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Prince's wife become a lark in Lhagang Tibetan of Khams

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Abstract: This article provides a narrative story of Lhagang Tibetan (the variety of Lhagang-B) of the Minyag Rabgang dialect group of Khams, entitled *Prince's wife become a lark*, with a linguistic glossing and an interlinear annotation as well as a full translation in English and Tibetan (based on the oral form). The story has seven paragraphs and 62 lines in total.*

Keywords: Tibetic, Minyag Rabgang Khams, Lhagang, narrative

1 Introduction

This article primarily provides one full narrative story named *Prince's wife become a lark* narrated in Lhagang Tibetan, accompanied by a linguistic glossing and a full translation in English as well as Tibetan based on the oral form of Lhagang Tibetan. Lhagang Tibetan is a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams, spoken in the easternmost Tibetosphere, i.e., Tagong (lHa sgang) Village (henceforth Lhagang Village), Tagong Town, Kangding (Dar mdo) Municipality, Ganzi (dKar mdzes) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. There are various languages spoken in Lhagang Village due to the augmentation of immigrants from the surrounding pastoral areas (Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2017b). The language described in the article is called Lhagang-B by Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015), which reflects the sedentary variety of Lhagang Village with less influence of the pastoral speech.

The present story is one of the well-preserved stories, narrated without any interruptions. As other stories in Lhagang Tibetan, the story has no fixed title; however, we call it *Prince's wife become a lark* for the sake of convenience. Its Tibetan name is *rGyal-sras tshang gi 'jol-mo nag-mo* ‘A lark wife of the king's family’. The story to be analysed is based on a version narrated by a woman at her age of 70s from Lhagang Village. It was recorded by the second

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author in September 2016. A phonetic transcription of the story was made by the first author, and the analysis and translation were a collaboration of both the authors.

2 Story with a glossing

We provide an interlinear glossing¹ with a translation for each sentence. See Appendix at the end of the article for the phonological description. Footnotes regarding grammatical phenomena, etymological notes, and cultural background are also provided for necessary parts of either a sentence number, gloss, or an interlinear translation.

The section division within the story is first based on the content, divided into seven paragraphs, and second mainly based on the sentence form ended by a verb. The numbering is presented as, e.g., (2.3), which means that the third line of sentences in the second paragraph. Due to the length of the story, the paragraph number is also provided in the full translation provided in Section 3.

The story to be presented below was to some extent edited by the present authors. An editing mainly dealt with an omission of unnecessary repetitions, fillers,² and mistakes.

- (1.1) ʻŋi ma ʻfi:na: fi:na-la ʻfi:dza: po ʼte^hʼʼ ts^hʼʼ ʻh^hteiʔ ʻjoʔ-k^he:
- old time-LOC king family one EXV-PFT.NSEN
- ‘Once upon a time, there was a king’s family.’

- (1.2) ʻte ʻtə ts^ho-la ʼʔə ji: ʻpu zuu ʻ^hdoʔ^hteiʔ ʻjoʔ-k^he:
- then 3.PL-DAT INTJ son single³ EXV-PFT.NSEN
- ‘Then, they had a son.’

¹ [Abbreviations for glossing] -: morpheme boundary; 2: second person pronoun; 3: third person pronoun; AOR: aorist; COL: collective; COM: comitative; CONJ: conjunction; CPV: copulative verb; DAT: dative; DEF: definite marker; DSE: direct sensory experienced; ERG: ergative; EXV: existential verb; FUT: intentional future; GEN: genitive; HS: hearsay; IMPR: imperative stem; INS: instrumental; INTJ: interjection; LOC: locative; MIR: mirative; NDEF: nondefinite marker; NEG: negative prefix; NML: nominaliser; NPF: non-perfect stem; ONMTP: onomatopoeia; PART: particle; PF: perfect stem; PFT.NSEN: perfect non-sensory; PL: plural; PPN: proper name; PRG: progressive; Q: question marker; RDP: reduplication; SFP: sentence final particle; STA: stative; STM: stem; TOP: topic marker; TQ: tag question.

² A phrase which frequently appears and functions as a filler is /ʼtə ri ʼdə reʔ/. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017c).

³ This word is an adjective, not a combination of “classifier + numeral”. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017a).

- (1.3) 'puu zuu-la ^{-fi}na ma ^htei? ^joʔ-k^he:
son-LOC son's wife⁴ one EXV-PFT.NSEN
'The son had a wife.'
- (1.4) 'te ^{-fi}na ma-tə ^{fi}dza: po-ts^ho-gə
then son's wife-DEF king-COL-GEN
'Well, the son's wife (is) the king family's.'
- (1.5) ^{fi}dza: po ^{-fi}jo: mo-gə ^{fi}nā mbe ʔk^ho
king maid-ERG⁵ no matter how 3
^{-h}seʔ-^hsā-əə joʔ-k^he: 'tə 'pu mo-tə
kill-think-PRG-PFT.NSEN that woman-DEF
'A maid of the king, no matter how (the way is), wanted to kill her, that son's wife.'
- (1.6) 'te ^{-fi}na ma-la 'puu zuu 't^hu yu ^hdoʔ h^htei? ^htce-k^he:
then son's wife-DAT son little⁶ single give birth-PFT.NSEN
'Then, the son's wife gave birth to a little son.'
- (1.7) 'te ^{fi}dza: po 'puu zuu ʔk^ho-rə-gə ^{-h}tce: pa 'teē m^hbo-te
then prince 3-self-GEN husband so called-DEF
^{fi}mo ^{fi}daʔ-s^ha 't^he:-k^he: 'ka na 'ji: na ^{fi}mo ^{fi}daʔ-s^ha ^{-h}t^he:
hunt⁷-CONJ go.PF⁸-PFT.NSEN everywhere⁹ hunt-CONJ go.PF
'Then, the prince, her so-called husband, would go hunting everywhere, go hunting.'

⁴ This word denotes 'daughter-in-law', and this use implies that the story is narrated from the viewpoint of the king (parents). However, since there are no independent roots for 'king's son (prince)' and one always uses a compound 'king's son' as in (2.1), the use of 'daughter-in-law' is natural.

⁵ Genitive and ergative have a common form /-gə/; however, the condition of omission differs. Ergative can be omitted when a context is clear.

⁶ This form, related to *phrug* and *phru gu* 'child' in Literary Tibetan. However, Lhagang Tibetan does not use it solely, but as an adjective.

⁷ The first syllable of the word 'hunt' corresponds to *mgon* in Literary Tibetan. There are several examples of sound correspondence between /m/ and *ng*, which are noteworthy.

⁸ Verbs in Lhagang Tibetan rarely have a stem alternation. In the glossing, we just mark verb forms which have several stems. The verb 'go' has this suppletive form for Perfect; however, the form /^hdoʔ/, used as Nonperfect as well as Imperative, is also used as Perfect in some cases.

⁹ Etymologically, the word is analysed as follows: /'ka na/ is an interrogative word 'where', and it is followed by "CPV + CONJ".

- (1.8) 'te 'te^hə^hgɛ 'nɖuʔ tʌʔ 'tō^hka ʔze: -^hk^hɛ: 'hɛiʔ
 then dog PPN¹⁰ say-NML one
 'tə ts^ho-la ^joʔ-k^he:
 3.PL-DAT EXV-PFT.NSEN

'Then, they had a dog called nDrugdrag Dongkar.'

- (1.9) 'te 'fi^hdza: po 'fi^hjo: mo-gə 'fi^hdza: po-ts^ho-gə-tə
 then king maid-GEN king-COL-GEN-TOP
 'pu^h mo 'fi^hna ma 'fi^hza: s^ha-tə 'pu^h zu-la
 woman son's wife wife-DEF son-DAT
 -fi^hna ma-teiʔ 'fi^hza: s^ha 'tə la 'hseʔ-fi^hza:-k^he:
 son's wife-NDEF wife there kill-put¹¹-PFT.NSE
 N

'Then, the maid of the king killed the son's wife, that is, the wife of the son there.'

- (1.10) -^hseʔ-fi^hzaʔ-k^ha 'te: tə ʔze: fi^hdzu tə la 'te: tə 'te^hə^hgɛ-tə
 kill-put-CONJ how to say then dog-DEF
 'te^hə^hgɛ 'nɖuʔ tʌʔ 'tō^hka ʔze:-reʔ-zə reʔ-tə 'te^hə^hgɛ-la
 dog PPN say-STA-HS-DEF dog-DAT
 'te ʔe k^hi tə-la 'fi^hga-fi^hga 'p^hu ɣə
 then that person¹²-DAT love-RDP never¹³
 'ma-fi^hzu-zə ^ji:-k^he:
 NEG-do-AOR-PFT.NSEN¹⁴

'When (she) killed (her), the dog, the dog called nDrugdrag Dongkar never liked that person.'

¹⁰ The original meaning of this proper name is 'famous dragon, white conch'.

¹¹ The verb 'put' which appears after another verb can be counted as a secondary verb which does not convey an original sense of the verb but functions as a grammaticalised verb. However, in this text, we directly give a gloss 'put'.

¹² The form /ʔe k^hi tə/ denotes 'a person that an utterer does not like'. It is not a neutral expression.

¹³ Etymologically, /p^hu ɣə/ denotes 'cave' or 'hole', which implies 'end'. Other forms, /p^hu le te tə gə/ and /p^hu/, also exist; see (2.1) and (6.10) respectively.

¹⁴ A continuation of Aorist and Perfect is peculiar. An interpretation of this case is that the suffix /-k^he:/ principally functions as a marker of a non-sensory access to information, and thus does not have a strong meaning of perfect. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016) for the basic difference of Aorist and Perfect in Lhangang Tibetan.

(1.11)	´te	´puu zuw-gə	ˆna ma	´nuw-roʔ
	then	son-ERG	son's wife	nurse-NML ¹⁵
	´ma-ˆzu	´ma ˆge	´ma-reʔ	ˆze:-nə
	NEG-do	mother	NEG-CPV	say-CONJ
	ṽk ^h a k ^h a-zə nə	ˆta-roʔ	´ma-ˆzu-zə ˆji:-k ^h e:	
	different-CONJ	look-NML	NEG-do-AOR-PFT.NSEN	

‘Then, the (little) son did not wish to be nursed by the son’s wife, saying (she) is not (his) mother, and is different, and did not wish to look (at her).’

(2.1)	´te	ˆdza: po ´puu zuw	ˆmo ˆdaʔ-s ^h a	ˆt ^h e:-na	´ma: rə
	then	prince	hunt-CONJ	go.PF-CONJ	downwards
	ˆtseʔ-k ^h a-te	ˆp ^h u le te tə gə	ˆga-ˆga	´ma-ˆzu-zə ˆji:-k ^h e:	
	arrive-CONJ-TOP	never	love-RDP ¹⁶	NEG-do-AOR-PFT.NSEN	

‘Then, the prince went hunting and when he came back, (the dog and the little son) never liked (him).’

(2.2)	´tə ri	ˆk ^h o-rə-gə-tə	ˆseʔ-ˆdzuw-tə-na	ˆdzo: mo	ˆt ^h eiʔ
	just	3-self-GEN ¹⁷ -TOP	kill-NML-TOP-CONJ	lark	one
	ˆtee wa ˆle:-ˆza:-zə ˆji:-k ^h e:				
	reincarnate ¹⁸ -put-AOR-PFT.NSEN				

‘His (wife), who was killed, just reincarnated in a lark.’

(2.3)	ˆna ma	´tə	ṽk ^h əʔ
	son's wife	that	poor

‘What a poor wife!’¹⁹

¹⁵ Used together with a verb /ˆzu/, the element /-roʔ/ attached to a verb stem expresses ‘even’. It should belong to a different morpheme from SFP denoting a polite request as in (3.1) and (3.4).

¹⁶ Reduplication of a verb root does not function as a verb, and it needs a light verb /ˆzu/ ‘do’ to form a verb predicate.

¹⁷ This genitive makes a noun phrase, which functions as an undergoer of the verb ‘reincarnate’ in this sentence.

¹⁸ The form /ˆtee wa ˆle:/ also denotes ‘transform’ in this context.

¹⁹ This is an exclamative sentence lacking a verb. If one translates it by adding verb, it will be: ‘How poor that wife is!’

(2.4)	ⁿ dzo: mo-tei?	^h tee wa [^] le:-nə ta	^h e fia	ⁿ dzo: mo	[^] do? ^h tei?
	lark-NDEF	reincarnate-CONJ	ash	lark	single
	^h se?-nə	[^] tə la	^m p ^h e:-nə	^h za?-k ^h e:	
	kill-CONJ	there	throw-CONJ	put-PFT.NSEN	

‘(She) reincarnated in a lark, but on the ash, the single lark was killed, and thrown and put there.’²⁰

(2.5)	[^] te	^h dza: po [^] puu zuu	^h mo ^h da?-s ^h a	[^] do- ^h k ^h e-tə-gə	[^] ze:-nə
	then	prince	hunt-CONJ	go.(IMPF)-NML -CONJ	say-CONJ
	[^] ʔə-ji:	^h k ^h o-la	[^] te ^h ə ^h gε	ⁿ du? ^ʔ a? [^] tō ^h ka-gə nə	
	INTJ	3-DAT	dog	PPN-even	
	^h ga- ^h ga	[^] mə- ^h zu	[^] puu zuu-tə-gə nə	[^] ʔa p ^h a	[^] mə-ze:-tu
	love-RDP	NEG-do	son-TOP-even	dad	NEG-say-DSE
	^h k ^h o-la	[^] tee tə [^] ji:	[^] na	[^] ze:-k ^h e:	
	3-DAT	why	SFP	say-PFT.NSEN	

‘Then, the prince, who would go hunting, sentimentally said: “Even the dog nDrugdrag Dongkar doesn’t like (me), even the son doesn’t call (me) dad, why is it happening?”’

(3.1)	[^] tə ze: k ^h a-tə	[^] tə ne	[^] tə ri	^h k ^h o-rə-ts ^h o	[^] te ^h ə ⁿ ts ^h ε
	at that time-TOP	then	just	3-self-PL	neighbour
	^h gε mo	[^] do? ^h tei?-gə	[^] me ^ʔ ə	^h zi:-ro?	[^] ze:-k ^h e:
	old woman	single-ERG	fire	give-SFP	say-PFT.NSEN

‘At that time, then, their neighbour, an old woman said: “Give (me) some fire, please”.’

(3.2)	^h dza: po-ts ^h o-gə-tə	^h dzə ma	[^] re?-mo	[^] te: tə
	king-COL-GEN-TOP	fake	CPV-SFP	that

‘The king’s family’s (wife) is just a fake, that (son’s wife).’

²⁰ This sentence includes a verb /^hse?/ ‘kill’. We can translate the whole sentence as it appears in (2.4); however, there is another potential interpretation: the lark has already been dead, and the sentence thus means ‘the wife, who has been killed, transformed into a dead lark, and it was thrown and put there’.

- (3.3) ^hjo: mo 'reʔ-mo 'ʔə reʔ
 maid CPV-SFP TQ²¹
 ‘(She) is the maid, isn’t she?’

- (3.4) me t^hə ^hzi:-roʔ ʔe:-k^he:
 fire give-SFP say-PFT.NSEN
 ‘(The old woman) said (to the fake wife): “Give some fire, please”.’

- (3.5) me t^hə ^hzi:-roʔ ze:-k^ha ⁿdzo: mo ^ro-tə
 fire give-SFP say-when lark corpse-DEF
 t^hɛ: k^həʔ nɔ̃ nə ja la ^mp^he:-nə ^hzɑʔ-k^ha
 stove inside upwards throw-CONJ put-when
 ‘When (the old woman) said: “Give some fire, please”, then, when (the fake wife) threw
 the corpse of the lark and put it inside the stove,’

- (3.6) ro s^ha ⁿdzo: mo ^ro-tə ʔə ⁿɕa zə nə ma la
 immediately lark corpse-DEF like that downwards
 ^hzi:-^hzɑ:-k^he:
 give-put-PFT.NSEN
 ‘(The fake wife) immediately gave the corpse of the lark, like that.’

- (3.7) tə tə reʔ ^htə ma-la
 what’s that²² beggar-DAT²³
 ‘What’s that... to the beggar.’

²¹ The form of a tag question is identical to “Q-CPV”.

²² This element functions as a filler.

²³ This noun phrase is a part of (3.6). This dative case is a component of the grammatical cases required by the verb ‘give’ in (3.6).

(3.8)	´te	˦tə ma	˦gɛ mo	˦kʰɔʔ-gə	´tə
	then	beggar	old woman	poor-ERG	that
	˦dzo: mo	˦ro-tə	˦kʰə-nə	˦ze: ˦dzɯ tə nə	˦nɔ̃ nə
	lark	corpse-DEF	take-CONJ	how to say	inside
	´ja la	˦tɛiʔ	˦zɑʔ-˦go	˦sɑ̃-kʰa-la	´me tʰə
	upwards	PART ²⁴	put-FUT	think-when-LOC	fire
	˦tɛiʔ	´ka la ´ji: ˦go		´me tʰə	´ma-ji:-zɑ:-kʰe:
	PART	how could it be that ²⁵		fire	NEG-CPV-MIR ²⁶ -PFT.NSEN

‘Then, when the old beggar woman wanted to take that lark’s corpse (that she considered as fire) to the house, and, how to say that, to put it upwards, how could it be that, she surprisingly found that that was not fire!’

(3.9)	˦dzo: mo	´ro	˦tɛiʔ	˦ji:-kʰe:
	lark	corpse	one	CPV-PFT.NSEN

‘(It) was a corpse of a lark.’

(3.10)	´te:	˦tə tʰə la	´le:-˦dzɯ	´ma-raʔ-nə
	then	everything	do-NML	NEG-get-CONJ

‘Then (the old woman) had nothing to do, then,’

(3.11)	˦go ˦tʰsa	´ma la	˦mpʰe:-nə	˦zɑʔ
	outside	downwards	throw-CONJ	put

‘(She) threw and put it outside.’

(3.12)	´te	˦kʰo-rə	´ŋi ma ˦de:-nə	˦nduʔ-kʰe:
	then	3-self	sunbathe-CONJ	sit-PFT.NSEN

‘Then she sat sunbathing.’

²⁴ The form /˦tɛiʔ/, the same as ‘one’, is inserted here as a particle functioning to produce a specific prosodic pattern for an emphasis. We should also note that this morpheme can follow a directional adverb.

²⁵ This formulation expresses a surprise of the narrator.

²⁶ We give here a gloss ‘mirative’. Although the suffix /-zɑ:/ is similar to a secondary verb /-˦zɑ:/ ‘put’, which almost functions as a suffix meaning ‘complete’, they are different elements. In this sentence, the suffix /-zɑ:/ means ‘surprisingly found (something)’. Nevertheless, there is a room to discuss whether ‘mirativity’ functions as a grammatical category in Lhagang Tibetan.

(4.1)	ʼte	ṽpa: ʰteiʔ kə eiʔ	ʼʔa ma	ʼteə
	then	after a while	mother	tea
	ṽʰt̪ō-ɕʰoʔ	ṽze:-ʰkʰɛ	⁻ʰteiʔ	^joʔ-kʰe:
	drink-come.IMPR	say-NML	one	EXV-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, after a while, there was one who said: “Mother, come and drink tea”.’

(4.2)	ʼte	ʰiŋɛ mo	ʰkʰɔʔ-gə	ʼteə tə
	then	old woman	poor-ERG	what
	ʼji:-nə	ʼteə tə	ʼʔaʔ-tu	ʰiŋgo
	CPV-CONJ	what	hear-DSE	SFP
	ṽʰsã-nə	ʼnɔ̄-la	ʼja la	⁻ʰteiʔ
	think-CONJ	house-LOC	upwards	PART
	ʰŋd̪o-kʰa			
	go.(NPF)-when			

‘Then, the poor old woman thought: “What was it? What did I hear?”, and when she entered the house,’

(4.3)	ʼtə	ʼtə ri	ʰndzo: mo-nə	ṽja mo-teiʔ
	then	just	lark-TOP	female deity-NDEF
	^ji:-zɑ:-kʰe:	ṽja tã ṽja mo-teiʔ	^ji:-zɑ:-kʰe:	
	CPV-MIR-PFT.NSEN	deity ²⁷ -NDEF	CPV-MIR-PFT.NSEN	

‘Then, she found that the lark just at that time was a fairy, it was a deity!’

(4.4)	ʼpu mo	ʰteiʔ-gə	⁻ʰtɕe wa ^le:-nə gə
	woman	one-ERG	reincarnate-CONJ

‘(It was) the one in whom a [the] woman reincarnated.’

²⁷ The word-by-word translation should be ‘deity and female deity’.

(4.5)	ʰnɕe: hka:	ʰpʰa: eʰa	ʰreʔ	ʰnɕa ^mə nɕa
	white rice	pork	et cetera ²⁸	various
	ʰtʰã tɕeʔ-gə	ʰnɕe: kʰa	ʰnɕi:-nə gə	
	all-GEN	plate	display-CONJ	

‘Various dishes like white rice and pork have been displayed.’

(4.6)	ʰkʰo-nə	ʰtɕʰoʔ-gə	ʰpu mo	ʰtɕiʔ-gə
	3-TOP	2-GEN	woman	one-GEN
	ʰtee wa	^reʔ-tə:	ʰkʰo-nə	ʰtə nɕa zə nə
	reincarnation	CPV-CONJ ²⁹	3-TOP	how to say
	ʰdza: po	ʰji: mo-gə	ʰkʰo	ʰdza: po ʰpu-gə
	king	maid-ERG	3	prince-GEN
	ʰna ma	^reʔ-tə	ʰkʰo	ʰse:-zə reʔ
	son’s wife	CPV-NML	3	kill-AOR

‘‘I am a reincarnation of one of your daughters, but she was, how to say it, a prince’s wife, whom the king’s maid killed.’’³⁰

(4.7)	ʰkʰo-nə	ʰnɕo: mo	ʰtɕiʔ-gə	ʰtee wa ^le:-nə
	3-TOP	lark	one-ERG	reincarnate-CONJ
	ʰtə nɕ	ʰa:-zə reʔ	ʰze:-kʰe:	
	at that place	rest-AOR	say-PFT.NSEN	

‘I reincarnated in a lark, and was left at that place’, she said.’

(4.8)	ʰtə	ʰtɕə ʰga:	ʰsã-kʰe:
	then	how to do	think- PFT.NSEN

‘Then (the old woman) thought how she should do.’

²⁸ The form /ʰreʔ/ is similar to a copulative verb; however, the two are different from each other in their function.

²⁹ This conjunction principally means ‘but’. Additionally, it appears within a tonal unit of a preceded word, and a pose can be inserted after it. This thus functions to demonstrate a continuation of a sentence with a contradictory meaning.

³⁰ This sentence has four words for the third person pronoun; however, one should note whom each of them demonstrates. The first /ʰkʰo/ is a substitution of the first person pronoun appearing in a free indirect speech, which is displayed as a direct speech in the translation. Hence, it demonstrates /ʰa mo/ ‘fairy/female deity’ in (4.3). The second /ʰkʰo/ demonstrates /ʰtɕʰoʔ-gə ʰpu mo/ ‘your daughter’ in (4.6), and the third and last ones logically corresponds to /ʰdza: po ʰpu-gə ʰna ma/ ‘prince’s wife’. Anyway, in this story, fairy, old woman’s daughter, and prince’s wife are just various forms of the single character.

- (4.9) 'tə ʰdzo: mo ʰpʰu-ne: ʰo:-ʰzaʔ-kʰe:
 then lark fly-CONJ escape-put-PFT.NSEN
 'Then the lark flew and left.'

- (5.1) ʰpʰu-nə ʰo:-kʰa 'te ʰdza: po 'pu zu ʰmo ʰdaʔ-sʰa
 fly-CONJ escape-when then prince hunt-CONJ
 ʰe:-kʰe:
 go.PF-PFT.NSEN
 'When (the lark) flew and left, then the prince was hunting.'

- (5.2) 'te: tə ʰdzo: mo-gə ʰtsʰə la ʰze:-ne:
 then lark-ERG hither say-CONJ
 'Then the lark said to him.'

- (5.3³¹) 'ti fiu 'ti fiu ʰeʰə ʰgɛ ʰduʔ ʦaʔ 'tə ʰka-gə ʰga-ʰga
 ONMTP³² dog PPN-ERG love-RDP
 ʔə-ʰzu-tu 'ti fiu 'ti fiu ʰze:-kʰe: 'tə
 Q-do-DSE ONMTP say-PFT.NSEN that
 ʰdza: po 'pu zu-la
 prince-DAT

' "Tiwu, tiwu! Does the dog nDrugdrag Dongkar show any affection (to you)? Tiwu, tiwu!", it said, to that prince.'

³¹ The part between two /'ti fiu 'ti fiu/ phrases is a song with a melody. The melody line is as follows:



This score was arranged by Dam-pa Blo-gros.

³² This onomatopoeia imitates a voice of the lark.

- (5.4) 'te^{hə} ʰge 'ᵿduʔ ʈaʔ 'tõ^hka-gə ʰga-ʰga 'ma-ʰzu-tu
 dog PPN-ERG love-RDP NEG-do-DSE
 ʔze:-ne: ʔp^ha la 'ᵿboʔ-k^he:
 say-CONJ thither shout-PFT.NSEN

‘(The prince) said and replied over there: “The dog nDrugdrag Dongkar does not show any affection”.’

- (5.5) 'te ʰdza: po 'puu zu-gə 'nuu ma ʔə-nuu-tu ʔze:-k^he:
 then prince³³-ERG milk Q-milk-DSE say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then (the lark) said: “Does the little prince (prince’s son) want to be nursed?”’

- (5.6) ʰdza: po 'puu zu-gə 'nuu ma 'mə-nuu-tu ʔze:-nə
 prince-ERG milk NEG-milk-DSE say-CONJ
 ʔp^ha ʰge-gə ʔp^ha la 'ᵿboʔ-k^he:
 father-ERG thither shout-PFT.NSEN

‘“The little prince does not want to be nursed”, his father said and replied over there.’

- (6.1) 'te tə ʔp^ha ʰge 'k^həʔ-gə ʰsā-k^he:
 then father poor-ERG think-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the poor father thought.’

- (6.2) ʰtu fia 'tə 'ᵿdzo: mo-tə ʔᵿdzə-ʰgo-tu ʰsā-k^he:
 wait and see³⁴ then lark-DEF catch-FUT-DSE think-PFT.NSEN

‘(He) thought: “Wait and see, then, I want to catch the lark”.’

- (6.3) ʔᵿdzə-ʰgo-tu ʰsā-k^he: ʔᵿdzə-ʰgo-tu 'te
 catch-FUT-DSE think-PFT.NSEN catch-FUT-DSE then

‘When he thought to want to catch (the lark), then,’

³³ This word denotes ‘the prince’s son (little son)’ appearing in (1.6).

³⁴ This word functions as an interjection. Its first syllable is related to the imperative form of ‘look’ in Literary Tibetan. However, Lhagang Tibetan has lost the verb inflection except for a few suppletive verbs, and this form is thus regarded as a fixed expression.

- (6.4) ʔp^ha la ʔmbɔʔ-nə gə ʔk^ho ʔmeⁿda ʔpo: ra ʔfi^hgɔ-la
 thither shout-CONJ 3 rifle on-LOC
 ʔpa: ʔh^hteiʔ ʔzə ro: ʔze:-k^he:
 stop PART SFP say-PFT.NSEN

‘He shouted over there and said: “Can (you) stop on the rifle, please?”’

- (6.5) ʔh^hteiʔ ʔpa:-k^he:-ta ʔndzə-fi^hdzɯ ʔma-raʔ-k^he:
 PART stop-PFT.NSEN-CONJ catch-NML NEG-get-PFT.NSEN

‘(It) stopped a little; however, (he) did not catch (it).’

- (6.6) ʔka fiu ʔfi^hzə fi^hdze ʔfi^hgɔ-la ʔpa: ʔh^htse:
 amulet box agate-arranged on-LOC stop for a while
 ʔzə ro: ʔze:-k^he:
 SFP say-PFT.NSEN

‘(He) said: “Can (you) stop on the amulet box arranged with agates for a while, please?”’

- (6.7) ʔte ʔh^hteiʔ ʔpa:-k^he:-ta ʔndzə-fi^hdzɯ ʔma-raʔ-k^he:
 then PART stop-PFT.NSEN-CONJ catch-NML NEG-get-PFT.NSEN

‘(It) stopped a little; however, (he) did not catch (it).’

- (6.8) ʔpa s^ho ʔhiʔ kuʔ ʔfi^hgɔ-la ʔpa: ʔh^htse:
 ivory hair ornament³⁵ on-LOC stop for a while
 ʔzə ro: ʔze:-k^he:
 SFP say-PFT.NSEN

‘(He) said: “Can (you) stop on the ivory hair ornament head for a while, please?”’

- (6.9) ʔte ʔh^hteiʔ ʔpa:-k^he:-ta ʔndzə-fi^hdzɯ ʔma-raʔ-k^he:
 then PART stop-PFT.NSEN-CONJ catch-NML NEG-get-PFT.NSEN

‘(It) stopped a little; however, (he) did not catch (it).’

³⁵ Ivory hair ornaments have a round shape, which look like a miniature of ivory bracelets.

- (6.10) 'te ʰdzə-^{fi}dzu 'ma-raʔ-k^ha 'te ʰe^ho:-^{fi}za:-k^he:-mo
then catch-NML NEG-get-when then escape-put-PFT.NSEN-SFP
ʰdzo: mo ʰp^hu ʰkə tsa 'ma-^htse:-^{fi}za:-k^he:
lark never after NEG-arrive-put-PFT.NSEN-SFP
‘Then, when (he) did not catch (it), it (flew) away, and he never caught up the lark.’
- (6.11) ʰkə tsa 'ma-^htse:-nə 'te: ʰtəe: ŋō-gə 'le:
after NEG-arrive-CONJ then former life-GEN karma
ʰtə ʰd̪a tə gə
because of
‘(He) did not catch up (it), then (it is) because of the former life’s karma.’
- (6.12) 'te: ʰk^ho-rə-gə ʰi go-t^hi-k^ha-gə ʰtə ma ʰi ge mo-la
then 3-self-GEN gate-front-GEN beggar old woman-DAT
‘Then, to the old woman beggar at the front of their gate,’
- (6.13) ʰdzo: mo ʰk^ho ts^ho-gə ʰreʔ-mo
lark 3-GEN CPV-SFP
‘The lark is theirs, isn’t it?’
- (6.14) ʰi dza: s^ha ʰe^he ke-tə ʰi dza: po ʰpu zu-gə ʰi zi:-^{fi}za:-k^he:
territory half-DEF prince-ERG give-put-PFT.NSEN-SFP
‘The prince gave a half of the territory.’
- (6.15) 'te: tə ʰi dza: po ʰi jo: mo-gə ʰi dzə ma ʰi t^he^ha:-zə-gə
then king maid-GEN fake pretend-NML-GEN
ʰna: mo-tə
wife-DEF
‘Then, the king’s maid’s, that is, the wife who pretended a fake.’

- (6.16) 'ma^hgɛ 'tə ta 'nɔ̃duʔ ʈɑʔ 'tõ^hka-ta 'puu zuu 'ŋi ka-gə
 mother this³⁶ PPN-COM son both of two-ERG
 'ŋo le: 'ma-^hzu-nə ʔk^ha k^ha ^reʔ-zɑ:-k^he:
 accept NEG-STM-CONJ separate CPV-MIR-PFT.NSEN-SFP

'nDrugdrag Dongkar and the (little) son did not accept this mother, who separated (with the prince).'

- (7.1³⁷) 'te -^hteiʔ 'ŋi ma -^hgõ-la -^he:
 then happy sun sky-LOC rise

'Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.'

- (7.2) -^hduʔ 'pe^hga 'te^hu-gə ʔk^hu:
 sadness stick water-INS flush

'A stick of sadness was flushed by the water.'

- (7.3) 'ʈo ma 'ma: k^hu: 'nə-la -^hte^həʔ
 silverweed³⁸ butter soup sky-LOC offer

'Silverweed and butter soup were offered to the sky.'

3 Full translation in English and Tibetan

This section provides a full translation of the story in English as well as in Tibetan based on the oral form of Lhagang Tibetan. Writing Tibetan in an oral style is not often practised in the Tibetosphere; however, it is worth writing sentences based on the spoken variety when one considers an intergenerational transmission of the spoken heritage.³⁹

³⁶ The form /'tə ta/ can alter with /'tə la/ 'this' as well.

³⁷ The sentences of 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3 are one set of verses which mention three auspicious phenomena. The first syllable of 7.1 is, however, not counted as a component of the verses. These verses are generally necessary to finish stories, and Lhagang people believe that it is unsuitable to lack them at the end of a given story. However, one encounters some stories without them or lacking some verses of them. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017c).

³⁸ A.k.a. *Potentilla anserina*.

³⁹ See Suzuki, Sonam Wangmo and Lhamoskyid (2015) and Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017c) for other cases practising this way. Since the writing rule of Lhagang Tibetan is not fixed, there are varieties of spellings.

3.1 English translation

Prince's wife become a lark

(1) Once upon a time, there was a king's family. They had a prince, and the prince had a wife, that is the wife of the king's son. A maid of the king, no matter how, wanted to kill her, that son's wife. Then, the wife gave birth to a little son. Then, the prince, her husband, went to hunting everywhere. Then, the family had a dog called "nDrugdrag Dongkar". Then, the maid of the king killed the son's wife, that is, the wife of the king's son there. When she killed the wife, the dog, called "nDrugdrag Dongkar", never showed any affection to the maid, and the little son did not want to be nursed by the son's wife, saying that she was not his mother, and he even did not look at the maid.

(2) Then, the prince went hunting, and when he came back, the dog and the little son never showed any happiness to him. His wife, who was killed, just reincarnated in a lark. What a poor wife! She reincarnated in the lark, but, on the ash, the single lark was killed, and thrown and left there. Then, the prince, who would go hunting, sentimentally said: "Even the dog "nDrugdrag Dongkar" never shows any affection to me, even the son doesn't call me dad; why is it happening?"

(3) At that time, an old woman, their neighbour, said: "Give some fire ashes, please". The king's queen is a fake one, who is actually the maid, right? The old woman requests some fire ashes from the fake wife. When she said: "Give some fire, please", and when the fake wife threw the corpse of the lark and put it inside the stove, the fake wife immediately gave the corpse of the lark to the beggar. Then, the old beggar woman wanted to take the fire ashes (in fact this is lark's corpse) to the house and to put it upwards, how could it be that, she surprisingly found that that was not fire! It was a corpse of a lark. Then, the old woman had nothing to do with it, so she left it outside, and she sat sunbathing.

(4) Then, after a while, there was one who said: "Mother, come and drink tea/have meal". Then, the poor old woman thought: "What was it? What did I hear?" And when she entered the house, she found that the lark just at that time was a fairy, it was a deity! It was the one in whom the woman reincarnated. And various dishes like white rice and pork have been displayed. "I am a reincarnation of one of your daughters, but she was, how to say it, a prince's wife, who was killed by the king's maid. I reincarnated in a lark, and was left at that place", she said. Then the old woman thought how she should do, so the lark flew away.

(5) When the lark flew away, then the prince was hunting. Then the lark sang to him: "Tiwu, tiwu! Does the dog nDrugdrag Dongkar show any affection (to you)? Tiwu, tiwu!" Then, the prince replied over there: "The dog nDrugdrag Dongkar does not show any affection". Then

ཡིན་ལམ། དེ་ཚིག་ལུགས་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚན་གྱི་ནང་ལམ་ རྩོམ་མཚན་ལའམ་འཕེན་ནི་བཞག་ནི། དེ་ཁོ་རྩི་མ་ལྟེ་འདུག་ལམ།

༤ དེ་བར་ཅིག་འགའ་ཤིག་ཨ་མ། ཨ་མ། ར་འཕྱུང་ཤོག་ཟེར་མ་འབྲུན་ཅིག་ཡོད་ལམ། དེ་རྒྱན་མོ་ཁོ་གཟི་ཚི་དེ་ཡིན་ན། ཚི་དེ་གཟིགས་དུག་ དགོས་བསམ་མིན། རྒྱ་མཚན་ལམ་ཅིག་འགོ་ལ། འཛོལ་མོ་ནི་ལྷ་མོ་གཅིག་ཡིན་བྱུང་ད། ལྷ་དང་ལྷ་མོ་ཅིག་ཡིན་བྱུང་ད། ལྷ་མོ་གཅིག་གི་སྐྱེ་བ ལེན་ནི། འབྲས་དཀར་པག་ཤེད། འདྲ་མི་འདྲ་མཚམས་ཅད་གི་སྒྲེར་ལ་སྐྱིག་ནི་ལྷ། ཁོ་ཚོ་ཚྱོད་གི་ལྷ་མོ་གཅིག་གི་སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་ད། ཁོ་ཚོ་དེ་འདྲ་ཟེན་ རི། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཞི་གའི་འཁྲུག་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་འཕྲུལ་མཚམས་མེད་ད། ཁོ་བས་ད་བྱུང་ད། ཁོ་འཛོལ་མོ་གཅིག་གི་སྐྱེ་བ་ལེན་ནི། དེ་ནང་ལྷ་ག་བྱུང་ད་ཟེར་ལམ། དེ་ ཚི་དག་འབས་མཁའ་ལམ། དེ་འཛོལ་མོ་འཕྲུལ་ནས་ཤོར་ཞག་ལམ། འཕྲུལ་ནས་ཤོར་ཞག་ལམ།

༥ འཕྲུལ་ནས་ཤོར་ཞག་ལ། དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ནི་བད་འཕམ་མཁའ་ལམ། དེ་དེ་འཛོལ་མོ་འཕྲུལ་ལ་ཟེར་ནས། ཏིས་འཕྲིས་ལྷ། ཚི་རྒྱན་འབྲུག་ གཟིགས་དུང་དཀར་གི་དག་འདག་འཕྱི་ཟེན་དུག། ཏིས་འཕྲིས་ལྷ། ཟེར་ལམ། དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ལ། ཚི་རྒྱན་འབྲུག་གཟིགས་དུང་དཀར་གི་དག་འད་ དག་འཕྱི་ཟེན་ཟེན་དུ་ཟེར་ནས། ཕར་ལའམ་འཕྲོད་ལམ། དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་གི་རྩམ་མི་རྩུབ་ཟེར་ལམ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་གི་རྩམ་མི་རྩུབ་ཟེར་ལམ། ཕར་ལ་རྒྱན་གི་ཕར་ལའམ་འཕྲོད་ལམ།

༦ དེ་དེ་ལ་རྒྱན་ཁོག་གི་བསམ་ལམ། རྩོས་ཨ། དེ་འཛོལ་མོ་དེ་འཕྲུང་གོས་དུག་བསམ་ལམ། འཕྲུང་གོས་དུག་བསམ་ལ། ཕར་ལའམ་འཕྲོད་ རས་ལྷ། ཁོ་འཕྲུང་འཕྲུལ་གོང་ལའམ་འབབ་རྩེ་བྱུང་གས་ཟེར་ལམ། ཅིག་བབ་ལམ་ད། འཕྲུལ་རྒྱུ་མ་རག་ལམ། གཟུགས་ཟེན་གོང་ལ འབབ་རྩེ་བྱུང་གས་ཟེར་ལམ་ད། ཅིག་བབ་ལམ་ད། འཕྲུལ་རྒྱུ་མ་རག་ལམ། བསོལ་མེད་གོང་གོང་ལའམ་འབབ་རྩེ་བྱུང་གས་ཟེར་ལམ་ད། ཅིག་བབ ལམ་ད། འཕྲུལ་རྒྱུ་མ་རག་ལམ། དེ་འཕྲུལ་རྒྱུ་མ་རག་ལམ། དེ་ཤོར་ཞག་ལམ། འཛོལ་མོ་འཕྲུག་སྐབས་རྩེ་མཚེ་ཞག་ལམ། སྐབས་རྩེ་མཚེ་ནི། དེ་སྐྱེ་སྲོན་ གི་ལས་འདྲ་དེ་ལྷ། དེ་དེ་ཁོ་རོ་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་གི་ལམ་གི་སྐྱུན་མ་རྒྱན་མོ་ལ། འཛོལ་མོ་ཁོ་རོ་ཚོ་འཕྲུང་མོ་ད། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་དེ་གི་དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་གི་ཕྱིན་བཞག་ ལམ། དེ་དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཞི་གའི་ལྷ་མོ་འཕྲུལ་བྱུག་ལྷ་གི་དེ། དེ་འབྲུག་གཟིགས་དུང་དཀར་དང་འཕྲུལ་གཟིགས་གཟིགས་ལེན་མ་ཟེན་ནི་ད ལམ་མེད་བཞག་ལམ།

༧ དེ་སྐྱིད་ཉི་མ་དགུང་ལ་ཤར། ལྷ་ག་ལྷེ་ག་རྒྱ་ལྷིས་ལུར། གོ་མ་མར་ལུག་ན་མ་ལ་མ་ཚོད།

Appendix: Phonological system of Lhagang Tibetan (Lhagang-B)

The phonological description of the present article follows the system and symbols below.

Suprasegmentals

ˉ : high level	S ^[55/44] ; S ^[55/44] S ^[55/44]
ˊ : rising	S ^[24/35] ; S ^[24] S ^[55]
ˋ : falling	S ^[53/42] ; S ^[55/44] S ^[42/22]
ˆ : rising-falling	S ^[243] ; S ^[24] S ^[53]

Vocalism

i	ɨ	ɯu
e	ɵ ə	o
ɛ		ɔ
a	ɑ	

Length and nasalisation are also distinctive.

Consonantism

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
plosive	aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	t̪ ^h			k ^h	
	non-aspirated	p	t	t̪			k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	d̪			g	
affricate	aspirated		ts ^h		tʃ ^h			
	non-aspirated		ts		tʃ			
	voiced		dʒ		dʒ̥			
fricative	aspirated		s ^h	ʃ ^h	ç ^h		x ^h	
	non-aspirated	ʃ	s	ʃ̥	ç		x	h
	voiced		z		ʒ̥		ɣ	ɦ
nasal	voiced	m	n		ɳ		ŋ	
	voiceless	m̥	n̥		ɳ̥		ŋ̥	
liquid	voiced		l	r				
	voiceless		l̥					
semi-vowel	voiced	w				j		

A: bilabial B: denti-alveolar C: retroflex D: prepalatal E: palatal
 F: velar G: glottal

Complex initial types contain preaspiration and prenasalisation. Each of them is described following a phonetic realisation; thus, some sound symbols which do not appear in the table above are used.

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カムチベット語塔公[Lhagang]方言の物語『雲雀になった王子の妻』

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要旨

本稿では、カムチベット語 Lhagang（塔公）方言による物語『雲雀になった王子の妻』の語釈、行間訳（7段落；計 62 行）を施し、英語およびチベット語（口語に基づいた形式）による翻訳を提示する。

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