                      ni<sup>51</sup>                      ja<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>                      tʃi<sup>55</sup>-to<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə                      ʃə                      ʃi                      ʔə                      tʃi  
 then                      3.GEN                      eye                      another                      dig-SFT  
 dze<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə                      ʃi  
 say-NSEN

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

- (32) ta<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                      ni<sup>51</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>                      tʃi<sup>55</sup>-ya<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi  
 tiger-GEN                      eye-both                      dig-PFT.NSEN

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

- (33) ta<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                      ni<sup>51</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>                      tʃi<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      ja<sup>55</sup>ka<sup>11</sup>yo<sup>55</sup>                      tə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi                      ʔə                      ʃi  
 tiger-GEN                      eye-both                      dig-PFT-CONJ                      another.DEM                      DEM  
 k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>                      e<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>                      ra<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi                      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) tə<sup>11</sup>-to<sup>11</sup>ho<sup>55</sup>                      tʃə<sup>h</sup>11                      ri<sup>51</sup>                      tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>si<sup>55</sup>tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>si<sup>55</sup>-no<sup>55</sup>                      ʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi  
 DEM-DEF                      what                      CPV<sup>26</sup>                      sparse and moist-NML                      meatball  
 tʃo<sup>11</sup>-mə<sup>55</sup>-no<sup>55</sup>                      to<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>                      ni<sup>51</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>                      mə<sup>11</sup>-rə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ʃi                      ʃi                      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) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      to<sup>11</sup>                      re<sup>51</sup>  
 ʔə                      ʃi                      ʃi                      ʃi  
 then                      3                      like that                      CPV

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

<sup>26</sup> The meaning of /ri<sup>51</sup>/ is identical to that of /re<sup>51</sup>/. We follow the real pronunciation appearing in the storytelling.

- (36) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                    ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                    mə<sup>11</sup>-ʃi<sup>14</sup>-no<sup>55</sup>                    ɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup>                    tʃʰa<sup>11</sup>-yʷə<sup>55</sup> də<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>12</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 3.ERG                    then                    NEG-tasty-NML                    later                    eat.NPF-PROG-CONJ  
 ʔə<sup>55</sup>                    tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>                    ɛi<sup>11</sup>-no<sup>55</sup>                    ri<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>                    ni<sup>51</sup>                    mə<sup>11</sup>-ʃi<sup>14</sup>-no<sup>55</sup>-tʃa<sup>11</sup>bo<sup>55</sup>                    k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                    ŋa<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 3.GEN                    eye                    NEG-tasty-NML-EMPH                    3.ERG                    earlier  
 tʃʰe<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    to<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>                    hʃə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 eat.PF-PFT-CONJ                    like that                    tell-CONJ

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

- (38) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                    tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                    ʔə<sup>11</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>                    dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 then                    2.ERG                    Q-see-STA.SEN                    say-CPV                    3.ERG  
 tʃa<sup>55</sup>tʃa<sup>55</sup>                    mə<sup>11</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-sei<sup>14</sup>                    ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 a little                    Q-see-STA.SEN-QUOT                    tiger-ERG

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

- (39) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                    tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                    ʔə<sup>11</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-dze<sup>11</sup>                    k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                    tɛa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>tei<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 then                    2.ERG                    Q-see-STA.SEN-QUOT                    3.ERG                    vague-NDEF  
 t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-sei<sup>14</sup>                    ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 see-STA.SEN-QUOT                    then

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

- (40) ʔə<sup>55</sup>                    ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                    s<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>                    to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                    tʃa<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>-ba<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 then                    tiger-ERG                    heart-INE                    also                    heal-FUT.SEN-SFT

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

- (41) ta<sup>55</sup>                    ni<sup>51</sup>                    la<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>                    ɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>                    tʃa<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>-ba<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 now                    eye                    take.PF-PFT-CONJ-SFT                    back                    heal-STA-SFT

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

- (42) sɔ̃<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    ʔə<sup>55</sup>                    ta<sup>51</sup>                    tɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>                    ʃi<sup>55</sup>  
 think-CONJ                    then                    tiger                    lead-AOR.TRA

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

- (43) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>    tʂa<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    na<sup>14</sup>    na<sup>14</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>    tʂa<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    na<sup>14</sup>    na<sup>14</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>    tʂa<sup>11</sup>k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    na<sup>14</sup>    na<sup>14</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    nə<sup>55</sup>  
 then    cave-NDEF-GEN    inside    both-NML-ERG    fire  
 pi<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>    ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>    ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>    s<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-ne<sup>55</sup>    ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>  
 burn-CONJ    uncle    hare    heart-ABL    bad  
 s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ta<sup>51</sup>    ndə<sup>12</sup>    tʂa<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>    ha<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>    se<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>  
 ta<sup>51</sup>    ndə<sup>12</sup>    tʂa<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>    ha<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>    se<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>  
 ta<sup>51</sup>    ndə<sup>12</sup>    tʂa<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>    ha<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>    se<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>  
 tiger    DEM    cliff-INE    throw.PF-CONJ    kill-EMPH  
 ko<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>    tə<sup>12</sup>    sō<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 need-STA.SEN    DEM    think-CONJ

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

- (45) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>    tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>    hə<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>    tə<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>-fi<sup>o</sup><sup>55</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>    tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>    hə<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>    tə<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>-fi<sup>o</sup><sup>55</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>    tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>    hə<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>    tə<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>-fi<sup>o</sup><sup>55</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>  
 then    2    inside    sit.NPF-FUT-CONJ    edge  
 tə<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>    dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>11</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>  
 sit.NPF-FUT.E    say-CONJ-SFT

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

- (46) ta<sup>55</sup>    ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>hə<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>    ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>    s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ta<sup>55</sup>    ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>hə<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>    ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>    s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ta<sup>55</sup>    ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>hə<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>    ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>    s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 now    tiger-ERG    breast-LOC    bad    occur-PFT.NSEN

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

- (47) ta<sup>55</sup>    teə<sup>11</sup>teu<sup>55</sup>    tʂwa<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>    ʔe<sup>55</sup>    ndi<sup>12</sup>  
 ta<sup>55</sup>    teə<sup>11</sup>teu<sup>55</sup>    tʂwa<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>    ʔe<sup>55</sup>    ndi<sup>12</sup>  
 ta<sup>55</sup>    teə<sup>11</sup>teu<sup>55</sup>    tʂwa<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>    ʔe<sup>55</sup>    ndi<sup>12</sup>  
 now    a little    Ccatch-CPFT    INTJ    DEM.ERG  
 ŋa<sup>51</sup>    ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>    ha<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>    ŋã<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>    le<sup>11</sup>-ra<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>  
 I.DAT    indeed    perhaps    bad    do-PFT

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

- (48) ta<sup>55</sup>                    ŋə<sup>55</sup>                    ni<sup>51</sup>                    mə<sup>11</sup>-tʰo<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་                        དེ་                        རྩིག                    མི་མཐོང་འི་མོ་  
 now                      1.GEN                    eye                      NEG-see-STA.SEN-SFT  
 ‘Now (with) my eyes (I) do not see.’
- (49) hə<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>                də<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>                ndi<sup>12</sup>                    nə<sup>55</sup>                    pi<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 བྲགས་དོང་                བསྐྱང་ད་                འདིས་                    རྩེ་                        བྲད་ནི་  
 inside                      sit.PF-CONJ                DEM.ERG                    fire                        burn-CONJ  
 ŋa<sup>51</sup>                        ʂʰa<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>-ba<sup>55</sup>                tə<sup>55</sup>                    sō<sup>11</sup>-ya<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 དར་                        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) kʰo<sup>55</sup>                      kʰa<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>                də<sup>11</sup>-ha<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ཁོ་                            ཁ་འདབས་                བསྐྱང་ན་ཟེར  
 3                              edge                        sit.PF-SFT-QUOT  
 ‘He [Tiger] said: “I want to sit on the edge.”’
- (51) kʰa<sup>11</sup>da<sup>55</sup>                də<sup>11</sup>-ha<sup>55</sup>                dze<sup>12</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                na<sup>14</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>                tʂa<sup>11</sup>kʰu<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>  
 ཁ་འདབས་                བསྐྱང་ན་                ཟེར་ནི་                    ར་ལོ་                        བྲག་བྲད་ནང་  
 edge                        sit.PF-SFT                    say-CONJ                    both-NML                    cave-LOC  
 de<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>11</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup>                    ro<sup>11</sup>hi<sup>55</sup>                    nə<sup>55</sup>                    ʱba<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཨེ་ཟེ་                        གཞན་གས                    རྩེ་                        འབར་གི་                    སྲག་གི  
 then                        other.ERG                    fire                        burn-SEN                    tiger-GEN  
 ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup>                    tʰə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                    ho<sup>14</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                    ŋa<sup>11</sup>so<sup>55</sup>                    ho<sup>14</sup>-li<sup>11</sup>-ni<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>55</sup>                ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>                    wa<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>  
 སྲག་གི                        སྡོན་སོར་                    བྲད་ལས་ནི་སྐབས་                ཨ་ཁུ་                        ལ་ལེ་  
 tiger-GEN                      front                        push-NPFT-CONJ                    uncle                        fox  
 e<sup>h1</sup>                            nə<sup>55</sup>                        dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>wa<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                    ne<sup>55</sup>                        ʂʰa<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩེར་                        རྐར་                        སྐ་རིས་ལ་རིས་                    རྩེར་                        སྲིག་གི  
 back                        recede                        colourful fox fur                    fire.LOC                      burn-SEN  
 ʱdzo<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>                    te<sup>h0</sup>                        pə<sup>55</sup>                        kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>                    ʂʰa<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 འགོའི་                        རྩོད་                        ཐ་                        ཀྲན་གོ་                    སྲིག་གི  
 go-SEN                        2.GEN                        hair                        all                        burn-SEN

<sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>

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 <sup>51</sup> -ka <sup>55</sup> | pa <sup>55</sup> | ka <sup>11</sup> ko <sup>55</sup> | <sup>n</sup> do <sup>11</sup> ya <sup>55</sup> | za <sup>11</sup> -fi <sup>44</sup> -mi <sup>55</sup> |
|      | སྐག་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 <sup>55</sup> | e <sup>h</sup> i <sup>55</sup> | na <sup>55</sup> -na <sup>55</sup> | e <sup>h</sup> i <sup>55</sup> | sa <sup>11</sup> ko <sup>55</sup> |
|      | ཨི་              | ཕྱིར་                          | ནར་ནི་                             | ཕྱིར་                          | སུ་གོ                             |
|      | then             | back                           | recede-CONJ                        | back                           | a little                          |

na<sup>55</sup>

ནར་

recede

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

- |      |                  |                                   |                                  |   |   |
|------|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| (56) | ʔa <sup>55</sup> | ri <sup>11</sup> wō <sup>14</sup> | sh <sup>a</sup> na <sup>55</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup> ei <sup>11</sup> ʈsi <sup>55</sup> | ʂ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> -ta <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>55</sup> |
|      | 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 <sup>55</sup>                   | t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -le <sup>55</sup> | ʂ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup>                                    | ra <sup>51</sup>                  | ʂ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>11</sup>                      |
|      | འང་                                | ཐོག་ལས་  | ཤིང་  | བཞག                               | ཤིང་  |
|      | again                              | top-LOC  | firewood  | add                               | firewood  |
|      | ra <sup>55</sup> -na <sup>55</sup> | na <sup>55</sup>                                 | <sup>n</sup> ba <sup>11</sup> -le <sup>11</sup> -da <sup>55</sup> | sa <sup>11</sup> ko <sup>55</sup> | ʂa <sup>11</sup> so <sup>55</sup> -le <sup>11</sup> |
|      | བཞག་ནི་                            | བྱེ་   | འབར་ལེ་ད་   | སུ་གོ                             | སྐྱོན་སྐོར་ལེ་                                      |
|      | add-CONJ                           | fire   | fire-STA-COM  | a little                          | front-LOC   |
|      | ho <sup>14</sup>                   |  |   |                                   |   |
|      | 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 <sup>55</sup> | ta <sup>51</sup> -ka <sup>55</sup> | ma <sup>11</sup> -t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -fi <sup>44</sup> -mi <sup>55</sup> |
|      | དེ་              | སྐག་གི                             | མི་མཐོང་འི་མོ་   |
|      | DEM              | tiger-ERG                          | NEG-see-STA.SEN-EMPH   |

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

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

dza<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>wa<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>55</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 སྐ་རིས་ལྷ་རིས་ རྱེར་ སྤྲིག་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) tə<sup>11</sup>re<sup>55</sup> e<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> sā<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>  
 དེ་རེ་ རྱེར་ སམ་གོ་བྱིག་ རྒར་ལོ་དེ་  
 then back a little-NDEF recede-NML-SFT  
 ‘At that time, (Tiger) went back a little.’

(61) <sup>n</sup>da<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 འདག སྤྲིག་ བྲག་ནང་ སྤར་རྒྱ་ འཕངས་ད་བྱིག་  
 INTJ Tiger cliff-LOC downwards throw.PF-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Oh my goodness! Tiger was thrown downwards off the cliff.’

(62) ta<sup>55</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>51</sup> tʃa<sup>11</sup>  
 ད་ བྲག་ནང་ འཕངས་ནི་ སྤྲིག་ བྲག་  
 then cliff-INE throw.PF-CONJ tiger cliff  
 na<sup>55</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup> ʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 རྒར་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) tə<sup>11</sup>re<sup>55</sup> tsə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>na<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup> na<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup>  
 དེ་རེ་ ཐོན་ནི་ད་ བམ་ནང་ན་ རྣགས་གི རྒར་  
 then arrive-CONJ-SFT bottom-INE forest-GEN inside  
 ʃ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>14</sup> <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>55</sup>-mo<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> po<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཤིང་ འབྲུང་རྒྱ་ འཇུ་འི་ཡོང་མོ་བྱིག་ བོང་སྤྲི་བྱིག་ བྲིང་ནི་  
 firewood burn-NML pick-PFT.CIS-NML-NDEF donkey-NDEF lead-CONJ  
 jo<sup>55</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup>  
 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) dzi<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 རྒྱགས་གི་སོང་ ཨ་ལུ་ རི་བོང་ ཞི་ ཁོས་ དེ་ར་ན་  
 run-AOR.TRA uncle hare INTJ 3.ERG there-TOP  
 ta<sup>51</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>-ri<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>-ko<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 སྤྲིག་ 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) ka<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>    na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 ག་ར་ན་                    ལྷང་གི་ཟེར་  
 where-LOC                EXV.SEN-QUOT  
 ‘(The man) said: “Where is (the tiger)?”’

(66) tə<sup>55</sup>                    n̄d̄ə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>                    na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 དེ་                            འདི་ར་                        ལྷང་གི་ཟེར་  
 DEM                        here                            EXV.SEN-QUOT  
 ‘(Hare) said: “Here it is.”’

(67) tɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>            s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    ta<sup>51</sup>                            ʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>                            ro<sup>55</sup>  
 བྲིད་ནི་                    སོང་ནི་                        ལྷག                            ཤི་                            རོ་  
 lead-CONJ                go-CONJ                    tiger                            dead                            corpse  
 tsi<sup>11</sup>ke<sup>55</sup>                    tɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ro<sup>55</sup>                    he<sup>11</sup>la<sup>14</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    ta<sup>51</sup>                            tsi<sup>55</sup>                            se<sup>11</sup>-rə<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 གཞན་                        ཅམ་ལངས་ནི་                    ལྷག                            གཅིག                            བསད་བཞག་ན་  
 other                        drool-CONJ                    tiger                            one                            kill-PFT-CONJ  
 tə<sup>55</sup>                        za<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 དེ་                            བཟང་འི་  
 DEM                        good-STA.SEN  
 ‘Drooling, the other [the man] thought: “If one tiger has already been killed, that is good.”’

(69) ta<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>                    he<sup>11</sup>la<sup>14</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                    ta<sup>51</sup>                            pa<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷག་གི་                    ཐོག་ལས་                        ཅམ་ལངས་ནི་                    ལྷག                            ལྷགས་ཏི་  
 tiger-ERG                    top-LOC                        drool-CONJ                    tiger                            skin  
 ʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 བཤེད་ནི་  
 peel-CONJ  
 ‘Drooling on the tiger, (the man began to) peel the tiger skin.’

(70) ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>                ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>-γə<sup>55</sup>                    po<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>                        tɛ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                        s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཨ་ལྷ་                        རི་བོང་འཇམ་                    བོང་བ་                        བྲིད་ནི་                        སོང་ནི་  
 uncle                        hare-ERG                        donkey                        lead-CONJ                        go-CONJ  
 eã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>            ʔe<sup>55</sup>                            tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                            eã<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>55</sup>                        po<sup>11</sup>li<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷང་གི་ཟེག་ལེ་            ཞེ་                                ལྷོང་                            ལྷང་གིས་                        བོང་ལྷའི་  
 wolf-NDEF-DAT            INTJ                            2                                wolf.ERG                        donkey.GEN  
 po<sup>11</sup>ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>                    ʔə<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>                    tʂi<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 བོང་ཤ་                        ཨ་འཆའ་རྒྱ་                        རྟོགས་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?”’



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་ཁྱེ༽  
 ད་རུང་རི་བོང་འི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འུ་ཚོ་འདི་ར་བཤད་གི་བསྟན་ལེ་རེད། ཨ་ཁུ་ལ་ལེ་སྤྱིར་རུར། རྒྱ་རིས་ལ་  
 རིས་ལྷེ་སྤྱེག་ཟེར་ལེ་རེད། རི་བོང་འི་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བ་བྱིག་འཕྲོག་ད་བྱིག་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བ་བྱིག་ཚོང་རྒྱག་གི་འགྲོ་འི་  
 བསྟན་གི་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བའི་སྟོན་སོར་འང་ཤྱིག་འི་ཤྱིག་འི་འགྲོ་འི་བསྟན་བྱིག་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བ་འདི་ད་ཚི་སིས་རེད།  
 ད་རུང་མཚིན་པ་སྐྱུང་གི་ རི་བོང་འདི་ཁོས་བཟུང་ད་ན་ཨེ་བེ་བསད་ད་ན་མཚིན་པ་སྐྱུང་གི་བེར་  
 རི། རྒྱ་ཁེ་བའི་སྟོན་སོར་སོང་ནི་རི་བོང་ག་ལེར་ག་ལེར་སོང་ལོ་དེ་རྒྱ་ཁེ་བས་ངའི་རྒྱབ་གི་འདི་མེད་  
 རྒྱ་ལ། ཨེ་བེ་ངས་འདི་འཛིན་གི་ཚོག་གི་ འང་རྒྱབ་གི་ཁེ་ལ་སྐྱུང་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་སྲོས་ནི་ཡོང་ནི་མེད་སྐྱུ་དེ་ནང་ཁོ་རྟོག་དགོས་པའི་ཁྱུང་ནི་སྲོས་སོང་། སྲོས་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་རྣམ་  
ཅིག་ཤུང་བྱིག་རྣམ་ཅིག་ཡོང་ནི་ད་ཨ་ཁུ་རི་པོར་བྱོས་ཆི་འཆའ་འི་སྲོང་བེར། ཨེ་ད་ཁོས་ཆི་འཆའ་  
རྒྱ། བྱོད་མོ་དོ་མ་ཤེད། ཅང་བསད་ནི་ག་འཆའ་བེར་ན་ང་ཁ་གཤིབ་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་རྣམ་བེ་བ་བེར་ན་ཁ་ཁ་ཤོར་ཤེད། རྣ་  
བས་ནི་མེད་འི། ཨེ་ཁོས་ཁོའི་མིག་ལངས་ནི་འཆའ་འི་སྲོང་བེར་བྱིག་བྱོད་མིག་ཨེ་ཁོ་སྐྱོན་ད་  
བེར། ཨེ་བེ་ཁོ་རྟོག་གི་མིག་མ་རྒྱུན་གི་ཁ་ནང་ཀ་ར་བྱིག་བཞག་ད་བྱིག་ ཨེ་བྱོད་མིག་དོ་ཉོ་ཞིན་གི་  
ད་བེར། ཨེ་ཁོའི་མིག་ཤུས་དོ་བེར་འི་རྣམ་གཤིས་བེར། ཨེ་བེ་རྣམ་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་ རྣམ་གི་མིག་ན་ཤུས་  
ད་བྱིག་ རྣམ་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་མོ་ག་ཤིས་སྲོ་མོ་དོ་ཅི། མིག་ན་མི་རྟོགས་གི་བེར། ཨེ་བེ་ཁོ་དོ་ཤེད། ཁོས་ཨེ་བེ་མི་ཞིན་མོ་སྲིར་  
ན་འཆས་འི་བསྐྱད་ནི་ཨེ་བྱོད་རྒྱུན་མོ་ཤེད་མོ། ཁོའི་མིག་མི་ཞིན་མོ་ཅན་པོ་ཁོས་སྲོན་སོར་འཆས་ད་  
ནི། དོ་ཅི་བཤད་ནི། ཨེ་བེ་བྱོས་ཨེ་མཚོང་འི་བེར་ནི། ཁོས་ཅང་ཅང་མི་མཚོང་འི་བེར་འི་རྣམ་གཤིས།  
ཨེ་བེ་བྱོས་ཨེ་མཚོང་འི་བེར། ཁོས་ གུལ་ལུ་གུལ་ལེ་བྱིག་མཚོང་འི་བེར་འི། ཨེ་བེ་ཨེ་རྣམ་གཤིས་སེམས་  
ནང་ད་ཤུང་དྲགས་རྒྱ་རྒྱུང་གི་པ། ད་མིག་ལངས་ད་ན་ལས་སྲིར་དྲགས་གི་པ་བསམ་ནི། ཨེ་རྣམ་  
ཁྲིད་གི་སོང། ཨེ་བེ་བྲག་ཁུང་བྱིག་གི་ནང་ན་ལོ་གི་ལྷེ་ཤུས་ནི། ཨ་ཁུ་རི་པོར་སེམས་ནས་ངན་པ་ཤར་  
འདུག་བྱིག་ རྣམ་འདི་བྲག་ནང་འཕངས་ནི་བསད་དེ་དགོས་འི་དེ་བསམ་ནི། ཨེ་བེ་བྱོད་ཤུགས་དོར་  
འདུག་རྒྱ་འོ་ཁ་འདབས་འདུག་རྒྱ་བེར་ནི་ད། ད་རྣམ་གཤིས་ཁོག་པ་ནང་ངན་པ་ཤར་ད་བྱིག་ ད་རྒྱུང་  
ཅམ་ཆོར་ད་བྱིག་ ཨེ་ན། འདིས་ང་ཉ་གེ་པལ་པ་ངན་པ་ལས་བཞག་གི་ད་ངའི་མིག་མི་མཚོང་འི་མོ།  
ཤུགས་དོར་བསྐྱད་ད་འདིས་ལྷེ་ཤུང་ནས་ད་སྲིག་རྒྱ་ཤེད་པ་དེ་བསམ་ད་བྱིག་ ཁོ་ཁ་འདབས་བསྐྱད་  
ཉ་བེར། ཁ་འདབས་བསྐྱད་ཉ་བེར་ནི་ན་ལོ་བྲག་ཁུང་ནང་བསྐྱད་འདུག་ནི་ད། ཨེ་བེ་གཞན་གས་ལྷེ་  
འབར་གི་རྣམ་གི་སྲོན་སོར་སྲུང་ཏུ་སྲུང་ད་བྱིག་ རྣམ་གི་སྲོན་སོར་སྲུང་ལས་ནི་སྐབས་ཨ་ཁུ་མ་ལེ་  
སྲིར་ལུར། རྒྱ་རིས་མ་རིས་ལྷེར་སྲིག་འགོ་འི། བྱོད་སྲུ་ཀུན་གོ་སྲིག་གི་འགོ་འི་བེར། རྣམ་གི་སྲུ་ཀུན་གོ་  
མདོག་ག་བཟང་གི་མོ། ཨེ་སྲིར་ལུར་ནི། སྲིར་སན་གོ་ལུར། འང་རི་པོར་སེམས་ནང་ཁ་སྲིན་ཅི་ཤར་  
འདུག་གི་ འང་ཕོག་ལས་ཤིང་བཞག་ཤིང་བཞག་ནི་ལྷེ་འབར་ལེ་ད། སན་གོ་སྲོན་སོར་ལེ་སྲིལ། དེ་  
རྣམ་གི་མི་མཚོང་འི་མོ། ཨེ་ཨ་ཁུ་མ་ལེ་སྲིར་ལུར། རྒྱ་རིས་མ་རིས་ལྷེར་སྲིག་འགོ་འི་བེར། དེ་ཤེ་སྲིར་  
སན་གོ་བྱིག་ལུར་ལོ་འདག་རྣམ་བྲག་ནང་སྲུང་ཏུ་འཕངས་ད་བྱིག་ ད་བྲག་ནང་འཕངས་ནི་རྣམ་  
བྲག་ནང་གི་ཤེ་སོང། དེ་ཤེ་སོན་ནི་ད་མར་ནང་ན་ནགས་གི་ནང་ཤིང་འདུང་རྒྱ་འཕུ་འི་ཡོང་མོ་  
བྱིག་པོར་ལུ་བྱིག་ཁྲིད་ནི་ཡོང་འི་ན རྒྱགས་གི་སོང་ཨ་ཁུ་རི་པོར་ཨེ་ཁོས་དེ་ར་ན་རྣམ་གཤིས་  
བསད་ཤེད་བྱོད་ཨེ་དགོས་བེར་ནི ག་ར་ན་རྒྱང་གི་བེར དེ་འདི་ར་རྒྱང་གི་བེར། ཁྲིད་ནི་སོང་ནི་

སྐྱུག་མི་རོ་ཚིབ་ཀའི་བྲིད་ནི། གཞན་ཉམ་ལངས་ནི་སྐྱུག་ཅིག་བསད་བཞག་ན་ དེ་བཟང་ལེ། སྐྱུག་གི་  
ཚོག་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་ཤ་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་ཚི་ཟིག་འདྲ་ཡ།

#### STORY 4: THE EWE AND THE WOLF

##### Full text in phonetic symbols

(1) lo<sup>12</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> h̥sə<sup>51</sup> ha<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup> wō<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>.  
(2) mā<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> tō<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> lu<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>14</sup>. (3) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> do<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> ŋa<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>. (4) mā<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup> sa<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> sa<sup>11</sup>-ye<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> ke<sup>11</sup> ŋo<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup> re<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> ha<sup>55</sup> ndzi<sup>12</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>14</sup>. (5) ʔo<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (6) ɛä<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>.  
(7) ɛä<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup>. (8) ti<sup>55</sup> ke<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>11</sup> ɛə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup>. (9) ri<sup>11</sup> wō<sup>14</sup> zə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ɛä<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> ne<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup> wō<sup>14</sup> ndzō<sup>11</sup> ke<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂi<sup>51</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> ji<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (10) ɛä<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup>. (11) na<sup>14</sup> t̥hə<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>14</sup>.  
(12) mā<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> s<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>55</sup>. (13) mā<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> na<sup>14</sup> ndzo<sup>11</sup> si<sup>55</sup> lō<sup>14</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ɛä<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup> tə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (14) ɛä<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> mā<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (15) ʔə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>12</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup>. (16) ʔə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> sei<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>. (17) ʔe<sup>55</sup> ŋe<sup>12</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> lā<sup>14</sup> ne<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (18) t̥hə<sup>14</sup> mo<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> to<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (19) ŋe<sup>12</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>. (20) tə<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> lə<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (21) tə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> sei<sup>14</sup>. (22) ʔə<sup>11</sup> ze<sup>55</sup> mā<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> te<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> n<sup>h</sup>dze<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> ndzo<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup>. (23) ʂ<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>11</sup> ɛi<sup>14</sup> na<sup>14</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>. (24) dō<sup>11</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> ge<sup>11</sup> fia<sup>55</sup> n<sup>h</sup>dze<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> jō<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup>. (25) ta<sup>55</sup> ɛä<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> la<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> wa<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>51</sup>. (26) ndə<sup>12</sup> ni<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂa<sup>55</sup> ndə<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (27) mi<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>. (28) sa<sup>11</sup> t̥e<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (29) la<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (30) la<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> t̥si<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup> ze<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ho<sup>14</sup> to<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup> fi<sup>44</sup>. (31) t̥hə<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>. (32) ʔa<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (33) tə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ho<sup>14</sup> to<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup> fi<sup>44</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> t̥e<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>. (34) ʔa<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʂa<sup>11</sup> le<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂi<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> ndza<sup>12</sup>. (35) t̥hə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>12</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> t̥ə<sup>55</sup> dā<sup>11</sup> ko<sup>14</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> t̥ə<sup>55</sup> dā<sup>11</sup> ko<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> ko<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>.  
(36) ʔə<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> gē<sup>14</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> le<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (37) t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup> sei<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> gē<sup>14</sup> dō<sup>11</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>55</sup>. (38) ʔa<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> dō<sup>11</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> fi<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (39) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> de<sup>12</sup> dō<sup>14</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup> t̥ə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> t̥ə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> na<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>51</sup>. (40) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> dō<sup>14</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>11</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂa<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup> sō<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup>. (41) ta<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup>. (42) la<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> ndi<sup>12</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> t̥e<sup>55</sup> sei<sup>14</sup>. (43) t̥hə<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (44) ʔei<sup>14</sup> t̥e<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup> t̥ə<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>55</sup> le<sup>12</sup> t̥e<sup>11</sup> n<sup>h</sup>dze<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (45) t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> h̥sə<sup>11</sup> t̥e<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup>. (46) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>11</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ro<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂa<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂo<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> du<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>. (47) ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> na<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (48) ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (49) ta<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> za<sup>11</sup> fi<sup>44</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (50) ta<sup>55</sup> t̥e<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> dzo<sup>12</sup> le<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ü<sup>11</sup> ra<sup>14</sup> kə<sup>14</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (51) ndə<sup>12</sup> kə<sup>11</sup> go<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>12</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> le<sup>12</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (52) nde<sup>12</sup> te<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥e<sup>11</sup> n<sup>h</sup>dze<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup>. (53) ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (54) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>55</sup> so<sup>55</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (55) go<sup>12</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ü<sup>14</sup> ra<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (56) te<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>. (57) ʔə<sup>11</sup> ze<sup>55</sup> ɛä<sup>11</sup> ki<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> t̥e<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (58) ta<sup>11</sup> ke<sup>55</sup> ndi<sup>12</sup> t̥e<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> na<sup>12</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (59) ʔa<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʔe<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> mā<sup>11</sup> fiō<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>12</sup> to<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> to<sup>55</sup>. (60) to<sup>11</sup> ri<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> sō<sup>14</sup> t̥ʂi<sup>11</sup> ya<sup>55</sup>.  
(61) ti<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ndzo<sup>11</sup> gē<sup>14</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>. (62) ndzo<sup>12</sup> ka<sup>11</sup> bo<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (63) h̥ʂe<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (64) ta<sup>55</sup> ge<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (65) k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (66) no<sup>11</sup> fiu<sup>14</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (67) dzo<sup>12</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ü<sup>11</sup> ra<sup>14</sup> kə<sup>14</sup>. (68) tsa<sup>55</sup> sa<sup>11</sup> ye<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>. (69) dō<sup>11</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> le<sup>12</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup> ya<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (70) ʔə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> ndzo<sup>12</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>14</sup> t̥ə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (71) ʔə<sup>55</sup> dō<sup>11</sup> no<sup>55</sup> dō<sup>11</sup> no<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (72) k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> ne<sup>55</sup> ndə<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> h̥ʂe<sup>51</sup> ɛi<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>. (73) ʔe<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> dō<sup>11</sup> tsi<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (74) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> du<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> ke<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> dzo<sup>12</sup> kə<sup>11</sup> go<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>51</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> t̥hə<sup>51</sup> da<sup>11</sup> po<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> du<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> lo<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> ŋe<sup>55</sup> le<sup>11</sup> ka<sup>55</sup> le<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup>. (75) ta<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ndə<sup>11</sup> re<sup>55</sup> tsə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ɛä<sup>11</sup> dze<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup>. (76) dzo<sup>12</sup> na<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup>. (77) ta<sup>55</sup> ge<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>55</sup>. (78) ta<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup> za<sup>14</sup> le<sup>55</sup> da<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> go<sup>12</sup> ɛ<sup>h</sup>ü<sup>55</sup> to<sup>51</sup> ye<sup>11</sup> mi<sup>55</sup>. (79) te<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥hə<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> na<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> ra<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (80) ʔa<sup>55</sup> ɛä<sup>11</sup> ki<sup>55</sup> t̥ʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup> t̥e<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>. (81) ʔa<sup>55</sup>

mã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>14</sup> ŋo<sup>11</sup>ga<sup>55</sup>te<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>ma<sup>11</sup>to<sup>55</sup>. (82) to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>14</sup> tʂi<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> n<sup>11</sup>dza<sup>12</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>.

(83) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup>ya<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (84) ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>le<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> dō<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>dō<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (85) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (86) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> n<sup>11</sup>dza<sup>12</sup>da<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup>ya<sup>55</sup> n<sup>11</sup>dza<sup>12</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>. (87) ŋe<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>da<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (88) tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>fi<sup>55</sup>. (89) la<sup>14</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>fi<sup>55</sup>. (90) ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup>ye<sup>55</sup> n<sup>11</sup>dza<sup>12</sup>dze<sup>12</sup>. (91) ʔə<sup>55</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ŋō<sup>11</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> pi<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (92) ja<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> po<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>. (93) tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (94) tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ŋo<sup>12</sup>tā<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> n<sup>11</sup>di<sup>11</sup> na<sup>14</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (95) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup>na<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>. (96) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> zī<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (97) k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> na<sup>14</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (98) ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> mã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>14</sup> ha<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>55</sup>ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (99) k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> dō<sup>14</sup> re<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> lə<sup>11</sup>ei<sup>55</sup> jo<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>. (100) ta<sup>55</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> mã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>14</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>11</sup>teo<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> jī<sup>14</sup>. (101) mã<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>55</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> lā<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>11</sup>teo<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> jī<sup>14</sup>. (102) mã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>14</sup> mã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>14</sup> n<sup>11</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>se<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (103) eã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>si<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> hu<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (104) ... t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> jə<sup>14</sup> tsə<sup>11</sup>rən<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>ju<sup>14</sup>.... (105) tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>ya<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>ti<sup>55</sup> mã<sup>11</sup>fið<sup>14</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>11</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (106) tē<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> n<sup>11</sup>di<sup>14</sup> ŋo<sup>55</sup> n<sup>11</sup>də<sup>12</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>. (107) tē<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>jo<sup>55</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ve<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>ma<sup>11</sup>re<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> tō<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup>. (108) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> eã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> ti<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> e<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> ra<sup>51</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (109) ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> hu<sup>11</sup>tei<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> eã<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ye<sup>55</sup> tsā<sup>11</sup>po<sup>55</sup> ei<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>44</sup>. (110) t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>lo<sup>55</sup>ta<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> jō<sup>11</sup>le<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (111) t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>11</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>tsə<sup>55</sup>ti<sup>55</sup> pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>14</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (112) tə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup> n<sup>11</sup>di<sup>12</sup> le<sup>12</sup>ri<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>lə<sup>55</sup>re<sup>51</sup>.

*Interlinear glossing text*

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

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

(2)	[mã <sup>11</sup> fið <sup>14</sup> -zə <sup>55</sup>	tō <sup>11</sup>	na <sup>14</sup>	[lu <sup>11</sup> -sə <sup>14</sup> ]
	མ་ལོ་ཟིག	དོད་	ནང་	ལྷན་སོང་
	ewe-NDEF	hole	inside	fall-PFT.TRA

‘An Ewe fell down into the hole.’

(3)	[k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> do <sup>55</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>11</sup> ŋa <sup>55</sup> -zə <sup>55</sup>	na <sup>11</sup> gə <sup>55</sup> ]
	ལྷན་དོད་	ཆེན་ལོ་ཟིག	སྤང་གི
	pit	big-NDEF	EXV.SEN

‘There was a big pit.’

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

s <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>	la <sup>11</sup> ha <sup>55</sup>	n <sup>d</sup> zi <sup>12</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup> sə <sup>55</sup> -nə <sup>55</sup>	na <sup>55</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>11</sup> ri <sup>55</sup>
སོང་ནི་	ལག་པ་	འདྲེང་གི་སོང་ནི་	ནང་	ཐར་རྒྱ་
go-CONJ	hand	slip-AOR.TRA-CONJ	inside	downwards
lu <sup>11</sup> -sə <sup>14</sup> ]				
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) [ʔo<sup>55</sup>                      tə<sup>55</sup>                      ma<sup>11</sup>-re<sup>51</sup>]  
 ཨོ་                      དེ་                      མ་རེད་  
 INTJ                      DEM                      NEG-CPV  
 ‘Oh, that [what I told] is not (true).’

(6) [eã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>                      re<sup>51</sup>]  
 ཟུང་གི་                      རེད་  
 wolf                      CPV  
 ‘(That) is Wolf.’

(7) eã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>                      tə<sup>55</sup>                      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 ཟུང་གི་                      དེ་                      སོང་ནི་ད་  
 wolf                      DEM                      go-CONJ-SFT  
 ‘That Wolf walked.’

(8) ti<sup>55</sup>                      kɛ<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>                      e<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>                      tə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                      e<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>                      tə<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      eã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>  
 རི་བོང་ཟླུག་གི་                      སྐྱར་                      དེད་ནི་                      སོང་ནི་                      ཟུང་གི་  
 hare-NDEF-GEN                      back                      chase-CONJ                      go-CONJ                      wolf  
 tə<sup>55</sup>                      tʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-ne<sup>55</sup>                      ei<sup>51</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>                      n<sup>d</sup>zō<sup>11</sup>ke<sup>55</sup>  
 དེ་                      མཚོང་ནན་                      སྐྱེད་ནི་                      རི་བོང་                      འགམ་ཀམ་  
 DEM                      jump-too                      do-CONJ                      hare                      side.LOC  
 tʃi<sup>51</sup>                      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      ha<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>                      ji<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) eã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>                      tə<sup>55</sup>                      ni<sup>51</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                      ma<sup>11</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) na<sup>14</sup> tʰə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>14</sup>  
 ནང་ བྱར་ན་ ལྷང་སྲོང་  
 inside downwards fall-PFT.TRA  
 ‘(Wolf) fell into (the hole).’
- (12) mā<sup>11</sup>fiō<sup>14</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>fiō<sup>14</sup> n a<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup>s<sup>he</sup><sup>55</sup> pi<sup>55</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 མ་མོ་ མ་བུ་ ཉ་ ལྷ་སར་ བྱང་སྲོང་  
 ewe mother and daughter two PLN.LOC go-PFT.TRA  
 ‘Both Ewe and her daughter were going to Lhasa.’
- (13) mā<sup>11</sup>fiō<sup>14</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>fiō<sup>14</sup> na<sup>14</sup> n<sup>o</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-si<sup>55</sup> lō<sup>14</sup>  
 མ་མོ་ མ་བུ་ ཉ་ འགྲོ་སའི་ ལམ་  
 ewe mother and daughter both go-NML.GEN road  
 ti<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> eā<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 དེའི་ ནང་ན་ ལྷང་གི་དེ་ ལྷང་ ནང་ན་  
 DEM.GEN inside-LOC wolf-DEF hole inside-INE  
 lu<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷང་འདྲག་བྱིག་  
 fall- PFT.NSEN  
 ‘Wolf fell into the hole on the road where both Ewe and her daughter were walking.’
- (14) eā<sup>11</sup>ka<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> mā<sup>11</sup>fiō<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>12</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷང་གི་ དེས་ ཨ་ མ་མོ་ ཟེར་ད་བྱིག་  
 wolf DEM.ERG INTJ ewe say-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘That Wolf said: “Hey, Ewe!”’
- (15) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>12</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 ཨེ་ཟེ་ ཨོ་ ཟེར་ནི་ད་  
 then INTJ say-CONJ-EMPH  
 ‘Then, “Oh!” said (Wolf).’
- (16) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup> sei<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>  
 ཨེ་ཟེ་ ཚེ་ ཟེར་འི་ ཟེར་ན་ བྱོས་  
 then what say say-CONJ 2.ERG  
 k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup> ei<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལོ་ ལངས་ བྱེད་ ཟེར་ནི་  
 3 take.PF do say-CONJ  
 ‘Then, what (Wolf) said was: “You take me (up)!”’
- (17) ʔe<sup>55</sup> ŋe<sup>12</sup> te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> lā<sup>14</sup> ne<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 ཨོ་ 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)  $\eta e^{12}$   $te^{h_o55}$   $mə^{11}-tʃ^{h_a55}$   
 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)  $\eta a^{11}ze^{55}$   $mā^{11}fiō^{14}$   $te^{11}-na^{55}$   $\eta a^{11}na^{55}$   $ja^{11}s^{h_a55}$   
 ཞེ་ ཟེ་ མ་ མོ་ བལྟས་ བ་ འ་ བ་ ལྷ་ སར་  
 then ewe look-CONJ I.INCL.both PLN  
 ${}^n dze^{11}-yə^{55}$   ${}^n dzo^{11}-ye^{55}$   
 བཤའ་ རི་ འགྲོ་ རི་  
 pilgrim-NML go-NPFT.SEN  
 ‘Then, Ewe thought: “We two are going to Lhasa on a pilgrimage.”’
- (23)  $\eta^{h_a} \eta^{11} sə^{55}$   $ne^{11} \eta i^{14}$   $na^{14} gə^{55}$   
 \*\*\* \*\*\* ལྷན་ གི་  
 Cthought Cpatience EXV.SEN  
 ‘(Ewe) had patience in (her) thought.’
- (24)  $də^{11} tsi^{55}$   $ge^{11} fiā^{55}$   ${}^n dze^{11}-kə^{55}$   $jə^{11}-yə^{55} na^{55}$   
 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)  $ta^{55}$   $əi^{11} kə^{55}$   $ma^{11}-la^{11}-na^{55}$   $\eta a^{11} na^{55}$   $na^{11} wa^{55}$   
 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) <sup>n</sup>də<sup>12</sup>                      ni<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>11</sup>ʈʂa<sup>55</sup>-<sup>n</sup>də<sup>11</sup>                      re<sup>51</sup>  
 འདི་                      སྤོང་མ་རྗེ་འདི་                      རེད་  
 DEM                      poor-DEF                      CPV  
 ‘“This, that’s poor!”’
- (27) mi<sup>11</sup>ʎə<sup>55</sup>                      ʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup>  
 མྱ་གེ་                      ཤི་གི  
 famine                      die-STA  
 ‘“(Wolf) will die of hunger.’
- (28) sa<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>                      mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཟ་རྒྱ་                      མི་སྤང་མོ་  
 eat.NPF-NML                      NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH  
 ‘“(For) there is nothing to eat.”’
- (29) la<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལངས་ད་ཟེག  
 take.PF-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘(Ewe) took (Wolf) up.’
- (30) la<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-tʂi<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup>                      ta<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>  
 ལངས་ད་ཙོ་གི་ཟེག་གི                      ཞེ་ཟེ་                      ད་                      ཁོའི་  
 take.PF-PFT-ACP-NSEN-GEN                      then                      now                      3.GEN  
 ho<sup>14</sup>                      to<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      me<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 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) tɕ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      ʈʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>                      ko<sup>55</sup>-ʎe<sup>55</sup>                      dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩོད་                      འཆའ་                      དགོས་འི་                      ཟེར་ནི་  
 2                      eat                      need-NPFT.SEN                      say-CONJ  
 ‘(Wolf) said: “I need to eat you.”’
- (32) ʔa<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>55</sup>                      tɕ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      mə<sup>11</sup>-ʈʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>                      sə<sup>11</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 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) tɕ<sup>55</sup>                      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>                      ho<sup>14</sup>                      to<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      me<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 དེ་                      ཁོའི་                      སོ་བ་                      ལྷོགས་ནི་                      མེད་འི་  
 DEM                      3.GEN                      belly                      hungry-CONJ                      bad-STA.SEN  
 ʈʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>                      dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>      ʂa<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>      tʰa<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>      tʂi<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔaʼk      ʔaʼk      ʂaʼle      ʂaʼr      tʂiʼdi  
 INTJ      1.INCL.both      town-LOC      downwards      ask.PF-NML  
<sup>n</sup>dza<sup>12</sup>  
 aʂiʼ  
 go.NPF

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

- (35) te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      ra<sup>12</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>      tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>  
 tʂiʼs      kʰoʼ      raʼkʰaʼkʰaʼqi      aʂsʼaʼdʼki      kʰoʼde  
 2.ERG      3      randomly      eat.PF-PFT-CONJ      3-TOP  
 dā<sup>11</sup>-ko<sup>14</sup>      te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>      dā<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>14</sup>      ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>e<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>  
 aʂeʼkʼqiʼ      tʂiʼde      aʂeʼkʼqi      ʔaʼkʼde      kʼtʂe  
 true-SEN.or      2-TOP      true-SEN      1.INCL.both-TOP      separate  
 ko<sup>11</sup>-ye<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 dʂiʼsʼaʼiʼkʰ  
 need-NPFT.SEN-EMPH

‘“Whether you eat me as you like, whether I am right or you are right, we two [Ewe and Wolf<sup>27</sup>] need (to clarify) a division!”’

- (36) ʔə<sup>55</sup>      tʰa<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>      ta<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔeʼ      ʂaʼr      ʂoʼdeʼdʼ      kʰ.kʰ.kʰiʼaʼle  
 then      downwards      go-CONJ-EMPH      old horse-NDEF-DAT  
 k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tʰu<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 kʰ.tʰuʼaʼdʼtʂiʼ  
 meet-PFT-NSEN

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

- (37) tʂ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>      sei<sup>14</sup>      dze<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>      ʔa<sup>55</sup>      ta<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>14</sup>  
 kʰiʼ      tʂeʼaʼiʼ      tʂeʼaʼkʼ      ʔaʼ      kʰ.kʰ.kʰ  
 what      say      say-CONJ      INTJ      old horse  
 dō<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 dʰiʼtʂiʼ      tʂeʼaʼdʼ  
 like this      CPV-SFT

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

- (38) ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>      te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      dō<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>      tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔaʼk      tʂiʼde      dʰiʼtʂiʼ      kʰeʼaʼiʼkʰ  
 INTJ      2      like this      big-STA.SEN-EMPH

‘“Oh, you are old like this”’

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

- (39) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup> n<sup>d</sup>e<sup>12</sup> d<sup>o</sup>̃<sup>14</sup> e<sup>i</sup><sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཁོས་ འདིར་ རྩོད་ འདྲག་གི་ད་ དེ་  
 3.ERG DEM.DAT like this do-PFT.SEN-SFT DEM  
 k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> na<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>51</sup>  
 ལྷང་ བ་ན་ ལྷང་གི  
 hole inside-INE EXV.SEN  
 “I did like this: That (Wolf) was in the hole.”
- (40) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> d<sup>o</sup>̃<sup>14</sup> e<sup>i</sup><sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>11</sup>tʃa<sup>55</sup>  
 ཁོས་ རྩོད་ རྩོད་ཅི་ ལངས་ཅི་ ལྷིང་མ་རྗེ་  
 3.ERG like this do-CONJ take.PF-CONJ poor  
 re<sup>51</sup> s<sup>o</sup>̃<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> la<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 རེད་ བསམ་ཅི་ ལངས་ད་ཅི་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) ta<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་ མི་འཆའ་ ཟེར་དྲས་ད་  
 now NEG-eat say-PFT.SEN-SFT  
 “At that time, (Wolf) said: ‘I won’t eat (you).’”
- (42) la<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> n<sup>d</sup>i<sup>12</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>-sei<sup>14</sup>  
 ལངས་ད་ཅི་ ཞེ་ཟེ་ འདིས་ འཆའ་ལྷ་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) tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> te<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-tʃ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷོས་ བལྟས་ན་ འཆས་ན་ ལྷོག་གི་ མ་འཆས་ན་  
 2.ERG look-CONJ eat.PF-CONJ can-STA NEG-eat.PF-CONJ  
 tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷོག་གི་ ཟེར་ཟེག  
 can-STA say-NSEN  
 “Do you say whether (Wolf) can eat (me) or not?”
- (44) ʔei<sup>14</sup> tei<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tʃa<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup> le<sup>12</sup>tei<sup>11</sup>ndze<sup>55</sup>  
 ཞེ་ ལྷས་ ལ་རྩུང་དེ་རིང་ རེད་མོ་ ལས་ལྷ་འབྲས་  
 INTJ horse.ERG recently CPV-EMPH karma  
 mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 མི་ལྷང་མོ་  
 NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH  
 (Horse said:) “Hey, I do not have any karma recently.”

- (45) tʃʰe<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> kʰo<sup>55</sup> hʃə<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>  
 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) kʰo<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> se<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>11</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> ro<sup>55</sup>  
 ཁོ་ ཨ་ན་ སུ་གོ་ ཡིན་དྲིས་ན་ གཞན་  
 3 INTJ small CPV-CONJ-TOP other  
 ʃʰe<sup>14</sup> ta<sup>11</sup>tʃa<sup>55</sup> tʃo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> du<sup>51</sup> tʰo<sup>14</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཤིན་ ཚ་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) ta<sup>55</sup> kʰa<sup>11</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> sʰo<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ʃʰa<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཤ་ མི་སྤང་མོ་  
 meat NEG-EXV.SEN-EMPH  
 “There is no flesh.”
- (49) ta<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-za<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་ མི་བཟང་འི་མོ་  
 now NEG-good-STA.SEN-EMPH  
 “Now nothing is good.”
- (50) ta<sup>55</sup> tei<sup>14</sup> kʰo<sup>14</sup> dzo<sup>12</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་ རྩས་ ཁོ་ རྒྱབ་ལེ་ མ་  
 now horse.ERG 3 back-LOC scar  
 e<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>-ra<sup>14</sup> kə<sup>14</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 བྱང་བཞག་གི་མོ་  
 form-PFT.SEN-EMPH  
 “The horse (said:) “Now there have formed scars on my back.””
- (51) n̄də<sup>12</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>go<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>12</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup> le<sup>12</sup>-ri<sup>55</sup>-ma<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 འདི་ ཀླན་གོ་ མི་འིས་ ལས་བཞག་མ་ རེད་  
 DEM all<sup>28</sup> person-ERG do-PFT-NML CPV  
 “All these (scars) are what was made by people.”

<sup>28</sup> The form /kə<sup>11</sup>go<sup>55</sup>/ is a variant of the word /kə<sup>11</sup>ko<sup>55</sup>/. It appears with a special emphasis by the storyteller.

- (52) <sup>n</sup>de<sup>12</sup>            te<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>            tei<sup>11</sup>ndze<sup>55</sup>            mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>14</sup>  
 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) ta<sup>55</sup>            k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>            tsa<sup>55</sup>            mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་            ཁོས་            ཚྱ་            མི་ཚད་གི་མོ་  
 now            3.ERG            grass            NEG-cut-STA-EMPH  
 ‘‘Now I cannot cut grass.’’
- (54) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>            mə<sup>55</sup>-so<sup>55</sup>-ye<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཁོ་            མི་གསོ་འི་མོ་  
 3            NEG-feed.NPF-NPFT.SEN-EMPH  
 ‘‘No one feeds me.’’
- (55) go<sup>12</sup>            ɛ<sup>h</sup>ũ<sup>14</sup>-ra<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 མྱོ་            བྱང་བཞག་གི་མོ་  
 gate            drive-PFT.SEN-EMPH  
 ‘‘(I) have been driven out of the gate.’’
- (56) te<sup>55</sup>            te<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup>            ɛə<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>55</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup>            dze<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཞེ་ཟེ་            སྤང་གིས་            འཚའ་རྒྱ་            ཟེར་ནི་  
 then            wolf.ERG            eat.NPF-NML            say-NSEN  
 ‘‘Then, Wolf said: ‘‘I will eat (Horse).’’
- (58) ta<sup>11</sup>            ke<sup>55</sup>            <sup>n</sup>di<sup>12</sup>            tei<sup>14</sup>            dze<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་            གན་            འདིས་            རྩས་            ཟེར་ན་  
 now            DEM            DEM.ERG            horse.ERG            say-CONJ  
 tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>12</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>            dze<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ʔa<sup>55</sup>            ti<sup>55</sup>            ma<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>            ʔe<sup>55</sup>            ta<sup>55</sup>  
 འང་            དེའི་            མཚན་ན་            ཞེ་            ད་  
 again            DEM.GEN            downwards            INTJ            now  
 ʔa<sup>55</sup>            mə<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>14</sup>            dze<sup>12</sup>            to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>            tʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>-ma<sup>11</sup>-to<sup>55</sup>  
 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) to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>      ʔə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>      ʔo<sup>55</sup>      sɔ<sup>14</sup>      tʃi<sup>11</sup>-ya<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་རྒྱང་      །ལ་ན་      །ལོ་      གསལ་མ་      །ཇི་ལ་  
 still      1.INCL.both      time      three      ask.PF-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘“We two will further ask three times.”’

- (61) ti<sup>55</sup>      ma<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>      n<sup>h</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>gɛ<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>      na<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup>  
 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.’<sup>29</sup>

- (62) n<sup>h</sup>dzo<sup>12</sup>      ka<sup>11</sup>bo<sup>55</sup>      re<sup>51</sup>  
 མཛོ་      ལྷན་པོ་      རེད་  
 dzo      thin      CPV  
 ‘(That) was a thin Dzo.’

- (63) h<sup>h</sup>se<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>      ʃ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>      mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 བཤའ་ན་      ཤ་      མི་ལྷང་མོ་  
 slaughter-CONJ      meat      NEG-EXV.SEN-SFT  
 ‘If (one) slaughters (this Dzo), there will be no meat.’

- (64) ta<sup>55</sup>      ge<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ད་      ལྷན་སོང་གི་  
 now      old-PFT.TRA-SFT  
 ‘Now (Dzo) has gotten old.’

- (65) k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཁ་ནང་      སོ་      མི་ལྷང་མོ་  
 mouth-INE      tooth      NEG-EXV.SEN-SFT  
 ‘There were no teeth in his mouth.’

- (66) no<sup>11</sup>fu<sup>14</sup>      na<sup>55</sup>ʃ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷ་བ་      ལྷ་ཤོར་བྱིང་ད་བྱིག  
 nose      split-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘His nose had been split.’

- (67) dzo<sup>12</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>      ma<sup>55</sup>      ɛ<sup>h</sup>ü<sup>11</sup>-ra<sup>14</sup> kə<sup>14</sup>  
 ལྷན་ན་      མ་      བྱང་བཞག་གི་  
 back-LOC      scar      form-PFT.SEN  
 ‘There had formed scars on the back.’

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

- (68) tsa<sup>55</sup> sa<sup>11</sup>-ya<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>hə</sup><sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>11</sup>  
 ཚ་ ཟ་ཡི་ མེ་ཚཱ་མི་  
 grass eat.NPF-NML NEG-can-STA  
 ‘(Dzo) was not able to eat grass.’
- (69) dɔ<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>12</sup> k<sup>hə</sup><sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>51</sup>-ya<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 འོ་ཅི་ལི་ ཁ་ལྷན་ད་ཟིག  
 like this-DAT meet-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘(Ewe and Wolf) met one [Dzo] like this.’
- (70) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> n<sup>dz</sup>o<sup>12</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>14</sup>-tə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ ཞ་ མཛོ་ བྱོད་ ཉལ་འདག་གི་མོ་  
 then INTJ dzo 2 sleep-PFT.SEN-EMPH  
 ‘Then, (Ewe) said: “Hey, Dzo! You keep lying.”’
- (71) ʔə<sup>55</sup> dɔ<sup>11</sup>no<sup>55</sup>-dɔ<sup>11</sup>no<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 ཞེ་ འོ་ནོ་འོ་ནོ་ རེད་  
 then thing like this-RDP CPV  
 ‘“Then, things are like this, like this.”’
- (72) k<sup>hə</sup><sup>11</sup>ne<sup>55</sup> n<sup>da</sup><sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> h<sup>ɕ</sup>e<sup>51</sup> ɛi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཁོ་ནའི་ འདི་ བྱོས་ བཤད་ བྱེད་  
 3.both.GEN DEM 2.ERG tell do  
 dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཟེར་ནི་  
 say-CONJ  
 ‘“You tell (how) this (situation) is to both of us!” said (Ewe).’
- (73) ʔe<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> dɔ<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 ཞེ་ ད་ འོ་ཅི་ ཡིན་ནི་རེད་  
 INTJ still like this CPV  
 ‘(Dzo said:) “Oh, (the situation) is still like this.”’
- (74) k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> du<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> ke<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 བྱོས་ ལྷན་ ཐོང་ནི་ ཁལ་ བཀལ་ནི་  
 3.ERG sufferance receive-CONJ pack carry-CONJ  
 dzo<sup>12</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>go<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>51</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>-tɛ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>51</sup> da<sup>11</sup>po<sup>55</sup>  
 རྒྱབ་ ཀྲན་གྱོ་ བྱོས་ མི་བྱོས་ ལྷན་པོ་  
 back all carry NEG-carry all  
 k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> du<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>  
 བྱོས་ ལྷན་ནི་ ལྷན་ ཐོང་ ཐོང་  
 3.ERG carry-CONJ sufferance receive receive

t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup>	lo <sup>12</sup>	ma <sup>11</sup> ŋe <sup>55</sup>	le <sup>11</sup> ka <sup>55</sup>	le <sup>55</sup> -na <sup>55</sup>
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 <sup>55</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> e	n <sup>o</sup> da <sup>11</sup> re <sup>55</sup>	tsə <sup>55</sup> -ti <sup>55</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>
	ད་	ཚེ་	འདི་རེ་	སླེབས་དས་	ཁོ་
	now	lifetime	here	arrive-CONJ	3
	ea <sup>11</sup> dze <sup>55</sup>	te <sup>11</sup> -ta <sup>55</sup>	te <sup>55</sup>		
	སྤང་ལྟལ་	བཞུས་ད་	དེ་		
	confounded	look.IM-SFT	DEM		

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

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

‘There are scars on my back.’

(77)	ta <sup>55</sup>	ge <sup>11</sup> -sa <sup>55</sup>
	ད་	གས་སོང་
	then	old-PFT.TRA

‘Then, (I) got old.’

(78)	ta <sup>55</sup>	mə <sup>11</sup> -za <sup>14</sup> -le <sup>55</sup> -da <sup>55</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	go <sup>12</sup>	ɕ <sup>h</sup> u <sup>55</sup> -to <sup>51</sup> -yə <sup>11</sup> -mi <sup>55</sup>
	ད་	མི་བཟང་ལེ་དང་	ཁོ་	སྐོ་	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 <sup>55</sup>	te <sup>11</sup> -na <sup>55</sup>	te <sup>h</sup> o <sup>55</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>11</sup> -na <sup>55</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> -ka <sup>55</sup>
	དེ་	བཞུས་ན་	ཁྱོད་	འཚས་ན་	ཚོག་གི་
	DEM	look.PF-CONJ	2	eat.PF-CONJ	can-STA

dze<sup>11</sup>-ra<sup>55</sup>-za<sup>55</sup>

ཟེར་བཞག་ཟིག

say-get-NSEN

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

(80)	ʔa <sup>55</sup>	ɕã <sup>11</sup> ki <sup>55</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup> -tei <sup>55</sup>	dze <sup>11</sup> -za <sup>55</sup>
	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 <sup>55</sup>	mã <sup>11</sup> hō <sup>14</sup>	ŋo <sup>11</sup> ga <sup>55</sup> te <sup>11</sup> -na <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> ya <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> ya <sup>55</sup>
	འང་	མ་མོ་	དོ་དགའ་བསྐྱེད་ནི་	ཨ་ཏ་	ཨ་ཏ་
	again	ewe	beg-CONJ	INTJ	INTJ

ʈʂʰe<sup>14</sup>-ma<sup>11</sup>-to<sup>55</sup>  
 འཇམ་མ་དོ་  
 eat.PF-NEG-IMPRX  
 ‘Again, Ewe begged: “Please, please don’t eat (me)!”’

(82) to<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup>                      tʰə<sup>14</sup>                      ʈʂi<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup>                      n<sup>12</sup>dza<sup>12</sup>  
 ད་རུང་                      ལཱ་ན་                      སྒར་                      སྒྲི་འི་                      འགྲོ་  
 again                      1.INCL.both                      downwards                      ask.PF-NML                      go.NPF  
 dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཟེར་ནི་  
 say-CONJ  
 ‘Again, we two will go downwards and ask.’

(83) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                      tʰə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                      sʰo<sup>14</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>                      ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 ཞེ་ཟེ་                      སྒར་རུ་                      སོང་ནི་                      ཨ་ལུ་                      རི་བོང་ཟེག་ལེ་  
 then                      downwards                      go-CONJ                      uncle                      hare-NDEF-DAT  
 kʰa<sup>55</sup> tʰu<sup>51</sup>-ɣa<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 ལ་སྒག་བཞག་ཟེག  
 meet-PFT  
 ‘Then, (Ewe and Wolf) went downwards, and then they met Uncle Hare.’

(84) ʔa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>                      ri<sup>11</sup>wə<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>                      kʰa<sup>55</sup> tʰu<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                      dō<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>-dō<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>55</sup>  
 ཨ་ལུ་                      རི་བོང་ཟེག་ལེ་                      ལ་སྒག་ད་ནི་                      ཞེ་ཟེ་                      རོ་ཅི་དོ་ཅི་  
 uncle                      hare-NDEF-DAT                      meet-PFT-CONJ                      then                      like this-RDP  
 re<sup>51</sup>  
 རེད་  
 CPV  
 ‘When they two met an Uncle Hare, (Ewe said:) “Uncle Hare, (things) were like this.”’

(85) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                      te<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>                      te<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>                      ʈʂʰə<sup>11</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>                      ei<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཞེ་ཟེ་                      བྱིས་                      བཞུས་ན་                      ཚི་ཟེག                      བྱེད་གི  
 then                      2.ERG                      look.PF-CONJ                      what-NDEF                      do-STA  
 dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཟེར་ནི་  
 say-CONJ  
 ‘(Ewe) said: “Then, if you look, what should (we) do?”’

(86) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>ʈʂʰo<sup>55</sup>                      n<sup>12</sup>dza<sup>12</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>                      ta<sup>55</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup>                      n<sup>12</sup>dza<sup>12</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ŋe<sup>55</sup>                      tə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                      ʈʂi<sup>51</sup>                      ta<sup>11</sup>-ya<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>                      ʈʂʰo<sup>51</sup>  
 ངས་                      དེ་རེ་                      གཅིག                      ལྟོ་འ་དང་                      ཚོ་  
 1.ERG                      there                      one                      see.NPF-SFT-CONJ                      how

ei<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩེད་འདག་གི  
 do-PFT.SEN

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

(88) te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>-ka<sup>55</sup>-fi<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩེད་                              ཞི་དགའ་འི་  
 2                                      Q-difficult-STA.SEN

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

(89) la<sup>14</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>                      ʔə<sup>11</sup>-ka<sup>55</sup>-fi<sup>55</sup>                      mə<sup>11</sup>-ka<sup>55</sup>-fi<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ʔə<sup>11</sup>tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                      te<sup>55</sup>-ye<sup>55</sup>                              ʰdza<sup>12</sup>-dze<sup>12</sup>  
 འ་ཚོ་                                      ལྟ་འི་                                      འགོ་ཟེར་  
 1PL.INCL                              look.PF-NML                              go.NPF-QUOT

‘“Let’s go to look,” said (Hare)’

(91) ʔə<sup>55</sup>                                      te<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                              s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                              ŋø<sup>11</sup>                                      ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>  
 ཞི་    གྲིད་ནི་                                      སོང་ནི་                                      སློན་                                      བྲལ་  
 then    lead-CONJ                                      go-CONJ                                      earlier                                      trace  
 tə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                                      pi<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 དེ་རེར་                                      བྲད་སོང་  
 there    go.PF-PFT.SEN

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

(92) ja<sup>55</sup>                                      ta<sup>55</sup>    te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                                      t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>                                      po<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>  
 ཡ་    ད་    རྩེད་                                      སྐར་ན་                                      འབབ་ད་  
 INTJ    now    2    downwards                                      fall-SFT

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

(93) te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                                      tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>    ei<sup>11</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩེད་    ཚོ་    རྩེད་འདག་གི  
 2    how    do-PFT.SEN

‘“How did you do?”’

(94) te<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>                                      ŋo<sup>12</sup>tā<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup>                              ndi<sup>11</sup>                                      na<sup>14</sup>                                      tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩེད་    འགོ་དང་པོ་                              འདིའི་                                      ནང་                                      ཚོ་  
 2    at the beginning                              DEM                                      inside                                      how  
 ei<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>                                      lu<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>  
 རྩེད་ནི་                                      ལྷང་སོང་  
 do-CONJ                                      fall-PFT.TRA

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

- (95) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>nd<sup>14</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄  
 3 hare-NDEF-GEN top-LOC jump-NML-DEF over there-INE  
 k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> jə<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-yə<sup>55</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wõ<sup>14</sup>  
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄  
 3.ERG hare eat.NPF-FUT.E say-CONJ hare  
 z̄i<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>-tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> na<sup>14</sup> ju<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄  
 hole inside fall-PFT.TRA-EMPH

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

- (98) ʔa<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> mā<sup>11</sup>fiō<sup>14</sup> ha<sup>14</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup>-ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>-ri<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> ju<sup>11</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> dõ<sup>14</sup>  
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄  
 hole-INE fall-PFT.TRA-CONJ now 3 like this  
 re<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> lə<sup>11</sup>ei<sup>55</sup>  
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄  
 CPV say-CONJ INTJ hole-INE upwards  
 jo<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>-ya<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ta<sup>55</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> mā<sup>11</sup>fiō<sup>14</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-ye<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>-tɛo<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>  
 ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄ ʃ̄  
 now 2.ERG ewe eat.NPF-PROG-NML-GEN what

jɿ<sup>14</sup>  
 ཡིན་  
 CPV.E

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

- (101) mā<sup>11</sup>hɿ<sup>55</sup>      tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      lã<sup>11</sup>-gə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>11</sup>-tɛo<sup>55</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>      tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>      jɿ<sup>14</sup>  
 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) mā<sup>11</sup>hɿ<sup>14</sup>      mā<sup>11</sup>hɿ<sup>14</sup>      n<sup>o</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-se<sup>55</sup>      s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 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) ɛã<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>      tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      lu<sup>11</sup>-si<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>      tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      hu<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup>-ma<sup>55</sup>  
 ལྷང་གི་      བྱོད་      ལྷང་སོང་ན་      བྱོད་      སྤང་ད་མ་  
 wolf      2      fall-PFT.SEN-CONJ      2      push-PFT-NML  
 ma<sup>11</sup>-ri<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 མ་རེད་མོ་  
 NEG-CPV-EMPH  
 ‘“Wolf, you fell, (that) is not because (Ewe) pushed you.”’

- (104) [t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>      jə<sup>14</sup>      tsə<sup>11</sup>rən<sup>55</sup>      mə<sup>11</sup>-ju<sup>14</sup>]  
 \*\*\*      \*\*\*      \*\*\*      \*\*\*  
 C<sub>3</sub>      C<sub>also</sub>      C<sub>responsibility</sub>      C<sub>NEG</sub>-C<sub>EXV</sub>  
 ‘“Even she [Ewe] doesn’t have any responsibility.”’

- (105) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      lu<sup>11</sup>-γə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup>      mā<sup>11</sup>hɿ<sup>14</sup>      tə<sup>11</sup>ra<sup>55</sup>      mə<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>11</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup>      n<sup>o</sup>di<sup>14</sup>      n<sup>o</sup>go<sup>55</sup>      n<sup>o</sup>də<sup>12</sup>      tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>  
 བྱོས་      འདིའི་      མགོ་      འདི་      འཆའ་ལྷ་  
 2.ERG      DEM.GEN      head      DEM      eat.NPF-FUT.E  
 dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 ཟེར་ནི་  
 say-CONJ  
 ‘“You say you are going to eat this, the head of this [Ewe].”’

- (107) tɛ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>      mə<sup>11</sup>-jo<sup>55</sup>-lə<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>55</sup>      tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-tɛi<sup>55</sup>      dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 བྱོད་      ཁ་ནང་      མི་ཡོང་ལི་ཟེག      འཆའ་ལྷ་      ཟེར་ནི་  
 2.GEN      mouth-INE      NEG-come.NI-NML-NDEF      eat.NPF-FUT.E      say-CONJ

ve<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> tō<sup>11</sup>da<sup>51</sup>  
 བློ་ལེ་མ་རེད་ ཟེར་ནི་ རྩོམ་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) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ɛ̃<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup> ti<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> ɕ<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>55</sup>  
 ཞེ་ཟེ་ ལྷང་གི་ ལྷང་ རེ་འི་ནང་ ལྷིར་  
 then wolf hole DEM-LOC back  
 rd<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
 བཞག་ད་ཟླིག  
 leave-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, Wolf was left in that hole.’

(109) ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> hu<sup>11</sup>-tei<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> ɛ̃<sup>11</sup>ki<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup>  
 རི་བོང་ ལྷང་རྒྱ་ ཟེར་ད་ ལྷང་གིས་ རི་བོང་  
 hare push-FUT say-TOP wolf.ERG hare  
 tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>-ye<sup>55</sup> tsã<sup>11</sup>po<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>11</sup>-fi<sup>44</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>11</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>-lo<sup>55</sup>-tə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup>  
 \*\*\* \*\*\* ཟེར་ལོ་དེ་ རེ་འི་ ལྷོག་ལེ་  
<sup>C</sup>Hare’s way <sup>C</sup>Hare’s way say-NML-DEF DEM.GEN top-LOC  
 jō<sup>11</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>u<sup>14</sup>pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>11</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>11</sup>tsə<sup>55</sup>-ti<sup>55</sup> pan<sup>11</sup>fa<sup>14</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 \*\*\* ཟེར་ནི་ \*\*\* \*\*\* རེད་  
<sup>C</sup>Hare’s way say-CONJ <sup>C</sup>hare-<sup>C</sup>GEN <sup>C</sup>way CPV

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

(112) tə<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>wō<sup>14</sup> n<sup>d</sup>i<sup>12</sup> le<sup>12</sup>-ri<sup>11</sup>-ma<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>-lə<sup>55</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 དེ་ རི་བོང་ འདིས་ ལས་བཞག་མ་ མང་ལེ་རེད་  
 DEM hare DEM.ERG<sup>30</sup> do-STA-NML many-STA

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

<sup>30</sup> 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*<sup>31</sup>

(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;

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<sup>31</sup> 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་<sup>32</sup>

སྐྱོ་བྱིག་བཀོད་ལོ་བྱིག་བཤད་ཏུ། མ་མོ་མ་ལུ་ན་ལྟ་སར་ལུང་སོང་། མ་མོ་མ་ལུ་ན་འགྲོ་སའི་ལམ་  
 དེའི་ནང་ན་སྐྱུང་གི་དེ་ལྷུང་ནང་ན་སྐྱུང་འདུག་བྱིག་སྐྱུང་གི་དེས་ཨ་མ་མོ་བེར་ད་བྱིག་ཨེ་བེ་ཨོ་  
 བེར་ནི་ད། ཨེ་བེ་ཆི་བེར་འི་བེར་ན། བྱིས་ཁོ་ལངས་བྱེད་བེར་ནི། ཨོ། ངས་བྱོད་ལེན་ཉམས་ནི་མ་རེད།  
 བྱིས་མོ་འཆས་དོ་འི་མོ། ངས་བྱོད་མི་འཆལ། དེ་འཆལ་ལེ་རེད་བེར་ནི། དེ་མི་འཆལ་བེར་འི། ཨེ་བེ་མ་  
 མོ་བལྟས་ན། ལུ་ན་ལྟ་སར་མཇལ་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་ན་ཉེས་བ་རེད་མོ། འདི་སྐྱུང་མ་རྗེ་འདི་རེད་ལུ་གི་འི་གི་བ་རྒྱ་མི་  
 སྐྱུང་མོ། ལངས་ད་བྱིག་ལངས་ད་ཙོ་གི་བྱིག་གི་ཨེ་བེ་ད་ཁོའི་སོ་བ་སྟོགས་ནི་མེད་འི། བྱོད་འཆལ་  
 དགོས་འི་བེར་ནི། ཨ་མ། བྱིས་ཁོ་མི་འཆལ་བེར་དུས་མོ། དེ་ཁོའི་སོ་བ་སྟོགས་ནི་མེད་འི་འཆལ་རྒྱ་  
 བེར་ནི། ཨ་ན་ལུ་ན་སྐྱུང་ལེ་ལུར་རུ་དྲི་འི་འགྲོ། བྱིས་ཁོ་ར་ཚོག་ཚོག་གི་འཆས་ད་ནི་ཁོ་དེ་བདེན་གོ་  
 བྱོད་དེ་བདེན་གི་ལུ་ན་དེའི་ཁ་སྐྱེད་གོས་འི་མོ། ཨེ་ལུར་རུ་སོང་ནི་ད། རྟ་རྟ་བྱིག་ལེ་ཁ་སྐྱུང་ད་  
 བྱིག་ཆི་བེར་འི་བེར་ན། ཨ་རྟ་རྟ་དོ་ཙོ་རེད་ད། ཨ་ན་བྱོད་དོ་ཙོ་ཆེན་འི་མོ། ཁོས་འདིར་དོ་བྱེད་  
 འདུག་གི་ད། དེ་ལྷུང་ནང་ན་སྐྱུང་གི་ཁོས་དོ་བྱེད་ནི་ལངས་ནི་སྐྱུང་མ་རྗེ་རེད་བསམ་ནི་ལངས་ད་  
 མི་ད། ད་མི་འཆལ་བེར་དུས་ད། ལངས་ད་ནི་ཨེ་བེ་འདིས་འཆལ་རྒྱ་བེར་འི། བྱིས་བལྟས་ན་འཆས་  
 བ་ཚོག་གི་མ་འཆས་ན་ཚོག་གི་བེར་བྱིག་ཨོ། རྟས་ཁ་རྩང་དེ་རིང་རེད་མོ། ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་མི་སྐྱུང་མོ།  
 འཆས་ན་ཁོ་བཤད་རྒྱ་མི་སྐྱུང་། ཁོ་ཨ་ན་སན་གོ་ཡིན་དུས་ན་གཞན་འིན་རྟ་ལྟུག་འབྲས་ནི་རྟུག་

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

མོང་ནི། ད་ཁ་ནང་ན་སོ་མི་སྤང་མོ། ཤ་མི་སྤང་མོ། ད་མི་བཟང་འི་མོ། ད་རྟམ་ཁོའི་རྒྱབ་ལེ་རྩ་ཕྱུང་  
 བཞག་གི་མོ། འདི་རྒྱུ་གོ་མི་འིས་ལས་བཞག་མ་ཤེད། འདིས་བཟམས་ན་རྒྱ་འབྲས་མི་སྤང་། ད་ཁོས་  
 རྩ་མི་ཆད་གི་མོ། ཁོ་མི་གསོ་འི་མོ། རྩོ་ཕྱུང་བཞག་གི་མོ། དེ་བཟམས་ན་འཆས་ན་ཚོག་གི་ ཨེ་ཟེ་སྤྱུང་  
 ཀིས་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ནི། ད་གན་འདིས་རྟམ་ཟེར་ན་འཆས་ན་ཚོག་གི་ཟེར་ཟིག འང་དེའི་མར་ན།  
 འང་མ་མོ་ཟེར་ད་ཕྱང་འཆས་མ་དོ། ད་ཕྱང་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་ཆས་སོང་མོ་ཁ་ནང་སོ་མི་སྤང་མོ། རྩ་ཕྱུ་  
 རྩ་ཤོར་ཕྱེད་ད་ཟིག་རྒྱབ་ན་རྩ་ཕྱུང་བཞག་གི་ རྩ་བའི་མི་ཚོག་གི་ དོ་ཅི་ལེ་ཁ་ཕྱུག་ད་ཟིག ཨེ་ཟེ་ཨ་  
 མཛོ་ཁྱོད་ཉལ་འདུག་གི་མོ། ཨེ་དོ་ནོ་དོ་ནོ་ཤེད། ཁོའི་ན་འདི་ཁྱོས་བཤའ་ཕྱེད་ཟེར་ནི། ཨེ། ད་དོ་ཅི་  
 ཡིན་ནི་ཤེད། ཁོས་སྤྱུག་ཐོང་ནི་ཁལ་བཀལ་ནི་རྒྱབ་རྒྱུ་གོ་ཁྱབ་མི་ཁྱབ་སྤྱུག་པོ་ཁོས་སྤྱུར་ནི་སྤྱུག་  
 ཐོང་ཐོང་ཐོང་ཐོ་མང་དེ་ལས་ཀ་ལས་ནི། ད་ཚོ་འདི་རེ་སྤེལས་རུས་ཁོ་སྤྱུང་རྒྱལ་བཟམས་ད་དེ། རྒྱབ་  
 བ་རྩ་སྤང་གི་ད་ཆས་སོང། ད་མི་བཟང་ལེ་དང་ཁོ་རྩོ་ཕྱུང་དོ་འི་མོ། དེ་བཟམས་ན་ཁྱོད་འཆས་ན་  
 ཚོག་གི་ཟེར་བཞག་ཟིག འང་སྤྱུང་ཀིས་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ཟིག འང་མ་མོ་དོ་དགའ་བཟུན་ནི། ཨ་ཏ་ཨ་  
 ཏ་འཆས་མ་དོ་ད་ཕྱང་འུ་ན་སྤྱུར་དྲི་འཕྱོ་ཟེར་ནི། ཨེ་ཟེ་སྤྱུར་ཕྱ་སོང་ནི་ཨ་སྤྱུ་རི་པོང་ཟིག་ལེ་ཁ་  
 ཕྱུག་བཞག་ཟིག ཨ་སྤྱུ་རི་པོང་ཟིག་ལེ་ཁ་ཕྱུག་ད་ནི། ཨེ་ཟེ་དོ་ཅི་དོ་ཅི་ཤེད། ཨེ་ཟེ་ཁྱོས་བཟམས་ན་ཚི་  
 ཟིག་ཕྱེད་གི་ཟེར་ནི། ཨེ་ཟེ་འུ་ཚོ་འཕྱོ་ད། རྩ་འི་འཕྱོ་ད། དས་དེ་རེ་གཅིག་ལྟ་འདད། ཚི་ཕྱེད་འདུག་  
 གི་ཁྱོད་ཨེ་དགའ་འི། ལངས་ན་ཨེ་དགའ་འི་མི་དགའ་འི། འུ་ཚོ་ལྟ་འི་འཕྱོ་ཟེར། ཨེ་ཁྱོད་ནི་སོང་ནི་  
 སྤོན་ལུལ་དེ་རེར་ཕྱུང་སོང། ཡ། ད་ཁྱོད་སྤྱུར་ཕྱ་འབབ་ད། ཁྱོད་ཚི་ཕྱེད་འདུག་གི་ཁྱོད་འཕྱོ་དར་པོ་  
 འདིའི་ནང་ཚོ་ཕྱེད་ནི་སྤྱུང་སོང། ཁོ་རི་པོང་ཟིག་གི་ཐོག་ལེ་མཚོང་ལོ་དེ་མར་ནང་ན་སྤྱུང་ཡོད་ལོ་  
 མ་མཚོང་འི། ཁོས་རི་པོང་འཆའ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ནི། རི་པོང་འཛིན་གི་མ་ཚོག་གི་སྤྱུང་ནང་སྤྱུང་སོང་ཟིག་  
 མོ། ཨ་ན། དེ་མ་མོ་འཕངས་ད་མ་མ་ཤེད་མོ། སྤྱུང་ནང་སྤྱུང་སོང་ནི་ད་ཁོ་དོ་ཤེད་ཟེར་ནི། སྤྱུང་ནང་  
 ལྷུང་སྤྱིར་ཡོང་ནི་མེད་འི་ཨ། ད་ཁྱོས་མ་མོ་འཆའ་འི་འདུག་རྒྱ་གི་ཚི་ཡིན། མ་མོས་ཁྱོད་ལེན་གི་  
 འདུག་རྒྱ་གི་ཚི་ཡིན། མ་མོ་མ་མོ་འཕྱོ་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་རུས་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 ཨེ་ཟེ་སྤྱུང་གི་སྤྱུང་དེའི་ནང་སྤྱིར་བཞག་ད་ཟིག རི་པོང་སྤྱུང་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ད། སྤྱུང་ཀིས་  
 རི་པོང་འཆའ་འིས། བཅོན་པོ་ཕྱེད་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<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup> no<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup> ngo<sup>12</sup> tã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>dza<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>11</sup>go<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>12</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup> ni<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>11</sup>tʂa<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (2) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> go<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>tsi<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> dza<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>lə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (3) ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> dza<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>lə<sup>12</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (4) ʔo<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> gə<sup>11</sup> fi<sup>44</sup> də<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (5) ta<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup>tʂa<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup>. (6) ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> tʂə<sup>11</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> go<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> go<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>na<sup>14</sup>. (7) ta<sup>55</sup> sō<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>11</sup> ta<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>51</sup>tə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (8) pa<sup>11</sup>ta<sup>14</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>14</sup> lo<sup>51</sup>tə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (9) <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> zə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup> lō<sup>14</sup> tē<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (10) <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> zə<sup>11</sup> jō<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>da<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>51</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>le<sup>12</sup> n<sup>d</sup>zɿ<sup>12</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ngo<sup>12</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>51</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (11) k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>ro<sup>55</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>11</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>ta<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (12) ʔa<sup>55</sup> ɛō<sup>14</sup> ʔə<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> tsa<sup>55</sup> tsi<sup>51</sup>kə<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>51</sup>le<sup>12</sup> n<sup>d</sup>zɿ<sup>12</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ge<sup>11</sup>fi<sup>14</sup> tsə<sup>55</sup> ti<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>14</sup> e<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>11</sup>sə<sup>55</sup>. (13) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>14</sup>sə<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>. (14) <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>11</sup> gə<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>14</sup>sə<sup>55</sup> lu<sup>14</sup>sə<sup>55</sup> nə<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>11</sup>e<sup>14</sup> e<sup>i</sup>51ta<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (15) pə<sup>11</sup>tʂa<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ʔo<sup>11</sup> gi<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup> də<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (16) <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> tə<sup>55</sup>da<sup>14</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> ri<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>. (17) <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> n<sup>d</sup>ə<sup>12</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> hə<sup>11</sup>gə<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>tʂə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup>. (18) ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>bə<sup>12</sup> tə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> e<sup>i</sup>11nə<sup>55</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> ro<sup>55</sup> le<sup>11</sup> la<sup>55</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> hə<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>. (19) ʔo<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>12</sup> ɛō<sup>14</sup> n<sup>d</sup>zo<sup>11</sup>dzi<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup> tɛiŋ<sup>11</sup>ʂən<sup>14</sup> wən<sup>11</sup>t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>. (20) ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> za<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>12</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> ja<sup>55</sup> kō<sup>11</sup>tʂo<sup>51</sup>le<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>bu<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> wu<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>na<sup>55</sup> hwa<sup>55</sup>wo<sup>55</sup>da<sup>55</sup> te<sup>55</sup> go<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> e<sup>i</sup>11nə<sup>55</sup>. (21) ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup> no<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>ni<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>su<sup>11</sup>m<sup>11</sup>tsu<sup>14</sup> na<sup>11</sup>ʔə<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>ʔə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>ʔə<sup>55</sup> ngo<sup>12</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>sə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>mi<sup>55</sup> tɛa<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>51</sup>lə<sup>12</sup> re<sup>51</sup>. (22) ti<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>14</sup>le<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup> no<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>55</sup>lə<sup>11</sup>re<sup>51</sup>. (23) s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> pə<sup>11</sup>tʂa<sup>55</sup>zə<sup>12</sup> re<sup>51</sup> ngo<sup>12</sup> tã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> tse<sup>11</sup>nã<sup>14</sup> jō<sup>14</sup>nə<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>dza<sup>55</sup> ʔa<sup>11</sup>ma<sup>55</sup> mə<sup>11</sup>kə<sup>11</sup> du<sup>51</sup> t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>nə<sup>55</sup>tə<sup>55</sup>.

*Interlinear glossing text*

(1)	ts <sup>h</sup> o <sup>11</sup> p <sup>h</sup> ã <sup>51</sup>	no <sup>11</sup> ri <sup>55</sup> zã <sup>11</sup> wo <sup>55</sup>	dze <sup>11</sup> -ni <sup>55</sup>	ngo <sup>12</sup>
	ཚོང་དཔོན་	ལོ་རྒྱུ་བཟང་པོ་	བེར་ན་	འགོ་
	business master <sup>33</sup>	PPN	say-TOP	head
	tã <sup>11</sup> wo <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> dza <sup>55</sup>	ʔa <sup>11</sup> ma <sup>55</sup>	kə <sup>11</sup> go <sup>55</sup>
	དང་པོ་	ཨ་ཚུ་	ཨ་མ་	ཀུན་གྱི་
	first	father	mother	all
	mə <sup>11</sup> -na <sup>14</sup>	ʂ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>14</sup>	ni <sup>11</sup> ma <sup>11</sup> tʂa <sup>55</sup> -zə <sup>12</sup>	re <sup>51</sup>
	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 <sup>11</sup> zə <sup>55</sup>	ti <sup>55</sup>	go <sup>11</sup> mo <sup>55</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup> a <sup>11</sup> tsi <sup>51</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>	ts <sup>h</sup> o <sup>14</sup> dza <sup>11</sup> -kə <sup>55</sup>
	ཨི་བེ་	དེས་	སྒོར་ལོ་	ཆ་ཅིག་གི་	ཚོང་རྒྱལ་གི་
	then	DEM.ERG	money	a little-INS	do business-NML

<sup>33</sup> The idiom /ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup>/ denotes ‘a leader of merchants’. In the present text, we interpret it as a title and hence use ‘Tsongpon’ in the translation.





<sup>12</sup>bə      tə<sup>55</sup>  
 𑄎𑄢      དེ  
 insect      DEM  
 ‘Then, that fell down nine times, that insect.’

(14)    <sup>12</sup>bə      tə<sup>55</sup>      ʔo<sup>11</sup>      ɡə<sup>55</sup>      lu<sup>14</sup>-sə<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
          𑄎𑄢      དེ      འོར      དག      ལྷང་སོང་ནི  
          insect      DEM      time      nine      drop-PFT.TRA-CONJ  
          te<sup>55</sup>      tʰi<sup>11</sup>ɛi<sup>14</sup> ɛi<sup>51</sup>-ta<sup>55</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
          དེ      \*\*\* བྱས་ད་ཟླག  
          DEM.ERG      C remind-PFT.NSEN  
 ‘The insect fell down nine times, and that reminded him.’

(15)    pə<sup>11</sup>tsa<sup>55</sup>      tə<sup>55</sup>      tʰo<sup>14</sup>      ʔo<sup>11</sup>      ɡi<sup>55</sup>  
          བ་ཚ      དེ      ཚོང      འོར      དགའི  
          boy      DEM      business      time      nine.EMPH  
          s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>55</sup>      də<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> sə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
          སོང་ནི      ལོ      ཇིག་གི་སོང་ཟླག  
          go-CONJ      3      lose-AOR.TRA  
 ‘The boy went for business even nine times and he lost (every time).’

(16)    <sup>12</sup>bə      tə<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>14</sup>      k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>na<sup>55</sup>      ri<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>  
          𑄎𑄢      དེ་དང་      ལོ་ན      ཇིག་གི  
          insect      DEM-COM      3.both      be similar-STA  
 ‘(He) and the insect, they two resemble (each other).’

(17)    <sup>12</sup>bə      n<sup>12</sup>də      ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>      hə<sup>11</sup>-ɡə<sup>55</sup>      mə<sup>11</sup>-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
          𑄎𑄢      འདི      ཅ་གི      འཇམ་གི      མི་ཚོག་གི་མོ  
          insect      DEM      indeed      fly-NML      NEG-can-STA-EMPH  
 ‘This insect cannot fly anyway.’

(18)    ʔə<sup>11</sup>zə<sup>55</sup>      <sup>12</sup>bə      te<sup>55</sup>      ʔo<sup>55</sup>      ta<sup>55</sup>  
          ཞེ་ཟླ      𑄎𑄢      དེ      འང      ལྷ  
          then      insect      DEM.ERG      again      look  
          ɛi<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      ʔo<sup>55</sup>      tʃi<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup>      ro<sup>55</sup>      le<sup>11</sup>  
          ཟླང་ནི      འོར      འཇམ་ཐམ་པ      གཞན      ལྷང  
          do-CONJ      time      ten      other      upwards  
          la<sup>55</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>      hə<sup>55</sup>-sə<sup>11</sup> zə<sup>55</sup>  
          འངས་ནི      འཇམ་སོང་ཟླག  
          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) ʔo<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>12</sup> ɛo<sup>14</sup> <sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-dzi<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 ʔo<sup>55</sup> ta<sup>55</sup> ŋa<sup>12</sup> ɛo<sup>14</sup> <sup>n</sup>dzo<sup>11</sup>-dzi<sup>55</sup>-na<sup>55</sup>  
 INTJ INTJ 1 later go-FUT-CONJ  
 tɛiŋ<sup>11</sup>ʂən<sup>14</sup> wən<sup>11</sup>tʰi<sup>55</sup>  
 \*\*\*

<sup>C</sup>mental issue  
 ‘Oh, whether I go for a (next) business later, (it will be) a mental issue.’

- (20) ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup> ʔo<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>  
 ʔo<sup>55</sup> tʂi<sup>11</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ba<sup>55</sup> s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>14</sup>  
 business time ten go-CONJ business  
 za<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>12</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> ja<sup>55</sup> kɔ<sup>11</sup>tʂo<sup>51</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>  
 za<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>12</sup> ʔə<sup>11</sup>ze<sup>55</sup> ja<sup>55</sup> kɔ<sup>11</sup>tʂo<sup>51</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>pa<sup>55</sup>  
 good-CONJ then upwards triratna-DAT butter lamp  
<sup>m</sup>bu<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> wu<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> hwa<sup>55</sup>wo<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>  
<sup>m</sup>bu<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> wu<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>14</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-na<sup>55</sup> hwa<sup>55</sup>wo<sup>55</sup>-da<sup>55</sup>  
 offer-CONJ downwards poor people say-TOP poor people-COM  
 te<sup>55</sup> ɣo<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 te<sup>55</sup> ɣo<sup>11</sup>mo<sup>55</sup> ɛi<sup>11</sup>-nə<sup>55</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup> no<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-ni<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>  
 ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup> no<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>11</sup>-ni<sup>55</sup> ha<sup>11</sup>ge<sup>55</sup>  
 business master PPN say-TOP indeed  
 ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>su<sup>11</sup>mĩ<sup>11</sup>tsu<sup>14</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>go<sup>12</sup>  
 ʂ<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>su<sup>11</sup>mĩ<sup>11</sup>tsu<sup>14</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> ʂ<sup>h</sup>e<sup>14</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> na<sup>11</sup>-ɣə<sup>55</sup> <sup>n</sup>go<sup>12</sup>  
 \*\*\* inside-GEN special-EMPH inside-GEN head  
<sup>C</sup>ethnic minority tea<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>51</sup>-lə<sup>12</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
<sup>C</sup>ethnic minority tea<sup>11</sup>-kə<sup>55</sup> tə<sup>51</sup>-lə<sup>12</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 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) ti<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>14</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup> no<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>55</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 ti<sup>55</sup> ni<sup>14</sup>-le<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>11</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ã<sup>51</sup> no<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup>zã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup> dze<sup>55</sup>-lə<sup>11</sup> re<sup>51</sup>  
 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<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> pə<sup>11</sup>tsa<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>12</sup> re<sup>51</sup> <sup>n</sup>go<sup>12</sup> tã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup>  
 s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>11</sup>ri<sup>55</sup> pə<sup>11</sup>tsa<sup>55</sup>-zə<sup>12</sup> re<sup>51</sup> <sup>n</sup>go<sup>12</sup> tã<sup>11</sup>wo<sup>55</sup>  
 child boy-NDEF CPV head first



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་མཉམ་ལངས་ནི་འབྲུར་སོང་ཟིག མོ། ད་ང་སྤྱིར་འགོ་རྒྱ་ན་འབྲུ་ཤེས་གནད་དོན་རེད།  
ཚོང་འོར་བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་སོང་ནི། ཚོང་བཟང་ནི་ཞེ་ཟེ་ཡར་དཀོན་མཚོག་ལས་མཚོད་པ་སྤུལ་ནི། མར་  
དབུལ་སོངས་ཟེར་ན་དབུལ་སོ་དང་དེ་སྒོར་སོ་སྤྱིན་ནི། ཚོང་དཔོན་ནོར་སུ་བཟང་སོ་ཟེར་ནི་ཉ་གེ་  
གྲངས་ཉུང་མི་རིགས་ནང་གི་ཤིན་འུ་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་  
དཀའ་ངལ་ཡོང་ནི། ཞེ་རྒྱ་ཞེ་མ་མེད་གི་སྤྲུག་སོང་ནི་དེ།

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