Text from Amdo Tibetan
“Little Frog as God’s Son” (Zarək ɬasi)

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Amdo Tibetan is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages, which is spoken in China in the Qinghai Province, the southern part of Gansu Province, and the northern part of Sichuan Province (See Figure 1). This paper presents the text of the Chapcha dialect of Amdo Tibetan (titled Zarək ɬasi “Little Frog as God’s Son”) and introduces the phonemic and grammatical characteristics by referring to the examples in this text.

This paper discusses the geographical and genealogical information (section 1), the phonemic system (section 2), the morphophonological alternations (section 3), the grammatical characteristics (section 4) and the text (section 5) of Amdo Tibetan.

Keywords: Amdo Tibetan, Chapcha dialect, Folklore, Tales of heterogeneous marriage, Tales of abnormal birth

1. Introduction—geographical and genealogical information—

The Tibetan dialect in China is traditionally divided into three groups: Central Tibetan (Ü-tsan), Kham Tibetan (East Tibet), and Amdo Tibetan (North-East Tibet). Amdo Tibetan is spoken in Qinghai Province, the southern part of Gansu Province, and in the northern part of Sichuan Province (See Figure 1). Genealogically, all the Tibetan languages including Amdo Tibetan belong to the Tibeto-Burman a sub-group of the Sino-Tibetan family.
The number of Amdo Tibetan speakers are estimated to be about 800,000. In nomadic areas and farming villages there are Amdo Tibetan mono-lingual speakers, in particular children under school-age, elderly people, and women having no access to urban areas. There are many bilingual speakers of Amdo Tibetan and Chinese. Some of the town-bred Tibetans are Chinese mono-lingual, while some can only understand Tibetan.

Dialects of Amdo Tibetan are not well-known. Nishi (1986) enumerated twenty three dialects for Amdo Tibetan. The Chapcha dialect is one of them (Nishi calls it “Kyowa dialect”).

In this paper, I will first provide a brief sketch of the phonology and grammar of this language, and then discuss a text spoken in this language. The name of the text is “Zarək ɬəsə” which means “little frog as god’s son”. This story is well known in the Amdo district. A different version of this tale is described and translated into Chinese in Zhou (2003: 451-464), and the title is “w ə a hna wcaıt” (old story of frog). From the perspective of story genre, this story belongs to “tales of heterogeneous marriage” or “tales of abnormal birth”.

Fieldwork was conducted during December 2008 in Chapcha Town, Gonghe County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province. Chapcha is the central city of Gonghe County. The speaker was Mrs. ɖoma (Written Tibetan transcription: sGrol ma, 1970- ). She was born and grew up in Tsherang dawa (Written Tibetan transcription: Tshe ring zla ba) village. According to Gonghe Xian Difangzhi Bianzuan Weiyuan (1991: 565), Tsherang dawa is about eighteen kilometers from Chapcha town. This is a village with a
population of 260 (47 households) where cattle breeding is a major industry. All of the residents in this village are Tibetans. In the discussion of features that follows, examples from the text are referenced by numbers in parentheses.

2. Syllable structure and phonemes

As a preliminary to the following discussion, I describe the syllable structure and phonemes of the target language. Compared to the other Tibetan languages, Amdo Tibetan has no tonal opposition but has a lot of consonant clusters. The inventory of phonemes varies within the dialects of Amdo Tibetan.

2.1 Syllable structure

The syllable structure of this language can be described as (C1)(C2)(C3)V(C4). In underlying forms\(^1\), seven consonants ([p], [k], [m], [n], [ŋ], [l], [r]) can appear as final (C4).

2.2 Phonemes

The Chapcha dialect which is mentioned here has thirty eight consonants and seven vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 Consonants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial/la</td>
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<tr>
<td>labiodental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
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<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
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<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
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<tr>
<td>semi-vowel</td>
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</table>

1 In Amdo Tibetan, suffixes and clitics have a number of allomorphs which are conditioned phonologically. In most cases, allomorphs are different in their initial consonants. The word “underlying form” ([/ //]) is used for indicating underlying phonemic representation, contrary to the “surface form” ([/ /]).
There are seven vowels.

\[ /i/ \overset{[i]}{\rightarrow} /y/ \overset{[y]}{\rightarrow} /u/ \overset{[u\beta]~[uu]}{\rightarrow} /e/ \overset{[\ ]}{\rightarrow} /o/ \overset{[o]}{\rightarrow} /a/ \overset{[\ ]}{\rightarrow} \]

2.3 Consonant clusters

There are three kinds of consonant clusters; nC\(_2\), hC\(_2\), and C\(_2\)w. The possible combinations of nC\(_2\) and hC\(_2\) are shown in Table 2. After C\(_1\)/n/, only voiceless-aspirated stops and voiced-unaspirated stops can appear. After C\(_1\)/h/, voiceless-unaspirated stops, voiceless-unaspirated fricatives, nasals, liquids and approximants can appear. As C\(_2\)w, only /k\(^h\)w/ and /kw/ are possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C(_1)</th>
<th>C(_2)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p(^h)/</td>
<td>/p/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/t(^h)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t(^h)/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3. Morphophonological alternations

Some of the suffixes and clitics of Amdo Tibetan have a number of allomorphs which are conditioned phonologically (3.1). Furthermore, stems also alternate from time to time (3.2). Alternation is in most cases regular, but appears complicated because there are some alternation patterns. For details see Ebihara (2009).

3.1 Alternations of suffixes and clitics

Allomorphs of a suffix or a clitic are different in their initial consonants in most cases. In my data, there are four patterns of allomorphs:

[1] Voiced and unvoiced
[2] Fricative and affricate
[3] Retroflex and /t/
[4] Stem-final consonant copy insertion
For example, a “purposive” conjunction //\textit{Ga}/$^2$ belongs to pattern [1]. //\textit{Ga}/ has two allomorphs //=Ga/ and //=ka/. //=Ga/ appears after //m//, //n//, //ŋ//, //t// or vowels (ex. //\textit{hta}=Ga// “for watching,” (36), (37)), //=ka/ after //p//, //l// or //k// (ex. \textit{jek}$^3$=ka “for doing,” (4), (22))

A “sequential simultaneous” conjunction //=\textit{Ni}/ belongs to pattern [4]. In an underlying form //=\textit{V}//, a copy of a final consonant of a stem is inserted in front of the clitic under certain circumstances. Otherwise, the //=\textit{V}// form follows a stem. //=\textit{Ni}// appears as //=ni/ after the consonant //=\textit{n}/ (ex. \textit{sḥon}=ni “[somebody] went, then,” (3), (7)), //=ni/ after //=\textit{n}/ (ex. \textit{ɕon}=ni “[somebody] gave, then,” (12), (28), (30)), and //=i/ after //=p//, //=kl//, //=m//, //=l//, //=t// or vowels (ex. \textit{tɕ³bk}=i “[something] sparkled, then,” (22), \textit{kʰu}=i ‘[somebody] got sick, then,’ (3)). When //=i/ follows after the stem final //=p//, //=p// changes to //=w// (ex. \textit{wew}=i, “it rained, then,” (15)).

3.2 Alternations of stems

When the final consonant of the underlying stem is either //=p//, //=l// or //=r//, these consonants could be (partly) assimilated into the initial consonant of the suffix or the clitic as in the following rules.

\begin{itemize}
\item //=p// → //=t// (before //=tɕ//), //=k// (before //=k//), //=w// (before //=al//, //=i//)
\item //=l// → //=t// (before //=tɕ//, //=tɕ//), //=tʃ// (before //=tʃ//), //=k// (before //=k//), //=s// (before //=s//)
\item //=r// → //=tʃ// (before //=tʃ//)
\end{itemize}

For example, the verb stem //=\textit{sel}/ (“kill”) changes to //=\textit{set}/ before the auxiliary verb //=\textit{tay}/ ( //=\textit{set}=tay// “[somebody] killed”). In the following text, the phonemes which actually appeared will be shown.

4. Grammar

In this section, some typological features and distinctive characteristics of Amdo Tibetan will be briefly described.

4.1 Language type

This language is agglutinative in that it has many clitics and suffixes. The case marking pattern is Ergative-absolutive. In most cases, Amdo Tibetan is a postpositional language, excepting a question marker (\textit{ə}-) and a negative marker$^4$ (\textit{ma}- and \textit{mə}-).

$^2$ //=\textit{Ga}// means the underlying form of the “purposive” conjunction //=\textit{ga}/ and //=\textit{ka}/.

$^3$ The underlying form of \textit{jek}/ is //=\textit{jel}/, but //=\textit{l}// changes to //=k// before //=\textit{ka}/.

$^4$ \textit{ma}- precedes perfective verbs (example (18)) and \textit{ma}- precedes imperfective verbs (examples (9), (12), (13), and others), but \textit{ma}- precedes imperfective verbs only in negative imperative clauses (examples (5), (16) and (28)).
4.2 Word order
As is the case with the other Tibetan languages, the word order is SV in an intransitive clause, and AOV in a transitive clause. Adjectives are placed after nouns (ex. *cimo teʰŋwo* “youngest daughter” (11)).

4.3 Noun morphology
Nouns do not have grammatical number and gender categories. There are plural suffixes (/-teʰ/o/, /-tɕ/o/, /-tso/, /-zɑ/o/), but these are not obligatory. In most settings, cases are marked by case markers (ergative; /=kɑ/, /=ki/, /=kʰari/, genitive; /=kɑ/, /=ki/, ablative; /=ni/, locative; /=na/, dative; /=/a/7, terminative; /=tʰəkʰi/) or a zero-mark (absolutive).

Nouns can be divided into honorific nouns and non-honorific nouns. For example, /ɕimo/ “daughter (HON)” (in example (9)) is the honorific noun of /ɕimo/ “daughter” (in example (8) and others).

4.4 Verb morphology
Verbs do not agree with person, number or gender. Some verbs have inflections according to tense and mood (perfective, imperfective, imperative). There are many verbs which do not have any inflection. Instead, auxiliary verbs and sentence-final particles are used for expressing tense, aspect, modality, and evidentiality.

4.5 Voice
For phenomena concerning voice, this language has causative expressions but has no grammatical expressions of passive or anti-passive. Furthermore, there are morphophonological pairs of intransitive-transitive verbs (such as /hkor/ “make it turn” and /kʰor/ “turn”).

4.6 Conjunct/ Disjunct
As with the other Tibetan languages, Amdo Tibetan has a system for expressing a speaker’s epistemic modality: conjunct/ disjunct patterns. Shirai (2007: 140) divided conjunct/ disjunct patterns into two types: (1) the “person-restricted” type like that of Newar and (2) the “point-of-view” type like that of modern Tibetan. Shirai noted, “the conjunct form is chosen if the speaker is a conscious participant in the process of the event—regardless of the person of the subject”. In Amdo Tibetan, there are conjunct series and disjunct series for copula verbs and for some auxiliary verbs. The conjunct

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5 The descriptions such as “SV”, “AOV” follow Dixon (1972).
6 Sometimes /=kʰari/ is used for expressing “material” or “instrument, way”, instead of /=kɑ/, /=ki/.
7 /=/a/ changes to /=kɑ/, /=ma/, /=na/, /=pa/, /=wa/, /=a/, or /=o/ phonologically conditioned by the final of the stem.
form of the copula verb is /\jən/ (the negative form is /\mən/), and the disjunct form is /\rel/ (the negative form is /\marel/). In this text, only the /\jən/ series appeared (examples (5), (38) and others). In some circumstances such as after particular auxiliary verbs or before particular conjunctions, these two series are neutralized (only the /\jən/ series can appear, see example (2), (31), (32), (39), and (42)).

4.7 Logophoricity

In Amdo Tibetan there are logophoric pronouns /kʰɜ/ (for male), /mo/ (for female), and /kʰon/ (for family plural). These pronouns appear in reported speech and show co-reference to the third (sometimes the second) person original speaker of the reported speech. (See examples (8), (32), (33), (38), and (45)).

5. Text

Title: Zarək ḳasi “Little Frog as God’s Son”

(/zarək/ means “little frog”, /ɬa/ means “god,” and /si/ means “son (HON)”)  

Date of recording: December 30, 2008  
Speaker: Mrs. ḷoma

As noted in 4.4 (verb morphology), many verbs do not inflect. So, the names of inflectional forms (IPFV for imperfective form, PFV for perfective form and IMP for imperative form) are described in glosses only when the verb has more than two inflectional forms.

(1) \(taŋma=zək=a\)  \(aji=zək=a\)  \(mepo\)
     a.long.time.ago=INDF=DAT  old.woman=INDF=LINK  poor
     \(mepo=zək\)  \(jo=nəre\).
     poor=INDF  there.is/are=AUX
     “A long time ago, there was an old woman who was very, very poor.”

(2) \(kʰɜrgə\)  \(kʰormo\)  \(jən=nəre\),  \(ta\).
     3SG:ABS  alone  COP=AUX  then
     “She was alone.”

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8 =a is a linker, which appears after =zək (indefinite marker), when some adjectival elements follow the indefinite marker.

9 =nəre is the auxiliary verb which adds some “explanatory” meaning to the clause. =nəre is often used in folktales.

10 ta is a polysemic element which originally meant “now”. Sometimes it behaves like a conjunction (glossed as “then” in this text). Sometimes it denotes a pragmatic meaning such as contrastive or topic (glossed as “PP” in this text).
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(3) ta kʰorge nbɔtɔ=a sʰəŋ=ŋ[^11] tə=ki
then 3SG:ABS firewood=DAT go:PFV=CONJ DEM=ERG
ji=na[^12] ta nin dzaŋ na me
do:PFV=CONJ then day every day there.is.not/are.not
hkoŋŋa kʰu=i əgmo kʰu=i nin tsʰ=k=ta əgmo
foot ache=CONJ knee ache=CONJ day one=PP knee
naŋ=ni kʰu hkoŋŋa kʰu kʰu kʰu=i ta
inside=ABL ache foot ache ache ache=CONJ then
bawa=zək ndə=i wə lon=nore=ja.
frog=INDF come.out=CONJ appear:PFV reach=AUX=SFP
“Every time she went to collect firewood, [her] foot ached, [her] knee ached, and
one day the inner side of the knee ached, the foot ached and ached, and then a
frog came out [from her knee].”

(4) ‘bawa ze=na[^13] sʰaba rəba tcʰo nde
frog say=CONJ dust.frog rotten.frog 2SG:ABS this:DAT
tcʰɔzək jek=ka[^14] jɔŋ=ŋa?
what do:NPST=CONJ come=SFP
“[The woman said] ‘Talking about frog, dust frog! rotten frog! Why did you
come here?’”

(5) ‘aji[^15]. tcʰi ŋa ma-dək=ra. ŋa
grand.mother 2SG:ERG 1SG:ABS NEG-scold=SFP 1SG:ABS
tcʰo kʰu so=no wə=zək jəŋ’ zi ta,
2SG:ABS mouth feed:IPFV=NMLZ son=INDF COP say then
‘tcʰo=nəŋəfe kʰu so=no=zək=ta
2SG:ABS=as mouth feed:IPFV=NMLZ=INDF=PP
mek=ko’ zi.
there.is/are.not=SFP say
“[The frog said] ‘Grandma. Don’t scold me. I am a son who fend for you,’ and
then [he said], ‘There is nobody who fends for a woman like you.’”

[^11] =ŋi is one allomorph of the conjunction //={Ni}// which express “sequential actions” or “simultaneous actions”.
[^12] =na is the conjunction which expresses “conditional”.
[^13] The phrase ze=na (say=CONJ) sometimes expresses “topic”, as Haiman (1978) shows the similarities between
conditionals and topic.
[^14] =ka is a “purposive” conjunction.
[^15] Kinship terms are often used to address ones who are not relatives.
“The frog said] ‘I can fend for you’ and one day he went out.”

“He went out, then picked up a pile of firewood and arrived.”

“On that day, [the frog said] ‘Grandma. Far away from our house, there is a king’s dwelling. So, I will go and try to ask for a princess and then come back,’ [the frog] said.”
“Then, ‘Oh! Shame on you! The king will not give [his] princess to a frog like you,’ the grandmother said.”

(11) ‘ak’hɔ22 dzawo. ak’hɔ dzawo. tɕʰek=kɔ cimo

uncle king uncle king ZSG(HON)=GEN daughter
tɕʰoŋwo nga nama cɔn=atɔŋri’ tɔ=ki ze=ŋore.
young 1SG:AES wife give:IMP=SFP DEM=ERG say=AUX

“‘Dear king. Dear king. Please give me your princess,’ [the frog] said’

(13) ‘ak’hɔ dzawo. tɕʰi nga mɔ-hter=na

uncle king 2SG:ERG 1SG:AES NEG-give:IPFV=CONJ
 nga nɔt=tɕʰiŋɔn=go’ tɔ=ki zi=ni.
1SG:AES cry=AUX=SFP DEM=ERG say=AUX

“‘Dear king. Dear king. Unless you give me, I will cry,’ [the frog] said.”

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21 Dative case markers sometimes do not appear after vowels.
22 In this text, ak’hɔ “uncle” is used to show respect for the king.
(14) ‘tɕʰo hi+ndet$^{23}$=tɕi=na $t'$op’ to=ki ze=ni.
2SG:ABS cry:IPFV=AUX=CONJ cry:IMP DEM=ERG say=AUX
“If you want to cry, please cry,’ [the king] said.”

(15) hi+tet=taŋ ta htsaktɕʰ=ko ta htsok to tɕʰer
cry:PFV=AUX then tear=ERG then a.little.bit then rain
we=ti ta kʰŋwa jekko nkʰr-le
fall:PFV=CONJ then house all carry-be.about.to
nkʰr-le ji=taŋ=nøre.
carry-be.about.to do:PFV=AUX=AUX
“When [the frog] crying, by tear, rain fell and a whole house was about to flow.”

(16) te=ni ta ‘tɕʰo hi+ma-nde. hi+ma-nde.
DEM=ABL then 2SG:ABS NEG-cry:IPFV NEG-cry:IPFV
ty=ɕʰo hter. qimo hter’ to=ki
1SG:ERG 2SG:ABS give:IPFV daughter give:IPFV DEM=ERG
zi=nøre.
say=AUX
“When ‘Don’t cry. Don’t cry. I give you the daughter,’ [the king] said.”

(17) ‘ja$^{24}$ to=ki zi=nøre.
INTJ DEM=ERG say=AUX
“‘Ya,’ [the frog] said.”

(18) ta hi+ma-te=nøre.
then NEG-cry:PFV=AUX
“Then [the frog] stopped crying.”

(19) to=ni jaŋ ‘mə-hter’ ze=nøre, jaŋ.
DEM=ABL again NEG-give:IPFV say=AUX again
“So again ‘[I] don’t give,’ [the king] said again.”

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$^{23}$ /hi+ndep// is the idiom which means “cry”. The meaning of /hi/ is not known. /ndep// means “to plant”. /ndet/ is an allomorph of /ndep//. A negative particle (ma- and mə-) is inserted before the verb /ndep// (examples (17), (18)).

$^{24}$ ja is an interjection which means an affirmative answer.
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(20) ‘akʰ lele. akʰ dżawo. tɕʰ mə-hter=na ta
please uncle king 2SG:ERG NEG-give:IPFV=CONJ then
ŋa got=tɕə=go.’
1SG:ABS laugh:IPFV=AUX=SFP
‘Please. Dear king. If you don’t give [me], I will laugh.’”

(21) ‘ja. tɕʰ o got=tɕə=na gol.’
INTJ 2SG:ABS laugh:IPFV=AUX=CONJ laugh:IMP
“‘Ya. If you like to laugh, please laugh.’”

(22) ta get=tŋ=na ta ranŋa nɕbk
then laugh:PFV=AUX=NMLZ then FIL lightning
tɕʰbkt=i ta nɕbk tɕʰbkt=i ta hlokt
sparkle=CONJ then lightning sparkle=CONJ then lightning
ntɕʰa=i ta ranŋa dzok-le dzok-le
sparkle=CONJ then FIL turn.over-be.about.to turn.over-be.be.about.to
jek=kə de=nŋe=ja.
do:IPFV=CONJ stay:PFV=AUX=SFP
“When he laughed, lightning flashed and sparkled, then, [his house] was about to crumble.”

(23) ‘ja. ɗi tɕʰ o hter. hter. tɕʰ o
INTJ 1SG:ERG 2SG:ABS give:IPFV give:IPFV 2SG:ABS
kʰaroka do=tə=ja. ɗi tɕʰ o hter’ ze=nŋe.
quietly stay:IMP=SFP 1SG:ERG 2SG:ABS give:IPFV say=AUX
“‘Ya. I give you. [I] give [you]. You stay quietly! I give you,’ [the king] said.”

(24) jaŋ hter=kʰa ma-ŋe=nŋe.
again give:IPFV=NMLZ NEG-can=AUX
“Again, [the king] did not give.’”

(25) tə=ni ta, ɗa. akʰ dżawo tɕʰ i
DEM=ABL then INTJ uncle king 2SG:ERG
mə-hter=na ta ɗa zok=na htoŋ
NEG-give:IPFV=CONJ then 1SG:ABS after=LOC one
ɡər=i ŋen=na htoŋ ɡər=dʒə=go’ tə=ki
bend=CONJ before=LOC one bend=AUX=SFP DEM=ERG
“Then, ‘Ya. Dear king. Unless you give me, I will bend backwards and forward.’”

“If you like to bend, please bend,” [the king said.]

“When he bent backwards and forward, earthquake came, and his house was about to fall over.”

“Then, ‘Don’t do like that. Please. Don’t do like that. I decided to give you my youngest daughter to you,’ [the king] said.”

“Then ‘Ya,’ [the frog] said.”

Then wife young daughter young wife give:PFV=CONJ 3SG:ERG carry=CONJ DEM=ERG do:PFV then come=CONJ then then very
“Then [the king] gave the youngest daughter in marriage, then he [=the frog] took her along, then came back, the husband and wife did that. In day time, [the husband] wears the frog’s that thing [=skin].”

(31)  

“[The frog] said,”

(32)  

“When I was the son of dragon king, I was under a spell of devil and I [have to] wear a frog skin,’ [the frog] said.”

(33)  

“Saying like that, then, ‘I am not allowed to take off [the skin]. If I took off, the witch will grasp [me] and take [me] away.’”

25 ken is the demonstrative pronoun which means ‘that’. Sometimes, this pronoun is used when the speaker cannot remember what s/he wants to say.
Then, these two inherited a lot of money and became a rich household with servants."

“They became richer than the king’s house.”

“Two elder daughters of the king came to see [them].”

“[They] said, ‘[We] came to see our that [=younger sister],’ and [they] came to see, and said, ‘You married with a frog and are living like this, are you happy like this? You are not happy, so let’s go back home.’”
(38) た ‘も ɕira ɕ=a ᵐo⁻ndʑo.  ndi=ki
then 1SG(LOG):ABS back house=DAT NEG-go:IPFV DEM=ERG
kʰoŋ=ki gepo bawa ᵐo. tə=k̥i gonmo=ta
1SG(LOG):GEN husband frog COP DEM=ERG night=PP
bawa=k̥i kondʑo hut=taŋ=na ta ⁿo=ʑok  jən’
frog=GEN clothes take.off=AUX=CONJ then human=INDF COP
then 1SG=GEN husband frog COP DEM=ERG night=PP
bawa=k̥i kondʑo hut=taŋ=na ta ⁿo=ʑok  jən’
frog=GEN clothes take.off=AUX=CONJ then human=INDF COP

DEM=ERG say=AUX=SFP

“Then ‘I will not return home. My husband is not a frog. [He] is a man at night
after taking off the clothes,’ [the princess] said.”

(39) ⁿo=ʑok  jən  tə=k̥i  z̊i  ta,  tɕʰoŋ=ki n̄f̥a,
man=INDF COP DEM=ERG say then what COP=SFP
then man=INDF COP=CONJ do:PFV=CONJ then 2SG:ERG DEM=ERG
bawa=k̥o kowa-ŋən̄f̥a hara  həŋ=taŋ=na
to=ki frog=GEN skin-as the.other.side throw:PFV=AUX=CONJ
mo⁻tɕʰok=n̄i?’
NEG=allowable=SFP DEM=ERG say

“After saying that [he] is a man, what is that? then, ‘If he is a man, is it not
allowed for you to take off the frog skin?’ [the sisters] said.”

(40) ’hara hen ᵐo⁻n̄e.  hara
the.other.side throw:IPFV NEG-can the.other.side
həŋ=taŋ=na ta kʰoŋ=ki gepo tə=k̥i
then 1SG(LOG):GEN husband DEM=ERG
ndʑo=kə se ndʑok=n̄ọre. hara hen
witch=ERG kill:PFV put:IPFV=AUX the.other.side throw:IPFV
nen=n̄e=mar’e  tə=k̥i  z̊i=n̄ọre=ja.
can=AUX DEM=ERG say=AUX=SFP

“‘It is not allowed to take off. If he took off, the witch will kill my husband. [He]
should not take off,’ [the princess] said.”

(41) tə=k̥i  z̊e=ŋo=ta  həŋ=ki tɕʰoŋ=ki n̄f̥a?
DEM=ERG say=NMLZ=PP a.little what COP=SFP

“Saying like that, and what is that?”
Ebihara Shiho: Text from Amdo Tibetan “Little Frog as God’s Son” (*Zarok kasi*)

(42) ta tə=na ta ‘mə-hen=na mə-hen’ zi ta
then DEM=LOC then NEG-throw=CONJ NEG-throw say then
atai hni ka del=ı a atei hni ka nenba hni
elder.sister two stay:PFV=CONJ elder.sister two evil.person two
jen=ıre=ja.
COP=AUX=SFP
“Their, ‘If [he] will not take off, [he] does not need to take off,’ two sisters said.
Two sisters are evil persons.”

(43) tə=ni ta kʰəniki ta bawa=kə ɕimo26
DEM=ABL then 1DU(LOG):ERG then frog=ERG daughter
set=təy ta’ ndi hni ka, ʨʰəzək jən=nə ʨ, kʰənīka
kill:PFV=AUX then DEM two what COP=SFP 1DU(LOG):ABS
gemo jet=təi zi ta ɕimo sot=təi zi
wife do:IPFV=AUX say then daughter kill:IPFV=AUX say
tə=ki jek=ko=no=ta bawa=kə ɕis=s’əŋ=nəre.
DEM=ERG do:IPFV=AUX=NMLZ=PP frog=ERG know=AUX=AUX
“Then, the frog knew that they both are saying that ‘We kill the frog’s wife’ and
these two, what is that?, ‘We will become wives [of the frog], then kill the
princess.’”

(44) ta tə=na ta bawa=ki ɕis=s’əŋ.
then DEM=LOC then frog=ERG know=AUX
“Then, the frog knew [it].”

(45) kʰətɕo sʰətɕ’a tə=ni htonmo tsaja=zək
3PL:ABS place DEM=ABL party imposing=INDF
jek=ko=no hton tʰək te=ta ən tɕʰək=ta tə=ki
do:IPFV=AUX=NMLZ party above DEM=PP day one=PP DEM=ERG
zi=ni ɕe=mo, ʨʰə htonmo s’əŋ. k’ə
say=NMLZ say=CONJ 2SG:ABS party go:IMP 1SG(LOG):ABS
htonmo=a mə-ndzo’ ʨʰə htonmo=a s’əŋ. ɕira
party=DAT NEG-go:IPFV 2SG:ABS party=DAT go:IMP back
ɕok=ra ta ənιka kanyə ndzo go=na ndzo’
come:IMP=SFP then 1DU:ABS where go:IPFV need=CONJ go:IPFV

26 This word should be *gemo* “wife”.


tə=ki zı ta.
DEM=ERG say then
“There is a party in the place they live, and on the party, one day, [the frog] said
‘You go to the party. I will not go to the party. You go to the party. When you
come back, we will go whenever [we] need to go,’ [the frog] said.”

(46) tə ken atći hni=ki so=na ndok=ko=no
then DEM sister two=ERG kill:IPFV=CONJ think=AUX=NMLZ
ći=sʰəŋ ta ɕimo htonmo tək=təŋ ta atći hųık
know=AUX then girl party shove.in=AUX then sister two:ERG
so ma-tʰp=nəre=ja.
kill:IPFV NEG-can=AUX=SFP
“Then, that, [the frog] knew that two sisters want to kill [his wife], then [he]
made her go to the party and two sisters couldn’t kill [her].”

(47)²⁷ tə=ni tə ɕira jʊŋ=ŋi ta aği=ra
DEM=ABL then back come=CONJ then grandmother=CO-ORD
zawa hų́ka hćeppo demo jì
husband.and.wife two happy fine do:PFV
det=təŋ=nəre=ja.
stay:PFV=AUX=AUX=SFP
“These, after [the princess] came back, the grandmother and the couple lived
happy and healthy lives.”

Acknowledgements
This study was supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research funded by the
Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (‘Searching for the old layer of Tibetan –
through the research of dialects in Amdo (North-west part of Tibet) –’ headed by Shiho
Ebihara). Special thanks are for Mrs. ɖoma who told me this folktale and Mrs. kʰamohtɕal
who helped me with translating this story. Further I want to thank the anonymous referees
for providing useful comments and corrections for improvement.

²⁷ This sentence was originally spoken as ‘tə=ni tə ɕira jʊŋ=ŋi ta zawa hńka htecippo demo jì
det=təŋ=nəre=ja’(Then, after [the princess] came back, the husband and wife lived happy and healthy lives), but Mrs.
ɖoma told me that she forgot mentioning about the grandmother (aği) by mistake. So that, the phrase ‘with the
grandmother’ (aği=ra) is inserted in this sentence.
References


Symbols and Abbreviations

- Affix boundary
= Clitic boundary
+ Word boundary in compound words
// Underlying phonemic representation
/// Surface phonemic representation
1 First person
2 Second person
3 Third person
ABL Ablative
ABS Absolutive
AUX Auxiliary verb
C Consonant
CONJ Conjunction
CO-ORD Co-ordination particle
COP Copula
DAT Dative
DEM Demonstrative
DU Dual
ERG Ergative
FIL Filler
GEN Genitive
HON Honorifics
IMP Imperative
INDF Indefinite
INTJ Interjection
IPFV Imperfective
LINK Linker
LOC Locative
LOG Logophoric pronoun
NEG Negative
NMLZ Nominalizer
PFV Perfective
PL Plural
PP Pragmatic particle
PSN Person name
SFP Sentence-final particle
SG Singular
V Vowel
要旨
本論文は、アムド・チベット語チャプチャ方言で語られた Zarək ǝsə（「神の息子である小蛙」）という民話のテキスト資料を提示するとともに、テキスト内の実例を示しながら、この言語の音韻・文法を紹介することを目的とする。アムド・チベット語は中国青海省の全域、甘粛省の南部と四川省の北部で話されている（Figure 1 参照）。アムド地方では様々な民話が語り継がれており、今回紹介する Zarək ǝsə（「神の息子である小蛙」）もそのうちの 1 つである。この話は、老婆の膝から生まれた蛙が繰り広げる物語であり、最後には蛙がお姫様と結婚し、蛙の正体も明らかにされるという内容である。民話の類型としては、「異類婚姻譚」や「異常誕生譚」に属するものである。この話には他のバージョンがすでに記録されているが (Zhou 2003)，今回は筆者が青海省海南チベット族自治州共和県にて録音したデータをもとににする。本稿は、「はじめに」（§1），「音節構造と音素」（§2），「形態音韻的な交替」（§3），「文法」（§4），「テキスト」（§5）から構成される。