ABSTRACT

The article primarily provides one full narrative story named King’s pig with a grammatical annotation of Lhagang Tibetan, a dialect of Minyag Rabgang Khams, spoken in the easternmost Tibetosphere, i.e., Kangding Municipality, Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. It also analyses a basic narrative construction and differences from general speeches, and shows that a narrative mode has an additional strategy regarding the evidential expressions as well as TAM marking which are observed neither in general conversations nor in elicitations. This implies a necessity of different descriptions depending on styles when one writes a reference grammar of this language.

KEYWORDS

Khams Tibetan, Lhagang, narrative, descriptive linguistics
King’s Pig: A story in Lhagang Tibetan with a grammatical annotation on a narrative mode

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1 Introduction

This article primarily provides one full narrative story named King’s Pig narrated in Lhagang Tibetan with a grammatical annotation. 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 rtse mdo) Municipality, Ganzi (dKar mdzes) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. It also analyses a basic narrative construction and differences from general speeches, and shows that a narrative mode has an additional strategy regarding the evidential expressions as well as TAM marking which are observed neither in general conversations nor in elicitations. This implies a necessity of different descriptions depending on styles when one writes a reference grammar of this language.

Lhagang Tibetan has been described by Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015a, 2017b) as a language with sociolinguistically variegated speeches mainly evoked by the migration of pastoralists who originally lived in the surrounding area of Lhagang Village due to the governmental policy of their resettlement (Sonam Wangmo 2013). The variety in which the present story is narrated corresponds to ‘Lhagang-B’ called in Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2015b), a variety spoken by traditionally sedentary Tibetans in Lhagang Village. A sketch grammar of Lhagang-B has also been provided by Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016). However, any previous works do not pay extra attention to linguistic differences within Lhagang-B among generations. The sketch grammar is based on the speech of the younger generation; however, the present story was narrated by a woman in an elder generation. There might be to some extent differences between the two generations.

Based on the interviews conducted in Lhagang Village in the summer of 2016, the second author has found that narratives relate to the origin of the place and people are considered to be one of the most important parts of local culture and identity in Lhagang. These narratives are well inherited and transmitted from generation to generation although it is undeniable that they constantly keep changing. However, numerous local folktales are nearly facing extinct; one of the main factors is that, due to a rapid development of technologies, many younger generations are not any more interested in local stories, and then elderlies in the village are gradually forgetting all the folktales.
While two months stay in Lhagang, the second author collected more than twenty stories from different native persons with diverse age, gender, and their social background. The content of six stories within the collected stories is almost the same except some minor differences, such as the name of the protagonist and the sequence of the story plot. A highly possible reason for the discrepancy is that elderlies are no longer and nowhere to tell their stories; thus they failed to recall these stories; in some cases, they tend to confuse the plots of different stories.

Now we should claim that it is a sorrowful and unfortunate situation that some local cultures are declining and eventually will disappear. In the era of searching for a national identity, one can argue that only small things like local cultures and dialects make and keep the big and unit culture or the national culture stronger and alive. Besides, local culture is greater importance for a person who lives or has lived in a small-scale local community in contrast to other types of communities. Such local environment, culture or dialects might be thought to make a contribution to the national culture in a special way or to a special extent. With this background, we have the intention to collect and record local stories as well as folktales in Lhagang Village as soon as possible before elderlies pass away and nobody knows any more about these amazing stories with local characteristics.

The present story is one of the well-preserved stories, narrated without any interruptions. As usual, a story has no fixed title, and we call the present story *King’s pig*, which is just for the sake of convenience as an appellation. The name *phag mgo log bstan* ‘a kind of ritual using a pig head’ is more accurate in a local way. 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 author in September 2016. A phonetic transcription of the story was made by the first author.

Concerning the content of the story, the present story is quite similar to another story called *mo ston phag mgo*, mainly transmitted in the eastern Tibetosphere and published as a part of the anthology of oral stories *Mi ro rtse sgrung* (1980:97-108) as well as in an online version. However, it is unclear that this similarity originates from the common source due to the nature of folklore. At least based on a structural semantic analysis by Yin (2009), *King’s pig* and *mo ston phag mgo* are considered as different types of a folktale. The annotation will not include a comparison between them but will concentrate on the analysis of the story of Lhagang Tibetan. A detailed comparative analysis will be provided in a separate article.

An appendix is attached, in which we write the present story in the Tibetan script following the pronunciation of Lhagang Tibetan as a language material for local Tibetans, as practised in Suzuki et al. (2015). When one reads this script in a local manner, one can reproduce the story in Lhagang Tibetan. Such a practice is rarely taken by local people. However, it might be helpful to transmit narratives.

2 Story

We provide an interlinear glossing\(^1\) with a translation for each sentence in Section 2.1, followed by a full English translation of the story in Section 2.2. The section division within the

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\(^1\) The sound system and phonetic transcription of Lhagang Tibetan is as follows:

Suprasegmentals: `: high level \([55/44]\); `: rising \([24/35]\); `: falling \([53/42]\); `: rising-falling \([243]\).

Consonants: /p, b, t, d, tʰ, dʰ, k, ʔ, ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, kh, k, g, s, tʃ, tʃʰ, sʰ, z, c, ʂ, ʂʰ, ɕ, ɕʰ, ʐ, ʐʰ, h, m, n, ȵ, ȵ̊, ŋ, ŋ̊, l, l̊, r, w, j/. Preaspiration and prenasalisation can appear as a preinitial.
is first based on the content, divided into nine paragraphs, and second mainly based on pauses taken between sentences by the narrator. 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.

### 2.1 Interlinear glossing and translation

(1.1) ˊȵi ma ʰna: ʰna-la ʰdza: po ʰteʰʒ tɕ hə̃ tshɔ̃ ʰtɕiʔ ^joʔ-kʰ:.

*old time-LOC king family one EXV-PF*

‘Once upon a time, there was a king’s family.’

(1.2) ʰtə tsʰ-o-la ʰtə ri ʰdə reʔ ʰpʰ-o ʰeʰ-uʔ po-tsʰ-o ʰteʔ ^jiː-kʰ:.

*3.PL-DAT be like that very rich-COL one CPV-PFT.NSEN*

‘As for them, they are like that: they were an extremely rich family.’

(1.3) ʰtə tsʰ-o-gə ʰhtɔː ji ʰmbo loʔ ʰgə-la ʰpʰ-aʔʰge ʰdoʔ ʰteʔ ^jiː-kʰ: ^joʔ reʔ.

*3.PL-GEN place for cattle dun-LOC pig single EXV*

‘There was a pig on their place for throwing cattle dung.’

(1.4) ʰpʰ-aʔʰge-nə ʰtə ri ʰdə reʔ ʰpʰ-aʔ ʰtə la ʰma ʰq̃a zə ʰteʰ e bo

*pig-TOP be like that pig such extraordinary big one EXV-PFT.NSEN*

‘The pig was like that: it was such an extremely big pig.’

(1.5) ʰteː ʰtə ʰhtɔː ji ʰmbo loʔ ʰgə-la ʰhla ʰgə ʰhtɕiʔ ^ȵeː-nə

*come- PFT.NSEN-CONJ*

‘Then all of their cattle came to pasture downwards, and’

(1.6) ʰdza: po-tsʰ-o-gə ʰkʰ: ma ʰtʰtə tɕeʔ ʰma la ʰtʰtə ʰdzə ʰtə la

*king-COL-ERG cattle all downwards pasture-just when like that*

‘Just when the king’s family pasture downwards the cattle, it was like that:’

(1.7) ʰdzo mo ʰtə la ʰq̃a ʰzə-ʰdzə ʰtʰtə ʰtɕiʔ ^joʔ-kʰ: ʰnʔdo mo mdzo mo

*PPN say-NML one EXV-PFT.NSEN mdzo mo*

‘There was a mdzo mo, a mdzo mo named Dongladra.’

(1.8) ʰteː ʰtə ʰhtə: ji ʰmbo loʔ ʰgə-la ʰlə ʰge ʰteʔ ^ցeː-nə

Vowels: /i, e, a, o, u, w, u, o, ə/. Length and nasalisation are distinctive.
‘Then, there was a monk sleeping and sitting on that place for throwing cattle dung.’

‘Seeing them, just when he gazing upwards at the gateway of their house,’

‘Just when the monk is gazing like this,’

‘There was an azure turquoise around the neck of the mdzo mo, which is called Torima.’

‘This broke up there, and on the road,’

‘Just when it broke up, immediately, it was like that,’

‘Another mdzo mo came and dropped a chunk of dung,’

‘Then, the monk who saw it over there ran and went, and he pointed the dung with a finger in that way.’
Originally, he put (left) a sign by thinking that it (turquoise) is inside.

Then, he slept and sat on that place for dung.

Then, that monk was absolutely not allowed to sleep by the pig for a whole night.

(The pig) was oinking and oinking, and repeating to dig up the place for dung.

Then, that is like that: just when it digged, the monk got so angry.

That (pig) is just the king's family's pig, and whatever it is, it sits and sleeps on the place for dung, there was no way to do anything.

Then, a maid of the king came down running.

She took a pile of mdzo mos' dung, including that of the valuable mdzo mo with a turquoise,
‘She brought here, and immediately pasted them to the wall over there.’

‘When (she) pasted (the dung) to the wall, immediately, the monk was very fortunate,’

‘(He) ran there immediately and pushed (the dung) with a finger to make a sign there again.’

‘Then, the maid of the king finished throwing the dung, right?’

‘Then, that is like that: on their place for dung, the monk was sleeping and sitting.’

‘Then, their son got sick, the king’s son.’

‘Then, the king’s son was so sick that he was soon dying.’

‘He brought here, and immediately pasted them to the wall over there.’
Then, that is like that: what on earth is it, even though (they) performed really various rituals, they made an augur do divination, and made a fortune teller tell fortune, (the king’s son) did not heal.

Then, that is like that: one night, the king’s family, the son’s father said: ‘there is one monk sleeping on our place for dung, and I am wondering whether that person could know something’.

'Go and just ask him', (he) said.

Then, a person of them (king’s family), he went and said to the monk: ‘you guy do you know anything? The king’s son is soon dying’.

He said: ‘Except for doing a ritual called phag mgo log bstan, I don’t know anything’.

Then, that is like that: he said: ‘how should one do that ritual called phag mgo log bstan?”
‘Then, he said: “when one cuts down the neck of a big pig, and then its head might be able to heal the king’s son.”’

‘The king’s family asked him (the monk), and he (the monk) always says that he does not know anything but a ritual called *phag mgo log bstan*.’

‘He (king’s family member) said: ‘The mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise has been lost, the king’s son is soon dying, and that monk has no things to do.’”

‘Then, when he (the monk) said that he had no way, it is so pitiful, the king’s family cut the head of the pig, they killed the pig for him (the king’s son), then all is the monk’s mistake.’
Then, the monk thought that the mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise is lost and that he would have no things to do tomorrow. He did not gain the way to heal the king’s son, neither, he thought.

Pulling up a handful of grey grass, and like this, he (the monk) went to toilets there.

Going to toilets there, (he) listened secretly like this.

Then the king’s maid said: ‘The reason why the king’s son is sick is the mistake of the king’s maid’.

Then, it is the mistake of the hill where (the monk) pulled up a pile of grass at their (king’s family’s) side.

EXV-PFT.NSEN 3-GEN mistake do- CONJ 3- ERG
Then, there was one called brown wild yak, and because of what he did, because of which, things were not right.'

(7.7) ˋte ˋtə ri ʰda re? ˇʔə ʰqə za ȵə ˋŋu: ȵu: ʰdzəʔ-ʰa-la then be like that like this listen secretly-when-LOC

'Then, it is like that: when he (the monk) listened secretly, he heard in the toilets they said like this from downwards.'

(7.8) ʰdzə: po ʰjo: mo-gə ˇze:-nə:-tə ˇta: ˇsʰ5 ȵi
king maid-ERG say-CONJ-TOP now tomorrow

Then the king's maid said: ‘Now, it gets worst, we are over tomorrow. The ritual phag mgo log bstan must be done to us. The pig having been here was killed.’

(7.9) ˇte ˇta: ˇteə ʰqə ˇʱuzu ˇmeye:-kʰə:
then now like this do say-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, now how do we do?’, she said.'

(7.10) ʰri? ʰbo loʔ-la ˊte ˇtə-gə ˇmeye:-nə ˇfiə:
hill-LOC then 3-ERG say-CONJ INTJ

‘Then, the hill said: ‘Oh, this will be definitely known by phag mgo log bstan. He (the monk) came running in this way, and pulled up all of my head hairs, that is a pile of grass, and has gone.’

(7.11) ˇfiə: ˇʰqəʔ ʰgo ˈloʔ ʰte then be like that brown wild yak-ERG say-CONJ

‘Then, it is like that: the brown wild yak said:'

(7.12) ˇfiə: ʰqəʔ ʰgo ˈloʔ ʰte ˇja la ˇʰdzəʔ-tʰə: ˊta oh phag mgo log bstan upper run-PFT then
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"It said: 'That is definitely me'.'

'Then, one of them said: 'Now how do we do?"'

'What can we do? He said: 'Drag 90 kg of woods on the bdud g.yag kham pa on the hill, and burn the king's maid on it'.

'He said: 'Then the king's son will heal, the turquoise will be got with phag mgo log bstan; all will be realised.'

'Then, (he) was so glad, and coming up from the place at the lower side, and it is like that: when the old man, monk, was sleeping and sitting, like that.'

'Then, tomorrow (he; the king's servant) said: 'How do we do?"'
(8.3) ˊte teə ʰda ʰzu ʰi ʰdza
then how do wood half kilogramme

ˊdza to ʰdza tɛu-tə ʰdzuʔ ʰba-la ʰke-ʰzaʔ ʰri-ʰbo loʔ
180-DEF bdud ʰyaŋ ʰkham pa-LOC drag-put hill

ˊgɔː-la ʰtiː ʰgo: tə ra ʰnɪ ʰteiʔ ʰdzaʔ-ʰzaʔ ʰtə-ʰgo-la
up-LOC bird nest with a size of a goat make-put 3-on-LOC

ˊdza: po ʰjo: mo-tə ʰsɑʔ-ʰzaʔ-tə
king maid-DEF burn-put-PART

‘Then, we will do in this way: Drag 90 kg of woods on the bdud ʰyaŋ ʰkham pa, and make a
bird nest with a size as large as a goat, and put the king’s maid on it and burn her.’

(8.4) ʰteʰuʔ ʰtə ʰtə ʰhjo ʰdzaʔ tʃu ʰhrɛ-ʰʐaʔ ʰrɛ ʰdzaʔ-ʰjo loʔ
2.PL son hea-LOC T be like that mdzo mo

ʰhɨ ʰrɨʔ ʰɜː ʰbz-a ʰkho ʰrɔʔ ʰrɑʔ-ʰdʑɯ ʰkho ʰk ho ʰɬeː
PPN-GEN turquoise obtain-NML 3 promise

ʰkʰo ʰdzaʔ sʰa ʰeʰʔ ke ʰɡo: ʰzɛː-ʰkʰeː
3 territory half need say-PFT.NSEN

‘He said: ‘Your son will heal, and it is like that: I promise you to obtain mdzo mo Torima’s
turquoise. I want a half of (your) territory.’

(8.5) ˊte: ʰtə ʰtə ʰhjo ʰdzaʔ po-ʰtə ʰnə ʰga-ʰga-ʰnə ʰeː ʰnɪ ʰmə ˡa ʰzɛː ʰdzə ʰtə ʰnə
then king-COL-TOP glad-RDP-CONJ next day like this

ʰdzuʔ ʰjaʔ ʰkʰa ʰmə ba ʰgɔː-ła ʰhɨ ʰdza
bdud ʰyaŋ ʰkham pa up-LOC wood half kilogramme

ʰkeː ʰtə ʰdzaʔ ʰdza: po ʰjo: mo-tə
one make king maid-DEF

ʰtə-ʰgo ʰsɑʔ-ʰzaʔ-ʰkʰeː
3-on burn-put-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the king’s family was very happy, and the next day, like this: we will drag 90 kg of
woods on the bdud ʰyaŋ ʰkham pa, and make a bonfire on the hill, and burn the king’s maid
on it.’

(8.6) ˊte: ʰdzaʔ po ʰpə ʰzə ʰtə ʰlə ʰtə ʰmə ʰla ʰzɛː ʰdzə ʰtə ʰnə
then king son there heal-PFT.NSEN

‘Then, the king’s son immediately healed.’

(8.7) ˊte: ʰpʰaʔ ʰge ʰnə ʰtə ʰkʰa-ʰnə ʰtə ʰkʰo-ɾɟ
then pig head-DEF carry-CONJ 3-self

ʰtə ʰtə ʰtəʔ-ʰla ʰʔa ʰdə ʰnə ʰtsuʔ-ʰnə
cattle dung all-DAT like that do-CONJ point-CONJ

ʰdə ʰʔa-ʰʔe ʰdə ʰʔa-ʰʔe ʰdə
this Q-CPV this Q-CPV this
Once upon a time, there was a king’s family. They were an extremely rich family. There was a pig on their place for throwing cattle dung. The pig was such an extremely big pig. Then all of their cattle came to pasture downwards, and just when the king’s family pasture downwards the cattle, there was a mdzo mo, named Dongladra. Then, there was a monk sleeping and sitting on that place for throwing cattle dung.
(2) Seeing them, just when he gazing upwards at the gateway of their house, just when the monk is gazing like this, here was an azure turquoise around the neck of the mdzo mo, which is called Torima. This (turquoise) broke up there, and on the road, just when it broke up, immediately, another mdzo mo came and dropped a chunk of dung, then, the monk who saw it over there ran and went, and he pointed the dung with a finger in that way. Originally, he left a sign by thinking that the turquoise is inside.

(3) Then, he slept and sat on that place for dung. Then, that monk was absolutely not allowed to sleep by the pig for a whole night. The pig was oinking and oinking, and repeating to dig up the place for dung. Then, that is like that: just when it dug, the monk got so angry. That pig is just the king’s family’s pig, and whatever it is, it sits and sleeps on the place for dung, there was no way to do anything.

(4) Then, a maid of the king came down running. She brought here a pile of mdzo mos’ dungs, including that of the valuable mdzo mo with a turquoise, and immediately pasted them to the wall over there. When she pasted the dung to the wall, immediately, the monk was very fortunate, and ran there immediately and pushed the dung with a finger to make a sign there again. Then, the maid of the king finished throwing the dung. Then, on their place for dung, the monk is sleeping and sitting there.

(5) Then, their son got sick, the king’s son. Then, the king’s son was so sick that he was soon dying. Then, what on earth is it, even though they did really various rituals, they made an augur do divination, and made a fortune teller tell fortune, he did not heal.

(6) Then, one night, the king’s family, the son’s father said: ‘there is one monk sleeping on our place for dung, and I am wondering whether that person could know something. Go and just ask him’, he said. Then, a person of the king’s family, he went and said to the monk: ‘you guy do you know anything? The king’s son is soon dying’. He said: ‘Except for doing a ritual called phag mgo log bstan, I don’t know anything’. Then, that is like that: he said: ‘how should one do that ritual called phag mgo log bstan?’ Then, he said: ‘when one cuts down the neck of a big pig, and then its head might be able to heal the king’s son’. The king’s family asked the monk, and he always says that he does not know anything but a ritual called phag mgo log bstan. The king’s family member said: ‘The mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise has been lost, the king’s son is soon dying, and that monk has no things to do’. Then, when the monk said that he had no way, it is so pitiful, the king’s family cut the head of the pig, they killed the pig for the king’s son, then all is the monk’s mistake.

(7) Then, the monk thought that the mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise is lost, and that he would have no things to do tomorrow. He did not gain the way to heal the king’s son, neither, he thought. Pulling up a handful of grey grass, and like this, the monk went to toilets there. Going to toilets there, he heard secretly following: The king’s maid said: ‘The reason why the king’s son is sick is the mistake of the king’s maid’. Then, it is the mistake of the hill where the monk pulled up a pile of grass at the king’s family’s side. Then, there was one called brown wild yak, and because of what he did, because of which, things were not right. Then, when the monk listened secretly, he heard in the toilets that they said like this from downwards: The king’s maid said: ‘Now, it gets worst, we are over tomorrow. The ritual phag mgo log bstan must be done to us. The pig having been here was killed’. She said: ‘Then, now how do we do?’ Then, the hill said: ‘Oh, this will be definitely known by phag mgo log bstan. The monk came running in this way, and pulled up all of my head hairs, that is a pile of grass, and has gone’. Then, the brown wild yak said: ‘Oh, when phag mgo log bstan is performed, he said to me bdud g.yag kham pa, and kicked me once’. It said: ‘That is definitely me’. Then, one of them said: ‘Now how do we do? What can we do? He said: ‘Drag 90 kg of woods on the bdud g.yag
kham pa on the hill, and burn the king’s maid on it’. He said: ‘Then the king’s son will heal, the turquoise will be got with phag mgo log bstan; all will be realised’.

(8) Then, the monk was so glad, and coming up from the place at the lower side, and when the old man, monk, was sleeping and sitting, like that. Then, the next day the king’s servant said: ‘How do we do?’ Then, we will do in this way: Drag 90 kg of woods on the bdud g.yag kham pa, and make a bird nest with a size as large as a goat, and put the king’s maid on it and burn her.’ He said: ‘Your son will heal, and it is like that: I promise you to obtain mdzo mo Torima’s turquoise. I want a half of your territory’. Then, the king’s family was very happy, and the next day we will drag 90 kg of woods on the bdud g.yag kham pa, and make a bonfire on the hill, and burn the king’s maid on it. Then, the king’s son immediately healed’. Then carrying the pig head, he did like this, by pointing every cattle dung, saying: ‘Is this?, Is this?, Is this?’, pretending he did not know. Then, the turquoise was already with a sign by him, wasn’t it? Then, he said: ‘This is the one’, and took out the turquoise.

(9) Then the king gave the half of the territory to the monk. He lost the half of the territory for the monk. Then, the monk was extraordinarily happy, he said, and the king gave the half of the territory, and put his image in the shrine room. Then, like this, a person to be called very lucky person is one like this.

3 Annotation

Annotation, provided by each sentence number in 2.1, mainly deals with lexical, morphological, and syntactic traits, and focuses on the difference between a general conversation and a narrative mode.

(1.1)
The expression /ŋi ma ːnaː ʰna-la/ ‘in the old time’ is a fixed word for the opening of a folktale. Two nouns /ʰdʑaː po/ ‘king’ and /tɕhə̃ tɕɔ̃/ ‘family’ is regarded as a compound noun without a connection of genitive case marking.

The numeral /ʰtɕiʔ/ is an independent form as ‘one’ appearing after a noun phrase. A full accentual form is /ˈhtɕiʔ/, with a different tone, as in (2.7). /ˈhtɕiʔ/ is also acceptable. A non-accentual counterpart is /-tɕiʔ/, used as a nondefinite marker without an independent tone, as in (4.5).

A TAM suffix /-kʰeː/ does not appear after existential verbs in conversations as well as elicitations; however, in a narrative mode, it often appears throughout the story. On the other hand, a hearsay marker does not appear in the course of this story. /-kʰeː/ might also function instead of a hearsay marker which is etymologically related to /ˈzeː/ ‘say’.

(1.2)
The expression /tə ri ʰdo reʔ/ often appears throughout the story, which is not a part of the story itself, but just a way of narration arranged by the narrator. It makes the audience pay attention to the story’s development, and also functions as a filler ‘let me see’ in some cases.

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1 The use of /-kʰeː/ is comparable to another suffix /-tʰeː/ which denotes ‘directly sensory experienced perfect’. See (7.12).

2 Hearsay is one of the crucial categories of evidentiality in Tibetic languages (Tournadre and LaPolla 2014). In Lhagang Tibetan, its general form is /-sə reʔ/ (Suzuki et al. 2015).
‘ɕhuʔ po  ‘rich’ can function as a noun because it is followed by a collective marker /-tsʰo/: ‘rich persons’. However, this collective form should be understood as a ‘rich family’ here, because it is again followed by a numeral /-tɕiʔ/ ‘one’. The sequence of a collective marker and ‘one’ is rarely found.

A TAM suffix /-kʰeː/ does not appear after copulative verbs in conversations as well as elicitations, neither; however, in a narrative mode, it can appear in this condition.

(1.3)
The noun /’tɔː jii mbo loʔ/ means ‘a place where one throws and gathers cattle dungs’. After collecting them, one pastes them on the wall to make them dry for fuel. See (4.2)-(4.3).

/’ŋgo/ ‘on’ is a position noun, which does not require a genitive marker to connect the preceding noun. It can be used without a locative marker, which, in fact, appears here.

/’hdoʔ hteiʔ/ ‘single’ is an adjective used for an emphasised form of /’teiʔ/ ‘one’, and the morpheme /’hdoʔ/ is not regarded as a classifier.4

This sentence does not have a TAM suffix /-kʰeː/. This might mean that the sentence is continuing till the next sentence (1.4). The main verb of (1.3) is /’joʔ reʔ/, which expresses that the narrator has not seen this scenery and uttered it with access to the information which the narrator has already had.

(1.4)
In Lhagang Tibetan, the existential verb is generally not employed as an attributive (a verb for adjective predicates5). Hence, /’joʔ/ here functions as an existential, which denotes the existence of a pig. The phrase /’tə la ‘ma ṭəɛ bo/ ‘such extraordinarily big’, accompanied with a gesture, is thus a modifier of the preceding noun /’phɑʔ/ ‘pig’. Though, the interlinear translation applies a reading of an attributive for the sake of smoothness.

(1.5)
/’teː/ is a conjunction word appearing frequently when an opening a new sentence. There are other forms which have the same function, such as /’te ne/ (in 2.2) and /’te tɔː/ (in 2.3).

/-ga/ attached to /’tɔː tʰo/ ‘they’ is interpreted as a genitive connected to /’kʰeː ma/ ‘cattle’ because the final verb is /’foː/ ‘come’, a monovalent verb, which does not require the ergative marking in Lhagang Tibetan.

The last /-tɔː/ is also a conjunction word, which is enclitic and is always attached to a verb predicate followed by a pause.

(1.6)
The noun phrase /’hdaː po-tsʰo-ga/ explicitly presents why the suffix /-tsʰo/ is not a plural marker (PL) but a collective marker (COL). It never means ‘(several) kings’ but ‘a king with many others’. This usage is just what we call collective. However, as far as the pronouns are concerned, /-tsʰo/ is considered as a plural marker (PL).

4 Tournadre (2014:112) claim: “Classifiers are not found in Literary Tibetan and none of the modern languages have developed a system of classifiers, although a few rare classifiers do exist in a marginal way.”. See also Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017a).

5 See Caplow (2000) for the attributive use of the existential verbs.
This sentence is a repetition of (1.5) with a suffix /-kʰa/, which makes a subordinate clause, meaning ‘just when’, and continues to (1.7).

/ʔ-go/ attached to /ʔ-dza/ ‘po-tʰ-o/ ‘king’s family’ can be interpreted as an ergative because the main verb is /ʔ-tʰ-o/ ‘pasture’, a bivalent verb, which allows an agent to be marked in ergative.

(1.7)
This sentence includes two verb predicates, and the second is a repetition of the first.

/ʔ-tʰ-o ʔ-qʰ-o ʔ-dzu-w/ ‘which is called Tongladra’ is a relative clause formed by a nominaliser and modifies the preceding noun, followed by a numeral ‘one’ in a form appearing after a noun phrase.

(1.8)
/ʔ-ta/, a distal demonstrative, precedes a head noun /ʔ-tʰ-o ʔ-jw-o loʔ/ ‘place for throwing cattle dungs’.

/ʔ-na/ is a conjunction marker connecting two verbs denoting simultaneous or non-simultaneous actions. Here the two verbs /ʔ-ne:/ ‘sleep’ and /ʔ-duʔ/ ‘sit’ means different non-simultaneous actions of /ʔ-ʔa ʰ-g/k ‘monk’.

The word form /ʔ-a ʰ-g/k is likely to mean ‘old monk’, however, in Lhagang Tibetan, /ʰ-g/ often does not have the original sense ‘old’, as /ʔ-pʰ-o ʰ-g/k ‘pig’ in (1.3, 1.4) does not denote ‘old pig’. However, in this story, the monk looks old based on the explanation presented in (8.1).

The last verb has two TAM markings /-joʔ-kʰ-a/: stative and non-sensory perfect. This construction is rarely attested in general conversations. As /-kʰ-a/ also functions as hearsay in this narrative, it might not have a non-sensory perfect meaning. See (1.1).

(2.1)
There is a repetition of /ʔ-tʰ-o-na/, which expresses the same action in different ways. The verb /ʔ-tʰ-a/ ‘look, gaze’ requires a dative marking to the patient, and the case marking is existent in the first clause, whereas it lacks in the second. It might be because of the adverb /ʔ-ja ʔ-la/ ‘upwards’, which originally represents a direction of an action.

/ʔ-duʔ/ ‘sit’ is a simultaneous action with ‘look (at them)’ by the agent ‘monk’.

(2.2)
This sentence is a paraphrase of (2.1).

It is noteworthy that the sequence of the /-kʰ-a/ and a locative /-la/ is attested because /-kʰ-a/ generally does not take a locative as a conjunction as in (1.6). However, this morpheme is derived from /kʰ-a/ ‘mouth, place’, as appearing in (2.3, 2.4), it is thus not curious if it takes a case marker.

(2.3)
This sentence has two /ʔ-dzo mo/ ‘mdzo mo (a hybrid of yak and cow)’, and the second one is an agent of a postposed relative clause which modifies the word /ʔ-juʔ ʰ-tʰ-o ka/.

/ʔ-juʔ ʰ-tʰ-o ka/ is a noun having a compound adjective meaning ‘with an azure turquoise’, in which /ʔ-juʔ/ is also modified by /ʔ-dzo mo-go ʰ-tʰ-o ʔ-buʔ ʰ-kʰ-a-la/ ‘on the place of the neck of the mdzo mo’. This is a long preposed modifier. The postposed modifier is a relative clause, /ʔ-tʰ-o ri ma ʰ-teʔ ʰ-laʔ-ʔ-dzu-w/ ‘which the mdzo mo (named) Torima wears’.

The word /ʔ-teʔ/ ‘one’ might function as a marker of the end of a noun phrase or just as a prosodic preference without a strict meaning.
(2.4) The proximal demonstrative /ˈtə tə/ ‘this’ is not a real demonstration but an anaphoric usage for /ˈɦjɯ/ ‘turquoise’ in (2.3), while another distal locational demonstrative /ˈtə la:/ ‘there’ indicates the last two words /ˈdzə la/ ‘at the place of the road; on the road’ of (2.4).

The secondary verb /ˈɦʑɑː/ (or an allomorph /ˈɦʑɑʔ/, /ˈʑɑː/, or /ˈʑɑʔ/) ‘put’ often appears in this story, which expresses ‘become, occur’ in any contexts. In a gloss, the meaning ‘put’ is uniformly given.

(2.5) This sentence is incomplete because it lacks a verb in the main clause. The expression /ˈʔa ɳɖa zə nə/ ‘in that way’ with /ˈma la:/ ‘downwards’ might have been accompanied with a gesture of the narrator. In this case, the sufficient information is supplemented, and thus the sentence means ‘just when (the turquoise) broke up, it fell down.’

(2.6) The /ˈpho/ seems to be a classifier; however, Lhagang Tibetan has no sortal numeral classifiers. This word is a kind of words for measurement, which means ‘chunk, pile’, and describes the quantity and size of /ˈtwə wa/ ‘cattle dung’.

The verb /ˈtə/ originally means ‘send’, however, this word is a light verb connected to /ˈtwə wa/ ‘cattle dung’, and means ‘drop dung’.

(2.7) The noun phrase /ˈmə lu tə ˈɦla ɦgɛ `hta-ŋ̊ khɛ-tə/ ‘the the monk who saw (it) over there’ has a head-internal relative clause, of which the head noun is /ˈɦla ɦgɛ/. The last morpheme /-tə/, topic marker, just functions as an indicator of the end of the noun phrase.

The verb concatenation /ˈdzʊʔ-ɳɖo/ ‘go running’ just means a movement with running, and is not interpreted as ‘go and run’ in Lhagang Tibetan.

The verb /ˈtsuʔ/ originally means ‘plant’, however, this word is a light verb connected to /ˈdzʊ ɡə/ ‘finger’, and means ‘point by a finger’. In the context here, the action should be ‘mark a sign with a finger’ (see 2.8).

(2.8) The morpheme /-nə/ in /ˈtə-nə/ ‘in this’ is a position noun, and this is a typical appearance as neither a genitive marker nor a locative marker exist, the morpheme making itself atonal.

The verb /ˈjoʔ reʔ/ expresses a non-directly obtained knowledge or an epistemic access to information. It can be analysed as /ˈjoʔ-reʔ/ based on the etymology; however, these two syllables are fixed combination to express one sense, however, morphologically flexible in terms of affixation.6

The expression /ˈhsə re ˈhsə ne/ means ‘by thinking’, and the complementiser does not appear before this.

/ˈtuʔ ʰteiʔ ʰza:/ means ‘mark one sign’, and the way of marking is, as described in (2.7), by a finger. Note that the numeral /ˈteiʔ/ ‘one’ here has the own falling tone, which is used for an emphasis of ‘one’. The TAM suffix following the main verb /ˈza:/ is an egophoric nonperfect with

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a non-sensory perfect which seems to include a contradiction of meaning. This suggests that the non-sensory perfect is just a hearsay marker. The use of nonperfect here might have the intention to describe an idea of the monk to leave a mark, not his action itself.

(3.1)
The final verb /ˈduː/ 'sit' is followed by /-za ^jiː-kʰeː/ 'egophoric aorist' + non-sensory perfect'. It is a little strange that the egophoric form is used for a description of the third person; however, the narrative style might be able to use it, as also found in (2.8). The use of aorist here is related to the fact of his action before. Following this sentence, (3.2) reveals that he cannot sleep at all because of an external reason.

(3.2)
The ergative marking for /pʰaʔ ʰge/ 'pig' is nearly obligatory because the sentence is a causative construction.

The expression /pʰu ɣə la/ can be analysed as /pʰu ɣə/ 'cave, hole' + locative, and literally means 'at the end'. However, with a negation marker (negative prefix), it means 'absolutely not' or 'never'.

The secondary verb /-ʰteʊʔ/ functions as causative, which is also called factitive.

The causative for a monovalent verb does not require dative marking for a causee, thus /kʰo/ 'him', indicating /ʰtʰa ʰge-tə/ 'that monk', appears in absolutive.

(3.3)
The word /fã/ is an onomatopoeia of pig's voice, and the real pronunciation is close to [fiyã]. /-ta/ connecting two /fã/ is interpreted as a comitative case marker, however, it can also be analysed as a conjunction 'and'. Hence, the glossing 'oink' is also intended as an onomatopoeia, not a verb. The following verb /zɛː/ 'say' may make this phrase direct speech. It has no conjunction marker, which is meant as a simultaneous action with the following verb predicate. Generally, pigs are often not quiet but oinking when they dig up soils.

The main verb /jãː-kʰo/ 'dig up' is repeated in order to describe a repetitive action. The verb 'dig' has a directional marker as a prefix meaning 'upper', which implies an emphasis on the action to raise soils. /ʰtʰo: ji ^mo loʔ/ is a patient of the verb 'dig', not a location.

(3.4)
The last component of the subordinate clause /jãː-kʰo-kʰa/ 'when (the pig) dug up' can take a topic marker /-te/, with which the speaker will emphasise causal relationship even by using a temporal conjunction.

The compound verb /tʰsʰiʔ kʰa ʰza/ 'get angry' is repeated (not reduplicated) in order to express a high degree of the undergoer's (the monk's) anger.

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7 Referring to Zeisler (2004), we can see that the absolute tense does not work in Tibetan languages, so the term 'aorist' is used instead of 'past' and 'preterit'. However, a detailed investigation on what 'aorist' expresses is needed.
The sentence of (3.5) is a citation of the monk’s speech, and the agent (monk) of the last verb /\-'ze:/ appears in (3.4). In this sentence, it is noteworthy that the citation verb /\-'ze:/ takes a statement verb, not a non-sensory perfect.

The expression /\-'ma ^də:/ can be translated ‘other person’ in a direct way; however, it just denotes the pig. It is usually used for an object which the speaker admires, and in the context of the story, the monk might yearn after the fact that the pig belongs to the king’s family.

A fixed expression /\-wi \-tə lə ^wəi?:/ ‘whatever (it is)’ is used twice, meaning a situation which cannot be controlled.

The agent of the concatenated verbs /\-ne:-^səi?:/ ‘sleep by sitting’ is the pig, not the monk. The posture of a sleeping pig looks like sitting.

The interrogative pronoun /\-təa/ ‘what’ does not function as an interrogation but as an indefinite pronoun ‘anything’ here.

The agent of the verb predicate /\-ma-rɑʔ/ is the monk, which does not appear in the sentence.

The form of the negative prefix is for perfect and prohibitive, and thus it is curious that one express a negation of the present (nonperfect) action with it, however, the distinction of negation prefixes might not be the case in a citation of speech.

(4.1)
The verb concatenation /\-^səi?:-^foː/ ‘run-come’ means ‘come running’, not ‘come to run’.

Here, again, aorist and non-sensory perfect co-occur with each other.

(4.2)
The collective suffix /\-tsəo/ can be directly attached to animals other than persons.

This does not form a complete sentence, but just a nominal phrase, of which the verb appears in (4.3) /\-lə/ ‘bring’.

The collective marker /\-tsəo/ seems to be able to be attached to animals (mdzo mos). This marker is often used for persons, neither for animals nor inanimate things. However, some mdzo mo might be under personification, for two mdzo mos have their own name as mentioned in (1.7) and (2.3).

The word /\-təa/ ‘now’ functions as ‘then’, and it implies that the following /\-^səi?:-^mo/ is included in the first /\-^səi?:-^səo/ ‘mdzo mo’.

The relative clause /\-rĩ ^mba \-jo^-^dzəu/ ‘which has a value’ modifies the preceding /\-^səi?:-^mo/ and means ‘a mdzo mo with a value’.

(4.3)
The agent of the verbs is /\-^səi?:-pə^-^jo: mo/ ‘king’s maid’ in (4.1).

The noun /\-tsəi?:-kə/ ‘wall’ is followed by /\-la/, which is analysed not as a locative but as a dative, a grammatical case, principally because it cannot be omitted. The verb /\-^səi?:-^kaʔ/ ‘paste’ might require an argument of dative-marking.

The conjunction marker /\-na/ attached to the first verb means a sequence of actions, i.e., the actions /\-lə/ ‘bring’ and /\-^səi?:-^kaʔ/ ‘paste’ are not done simultaneously.

The last verb takes an aorist suffix, which implies a focus on the action itself.
An adverb /ˈro sʰɑ/ ‘immediately’ can also take a topic marker. The expression /ˈleː laʔ mo ɣə-teiʔ/ is a complex word meaning ‘very fortunate’. This includes such morphemes as /ˈleː/ ‘destiny, fortune’, /ˈtoː mo/ ‘sudden’, and /teiʔ/ ‘nondefinite marker’, however, an analytical approach does not grasp the whole meaning.

The final verb is an egophoric form of the copulative verbs with non-sensory perfect, same as in (1.2).

The long suffix-like expression /-pʰo eː-teiʔ 'once' attached to the verb root /ʰdzuʔ/ 'run' can be analysed as /pʰo/ ‘time (frequency)’ and /ʰteiʔ/ ‘one’ interposing an unknown morpheme /eː/. It represents a repetitive, immediate action; hence, the whole phrase will mean ‘come running immediately’ here. The agent of this verb, the monk, appears in (4.4).

Differing from (2.7), /-teiʔ/ in /ʰdzu ɣə-teiʔ/ ‘a finger’ is atonal, and just functions as a nondefinite marker, not as a numeral.

The adverb /´joː/ means ‘again’, which modifies the last verb /ʰzɑː-kʰeː/ ‘put’.

The agent /ʰdʑaː po ʰjoː mo/ ‘king’s maid’ can have an ergative marker from a grammatical strategy, but due to a clear context of the relationship between an agent and a patient, the marker does not appear.

The suffix /-teʔ-mo/ is close to the meaning of a tag question, which is oriented to the addressee, i.e., audience (the second author in the present context) of the utterance, and this sentence thus does not have to be counted as a component of the story.

It is not evident whom the personal pronoun /ˈtə tʃo/ ‘they’ denotes. Based on the context, we interpret that it is equivalent to related persons of /ʰdʑaː po/ ‘king’ including the maid appearing in (4.6). The case marker /-gə/ following /ˈtə tʃo/ is interpreted as a genitive, telling ‘king’s place for throwing cattle dung’.

Two noun phrases /ˈtə tʃo-ɣə pɯ ʑə/ ‘their son’ and /ʰdʑaː po-ɣə pɯ ʑə/ ‘king’s son (=prince)’ denotes the same person. Because the narrator began a noun phrase with a pronoun, she needed to add specific information. The expression /ʰdʑaː po-ɣə pɯ ʑə/ can be considered as a compound, however, here we keep an analytical description to show a parallel correspondence of the former phrase.

/ˈna/ is a stative verb ‘be sick’, and it needs /-zɑʔ/, as a secondary verb, to denote a change of status ‘get sick’.

The verb predicate /ˈna-kʰeː/ indicates a status ‘having been sick’ in contrast to /ˈna-zɑʔ-kʰeː/ ‘got sick’ in (5.1).

The expression /ɛʰə ʰteiʔ ɛʰə ʰɲiː/ ‘soon dying’ is analysed in four components: two verbs /ɛʰə/ ‘die’ and two numerals /ʰteiʔ/ ‘one’ and /ʰɲiː/ ‘two’. This can be formulated as ‘V- ʰteiʔ V-ʰɲiː’,
meaning 'with a status soon V-ing'. This is of value as an attributive adjective, not a verb, hence the sentence in (5.2) has a copulative verb /^reʔ-kʰeː/ , not an existential verb /^joʔ-kʰeː/ discussed in (1.4).

(5.3)
The embedded verb predicate /ˈteːʔ ʔə jiː-na/ 'what (it) is' is included within a fixed expression /ʔʔ zeː: neː/ meaning a surprising feeling, which is analysed /ʔʔ-zeː: neː: / 'Q-say-CONJ', however, the prefix /ʔʔ-/ expresses a dubitative polarity. 

The two directional components /ʰtɔʔ/ 'upper' and /ʰda/ 'lower', are one set of a collocation, and, in fact, do not represent a direction. The construction is /ʰtɔʔ VP1-neː: /'^da VP2' meaning 'doing VP1 as well as doing VP2'.

The dative marking for both /^mo pa/ 'diviner' and /ʰtsə pa/ 'fortune teller', based on the context, seems to be intended to make causative expressions, even lacking causative verbs. Since the /ʰtɔʔ-/ /ʰda/ construction merely requires the verb root, causative verbs might be unable to appear.

The expression /ʔə ma ^teiʔ ye/ is a beginning of a new phrase, and it modifies the following adjective /ʔə-zeː-nɛː/ 'Q-say-CONJ', however, the prefix /ʔə-/ expresses a dubitative polarity. 

The verb /^da/ means 'practice', which is used with a combination of /ˈteːʔ/ 'ritual'.

The final verb /^meʔ-ɦʑɑʔ-kʰeː/ '(he) has not been' is a negative form of /^joʔ-ɦʑɑʔ-kʰeː/ 'has been'. The negation is expressed by a negative existential verb.

(6.1)
The expression /ʰdʑaː po-tsho-gə-tə ^pɯ ʑə-gə ˉpha ɦgɛ/ seems to be redundant, however, in a narrative, the detail can be repeated for a clear understanding. Note that a topic marker is attached to the first component; thus it will mean 'of the king’s family, their son, the son’s father', which is, of course, a redundant translation.

This sentence has two citation verbs: /ˉzeː-nɛː/ and /ˉzeː-kʰeː/, and the citation utterance is interposed between them. When the citation is relatively long, the sentence structure will frequently become this type. This can be counted as a strategy of narratives.

The use of first person plural /‘ŋa tʃo/ suggests that this part belongs to direct speech. This form is absolutive; however, it functions here as a genitive case modifying /ˉhtɔː ji ˉmbo loʔ/ 'place for throwing cattle dung'. The following expression /‘ka ɕe tə na/ is at present unanalysable, meaning 'somewhere'.

The stative TAM form /-joʔ tu/ is generally pronounced as /-jiʔ tu/ by the speakers under the age of 50s. The narrator is at her age of 70s, and this can be a factor of the sound difference. This form is used for a description with a non-egophoric sensory access to information, which is related to the actual observation and thus rarely used in a narrative except for direct speech.

The fixed expression /ˈteːʔ ʔə ^da/ 'that person' can be analysed as a compound of the 3rd person pronoun and unknown element, it is translatable as 'he guy' in English. Cf. (6.3).

The expression /ʔʔ tei ko ʰgo/ 'possibly know' maybe consists of /ʔʔ-/ 'question prefix' or rather 'dubitative polarity', /ko-ʰgo/ 'understand-FUT', and /tei/, a form related to 'what', and has a meaning '(I) wonder whether he knows something'.

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8 See Denwood (1999:115-116) for a dubitative polarity in Lhasa Tibetan.
This sentence is a continuing part of the direct speech of the king in (6.3).
The numeral /ʰtɕiʔ/ 'one' does not mean the number 'one' itself but 'a little', functioning as an adverb of degree modifying the action /ʔiː/ 'ask'.

The verb concatenation /ʰtɕiʔ-sʰoː/ denotes a purposive with movement 'go to ask'. If one uses /ˉsʰoː/ as an imperative of 'go', it does not imply coming back to the present position, i.e., it is used in the sense of 'leave'. However, when it is uttered by an authoritarian person ('king' here), this implication might not always be true.

The expression /tə tsho-gə ˉmə/ 'their person (=a person related to them)' and /tə/ '3rd person pronoun' are in apposition.
The verb /ʰtɕoʔ ɣə ˊɳɖa/ can be analysed as a compound of the 2nd person pronoun and unknown element as in (6.1), it is translatable as 'you guy' in English.
The phrase /ʰtɕə ʔə-ko/ displays a coexistence of an interrogative pronoun /ʰtɕə/ 'what' and a question prefix /ˉʔə-. In this case, the interrogative pronoun is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun 'something'.

The use of the copulative verb /jiː/ for a non-egophoric description is attested in a citation or a subordinate clause. Cf. (5.2).

The sentence just after /ʰtɕoʔ ɣə ˊɳɖa/ 'to the monk' to /zeː-kʰeː/ 'said' is a direct speech by /tə tsho-gə ˉmə/ 'their person'.

The expression /teːoʔ ɣə ˉqəa/ can be analysed as a compound of the 2nd person pronoun and unknown element as in (6.1), it is translatable as 'you guy' in English.

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The phrase /ʰtɕə ʔə-ko/ displays a coexistence of an interrogative pronoun /ʰtɕə/ 'what' and a question prefix /ˉʔə-. In this case, the interrogative pronoun is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun 'something'.

The use of the copulative verb /jiː/ for a non-egophoric description is attested in a citation or a subordinate clause. Cf. (5.2).

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Within the verb predicate /ʰtɕoʔ ɣə ˊɳɖa/ 'should do', /ˉɡo/ is a secondary verb 'need, should' rather than a TAM suffix denoting an obligatory future because it is followed by another TAM suffix /ˉlə reʔ/, a non-egophoric nonperfect. Two suffixes for future/nonperfect do not seem to co-occur.
This sentence is also mainly a citation. The utterer is the monk.

The repetitive phrases `/ˈtə ri ˈdo reʔ/` are not a filler here, but an indication with a gesture by the narrator. The detailed gesture is, however, not explained in a spoken form.

The nominaliser `/kʰa bteʔ/` is an irregular form, and generally only `/kʰa/` is needed. This nominaliser is used in a collocation `V-kʰa `tʰo:` meaning ‘can have the status of V’.

The co-occurrence of two prefixes of `/ʔə `question prefix` and `/ˈmə `negative prefix` in `/ʔə-ˈmə-ˈtʰo:/` ‘might’ is counted as a marginal usage. Judging from the tonal phenomenon that the two prefixes have each pitch pattern, this phrase should be an unusual case. Both the prefixes have a meaning of polarity, dubitative and negative; thus the whole meaning of the phrase should be ‘relatively positive possibility to obtain’.

The final verb `/ˈzeː-ˈtu/` ‘say’ has an unusual use of the TAM suffix `/-tu/`, which is principally employed after stative verbs and the existential verb to denote a directly sensory confirmation. However, `/ˈzeː/` ‘say’ is an action verb. We interpret this as a repetitive action ‘always say’ here. The citation expressed by this `/ˈzeː/` ‘say’ is a report of the person at the king’s family’s side who asked the monk in (6.3).

This sentence is also a citation of the words of the person at the king’s family’s side, following (6.8).

Topic markers, appearing as `/-ˈna/` and `/-nə/`, function well within multiple sentences in order to highlight each topic component.

The expression `/ˈtei ˈta la tə/` ‘anything’ cannot be analysed anymore.

The verb `/ˈmeʔ ˈtu/`, negative existential verb, is used as a possession construction. The possessor, marked with a dative, is `/ˈstə ˈge-la/` ‘the monk’, and the object of possession is `/ˈtei ˈta la tə `le:-ˈdzəw/` ‘anything to do’.

This whole sentence seems to represent the feeling of the narrator. The expression `/ʔə-ˈjiː ˈȵ̊ iː ˈhə-teː/` ‘it is so pitiful’ is an insertion of the words generated from the feeling of the narrator for the situation of the story as if it were an interjection. The grammatical construction is given in the interlinear glossing, however, it is not well explained.

 `/ˈtə-la/` ‘for him’ is not a grammatical case marking but a benefactive use. It refers to the king’s son based on the context.

The last two components `/ˈstə ˈgo ˈnoː ba/` ‘the monk’s mistake’ is a nominal predicate. Compare (7.4, 7.5) in which `/ˈnoː ba/` is also used, but it is followed by a copulative verb.

The part between two verbs `/ˈsə/` ‘think’ is a citation of the monk’s thinking, which consists of two conditional clauses to describe an event which is to happen in the next day: ‘he would have no things to do if he did not have a mdzo mo with a turquoise, and he would not gain anything if the king’s son did not heal.’
The noun phrase /ʰjuː ʰtʰo ka ʰdzo mo ʰtʰo ri ma/ means ‘the mdzo mo Torima with an azure turquoise’. Although /ʰjuː ʰtʰo ka/ ‘with an azure turquoise’ functions as a modifier, it precedes a head; however, this is a fixed order.

Since the last verb /sʰa/ ‘think’ is attached with /-na/, the sentence continues to (7.2) with the same agent /ʰla ʰgɛ/ ‘monk’ in (7.1).

(7.2)
Two noun phrases /ʰtʰsa ʰpʰaː rʰaʔ ʰkʰɔ̃/ ‘a pile of grass’ and /ʰtʰsa ʰtʰɕa ʰpʰaː rʰaʔ ʰkʰɔ̃/ ‘a pile of grey grass’ are of an appositional relationship; we can understand that the latter is a corrected version of the former.

The expression /ʔə ʰndʰa zə ʰna ʰta/ ‘like that’ is accompanied by a gesture of the narrator.

The position noun /-nɔ̃/ ‘inside’ in /ʰtʰɕaʔ ʰkʰɔ̃ ʰtʰɕiʔ-nɔ̃/ ‘inside the toilets’ behaves as a typical case marker. The numeral /ʰtʰɕiʔ/ ‘one’ here will mean ‘nondefiniteness’ of /ʰtʰaʔ ʰkʰɔ̃/ ‘toilets’ because the previous context has no description regarding the toilets.

(7.3)
The expression /ʔə ʰndʰa zə ʰna/ ‘like that’ is accompanied by a gesture of /ʰnʰuː ʰnʰuː ʰdʰɕaʔ/ ‘listen secretly’ of the narrator. Cf. (7.2).

The expression /ʰnʰuː ʰnʰuː ʰdʰɕaʔ/ ‘listen secretly’ can be formulated as ‘V (reduplicated) + light verb’. A reduplication of a verb root, which weakens a meaning of the verb, seems to be non-productive in Lhagang Tibetan, so this might be a fixed expression.

(7.4)
The form /-na/ appearing twice has different meanings from each other. The first is a conjunction marker, which indicates that the following part is a beginning of a citation, while the second functions as a topic marker. The first /-na/ has a higher pitch which is different from the case of /-nə/, and perhaps due to this, the closing reporting verb does not appear. Based on the context, the citation continues until the end of (7.5).

The noun phrase /ʰdʰʑaː po ʰpɯ ʑə ʰna-ʰtʰɕe/ means ‘the reason why the king’s son is sick’. /ʰtʰɕe/ is a nominaliser to make a noun phrase of reason.

(7.5)
The whole sentence in (7.5) is a continuing part of the king’s maid’s speech even though it lacks a reporting verb.

The position noun /ʰzə ʰkʰa/ ‘side’ seems to function as a case marker with an independent tone. Polysyllabic position nouns have a tendency to possess an independent tone bearing unit.

The noun phrase /ʰpʰeː ʰsʰa-gə/ ‘of the place where (the monk) pulled’ has a genitive case marker following the nominaliser to denote a place.

The noun /ʰtʰiʔ-ʰmʰo loʔ/ ‘hill’ is a general noun which is not usually uttered in conversations. It appears as an animte role in this story and speaks words in (7.10). A phonetic variant includes [ɾʰiʔ ʰmʰo loʔ], hence the first syllable might mean ‘intelligent, clever’, as in Literary Tibetan riği.

We find a copulative verb at the end of the sentence, which confirms that the word /ʰnoː ʰba/ ‘mistake’ is a noun, not a stative verb.
The noun phrase /\~l̥ a ɦjɑʔ ˉkhɑ̃ mba `zeː-ŋ̊ khɛ `htɕiʔ/ 'one which is called lha g.yag kham pa (brown wild yak)' has a nominaliser making an agent /-ŋ̊ khɛ/, which could be alternative with another nominaliser /-dzu/ as in (1.7) and (2.3). /\~l̥ a ɦjɑʔ ˉkhɑ̃ mba/ should be analysed as a proper name.

The case marker /-gə/ in the noun phrase /^tə-gə ˊnoː ba/ 'mistake of it (of the yak)' is genitive, while the second /-gə/ as in /^tə/ 'because of it' is ergative, of which the 3rd person pronoun /^tə/ demonstrates /^tə-gə ˋnoː ba/ 'mistake of it'.

The conjunction /-nɛː/ in /´tɕeː-nɛː/ is interpreted as a causal conjunction 'because' here, and thus we can translate the whole phrase /´tɕeː-nɛː/ as 'because of'.

The verbal predicate /`mə-ȵeː-lə jiː-k heː/ 'will not be right' is an egophoric nonperfect originally; however, in the story, it is used in a description that things have already not been right.

This sentence includes a part of the repetition of (7.3).

The verb predicate /ˉtɕhɑʔ khɔ̃-nɔ̃ ^ma la ˊtə ɳɖa ˉzeː-kheː/ '(someone) says from downwards in the toilets like this' has several noteworthy points. First, /ˉtɕhɑʔ khɔ̃-nɔ̃/ 'in the toilets' might be not a component of this verb predicate, it just designates the place where the monk, appearing in (7.1), is sitting, and there is a pause after this within the story-telling. Second, the directional adverb /^ma la/ generally means a direction 'towards a lower place', however, here it will be interpreted as a provenance 'from a lower place'. The sound, i.e., someone's voice, narrates the part from (7.8) to (7.14). Third, the agent of the verb /ˉzeː-kheː/ 'said' does not appear in (7.7). This verb just functions as an introductory word to the forthcoming citations.

The expression /`ma-reʔ `tsha-reʔ/ is glossed as 'NEG-CPV complete-CPV', however, the first component might be 'NEG-be correct', not a reading of 'copulative verb'. The two verbs are in a sequence, and with the temporal expression /ˊshɔ̃ ȵĩ/ 'tomorrow', the verb predicate means 'it will be bad, it will be over'.

The agent of another verb predicate /`ŋa tsho-la ˉphɑʔ ŋgo ˊloʔ hte `ɦzu-lə jiː sha reʔ/ is missing in the sentence; however, it is the monk in (7.1). The utterer, the king's maid, mentions the possibility that the ritual phag mgo log bstan that the monk conducted indicates that they are the origin of misfortune. The TAM suffix /-lə jiː sha reʔ/ is actually a non-egophoric form in spite of the use of /-lə jiː/. The suffix of potentiality /-sha reʔ/ follows an egophoric form, which is, in fact, a default in a reported speech.

The nominal phrase /ˉphɑʔ ɦgɛ ^ ɦdoʔ htɕiʔ ˊjoʔ-zə/ 'the one pig where was (here)' is a nominalisation of a head-internal relative clause, The existential verb is used as an existential, not as a location. The fact is that the pig is dead because its head was cut down, however, the verb predicate says /`hseʔ-ʈeː/ 'killed, confirmed with a sensory observation'. The sensory-confirmed perfect TAM suffix /-ʈeː/ is used because the sentence is a citation of the speech of the king's maid. This expression implies that she has seen the pig killed in (6.9). One cannot 'kill a dead pig', thus, the component /ˋjoʔ-zə/ 'which was' has no independent temporal meaning for the main verb /`hseʔ/ 'kill'.

The last verb /`ze-.kʰe:/ marks an end of the citation of the king’s maid, which started from the beginning of (7.8).
This sentence includes a citation of the speech of the hill called ˊriʔ mbo loʔ. The 3rd person pronoun with an ergative marker exceptionally in high tone ˊto-ga/ should be used as an emphasis of the ‘animate’ hill speaking words.

The verb predicate ˉndə ˉphɑʔ ŋgo ˊloʔ hte-gə ˊko/ ‘know this by the ritual phag mgo log bstan’ lacks an agent in the sentence, but the context suggests that the agent is the monk. However, the translation of this sentence can hide an agent by using a passive. The verb ˊko/ should be followed directly by a TAM suffix -reʔ as a statement, however, it is interrupted by an enforcing adverb /ˈʃɛ tʰuʔ/ ‘definitely’, and due to the split of the tonal boundary, the following /ˈreʔ/ is glossed as a copulative verb. Cf. (7.13).

The noun ˉɦjɑʔ ɦgɛ ˉkhɑ̃ mba/ ‘brown wild yak’ designates the equivalent thing to ˉl̥ a ɦjɑʔ ˉkhɑ̃ mba/ in (7.6). It is followed by an ergative marker, which might be contrasted to the utterer, the hill, appearing in (7.10).

The verb /ˈdzuʔ/ generally means ‘run’, but ‘be performed’ here. The TAM suffix attached to this verb -tʰe/ implies that the utterer, brown wild yak, confirmed the event through its sensory observation.

The 3rd person pronoun /kʰo-la/ denotes the utterer itself. It is frequently observed that the 3rd person pronoun replaces 1st person pronoun in direct speech.

The agent of the verb predicate /kʰo-la ˉɦdɯʔ ɦjɑʔ ˉkhɑ̃ mba ˊzeː-nə/ is the monk, conductor of the ritual. The whole translation is ‘(he) said to me by using the name bdud g.yag kham pa (which literally means ‘evil brown yak’)’.

The 3rd person pronoun /kʰo/ here also denotes the utterer itself.

The noun /nʰoʔ hɛiʔ/ ‘single one’ is used not as an emphasised numeral. The context cannot determine which one is the utterer of the following citation among the king’s maid, brown wild yak, and the hill.

The use of the directly sensory experience TAM suffix -tu/ as /ˈɛz-u-tu/ is unusual in terms of the cooccurrence with an action verb. However, the intention is shown in the translation: ‘how do we do?’.

From this sentence, the scene changed. All the speeches are an idea of the monk who imagines how he will do tomorrow, and it functions as the monk’s rehearsal. The first question ˊtɕə tə ˉɦzu/ ‘how to do’ is either a word of the king’s servant appearing in (6.3) or someone at the king’s family’s side. In addition, it might function as an attention word to the audience by the narrator. After this, a description of the methodology to solve the misfortune begins to be told by the monk, who is absent in this sentence.
The position noun with a locative marker /ʰgɔ̃-la/ ‘on’ appears twice, and it is interpreted literally, as: ‘wood on the yak on the hill’. This means that the yak loaded with woods is on the hill.

The word /ʰdʑa/ is interpreted as a measurement unit which is equivalent to the Chinese counterpart jīn ‘500g’ in the context of the narrator who lives in the contemporary society of Lhagang. We have not found so far whether the number 180 has any specific implications; thus it is translated as ‘90kg’.

The verbs /ˈkʰɛː-ʰʑɑʔ/ ‘drag’ and /hsɑʔ-ʰʑɑʔ/ ‘burn’ are analysed as an imperative mode because they do not take any TAM suffixes in the ordinary utterance. Regardless of the style, a description or a citation, TAM suffixes generally appear as displayed in the sentences above.

The last verb /ˈzeː-ŋa/ is ended by a conjunction marker, which means that the sentence is continuing to the next one.

(7.16)
This sentence reveals that the ritual phag mgo log bstan is to be done to find the turquoise under the definition of the monk, however, displaying the conversation from (7.8) to (7.14), the ‘evil three’ are under the impression that the ritual had already begun when the pig was killed.

The element /ʰdʑɯ/ following two verb roots, /ˈʈɑʔ-ʰdʑɯ/ ‘heal’ and /ˈrɑʔ-ʰdʑɯ/ ‘find’, is interpreted as a part of the future TAM marker rather than a nominaliser. The third verb /reʔ tsaː/ ‘realise’ is thus posited in parallel to the two verbs, and finalises the verb predicate with a full nonperfect TAM marker. The difference between /ʰdʑu reʔ/ and /lo reʔ/ primarily depends on the possibility of realisation, and the former implies less possibility than the latter.

The ergative marking of /ˈpʰaʔ ʰgo ʰloʔ ʰtə na/ ‘with phag mgo log bstan’ is an instrumental reading.

(8.1)
The undergoer of the verb /ʰɡa-kʰeː/ ‘was glad’ is absent, but it is the monk according to the story.

The expression /ma lu ʰnɔ̃-la/ ‘from the house of the lower side’ includes a locative marker, which means a stative position or a direction, however, it is also used for an ablative. The noun /ʰnɔ̃/ designates a ‘house’, which can be the same as the toilets where he stayed and secretly listened to the conversations.

The last component /ʰzeː ʰdʑɯ tə na/ is a fixed collocation which means ‘like this’. A similar expression appears in (1.6). There might be an omission of sentences. Judging from the content of (8.2), it seems that a description of how the monk spends one night is missing.

(8.2)
This sentence also lacks an agent. However, it is interpreted as a question raised by the king’s servant appearing in (6.3) or someone at the king’s family’s side.

(8.3)
The first two components /ˈtɕə ʰɳɖa ʰdʑu/ forms an independent sentence of a question ‘how do we do?’, however, it is just an introduction to how we will do.

The rest part of the sentence is a repetition of the content mentioned in (7.15). However, there are some changes. One action is added: /ˈɛi ʰtsi: ʰɡɔː tə ra ʰɲi ʰtsiʔ ʰdʑaʔ-ʰʑaʔ/ ‘make a bird nest with as a large size as a goat’. Another difference is that the process mentioned here does not relate
making the yak drag woods to burning the maid on the hill. The original idea mentioned in (7.15) is that the yak is also on the hill even though it is not specified whether the yak is also burnt.

The final verb /ʰsəʔ-ʰzəʔ-ta/ ‘burn’ is an imperative mode, and /-ta/ is a particle to be attached to a verb root in a soft imperative meaning.

(8.4)

The first component /tɕhʊʔ tʃo/ ‘you (plural)’ shows that it is used in a citation, denoting the king’s family. It is not followed by a genitive marker, but it does mean ‘your’ connecting the next word /phu ɡo/ ‘son’.

The two verbs /ʰtʰə ɾəʔ/ ‘will heal’ and /ʰɾəʔ-ʰdzʊʔ/ ‘will obtain’ are followed by different TAM suffixes (nonperfect and future). Moreover, the second is a noncomplete form. This case can be explained as follows: the first is a full sentence, whereas the second is just nominalised and becomes a complement of the verb /kʰɛː leː/ ‘promise’. This verb has no TAM suffixes because it means an utterer’s will, i.e., the monk’s will. A sentence is ended till this verb.

The 3rd person pronoun /kʰo/ ‘he’ here denotes the utterer and should be interpreted as the 1st person pronoun in direct speech.

The verb /ʰɡoː/ is also without TAM suffixes in order to present his will.

(8.5)

The form /-na/ used as a topic marker is rare, and here it might function as a filler.

The verb /ʰɡa-ɡa-na/ ‘be very glad’ is a reduplicated form which is not frequently attested in Lhagang Tibetan. Here the reduplication means an augmentation of the meaning of the original verb.

The expression /ɕiː ȵĩ mba la/ ‘next day’ is fixed, and /zɛː ʰdzʊʔ tə na/ ‘like this’ is used instead of a complete sentence with a verb as in (8.1).

There are three verbs which express three different, consecutive actions /ʰkɛː/ ‘drag’, /ʰdzʊʔ/ ‘make’, and /ʰsəʔ-ʰzəʔ-kʰɛː/ ‘burnt’, of which only the last has a TAM suffix. This is frequently attested in general conversations to explain various consecutive actions.

The noun /me ʰdzʊ ʰɡɔː tə ra ʰml ʰtsiʔ/ ‘bird nest with as a large size as a goat’ in (8.3).

(8.6)

The form /tə ɡa/ is usually used for ‘there’, but it denotes ‘immediately’, in a temporal sense, here.

(8.7)

The noun phrase /pʰaʔ ʰɡɛ ʰŋgo/ ‘pig’s head’ is regarded as a compound without a genitive marker.

The agent of the verb /kʰoː/ ‘carry with hands’ is absent; however, it is the monk.

The verb predicate /ʔə ɳɖa ʰzʊ-ʰna/ ‘do in this way’ is mainly explained with a gesture of the narrator; however, the following verb /ʰtsuʔ-ʰna/ ‘point’ indicates a more concrete action.

The expression repeated thrice /nə ɾəʔ-ɾəʔ/ ‘is it this?’ describes the monk’s action to point mdzo mo’s dung on the wall one by one with the pig’s head, accompanied by a gesture of the narrator.

The verb /kʰoː loː loʔ-zə/ ‘pretended’ is not a reduplicated form, but a light verb construction using the verb root /loʔ/. Because the monk has already marked on the dung where the turquoise
exists, his action is just a pretence. See (8.8). The aorist TAM suffix is a type without copulative verbs; however, this form is frequently attested.

(8.8)
The part from the beginning to /’re-moʔ/ ‘right?’ can be analysed either as an explanatory sentence of the background or as a narration addressing the audience.

After this part, the story describes the actions of the monk, who does not appear in the sentence.

The verb /’ze-ne/ ‘say’ here is not a reporting verb but an action verb, however, the sentence structure is the same and the part of /’ndə ʔreʔ/ ‘this is that’ is a direct speech by the monk.

(9.1)
The noun phrase /’la ʰge-la/ appears twice, but the grammatical function is different. The first is in a grammatical dative case, and the second is in a local dative case which is not required by a verb root.

(9.2)
The usage of reduplication of the verb /’ha-ʰga/ ‘be very glad’ is the same as that in (8.5).

The expression / na la ʰi ne/ ‘especially’ is fixed and not analysable. It modifies the preceding verb /’ga-ʰga/.

The last verb predicate /’we-ʰo ʰnə-lə ‘ja la ʰzaʔ-ʰzaʔ-kʰe:/ is literally translated as ‘have put in the shrine room’. This implies that the king’s family treat the monk as a deity; however, the verb ‘put’ just means ‘worship’ here.

The final verb /’zaʔ-ʰzaʔ-kʰe:/ has two roots of /’zaʔ/. However, this is not a reduplication; the main verb is the first one, and the second is a secondary verb.

The story is ended here.

(9.3)
This is the concluding words which tell the story’s significance transmitted from generation to generation.

The first /’to ʰda/ ‘like this’ is an introductory word and thus independent.

The noun / ma/ ‘person’ is modified by relative clause /’le: la ʰtə mo ’ze-ʰdʑɯ-tə/ ‘who is called very lucky’, of which /’le: la ʰtə mo/ is a fixed expression. A similar form is found in (4.4). The nominalised verb /’ze-ʰdʑɯ-tə/ ‘wo calles/ modifies / ma/ ‘person’.

The second /’to ʰda/ ‘like this’ denotes ‘a person like the monk in the story’.

The very last verb /’ji-kʰe:/ is an egophoric copulative verb with a non-sensory perfect TAM suffix. See (1.1) and (1.2).

As the last remark, in narratives of Lhagang, in general, there is a fixed expression to conclude a story, and other stories narrated by the present storyteller have it. However, in this narrative, the sentence (9.3) appears instead. The general concluding expression would consist of three sentences: /’te ‘tei? ʰnə ma ʰgə-la ʰčə:/ ‘then, the happy sun rose to the sky’, /’də-ʰu? ʰpe ʰga ʰwə-ʰu ʰkʰu:/ ‘a stick of sadness was flushed by the water’, and /’to ma ʰma: ʰkʰu: ʰna-la ʰtɕʰoʔ/ ‘Silverweed and butter soup were offered to the sky’. These sentences are one set of verses which mention three auspicious phenomena. See Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2017c).
4 Concluding words

This article analysed a narrative story King's pig with a grammatical annotation. We found several features which are principally attested in a story-telling:

- Use of /-kʰe/ as a general TAM suffix as well as a hearsay marker
- Use of egophoric form for a non-egophoric statement
- Verb stem reduplication
- Double use of a reporting verb before and after a citation
- Head-internal relative clause

These phenomena rarely appear in general conversations and elicitations. This suggests that a narrative grammar is to some extent different from a conversation counterpart. We should pay attention to this aspect, and give an appropriate annotation when writing a grammar of Lhagang Tibetan.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1 first person   INTJ interjection
2 second person LOC locative
3 third person  NEG negative
ACH achievement NDEF nondefinite marker
AOR aorist NEG negative
CAUS causative NML nominaliser
CIL collective NPFT nonperfect
COM comitative PART particle
CONJ conjunction marker  PFT perfect
CPV copulative verb  PFT.NSEN non-sensory perfect
DAT dative  PFT.SEN sensory perfect
DEF definite marker PL plural
DIR directional marker  POT potential
DSE directly sensort experienced  PPN proper name
ERG ergative  Q question marker
EXV existential verb  RDP reduplication
FUT future STA stative
GEN genitive  STT statement
IMPR imperative stem  TOP topic marker
INS instrumental
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APPENDIX: TRANSLATION IN LHAGANG TIBETAN