

***White mDzomo*, a folktale in Lhagang Tibetan of Minyag Rabgang Khams**

Hiroyuki SUZUKI Sonam Wangmo

Abstract: This article provides a folktale of Lhagang Tibetan (the variety of Lhagang-B) of the Minyag Rabgang dialect group of Khams, entitled *White mDzomo*. The description contains an edited version with linguistic glossing and an interlinear annotation, as well as full translations in English and Tibetan. An appendix displays all the interactive utterances when the story was narrated.*

Key words: Tibetic, Minyag Rabgang Khams, Lhagang, narrative, folktale

1 Introduction

This article primarily provides a full folktale narrated in Lhagang Tibetan, accompanied with linguistic glossing and a full translation in English as well as Tibetan. Lhagang Tibetan is a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams, a Tibetic language¹ spoken in the easternmost Tibetosphere, that is, Tagong (IHa sgang²) Village (henceforth Lhagang Village), Tagong Town, Kangding (Dar mdo) Municipality, Ganzi (dKar mdzes) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. Lhagang Village used to be an area in which Khams Tibetan was spoken; however, there are now various languages spoken in the village due to the augmentation of immigrants from the surrounding pastoral areas (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2017b). Khams Tibetan has at least two sociolinguistic varieties, and the language described in the article has been labelled as Lhagang-B (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2015), reflecting the sedentary variety of Lhagang Village with less influence from the pastoralists' speech.

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¹ See Suzuki (2009) for a detailed classification of Khams Tibetan. See also Tournadre (2014) for general issues regarding Tibetic languages. In the *Ethnologue* (Simons and Fennig 2017), only Khams Tibetan (Tibetan, Khams) is registered (ISO 639-3: khg).

² Romanisation of the Tibetan script follows the style of de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956).

1.1 Background

People from Lhagang Village consider narratives as one of the most important parts of local culture and identity in Lhagang (Sonam Wangmo 2013, 2019). Narratives are commonly inherited and transmitted from generation to generation. However, numerous local folktales are facing near extinction; due to the rapid development of technologies, many youngsters are no longer interested in local stories. As a result, fewer stories are being told and the elderly in the village are gradually forgetting all the folktales. Therefore, it is indispensable to document this oral knowledge before it is forgotten and leave an accessible record of these stories for future generations.

The present story, as other stories in Lhagang Tibetan, has no fixed title; we thus name it *White mDzomo*³ for the sake of convenience. The Tibetan name is *mDzo-mo dkar-po* (see Appendix Line 1). The story to be analysed is based on a version narrated by a woman in her 70s from Lhagang Village. It was recorded by the second author in September 2016. A phonetic transcription of the story was made by the first author.

1.2 Notes from a viewpoint of Tibetan oral literature

To the best of our knowledge, no similar stories have been published anywhere in the Tibetosphere; see, for example, O'Connor (1906 [1977]), Shelton (1925), Herrmann (1989), Schwieger (1989), Kretschmar (1995), Haller (2004), Kajihama (2004), Song (2004), and Lin (2016). In addition, the story contains a character unique to the Tibetosphere (*mdzomo*) as well as a local proverb (see Paragraph 1.7).

It is noteworthy that although the protagonists in the story are of a Tibetan culture, its construction as a folktale is similar to what Lüthi (1947) and Ozawa (1999) describe as characteristics of a folktale (*Volksmärchen* and *Mukasibanasi*, respectively). For example, it contains an abstract, simple construction, and repetition of *three* similar actions (see also Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2019). The story seems to be a highly refined narrative piece narrated in fluent wording.

³ The word 'mdzomo' means a female hybrid of a yak and a cow. Though there is another way of translation as 'female mdzo', we employ 'mdzomo' as an English gloss.

1.3 Construction of the description

The content of the description of the story is as follows: (1) phonetic transcription,⁴ interlinear glossing⁵ and interlinear English translation with an annotation for an edited version; (2) full English translation; and (3) full Tibetan translation. An appendix at the end of the article provides a simple transcription of the whole recording.

The interlinear glossing with a translation is, to some extent, edited by the present authors. Editing mainly dealt with the omission of unnecessary repetitions, fillers, and mistakes, as well as the additional formatting of the beginning and end of the story. We also provide annotations regarding grammatical phenomena, etymological notes, and cultural background in footnotes 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, and second mainly based on the sentence form ending in a verb. Numbering is provided as, for example (2.3), which means that the third line in the second paragraph. Due to the length of the story, the paragraph number is also provided in the full translation.

Following the interlinear glossing analysis, a full translation of the story in English (Section 2.2) as well as in Tibetan, based on the oral form of Lhagang Tibetan (Section 2.3), is provided. 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. We follow the practice of Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017cd, 2018c).

In the Appendix, a full transcription with an interlinear English translation (no glossing) of the whole scenery of storytelling is provided as reference material for interactive communication between the storyteller and audience(s). Each sentence is consecutively enumerated, among which any interjections, including backchannels, laughter, and fillers, are not always described with correct phonetic symbols.⁶

⁴ **[Sound system of Lhagang Tibetan]** Suprasegmentals: word-tone; $\bar{\quad}$: high level [^{55/44}]; $\acute{\quad}$: rising [^{24/35}]; $\grave{\quad}$: falling [^{53/42}]; $\hat{\quad}$: rising-falling [²⁴³]; Consonants: /p^h, p, b, t^h, t, d, t^h, t, d, k^h, k, g, q^h, q, g, ʔ, ts^h, ts, dz, tɕ^h, tɕ, dz, ɕ, s^h, s, z, ʂ, ɕ^h, ɕ, z, x^h, x, ɣ, ʁ, h, ɦ, m, ɱ, n, ɳ, ɳ, ɳ̥, ɳ̥, l, l̥, r, w, j/. Preaspiration and prenasalisation can appear as a preinitial; Vowels: /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u, ʊ, ʉ, ɐ, ə/. Length and nasalisation are distinctive. The maximum syllable structure is ^CC_iGVC.

⁵ **[Abbreviations for glossing]** -: morpheme boundary; 1: first person pronoun; 2: second person pronoun; 3: third person pronoun; AOR: aorist; COL: collective; COM: comitative; CONJ: conjunction; CONT: continuous; CPV: copulative verb; DAT: dative; DEF: definite marker; ERG: ergative; EXV: existential verb; GEN: genitive; HUM: humilific; INE: inessive; INS: instrumental; INTJ: interjection; LOC: locative; NDEF: nondefinite marker; NEG: negative prefix; NML: nominaliser; NPFT: non-perfect; PART: particle; PF: perfect stem; PFT.NSEN: perfect non-sensory; PL: plural; PPN: proper name; PROG: progressive; Q: question marker; RDP: reduplication; SEN: sensory; TOP: topic marker.

⁶ See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2020) for related issues on interjections.

1.4 Remarkable linguistic features

The present story contains three remarkable linguistic features: (1) uvular initial /q/; (2) humilific expression; and (3) various uses of aorist. We provide a short description of these features below. See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2016) for general grammatical features.

The first feature appears in /q̃/ ‘be full’ (1.7; 2.3; 3.3⁷). The narrator certainly possesses a contrast between velar plosives and uvular counterparts. Compare: /^hk̃ m̃ba/ ‘leg’ in (3.6). However, this contrast does not function in the second author’s sound system (of a younger generation; see Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2017b). All the uvular sounds appearing in the pronunciation of an elder generation are thus realised as velars. This suggests that the uvulars have completely merged within two or three generations. Suzuki (2009) considers that Lhagang Tibetan has no uvulars based on the pronunciation of younger and middle generations; however, at least some speakers in an elder generation still have some (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2021). This observation is also pointed out by Dawa Drolma (2016).

The second feature appears in just a single example: /ⁿdzo mo ^hka: mo-ⁿqa/ ‘my white mdzomo’, by suffixing a morpheme /-ⁿqa/ (3.2). The original meaning of this morpheme is ‘similar’ or ‘image’, and the noun phrase suffixed by this thus denotes ‘a thing like a white mdzomo’ to state the speaker’s white mdzomo. This pragmatic strategy to humilify a speaker’s belonging is rarely recognised within Tibetic languages. Even the sketch grammar of Lhagang Khams (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2016) does not mention it. However, similar expressions are widely attested in the nomadic varieties of Amdo Tibetan. See Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki (2019) for details of humilifics.

The third feature appears, for example, in Sentence (3.9). Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2018b) provide an overview in which they describe the usage of aorist. Examples in the story tell us that aorist is used for a description to focus on the action for action verbs or to recognise the present status for stative verbs. In particular, the example in (3.9) /^hzaʔ-^hjoʔ-zə-k^he:/ ‘put-CONT-AOR-PFT.NSEN’ expresses that the agent just recognised that the given thing existed. A co-occurrence of aorist and perfect is also noteworthy.⁸

⁷ These numbers indicate ‘paragraph+line’ in Section 2.1.

⁸ As for the Literary Tibetan cognate of each suffix of perfect and aorist, we use *thal* for /-t^he:/, *khal* for /-k^he:/, and *zi* for /-zə/. As Shao (2016) and Oisel (2017) discuss, these elements in modern Tibetic languages are frequently derived from motion verbs. The first case, *thal* for /-t^he:/, is a quite firm correspondence (see Shao 2016); however, the second is not. We use *khal* for /-k^he:/ based on a hypothesis that the form is related to a verb ‘carry something on a pack animal’ in addition to the phonetic correspondence. We consider that the third originates from a verb *zin* ‘finish, complete’.

2 Text of *White mDzomo*

In this section, we provide the story in the style of an edited version with grammatical annotation (Section 2.1) and translations (Sections 2.2 and 2.3).

In Section 2.1, 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.

2.1 Edited version with interlinear glossing

This story has six paragraphs and 42 lines in total.

- (1.1) 'ŋi ma ^{-fi}na: ^{fi}na-la ̄p^ha ri ̄k^hʂ m̄ba 'tə la ^{-h}tea ̄tso: tso?
 old time-LOC opposite side house like that single tall upright
 ^joʔ-k^he:
 EXV-PFT.NSEN

‘Once upon a time, there was a house, which was like a single tall upright house, on the opposite side (of a village).’

- (1.2) 'te 'tə ^{-h}sʂ m̄bu ^{-fi}ge mo-gə ̄k^hʂ m̄ba
 then that demon old female-GEN house
 ^ji:-k^he:
 CPV-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, that was a house of an old female demon.’

- (1.3) 'te 'tə 'pu mo-t^ho-la ̄ndzo mo 'tʂ lə ^{fi}də
 then that⁹ daughter-COL-LOC mdzomo PPN¹⁰
 ̄ze:-^{fi}k^hε ̄ndzo mo ^{-h}ka: bo ^{^fi}doʔ ^htei? ^joʔ-k^he:
 say-NML mdzomo white single¹¹ EXV-PFT.NSEN

⁹ This demonstrative modifies the following word /'pu mo-t^ho/ ‘daughters’ although they are just introduced in the story. The number of daughters is not mentioned, either; however, the context tells us that there are three sisters.

¹⁰ Naming cattle is frequently attested in the Tibetan culture. The same name also appears in another story (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2017c), in which it is also used for a mdzomo.

¹¹ This word form is a fixed expression for ‘one’ in counting. See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017a).

‘Then, those daughters had a mdzomo, a white mdzomo named Dongladra.’

- (1.4) ʻŋi:-^hteiʔ ^hsõ ^mbuu ^{fi}gɛ mo-gə ʻtə ⁿdzo mo
 day-NDEF demon old female-GEN that mdzomo
 ^hka: bo ^hɛa-^{fi}zɑ:-k^he:
 white slaughter-put-PFT.NSEN

‘One day, the old female demon slaughtered that White mDzomo.’

- (1.5) ^hseʔ-nə ^hɛa-^{fi}zɑ:-k^he:
 kill-CONJ slaughter-put-PFT.NSEN

‘(She) killed and slaughtered (it).’

- (1.6) ^hɛa-k^ha ^hte: ʻpuu mo ^htə^he fia-tə ʻp^ha ljuu
 slaughter-when then daughter big-DEF over there
 ^htə^hə la ^hfiə:-nə gə ʻp^ha ri-gə ^hk^hɔ̃ ^mba
 hither come-CONJ opposite side-GEN house
 ^htəa ^htso: tsoʔ ⁿdzo mo ^hka: bo ʻʔə-ri:-zə-nə
 single tall upright mdzomo white Q-see-AOR-CONJ

‘When (she) slaughtered (it), the eldest daughter came hither (from) over there, and she (said¹²): “Did you see a White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side?”’

- (1.7) ʻŋa: mo ^{fi}zə: ^hna ʻse: zo ʻq̃ɔ̃
 in the morning milk if golden milk bucket be full
 ^{fi}g̃ɔ̃ mo ^{fi}zə: ^hna ʻŋu: zo ʻq̃ɔ̃
 in the evening milk if silver milk bucket be full

‘“If (one) milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If (one) milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full”.’^{13,14}

- (1.8) ʻʃi:-mə-la ʻʃ^hɛe: ^hzu-roʔ ʻma-ʃi:-mə-la ʻʃ^hɛe:

¹² The word ‘say’ appears in (1.8).

¹³ The full sentence of (1.7) is a part of the utterance of the eldest daughter.

¹⁴ The utterances of (1.7) and (1.8), as well as (2.3), (2.4), and (3.3) are rhyming verses.

ask-NML-DAT honest do-PART NEG-ask-NML-DAT honest
 'me? 'ze:-k^he:
 EXV.NEG say-PFT.NSEN

‘“Please be honest to one who asks; (you) do not have to be honest to one who does not ask”, (the eldest daughter) said.’

(1.9) 'pu mo 'te^he fia-tə-gə 'mboʔ-k^he:
 daughter big-DEF-ERG shout-PFT.NSEN

‘The eldest daughter shouted.’

(1.10) 'teə tə lə 'ma-ri: 'ze:-nə 'p^ha la 'mboʔ-^{fi}za:-k^he:
 whatever NEG-see say-CONJ there shout-put-PFT.NSEN

‘(The demon) shouted there: “I didn’t see anything”.’

(2.1) 'te 'pu mo 'ṽdj: fia-tə 't^he:-k^he:
 then daughter middle-DEF go.PF-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the second daughter went (there).’

(2.2) 'jə 'p^ha ri 'k^hə^mba 't^hea 'tso: tsoʔ 'ṽdzo mo
 again opposite side house single tall upright mdzomo
 'hka: bo 'ʔə-ri:-zə 'ze:-k^he:
 white Q-see-AOR say-PFT.NSEN

‘Again, (she) said: “Did (you) see a White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side?”’

(2.3) 'ṽja: mo 'fi zo: 'na 'hse: zo 'qə
 in the morning milk If golden milk bucket be full
 'fi gə mo 'fi zo: 'na 'fi ju: zo 'qə
 in the evening milk If silver milk bucket be full
 'ze:-k^he:
 say-PFT.NSEN

‘(She) said: “If (one) milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If (one) milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full”.’

- (2.4) ʼi:-mə-la ʼtʂ^hee: ^^hzu-roʔ ʼma-tʃi:-mə-la ʼtʂ^hee:
ask-NML-DAT honest do-PART NEG-ask-NML-DAT honest
ʼmeʔ ʼze:-k^he:
EXV.NEG say-PFT.NSEN

‘“Please be honest to one who asks; (you) do not have to be honest to one who does not ask”, (the second daughter) said.’

- (2.5) ʼtəə tə lə ʼma-ri: ʼze:-k^he:
whatever NEG-see say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The demon) said: “I didn’t see anything”.’

- (2.6) ʼtəə tə lə tə ʼze:-roʔ ʼma-^hzu-k^he:
whatever say-PART NEG-do-PFT.NSEN

‘(She) even did not say anything (other than the words just above).’¹⁵

- (3.1) ʼte ʼnə^htəiʔ ʼpu mo ʼtə^hõ fia-tə ʼt^he:-k^he:
then most¹⁶ daughter small-DEF go.PF-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the youngest daughter went (there).’

- (3.2) ʼjə: ʼp^ha ri ʼk^hõ^mba ʼtəa ʼtso: tsoʔ ʼⁿdzo mo
again opposite side house single tall upright mdzomo
ʼ^hka: mo-ⁿɖa ʼʔə-ri:-zə
white-HUM¹⁷ Q-see-AOR

‘Again, (she said): “Did (you) see our White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side?”’

- (3.3) ʼŋa: mo ʼ^hzo: ʼna ʼ^hse: zo ʼqõ
in the morning milk if golden milk bucket be full
ʼ^hgõ mo ʼ^hzo: ʼna ʼ^hju: zo ʼqõ

¹⁵ This utterance is an explanation by a narrator.

¹⁶ This word is used for a formation of the superlative form of an adjective.

¹⁷ This morpheme, attached to the speaker’s belongings, expresses a speaker’s possession in a humilific way.

in the evening	milk	if	silver milk bucket	be full
ʼji:	ʼze:-k ^h e:			
CPV ¹⁸	say-PFT.NSEN			

‘(She) said: “If (one) milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If (one) milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full”.’

(3.4)	ʼte	ʼtə	ʼpu mo	ʼte ^h õ fia	ʼtə la
	then	that	daughter	small	there
	ʼha ba	ʼ ^h doʔ ^h teiʔ	ʼku lu-za	ʼjoʔ-nə gə	
	<i>haba</i> dog	single	floor-under ¹⁹	EXV-CONJ	

‘Then, (nearby) that youngest daughter, there was a *haba* dog under the floor.’

(3.5)	ʼte ^h oʔ-gə	ʼ ⁿ dzo mo	ʼ ^h ka: mo-nə	ʼku lu	ʼza-la
	2-GEN	mdzomo	white-TOP	floor	under-LOC
	ʼjoʔ tu				
	EXV.SEN ²⁰				

‘(The dog) said: “Your White mDzomo is under the floor”,’

(3.6)	ʼ ^h kõ ^m ba	ʼ ^h uʔ ke	ʼ ^h zə-te	ʼte-nõ	ʼ ^h be:-nə
	leg	hoof	four-DEF	that-INE	hide-CONJ
	ʼ ^h zaʔ-joʔ tu	ʼze:-nə			
	put-CONT.SEN	say-CONJ			

‘“The four legs and hooves are left hidden inside that (floor)”, (it) said.’

(3.7)	ʼha ba-tə-gə	ʼtə	ʼpu mo	ʼte ^h õ fia-tə	ʼze:-k ^h e:
	<i>haba</i> dog-DEF-ERG	that	daughter	small-DEF ²¹	say-PFT.NSEN

‘The *haba* dog said to that youngest daughter.’

¹⁸ The phrase in (3.3) is a repetition of (1.7) and (2.3). However, a copulative verb appears here, which does not function as its own sense. This might be an insertion by the narrator that implies the completion of repetition.

¹⁹ /-za/ is a location noun, which can attach to a noun as a suffix and can be independent of the precedent noun in terms of a formation of its own tone-bearing unit with a locative case marker. See (3.5).

²⁰ The form of the sensory existential verb in Lhagang Tibetan is /ʼji: tu/ (Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2018a). However, in the case of (3.5), we must interpret the present verb form as EXV.SEN.

²¹ This noun phrase can take a dative marker, as judged by the sentence meaning.

- (3.8) `ze:-^hzaʔ-k^he: ʔze:-^hzaʔ-k^ha ʔtə-la ʔte ʔpu mo
 say-put-PFT.NSEN say-put-when that-LOC then daughter
 ʔtə^hð fia ʔtə ts^ho-gə ʔnð-la ʔⁿdzə-^hzaʔ-k^he: ʔ^hsə mo
 small 3.PL²²-GEN inside-LOC enter-put-PFT.NSEN demon
 ʔ^hgɛ mo
 old female²³

‘When (the dog) spoke, at (the time it) spoke, then the youngest daughter entered inside their house, (of) the old female demon.’

- (3.9) ʔ^he: lə^hdə ʔze:-^hk^hɛ-tə ʔnə^htɛiʔ ʔtə^hð fia-tə ʔnð-la
 PPN say-NML-DEF most small-DEF inside-LOC
 ʔⁿdzə-^hzaʔ-k^ha ʔⁿdzo mo ʔ^hka: mo-gə ʔ^huʔ ke ʔ^hzə-tə
 enter-put-when mdzomo white-GEN hoof four-DEF
 ʔku lu ʔza-la ʔleʔ-nə ʔ^hzaʔ-ʔjoʔ-zə-k^he:
 floor under-LOC cover-CONJ put-CONT-AOR-PFT.NSEN

‘When the youngest (daughter), called Serladra, entered inside, (she found²⁴) the four hooves of the White mDzomo were covered and left under the floor.’

- (3.10) ʔha ba-gə ʔze:-^hzaʔ-zə ʔji:-k^he:
haba dog-ERG say-put-AOR-PFT.NSEN

‘The *haba* dog said (that to the youngest daughter).’²⁵

- (4.1) ʔte ʔ^hsə^mbu ʔ^hgɛ mo ʔtə^hu ʔle:-s^ha
 then demon old female water fetch-NML
 ʔ^he:-^hzaʔ-zə ʔji:-k^he:
 go.PF-put-AOR-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, (the *haba* dog said:²⁶) “The old female demon went to a place for fetching water”.’

²² This plural form refers to the old female demon (see the next footnote) and her family, including the *haba* dog.

²³ This part is interpreted as a supplementary description whom the third person of /ʔtə ts^ho-gə/ ‘their’ represents.

²⁴ This supplementary translation originates from the aorist suffix following the existential verb /ʔ^hzaʔ-ʔjoʔ-zə-k^he:/, which will express ‘she just found (the mdzomo’s hooves) existing’.

²⁵ The utterance of the dog is (3.5) and (3.6). Thus, this sentence should be understood as ‘the event occurred as what the *haba* dog said’. This is considered as one of the functions of aorist.

(4.2)	ṽha ba-gə	ṽze:-nə	ṽs̃ṽ m̃buu	ṽgɛ mo-gə	ṽtə ^h u
	<i>haba</i> dog-ERG	say-CONJ	demon	old female-ERG	water
	ʼle:-nə	ṽʔa ha ṽʔa ha-ta	ṽʔo ho ṽʔo ho	ṽze:-nə	ṽkɛ: t ^h oʔ
	fetch-CONJ	INTJ.RDP-COM	INTJ.RDP ²⁷	say-CONJ	top of stairs
	ʼja la	ʼfiə:-k ^h a-nə			
	upwards	come-when-CONJ			

‘The *haba* dog said: “When the old female demon fetches water and then comes up to the top of stairs, saying ‘ah ha ah ha’ and ‘oh ho oh ho’ ”.’

(4.3)	ṽdzə mo	ṽka: bo-gə	ṽk̃ṽ m̃ba	ṽɛ ^h a ^h tɛiʔ	ʌtə-gə
	mdzomo	white-GEN	leg	one portion	that-INS ²⁸
	ʼma rə	ṽtɛiʔ	ṽm̃p ^h e:-nə	ṽŋgo	ṽtɛiʔ
	downwards	once	throw-CONJ	head	once
	ṽ ^h dzaʔ-nə	ṽs̃ṽ m̃buu	ṽgɛ mo-tə	ṽseʔ-ṽzaʔ-ta	
	beat-CONJ	demon	old female-DEF	kill-put-CONJ	

‘“By throwing downwards once a portion of the White mDzomo’s legs, beat once (the demon’s) head with that, and kill the old female demon”.’

(4.4)	ṽdzə mo	ṽka: bo	ʌtə-ñṽ	ʼpə:-lə reʔ	ṽze:-k ^h e:
	mdzomo	white	that-INE	appear-NPFT	say-PFT.NSEN

‘(The *haba* dog) said: “The White mDzomo will appear there”.’

(5.1)	ʼte	ṽʔa ^h de: ṽna ^h de:
	then	as expected ²⁹

‘Then, as expected,’

²⁶ This part appears in (4.2).

²⁷ These interjections express ‘tired’.

²⁸ The demonstrative of /ʌtə-gə/ ‘by using that’ is not a definite marker attached to the precedent noun, but an independent noun phrase which is considered as a partly related to /ṽ^hdzaʔ/ ‘beat’, not to /ṽm̃p^he:/ ‘throw’.

²⁹ This is a fixed phrase meaning ‘as expected’ as a whole. A direct translation will be ‘if (it is) true, (it is) true’.

- (5.2) ʼpuw mo ʼte^hð fia ʼte: ʼnð-la ʼⁿduʔ-k^ha
 daughter small there inside-LOC sit-when
 ‘When the youngest daughter was sitting inside there.’

- (5.3) ʼ^hsə̃^mbuw ʼ^hgɛ mo-gə ʼte^huw ʼk^huw-nə ʼfiə:-eə jo:-k^he:
 demon old female-ERG water bring-CONJ come-PROG-PFT.NSEN
 ʼ^hke: t^hoʔ ʼja la
 top of stairs upwards
 ‘The old female demon was coming upwards to the top of stairs, bringing water.’

- (5.4) ʼʔa ra ra-ta ʼʔa tsi tsi ʼze:-nə ʼnð ʼfiə:-k^ha
 INTJ-COM INTJ³⁰ say-CONJ inside come-when
 ‘When (she) came inside, saying ‘a ra ra’ and ‘a tsi tsi’,’

- (5.5) ʼte: ʼⁿdzo mo ʼ^hka: mo-gə ʼ^hkə̃^mba-tə ʼ^hgo-tə
 then mdzomo white-GEN leg-DEF head-DEF
 ^ja la ^le:-nə ʼ^hsə̃^mbuw ʼ^hgɛ mo-gə ʼ^hgo-la
 upwards take-CONJ demon old female-GEN head-LOC
 ʼ^hte:ʔ ʼ^hdzaʔ-nə ʼtə la ʼ^hseʔ-ʼ^hza:-k^he:
 once beat-CONJ there kill-put-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, (the youngest daughter) raised the leg up to her head, beat once the head of the old female demon, and killed (her) there.’

- (5.6) ʼte: ʼⁿdzo mo ʼ^hka: bo ʼro s^ha ^tə-za
 then mdzomo white just that-under
 ^joʔ-k^he:
 EXV-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the White mDzomo was just under that [floor].’

- (5.7) ʼte: ʼⁿdzo mo ʼ^hka: bo ^raʔ-nə gə
 then mdzomo white obtain-CONJ

³⁰ These interjections also express ‘tired’.

‘Then, (the youngest daughter) obtained the White mDzomo.’

- (5.8) ʔk^ho-rə-tʂ^ho ʰpũ ˈŋdʒi: ʰsũ-tə-gə ˈndzo mo ˈhka: bo
 3-self-PL sibling³¹ three-DEF-ERG mdzomo white
 ʼra?
 obtain

‘They, the three sisters, obtained the White mDzomo.’

- (5.9) ʔk^ho-rə-tʂ^ho-gə ʰda: po ʰzə ʰs^he:-gə ˈha ba-tə ʔk^ho-rə-tʂ^ho-gə
 3-self-PL-ERG keep well³² gold-GEN³³ *haba* dog-DEF 3-self-PL-ERG
 ˈtʂi?
 lead in such a way go.PF-AOR

‘They kept (the mDzomo) well, led the golden *haba* dog, and went (back home) like that.’

- (6.1) ʼte ˈtʂei? ʼŋi ma ʰgõ-la ˈe^he:
 then happy sun sky-LOC rise

‘Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.’

- (6.2) ˈdu? ʼpɛ ʰga ˈtʂu-gə ʔk^hu:
 sadness stick water-INS flush

‘A stick of sadness was flushed by the water.’

- (6.3) ʼto ma ʼma: k^hu: ˈnə-la ˈtʂe^hə?
 silverweed³⁴ melted butter sky-LOC offer

‘Silverweed with melted butter was offered to the sky.’

³¹ This word can denote both brothers and sisters. We interpret it as sisters following the context.

³² This word literally means ‘become a host’.

³³ The word form for ‘gold’ is irregular here. We could analyse the word as a single, disyllabic lexical form; however, a colour adjective does not precede a head noun in general. From the semantic perspective, this expression is a metaphor of ‘valuable, wonderful’.

³⁴ A.k.a. *Potentilla anserina*.

2.2 English translation

White mDzomo

(1) Once upon a time, there was a house, which was like a single tall upright house, on the opposite side of a village. That was a house of an old female demon. There were daughters who had a mdzomo, a white mdzomo named Dongladra. One day, the old female demon slaughtered that White mDzomo. She killed and slaughtered it. When she slaughtered it, the eldest daughter came hither from over there, and she said, ‘Did you see a White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side? If one milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If one milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full. Please be honest to one who asks; you do not have to be honest to one who does not ask’, the eldest daughter shouted. The old female demon shouted there, ‘I didn’t see anything.’

(2) Then the second daughter went there. Again, she asked, ‘Did you see a White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side? If one milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If one milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full. Please be honest to one who asks; you do not have to be honest to one who does not ask.’ The old female demon said, ‘I didn’t see anything.’ She even did not say anything other than the words just above.

(3) Then the youngest daughter went there. Again, she asked, ‘Did you see our White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side? If one milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If one milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full.’ Then, nearby that youngest daughter, there was a *haba* dog under the floor. The *haba* dog said to that youngest daughter, ‘Your White mDzomo is under the floor. Those four legs and hooves are left hidden inside that floor.’ At the time when the dog spoke, the youngest daughter entered the female demon’s house. When the youngest daughter, called Serladra, entered the old female demon’s house, she just found the four hooves of the White mDzomo covered and left under the floor. It was the same as what the *haba* dog said.

(4) Then the *haba* dog said, ‘The old female demon went to a place for fetching water. When the old female demon fetches water and then comes up to the top of stairs, saying ‘ah ha ah ha’ and ‘oh ho oh ho’, by throwing downwards once a portion of the White mDzomo’s legs, you can beat once the demon’s head with that, and kill the old female demon. The White mDzomo will appear there.’

(5) Then, as expected, when the youngest daughter was sitting inside, the old female demon was coming upwards to the top of stairs, bringing water. When she came inside, saying ‘a ra ra’ and ‘a tsi tsi’, the youngest daughter raised the leg up to her head, beat once the head of the

Appendix: Transcription based on the recording

Participants: 3 people (Storyteller, Recorder/Audience 1 (Second author), and Audience 2).

Note for the turn: Unmarked = Storyteller; A = Audience 1 (Second author).

A paragraph number (Section 2.1) given in parentheses after an interlinear translation.

(1) ʔᵐdzo mo ʔᵐka: bo

‘(The story is called) *White mDzomo*.’

(2) ʔᵐpa ri ʔᵐkʰɔ̃ mba ʔᵐtə la ʔᵐtəa ʔᵐtso: tsoʔ ʔᵐjoʔ-kʰe:

‘(Once upon a time,) there was a house, which was like a single tall upright house, on the opposite side (of a village).’ (1.1)

(3)A: ʔᵐm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(4) ʔᵐte ʔᵐtə ʔᵐsə̃ mʔbu ʔᵐgɛ mo-gə ʔᵐkʰɔ̃ mba

ʔᵐji:-kʰe:

‘Then, that was a house of an old female demon.’ (1.2)

(5)A: ʔᵐm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(6) ʔᵐte ʔᵐtə ʔᵐpu mo-tsʰo-la ʔᵐdzo mo ʔᵐtə̃ lə̃ ʔᵐdə

ʔᵐze:-ʔᵐkʰɛ ʔᵐdzo mo ʔᵐka: bo ʔᵐdoʔ ʔᵐtəiʔ ʔᵐjoʔ-kʰe:

‘Then, those daughters had a mdzomo, a white mdzomo named Dongladra.’ (1.3)

(7)A: ʔᵐm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(8) ʔᵐŋi:-ʔᵐtəiʔ ʔᵐsə̃ mʔbu ʔᵐgɛ mo-gə ʔᵐtə ri ʔᵐdə reʔ

ʔᵐtə ʔᵐdzo mo ʔᵐka: bo ʔᵐea-ʔᵐzɑ:-kʰe:

‘One day, the old female demon, euh... (she) slaughtered that White mDzomo.’ (1.4)

(9)A: ʔᵐte:

‘And then?’

(10) ʔᵐseʔ-nə ʔᵐea-ʔᵐzɑ:-kʰe:

‘(She) killed and slaughtered (it).’ (1.5)

(11)A: ʔᵐm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(12) ʔᵐea-kʰa ʔᵐze: ʔᵐdzuu tə ʔᵐte: ʔᵐpu mo ʔᵐtə̃ ʔᵐfia-tə

ʔᵐpa lju ʔᵐtsʰə la ʔᵐfiə:-nə gə ʔᵐpa ri-gə ʔᵐkʰɔ̃ mba

ʔᵐtəa ʔᵐtso: tsoʔ ʔᵐdzo mo ʔᵐka: bo ʔᵐʔə-ri:-zə-nə

‘When (she) slaughtered (it), how to say, the eldest daughter came hither (from) over there, and she (said): “Did you see a White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side?”’ (1.6)

(13)A: `m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(14) `ŋa: mo ʰzi: ˉna ʰse: zo ʹqõ
 ʰgõ mo ʰzi: ˉna ʰju: zo ʹqõ

‘ “If (one) milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If (one) milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full”.’ (1.7)

(15)A: ʹm:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(16) ʹti:-mə-la ʹtõ ʰee: ʰzu-ro? ʹma-ti:-mə-la ʹtõ ʰee:
 ʹme? ˉze:-kʰe:

‘ “Please be honest to one who asks; (you) do not have to be honest to one who does not ask”, (the eldest daughter) said.’ (1.8)

(17) ʹpu mo ʰte ʰe fia-tə-gə ˉmbo?-kʰe:

‘The eldest daughter shouted.’ (1.9)

(18)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(19) ˉteə tə lə ʹma-ri: ˉze:-nə ˉpʰa la ˉmbo?-ʰza:-kʰe:

‘(The demon) shouted there: “I didn’t see anything”.’ (1.10)

(20)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(21) ʹte ʹpu mo ʰdji: fia-tə ˉte:-kʰe:

‘Then, the second daughter went (there).’ (2.1)

(22)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(23) ʹjõ ˉpʰa ri ˉkʰõ ˉm ba ˉteə ˉtso: tso? ˉdzo mo
 ˉka: bo ʹə-ri:-zə ˉze:-kʰe:

‘Again, (she) said: “Did (you) see a White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side?”’ (2.2)

(24)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(25) `ŋa: mo ʰzi: ˉna ʰse: zo ʹqõ

ʰgõ mo ʰzo: ˉna ʰŋu: zo ʹqõ
 ˉze:-kʰe:

‘(She) said: “If (one) milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If (one) milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full”.’ (2.3)

(26)A: ˉm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(27) ʹti:-mə-la ʹtõ^hee: ʰzu-ro? ʹma-ti:-mə-la ʹtõ^hee:
 ʹme? ˉze:-kʰe:

‘“Please be honest to one who asks; (you) do not have to be honest to one who does not ask”, (the second daughter) said.’ (2.4)

(28)A: ˉm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(29) ˉtəə tə lə ʹma-ri: ˉze:-kʰe:

‘(The demon) said: “I didn’t see anything”.’ (2.5)

(30) ˉtəə tə lə tə ˉze:-ro? ʹma-ʰzu-kʰe:

‘(She) even did not say anything (other than the words just above).’ (2.6)

(31)A: ʹte:

‘And then?’

(32) ʹte ˉnə^htei? ʹpu mo ˉte^hõ fia-tə ˉtʰe:-kʰe:

‘Then, the youngest daughter went (there).’ (3.1)

(33)A: ˉm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(34) ʹjə: ˉpʰa ri ˉkʰõ^mba ˉtʰea ˉtso: tso? ˉdzo mo
 ˉka: mo-ⁿda ʹə-ri:-zə

‘Again, (she said): “Did (you) see our White mDzomo in the single tall upright house on the opposite side?”’ (3.2)

(35) ʹŋa: mo ʰzo: ˉna ʰse: zo ʹqõ
 ʰgõ mo ʰzo: ˉna ʰŋu: zo ʹqõ
 ʹji: ˉze:-kʰe:

‘(She) said: “If (one) milks in the morning, a golden milk bucket will be full. If (one) milks in the evening, a silver milk bucket will be full”.’ (3.3)

(36)A: ˉm: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(37) ʹte ʹtə ʹpu mo ˉte^hõ fia ʰtə la

- ṭha ba ^fi doʔ hteiʔ ʼtə ri ʳdə reʔ ṭkuu luu-za ^joʔ-nə gə
 ‘Then, (nearby) that youngest daughter, there was, euh..., a *haba* dog under the floor.’
 (3.4)
- (38) ʼteʰoʔ-gə ʳndo mo ʳka: mo-nə ṭkuu luu ^za-la
 ^joʔ tu
 ‘(The dog) said: “Your White mDzomo is under the floor”,’ (3.5)
- (39) ʳkɔ̃ mba ʳhuʔ ke ^fi zə-te ^te-nɔ̃ ʳbe:-nə
 ʳzaʔ-joʔ tu ʳze:-nə
 ‘ “The four legs and hooves are left hidden inside that (floor)”, (it) said.’ (3.6)
- (40) ṭha ba-tə-gə ʼtə ʼpuu mo ʼteʰõ fia-tə ʳze:-kʰe:
 ‘The *haba* dog said to that youngest daughter.’ (3.7)
- (41)A: ʳze:-kʰe:
 ‘(The dog) spoke (like that), right?’
- (42) ʳze:-fi zaʔ-kʰe: ʳze:-fi zaʔ-kʰa ʳtə-la ʼte ʼpuu mo
 ʼteʰõ fia ʼtə tsʰo-gə ʳnɔ̃-la ʳdzə̃-fi zaʔ-kʰe:
 ‘When (the dog) spoke, at (the time it) spoke, then the youngest daughter entered inside their (female demon’s) house.’ (3.8)
- (43)A: ʳm: ʳsɔ̃ mo ʳgɛ mo-tsʰo-gə ʳnɔ̃-la ʳə̃-ji:
 ‘Yes, it is to the old female demon’s house, right?’
- (44) ʳsɔ̃ mo ʳgɛ mo
 ‘The female demon(’s).’ (3.8)
- (45) ʳhe: lə fi də ʳze: ʳkʰe-tə ʳnə hteiʔ ʼteʰõ fia-tə ʳnɔ̃-la
 ʳdzə̃-fi zaʔ-kʰa ʳze: fi dzuu tə ʳndo mo ʳka: mo-gə ʳhuʔ ke
 ^fi zə-tə ṭkuu luu ^za-la ʳjeʔ-nə ʳzaʔ-^joʔ-zə-kʰe:
 ‘When the youngest (daughter), called Serladra, entered inside, how to say, (she found) the four hooves of the White mDzomo were covered and left under the floor.’ (3.9)
- (46) ṭha ba-gə ʳze:-fi zaʔ-zə ^ji:-kʰe:
 ‘The *haba* dog said (that to the youngest daughter).’ (3.10)
- (47)A: ʼte:
 ‘And then?’
- (48) ʼte ʳsɔ̃ mbuu ʳgɛ mo ʳteʰuu ʳle:-sʰa
 ʳhe:-fi zaʔ-zə ^ji:-kʰe:
 ‘Then, (the *haba* dog said:) “The old female demon went to a place for fetching water”.’
 (4.1)

(49)A: `m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(50) `te: `tə ri ʰdə re?

‘Then, let me see...’

(51) ʰha ba-gə ʰze:-nə ʰsə̃ m̄buu ʰgɛ mo-gə ʰtəʰu
 `le:-nə ʰʔa ha ʰʔa ha-ta ʰʔo ho ʰʔo ho ʰze:-nə ʰkɛ: tʰo?
 `ja la ʰfo:-kʰa-nə

‘The *haba* dog said: “When the old female demon fetches water and then comes up to the top of stairs, saying ‘ah ha ah ha’ and ‘oh ho oh ho’”,’ (4.2)

(52) ʰdzɔ mo ʰka: bo-gə ʰkə̃ m̄ba ʰtəʰa ʰtɛi?
 `ma rə ʰtɛi?
 ʰdzəʔ-nə ʰsə̃ m̄buu ʰgɛ mo-tə ʰseʔ-ʰzəʔ-ta

‘“By throwing downwards once a portion of the White mDzomo’s legs, beat once (the demon’s) head with that, and kill the old female demon”.’ (4.3)

(53) ʰdzɔ mo ʰka: bo ʰtə-nə̃ ʰpə:-lə re? ʰze:-kʰe:

‘(The *haba* dog) said: “The White mDzomo will appear there”.’ (4.4)

(54)A: `m: m:

‘Yes.’ (backchannel)

(55) `te ʰʔa ʰde: ʰna ʰde:

‘Then, as expected,’ (5.1)

(56) ʰpu mo ʰtəʰə̃ fia `te: ʰnə̃-la ʰduʔ-kʰa
 ʰze: ʰdzɔ tə

‘When the youngest daughter was sitting inside there, how to say,’ (5.2)

(57) ʰsə̃ m̄buu ʰgɛ mo-gə ʰtəʰu ʰkʰu-nə ʰfo:-eə jo:-kʰe:
 ʰkɛ: tʰo? `ja la

‘The old female demon was coming upwards to the top of stairs, bringing water.’ (5.3)

(58)A: `te:

‘And then?’

(59) ʰʔa ra ra-ta ʰʔa tsi tsi ʰze:-nə ʰnə̃ ʰfo:-kʰa

‘When (she) came inside, saying ‘a ra ra’ and ‘a tsi tsi’,’ (5.4)

(60) `te: ʰdzɔ mo ʰka: mo-gə ʰkə̃ m̄ba-tə ʰgo-tə
 ʰja la ʰle:-nə ʰsə̃ m̄buu ʰgɛ mo-gə ʰgo-la
 ʰtɛi? ʰdzəʔ-nə `tə la ʰseʔ-ʰzə:-kʰe:

‘Then, (the youngest daughter) raised the leg up to her head, beat once the head of the old

female demon, and killed (her) there.’ (5.5)

(61)A: ‘te:

‘And then?’

(62) ‘te: ⁻ⁿdzo mo ^{-h}ka: bo ‘ro s^ha [^]tə-zə
 [^]joʔ-k^he:

‘Then, the White mDzomo was just under that [floor].’ (5.6)

(63)A: [^]m:

‘Yes, sure.’ (backchannel)

(64) ‘te: ⁻ⁿdzo mo ^{-h}ka: bo [^]raʔ-nə gə

‘Then, (the youngest daughter) obtained the White mDzomo.’ (5.7)

(65) ʔk^ho-rə-ts^ho ^hpū ^ŋdʒi: ^hsū-tə-gə ⁻ⁿdzo mo ^{-h}ka: bo
 ‘raʔ

‘They, the three sisters, obtained the White mDzomo.’ (5.8)

(66) ʔk^ho-rə-ts^ho-gə ^hda: po ^hzə ^sh’e:-gə ʔha ba-tə ʔk^ho-rə-ts^ho-gə
 ^ŋhʔ ʔtə ^ŋda zə nə ^he:-zə reʔ

‘They kept (the mDzomo) well, led the golden *haba* dog, and went (back home) like that.’

(5.9)

(67)A: [^]m:

‘Yes, sure.’ (backchannel)

(68) ‘te ^{-h}təiʔ ‘ŋi ma ^hgō-la ⁻ε^hε:

‘Then, the happy sun rose to the sky.’ (6.1)

(69) ^{-h}duʔ ‘pε ^hga ^tε^hu-gə ʔk^hu: ⁻ze:

‘A stick of sadness was flushed by the water, (we) say (like that).’ (6.2)

(70) ‘ ʔo ma ‘ma: k^hu: ⁻nə-la ^{-h}tε^həʔ

‘Silverweed with melted butter was offered to the sky.’ (6.3)

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カムチベット語塔公[Lhagang]方言の物語「白いゾモ」

鈴木博之 四郎翁姆

要旨

本稿では、カムチベット語塔公[Lhagang]方言による民話「白いゾモ」（6段落；計 42 行）の音形・語釈・行間訳からなる記述言語学的分析ならびに全体の英訳と Lhagang 方言に基づくチベット文字表記を提示する。付録として、物語録音時の、話し手と聞き手の間で交わされたあいづちを含むやりとりを含む全発話を書きだしたスクリプトを示し、記録言語学的な資料とする。

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