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# **SPOKEN TIBETAN TEXTS**

Volume 1

by

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with the help of Nawang Nornang and Lhadon Karsip

Nankang, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC

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# **SPOKEN TIBETAN TEXTS VOL. 1**

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Mr. Nornang and Mrs. Karsip (Seattle, 1960)



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## Introduction

The texts presented here are a byproduct of our collaboration with Mr. Nornang and Mrs. Karsip on the writing of A Manual of Spoken Tibetan (Lhasa Dialect), Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964. (Tapes of the Manual, made by Mr. Nornang in 1967, are available from the Language Laboratory of the University of California, Berkeley. The Manual itself is out of print.)

Nawang Nornang (ṇawāā lōṭōō noonāā) was born in Lhasa in 1927. At this time his father was governor of the province of qūnām tsōō in the region of thaaqō. For three years Mr. Nornang attended the yūqā qāā school in Lhasa; then, at the age of nine, he was entered in the šētūūīī monastery in thaaqō. The monastery had a number of college dormitories to which boys were assigned on the basis of regional origin. Mr. Nornang thus lived with other Lhasa boys and continued to speak the Lhasa dialect. In addition, he spent his vacations (two or three months each year) with his family in Lhasa. From the age of twenty-one until he left Tibet in 1959, he made trips throughout Tibet and to India for his monastery. He was also studying for the qešēē degree. In the fall of 1960, he and his niece, Mrs. Karsip, joined us in Seattle. At this time, Mr. Nornang knew no English; he and his niece lived together and, of course, continued to speak Tibetan. Mr. Nornang is now Lecturer in Tibetan Language and Literature at the University of Washington in Seattle.

Lhadon Karsip ( $\overline{n\bar{a}m\bar{k}\bar{e}\bar{e}} \text{ } \overline{lh\bar{a}t\bar{o}\bar{o}} \text{ } \overline{k\bar{a}rs\bar{t}l}$ ) was born to the Nornang family in Lhasa in 1940. From 1946 to 1952 she attended the  $\overline{p\bar{e}e\bar{q}\bar{o}\bar{o}}$  school in Lhasa; from 1952 to 1957 she was a student at St. Joseph's Convent in Kalimpong, India. In 1957 she returned to Lhasa, where she studied Tibetan grammar privately until her marriage in 1958 to Norbu Karsip, a Tibetan official. After leaving the University of Washington in 1963, Mrs. Karsip taught for several years in the Tibetan program of the University of Minnesota. She is now living in Germany.

From 1960 to 1963 we worked continuously with Mr. Nornang and Mrs. Karsip. After using the customary techniques of linguistic field work to establish the phonemic system of the language, we began recording simple texts. At a more advanced stage, in order to obtain the most natural speech we could, we taught Mr. Nornang and Mrs. Karsip to use the tape recorder and adopted the following procedure. Mr. Nornang and Mrs. Karsip would make tapes by themselves, conversing on various areas of Tibetan culture or enacting little scenes of Tibetan life. We would then listen to the tapes together and ask for repetitions and translations; as we did this, we would elicit additional examples of lexical usage and grammatical structure. The texts we collected in this way will comprise two volumes.

As Mr. Nornang and Mrs. Karsip listened to the tapes and repeated them for us, they of course wanted to make corrections; their natural speech contains, as does ours, discontinuities, afterthoughts, and



occasional mispronunciations. We, on the other hand, were reluctant to give up any record of natural speech. The final versions of the texts, then, involve a degree of compromise. In some cases, we conceded that changes were necessary; in others, we have retained what we heard on the tape. We must apologize to Mr. Nornang for one such area of retention, aspirated initial stops with the low tone which he considered less acceptable than the corresponding unaspirated initials. For 'nomad', Mrs. Karsip has, for example, only  $\text{t̚q̄pā}$ ; Mr. Nornang has both  $\text{t̚q̄pā}$  and  $\text{t̚h̄q̄pā}$ , but would change the  $\text{t̚h-}$  of the latter to  $\text{t̚-}$  for the record. (Mr. Nornang regularly has  $\text{th̄tsū}$  'these, those' where Mrs. Karsip has  $\text{t̚tsū}$ , but this aspirated initial he accepts as standard.) Written Tibetan voiced stops in absolute-initial position correspond to Lhasa Tibetan aspirated stop initials with the low tone (e.g. WT  $\text{gur}$ , ST  $\text{q̄huu}$  'tent'). Written Tibetan stops preceded by other consonants correspond to unaspirated stop initials with the low tone (e.g. WT  $\text{mgo}$ , ST  $\text{q̄o}$  'head', WT  $\text{sga}$ , ST  $\text{q̄a}$  'a saddle', WT  $\text{N-di}$ , ST  $\text{t̚i}$  'this'). (For more on the correspondences of written and spoken Tibetan, see B. Chang 1971.X.1 ff.; on the transcription of preinitial a-chung as the nasal N-, see Chang and Chang 1976.) Written Tibetan has for 'nomad' N-brog-pa, to which the spoken Tibetan  $\text{t̚q̄pā}$  corresponds. Whether  $\text{t̚h̄q̄pā}$ , implying \*brog-pa, points to an old doublet or rather to a modern shift of voiceless unaspirated stop initials with the low tone to their aspirated counterparts we cannot say; we do, however,

consider the preservation of such pronunciations of great enough linguistic value to overrule Mr. Nornang on this point.

Over the years we have returned to Mr. Nornang and Mrs. Karsip with requests to check material and answer questions. We should like to express here our appreciation to them for the patience and willingness to help which they have shown us in a kind of research where an answered question can only lead to an unanswered one. Their broad knowledge of Tibet and things Tibetan and their creativeness in improvising scenes of Tibetan life will be apparent to the reader of these texts. We did not expect them to speak with authority as scholars in the fields of history or anthropology, but we ask whether we could display equal knowledge of such a wide range of topics in our own cultures, and we are afraid we could not.

If we have tried to make as true a record of natural Tibetan speech as we reasonably could, we have standardized some features more than others. We have, for example, consistently given the stressed variant of reè in verb phrases ending in -pa reè. In fact, an unstressed re also occurs here. (The reè of -qT reè has more stress.) In deference to Mr. Nornang's preference for verb phrases with full stress in -qT yo reè, we have only enclosed the -T y- in parentheses where these elements are missing on the tape. (In a narrow phonetic transcription, the sequence -qT yo- would be, at times, -quo-.) We have, however, done more to give the process of denasalization its due. The frequency

with which a nasalized second-syllable vowel is denasalized after nasalization in the first syllable depends on the particular form. Denasalization may be said to be regular in  $\text{chũcũũ}$  'small' (cf. the unreduplicated base in  $\text{chũŋ} \text{ ʈhaà}$  'to be too small').  $\text{phẽtsũũ}$  'here and there' is common, but  $\text{phẽtsũũ}$  is also said. The reduplicated  $\text{chũũ}$  'to get' was repeated for us as  $\text{chũũcũũ}$ , but as spoken in extended discourse, was  $\text{chũũcũũ}$ , the form we give here (p. 8).

The acoustic phonetic work on Tibetan to which we shall refer here was carried out by Betty Chang in the Phonology Laboratory of the University of California (1967-8); the spectrograms of Mr. Nornang's taped speech were made on the Kay Electric Company Sona-Graph 6061-A.

We list below what we have published on the Tibetan language since 1964.

Chang, Betty Shefts. "The Tibetan Causative: Phonology." Taipei:

BIHP (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica) 42 (1971), 623-765.

Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. "Gyarong Historical Phonology."

Taipei: BIHP 46 (1975), 391-524.

Chang, Kun. "The Tibetan Role in Sino-Tibetan Comparative Linguistics."

Taipei: BIHP 48 (1977), 93-108.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts. "A Morphophonemic Problem in the Spoken

Tibetan of Lhasa." Journal of the American Oriental Society 85 (1965), 34-39.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts, with the help of Nawang Nornang and Lhadon Karsip. A Manual of Spoken Tibetan (Lhasa Dialect). Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts. "Spoken Tibetan Morphophonemics: p." Language 43 (1967), 512-25.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts Chang. "Vowel Harmony in Spoken Lhasa Tibetan." Taipei: BIHP 40 (1968), 53-124.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts Chang. "The Prenasalized Stop Initials of Miao-Yao, Tibeto-Burman, and Chinese: A Result of Diffusion or Evidence of a Genetic Relationship?" Genetic Relationship, Diffusion and Typological Similarities of East & Southeast Asian Languages: Papers for the 1st Japan-US Joint Seminar on East & Southeast Asian Linguistics. Tokyo: The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (1976), 315-58. Also Taipei: BIHP 47 (1976), 467-502.

Some of the above-cited publications take the spoken Tibetan dialect of the present texts as their focus (e.g. "Vowel Harmony in Spoken Lhasa Tibetan"); our work on this dialect has, however, gradually led us farther afield, to comparative-historical studies, as in "Gyarong Historical Phonology". It is apparent that the synchronic and diachronic aspects of linguistic research are of mutual value. We look forward to comparative work on morphology and grammar, but have so far been concerned more with phonology.

Publication of a dictionary and grammar will follow that of the texts; we limit the following introductory remarks to those features of the phonology necessary to enable the reader to interpret the transcription we use.

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Berkeley, California

### Vowels

Lhasa Tibetan has twelve vowels, which function in vowel harmony as six pairs:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
(a)	i	é	ʌ	ô	ü	u
(b)	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	ö	o

The vowels of row a are high in contrast to those immediately below them in row b. Generally, but with exceptions as noted below, words of more than one syllable have only vowels of either series a or b. Vowel harmony of this sort may come naturally, as when two monosyllabic forms having vowels of the same series are brought together by composition or affixation; if it does not, it is achieved by either the raising or the lowering of one vowel. Adjective and verb bases and their affixes follow one rule: raising. That is, nonhigh vowels are raised to high when the vowel of either the preceding or the following syllable is high (e.g. so thūpa reè 'he could make it', suqT reè

'he will make it', sukū reè 'he has yet to make it'; mā 'low', māšöö 'lowest', riṅ 'long', riṅšüü 'longest'). Noun bases and their affixes and, more often than not, nouns in composition, follow the same rule of raising (e.g. ṭhi 'knife', tsē 'tip, peak', [mētēt] tsṭṭ 'bayonet'). Nouns in composition, on occasion, however, exhibit lowering in the first syllable (e.g. ri 'mountain', reṭöö 'a mountain retreat; hermitage on a mountain').

Examples of raising:

1.  $e \rightarrow i$     tēē 'to give', tṭṭqṭ yṭṭ 'I will give'  
                  tsē 'tip, peak', ri 'mountain', riṭṭṭ 'mountain peak'
2.  $\varepsilon \rightarrow \dot{e}$     ṭēē 'rice', šṭqṭ 'field', ṭēēšṭṭ 'a rice field'  
                  phēē 'wool', pū 'hair', pūpēē 'hair and wool'
3.  $a \rightarrow \wedge$     ṭā 'five', ṭhuṭ 'six', ṭāṭṭṭ 'five or six'  
                  lhā 'god', yüü 'country, place', yüüṭṭ 'a local god  
                  (who protects a certain area)'
4.  $\circ \rightarrow \dot{o}$     thōō 'a hammer', chūṭ 'small', thōōcūü 'a small hammer'  
                  thōō 'a roof', cṭq 'one', thōōsā 'a story (of a  
                  building)', cṭqṭōō 'a one-story building'
5.  $\ddot{o} \rightarrow \ddot{u}$     phöö 'Tibet', mi 'a person', phüümṭ 'a Tibetan'  
                  söö 'seeds', ṭu 'barley', ṭusüü 'barley seeds'
6.  $\circ \rightarrow u$     so 'a tooth', ši 'four', supṭṭ 'a five-year-old yak  
                  (that is, one with four teeth)'

ṭho 'bronze', kṭṭ 'center; central', kṭṭṭṭ 'a bronze container for ~~hot~~ water, kept on the central burner of a stove'

Examples of lowering:

1. i → e    mṭi 'eye', ṣēēqō 'glass', mēqṣēē 'glasses'
2. ü → ö    cūū 'to twist', see 'a nail', cōōṣēē, cūūsṭṭ 'a screw'
3. u → o    cū 'ten', kēē 'eight', cōpkēē 'eighteen'

(For more on vowel harmony, see Chang and Chang 1968.)

There are two major exceptions to the operation of vowel harmony:

(1) where the vowel of the second syllable is -aa or -āā; and (2) in external sandhi. (The pronominal forms ṭḥṭsō [beside ṭḥṭsū] 'these, those', ṭḥṭsō 'to these, those' constitute additional exceptions in Mr. Nornang's speech; Mrs. Karsip has here ṭḥṭsō, ṭḥṭsō, with first-syllable lowering [cf. ṭḥ 'this'].)

(1) Neither -aa nor -āā is raised in a second syllable, and a high vowel in the preceding syllable is usually not lowered by -aa or -āā; forms such as ṭoqāā beside ṭuqāā 'there is, is that right?', an interrogative toṭu 'there is', are exceptional. Examples:

1. ṭḥṭ '10,000', yāā 'yak', ṭḥṭyāā '10,000 yaks'
2. mḥ 'person', māḥ 'the majority', mḥmāā 'the majority of the people, the common people'
3. ḥṭp 'to teach, study', ḥṭptāā 'the way of studying'

4. khū 'flock, swarm, herd', sāa 'new', khūsāa 'the new herd'

5. chū 'water', qhānpā 'building', chūqāā 'bathhouse'

(2) Before the sentence particle nT (which we write together with the preceding word only when there is tone sandhi and a falling tone changes to level) we find qhomnā nT (from qhomnā plus nT), p. 195, but pa chēēnT (from pa chēē plus nT), p. 8, and qhāšēēnT (from qhāšēē plus nT), p. 61. Low vowels in the preceding syllable remain low even after external vowel sandhi has resulted in the merging of the -ā of -ñā 'if' and the sentence particle ē, ē 'also' into the geminate high vowel -ēē. For example: qōōnēē, p. 263.

There are also morphophonemic alternations in which certain vowels (series b below) are central in relation to others (series a):

	1	2	3	4
(a)	i	e	u	o
(b)	ēē	ēē	ōō	ōō

One source of these central, geminate vowels is sandhi in which, following the loss of a medial consonant, the noncentral single vowel combines with the vowel a or its unstressed alternant, ʌ (schwa). Where spoken Tibetan has in these cases a falling tone, there are forms to bases with either (1) geminate vowels or (2) closed syllables in spoken Tibetan which have unstressed vowels in the affix -pa (after 1) ~ -ʌ (after 2), implying lack of stress as the reason for the tonal fall. For example: phāā tshūū phēēpēē [genitive to phēēpʌ] qhūtūū 'when they



go here and there' (p. 78; verb base phēè) but phāā t̪ɔ̀b̪ qh̪i qh̪ut̪ū̄ 'when they go there' (p. 32; verb base t̪ɔ̀). That these are verbal nouns may be inferred from such an example as l̪ō̄cāā qh̪i qh̪ut̪ū̄ 'at the time of the engagement wine party' (p. 279).

Nouns which are formed from noun bases with single vowels and which have in written Tibetan the affix -ba may have in spoken Tibetan stressed geminate vowels. For example: WT lte-ba 'navel', ST t̪ēē (\*e-a → ēē); WT ka-ba 'pillar', ST qāā (\*a-a → aa); WT yu-ba 'a handle', ST yōō (\*u-a → ōō; note the loan forms hālūā and hālōō from Hindi halwā [p. 242]); WT tho-ba 'a hammer', ST th̪ōō (\*o-a → ōō). In other, more conservative, instances, a -w- reflex of the \*-b- has been retained; after o this may be lost, leaving vowel hiatus: WT N-t̪̃hi-ḅa 'death', ST ch̪Twā (judged not colloquial); WT lte-ba 'main, chief', ST t̪ēwā, t̪Twā; WT brel-ba 'business', ST t̪hewā; WT zla-ba 'month', ST t̪awā; WT N-tsho-ba 'livelihood', ST tshōā.

As after verb bases, so after adjective bases it is the unstressed affix which occurs, here forming comparatives. For example: thāā r̪iŋa n̪ 'those who are farther away' (p. 74; adjective base r̪iŋ); thāā ñ̪ē tshō ni 'those who are closer' (p. 73; adjective base ñ̪ē).

Examples of sandhi in the noncentral : central pairs:

- \*i-a → èè      c̪i, c̪ip̪ū 'heavy', c̪ēè 'heavier'  
 \*e-a → ēē      chē, chēp̪ō 'large', chēē 'larger' (e.g. q̪ōyōō chēē y̪ɔ̀b̪  
 reè 'they possess greater knowledge', p. 71)

\*u-a → öö tūū, tu 'to collect', qhöȫ t̄hēē tōō reē 'he (usually) collects taxes'

\*o-a → ɔɔ t̄ho, t̄hopō 'warm', t̄hōō 'warmer' (t̄hōō yōō repēē? 'is it warmer?', p. 12)

For additional examples of this sort of sandhi, see Chang and Chang 1968.106 ff.

When Mr. Nornang visited Berkeley in the summer of 1967, we devised a perception test to verify the existence of the e : ē contrast. After Mr. Nornang had agreed on a list of six minimal pairs illustrating the posited contrast, we taped fifty instances of these forms, chosen at random. The six pairs were these:

- (1) a. cēē 'to change'  
b. cēē 'it's heavier' (adjective base cī 'heavy')
- (2) a. šēē 'I think he's going to die' (verb base šī 'to die')  
b. šēē 'it's fat (of e.g. a horse)'
- (3) a. qhēē (ñīqāā) 'day before yesterday'  
b. (qhātūū) qhēē 'certain to meet'
- (4) a. (ra) sēē 'I think he's going to get drunk' (verb base sī)  
b. sēē 'to get, receive'
- (5) a. t̄hēē 'a mule'  
b. t̄hēē 'to the knife' (More often, t̄hī l̄ is used.)
- (6) a. mēē 'of the fire' (mē 'fire')  
b. mēē 'to the person' (mī 'person')

Acoustically and perceptually, e and è proved distinct. Spectrograms were made of the fifty taped vowels. (See, for example, Figures 1-4; K stands for thousand cycles per second.) Those with the same initials were made on the same day, since the calibration of the Sonagraph may drift. Measurements of narrow-band sections were made at a midpoint in the vowel. For each pair, èè had lower second and, generally, third formants, marks of a lower, more central vowel. The second formants are, for example, at 2200 cycles per second for cèè, at 1900 for cèè in Figure 1, at 2500 cycles per second for šèè, at 2100 for šèè in Figure 2, at 2300 cycles per second for seè, at 2100 for seè in Figure 3.

To test the perceptual authenticity of the contrast we played the tape to Mr. Nornang and three Sinologists. For Mr. Nornang we played the tape twice through but without any repetitions in the playback. In the following transcription of the tape we give in parentheses first the correct answer, than Mr. Nornang's first and second answers. Wrong answers, which were almost always in the direction of e perceived as è, are underlined.

- |                                   |                           |                             |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. cèè (1b: b, b)                 | 6. šèè (2b: b, <u>a</u> ) | 11. t̚heè (5a: a, a)        |
| 2. qhèè (3b: b, b)                | 7. qhèè (3a: a, a)        | 12. qhèè (3b: b, a)         |
| 3. t̚heè (5a: a, <u>b</u> )       | 8. cèè (1b: b, b)         | 13. qhèè (3a: <u>b</u> , a) |
| 4. mee (6a: <u>b</u> , <u>b</u> ) | 9. t̚heè (5b: b, b)       | 14. cèè (1b: b, b)          |
| 5. šèè (2b: <u>a</u> , <u>a</u> ) | 10. t̚heè (5a: a, a)      | 15. cèè (1b: b, b)          |

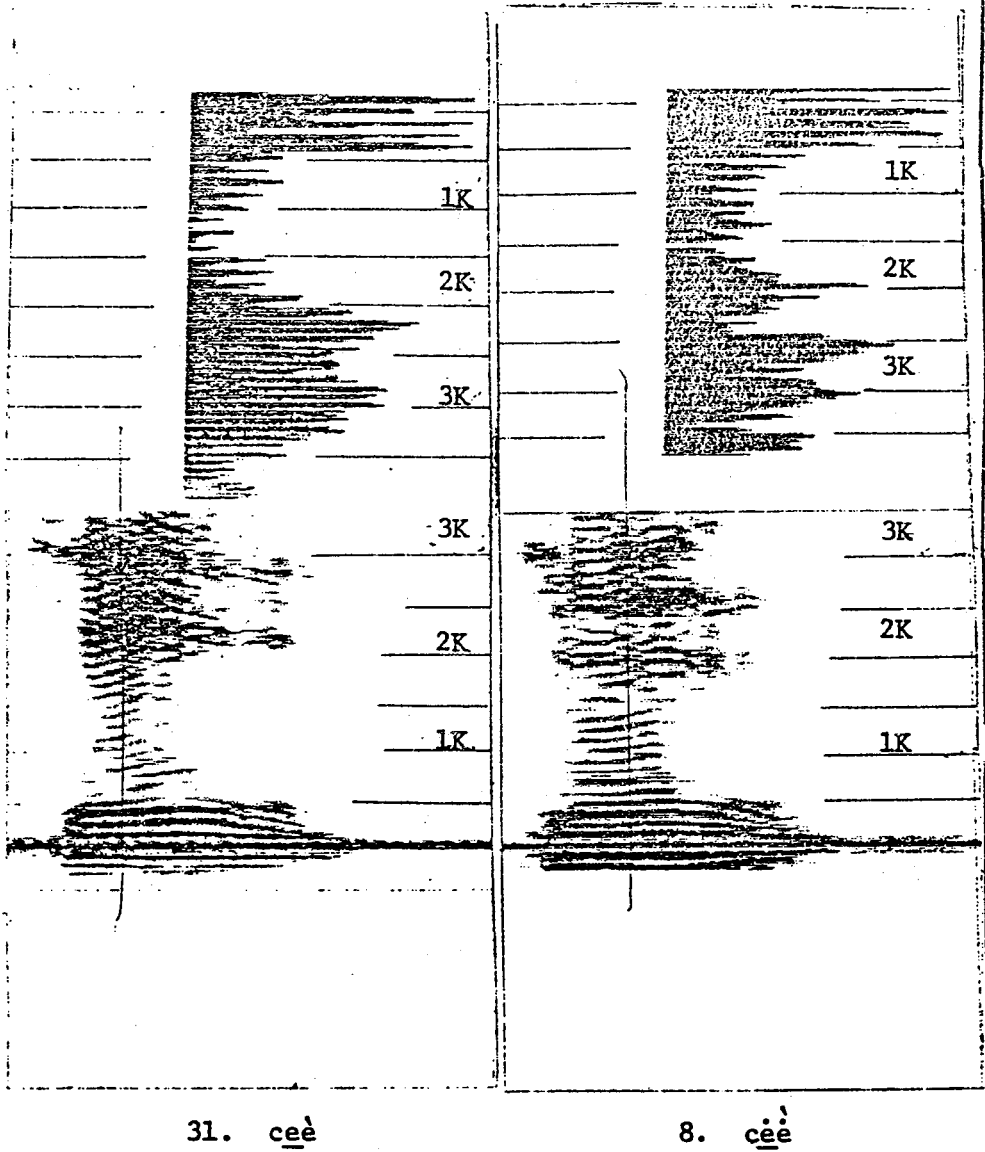


Figure 1

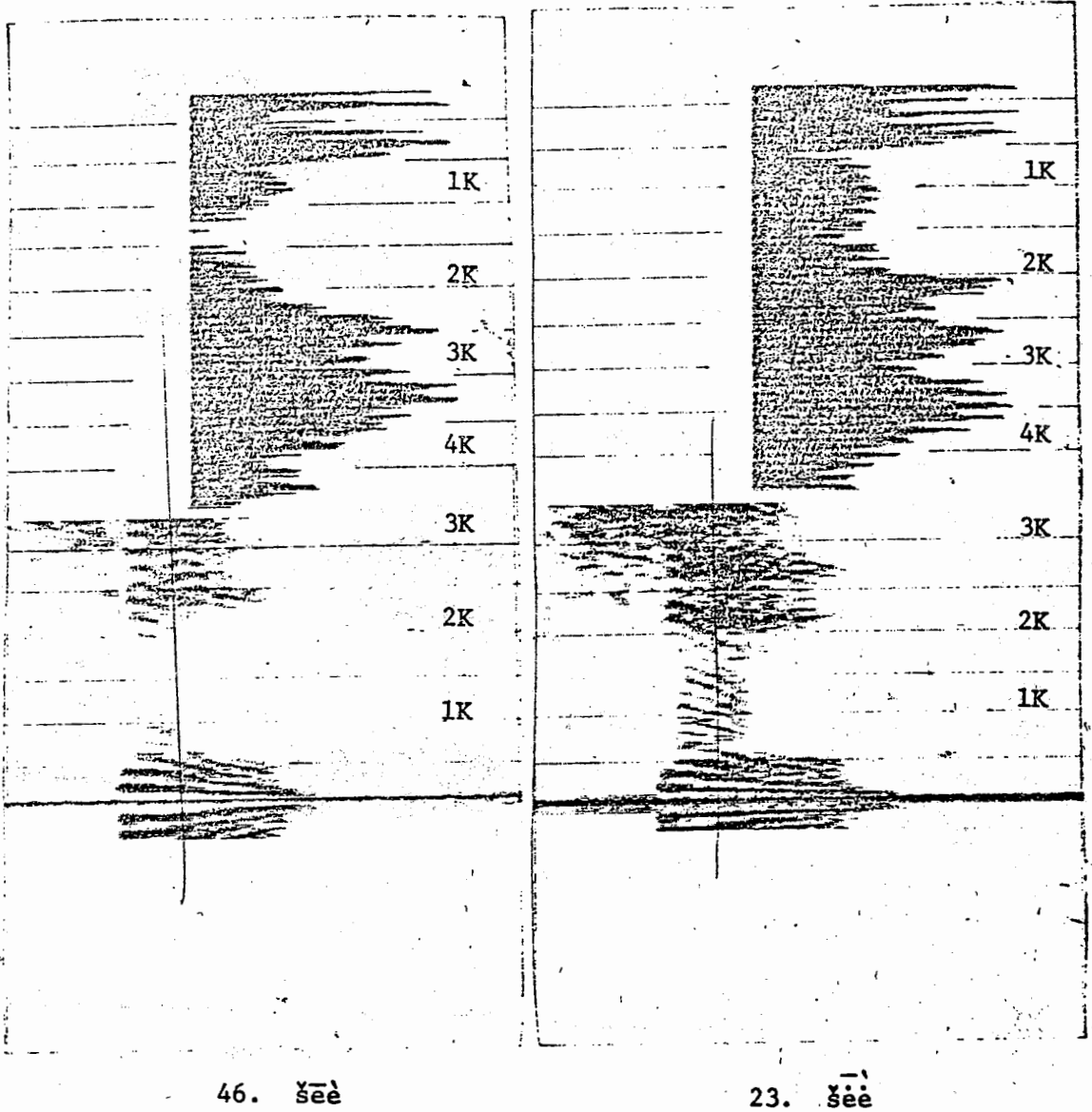


Figure 2

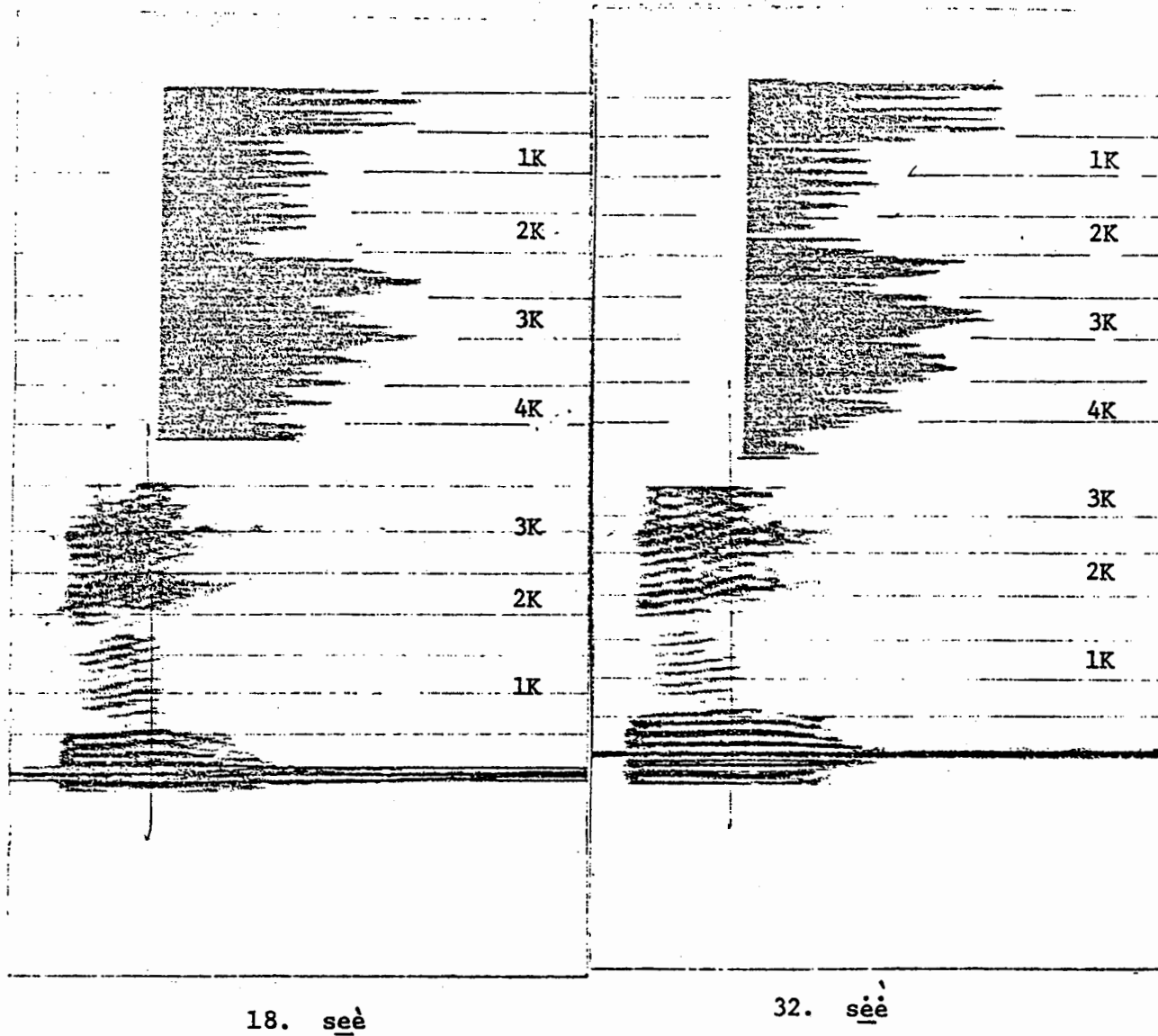


Figure 3

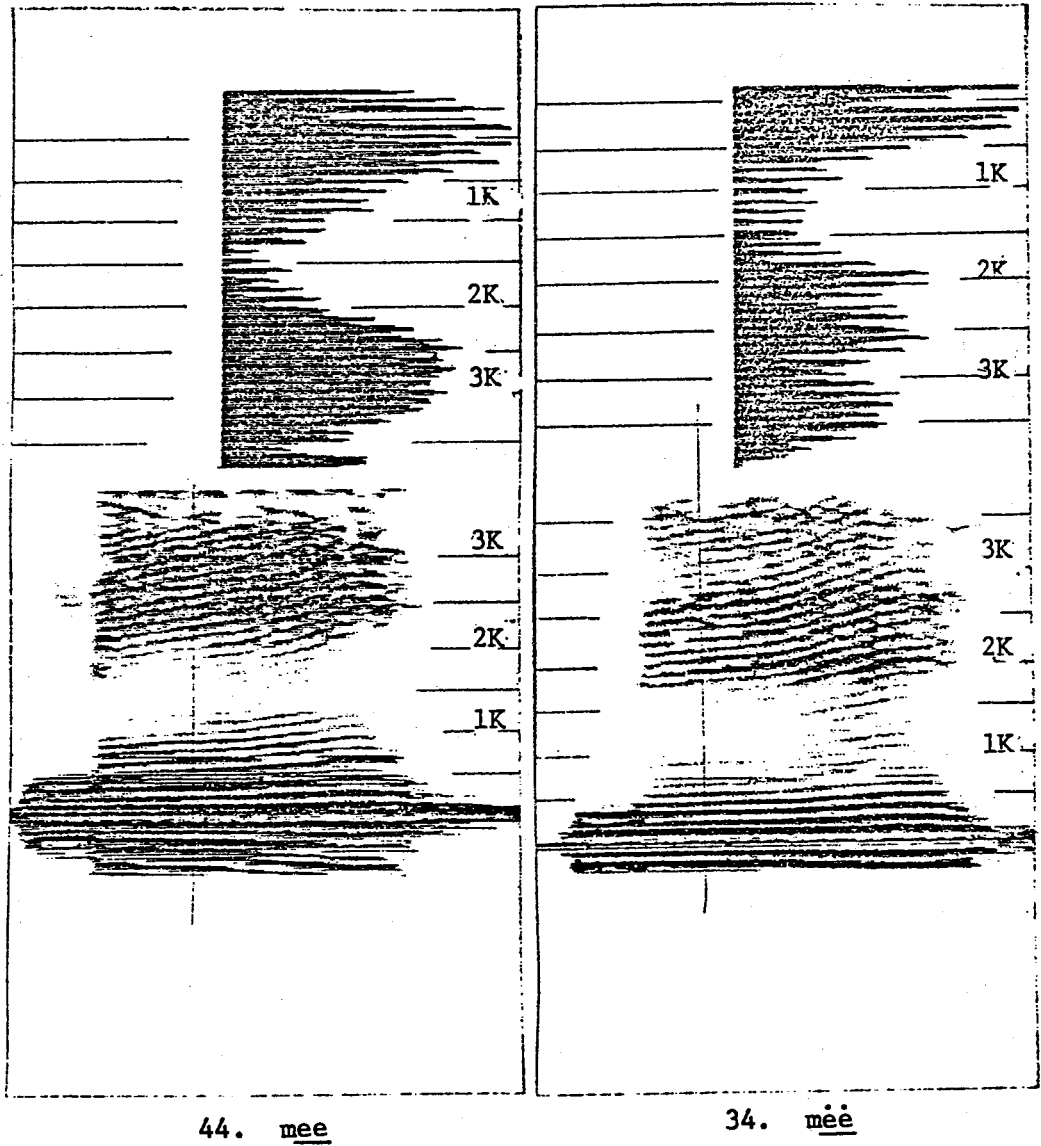


Figure 4

- |                      |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 16. qhēē (3a: a, a)  | 28. t̥hēē (5a: a, a) | 40. ʃēē (2a: a, a)   |
| 17. seē (4b: b, a)   | 29. ʃēē (2b: b, b)   | 41. cēē (1b: b, b)   |
| 18. seē (4b: b, a)   | 30. ʃēē (2b: b, b)   | 42. qhēē (3b: b, b)  |
| 19. t̥hēē (5b: b, b) | 31. ceē (1a: b, a)   | 43. t̥hēē (5a: a, a) |
| 20. t̥hēē (5a: a, a) | 32. seē (4a: a, a)   | 44. mee (6a: a, a)   |
| 21. ʃēē (2a: a, a)   | 33. t̥hēē (5a: a, a) | 45. ʃēē (2b: b, b)   |
| 22. seē (4b: a, a)   | 34. mēē (6b: b, b)   | 46. ʃēē (2b: b, b)   |
| 23. ʃēē (2a: a, a)   | 35. mee (6a: a, a)   | 47. qhēē (3a: a, a)  |
| 24. ceē (1a: a, b)   | 36. t̥hēē (5a: a, a) | 48. cēē (1b: b, b)   |
| 25. ceē (1a: a, b)   | 37. qhēē (3b: b, b)  | 49. t̥hēē (5b: b, b) |
| 26. cēē (1b: a, b)   | 38. qhēē (3b: b, b)  | 50. t̥hēē (5a: a, a) |
| 27. t̥hēē (5a: a, a) | 39. ʃēē (2b: b, b)   |                      |

The Sinologist who had worked intensively with Mr. Nornang had no problems with the tape. The second Sinologist was an American who had done linguistic field work with Tibetans other than Mr. Nornang: one summer with a young man of peasant origin who had been a member of a troupe of dancers whose function it was to perform in Lhasa for the Dalai Lama; another summer with a young member of the Shakabpa family of Lhasa officials. We first asked him to listen to the tape to see if he could discern two different vowels; after listening to perhaps ten examples, he replied that he could. His technique of answering, if he was in doubt, was to wait for a clear contrast, and then go back and make several identifications at once. This method resulted in a slight



clustering of errors (numbers 4, 23, 27, 28, 36, 37, 38); again, as with Mr. Normang, the errors were predominately in judging e as ě rather than the reverse. This Sinologist had not recorded the contrast for his informants and did not believe it was present in their speech. We now know the forms in which the ě vowel may be expected, and we know its origin; it remains for further field work to uncover the extent of its occurrence in the various Tibetan dialects. The third Sinologist, a native speaker of Chinese who had never worked with Tibetans, first listened to the whole tape. He was not, however, told which examples contained which vowels. (In marking the answers, he was told that the transcription ěě represented a more central vowel.) His errors, which were once again relatively few, occurred in the first half (1, 7, 13, 16, 17, 18, 23) and did not assume the pattern of e judged as ě more than the reverse. By the time he had reached the second half of the tape, he had apparently mastered the distinction.

### Tones

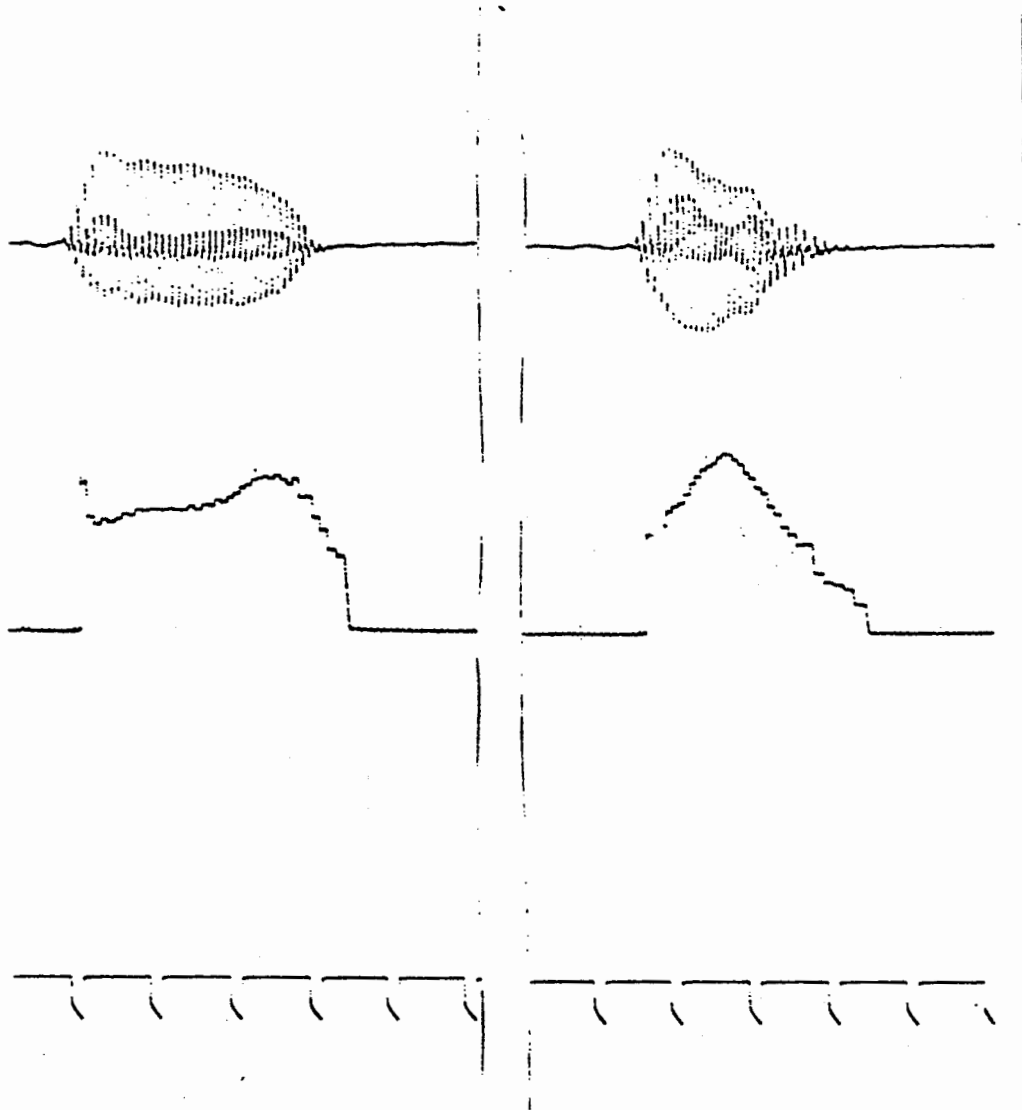
In A Manual of Spoken Tibetan (Chang and Shefts 1964), we showed two tones for single vowels: high and low (e.g. ā and a). For geminate vowels, either oral or nasal, and single vowels followed by ŋ or m we had four tones: high-high, high-falling, low-low, low-falling (e.g. āā, āā̃, āā̀, āā̂; am, am̃, am̂, am̄).

We perceived the 'falling' tone, in isolation or in final position,

as a released glottal stop (e.g. [šāʔa]), in other positions as a fall in pitch accompanied by some degree of glottal stricture. (Peter Ladefoged lists nine degrees of glottal constriction, ranging from voiceless to glottal stop. [Linguistic Phonetics 75: Working Papers in Phonetics 6: U.C.L.A., 1967]) Even though the high tone with single vowels perceptibly falls, it differs from the 'falling' tone in its absence of glottalization. The fall of the high tone and the rise of the low we considered secondary to the height contrast.

Pitch records made with the Oscillomink and Trans Pitchmeter verified the occurrence of four tones for oral vowels, nasalized vowels, and vowels followed by nasals. (Figures 5-7 are examples of these pitch records.) What we had not perceived was the fall which was recorded acoustically for all forms in isolation; for the high 'level' tone with geminate vowels or closed syllables in -ŋ or -m and the low 'rising' tone with either single or geminate vowels or closed syllables in -ŋ or -m this proportionately brief episode was perceptually insignificant.

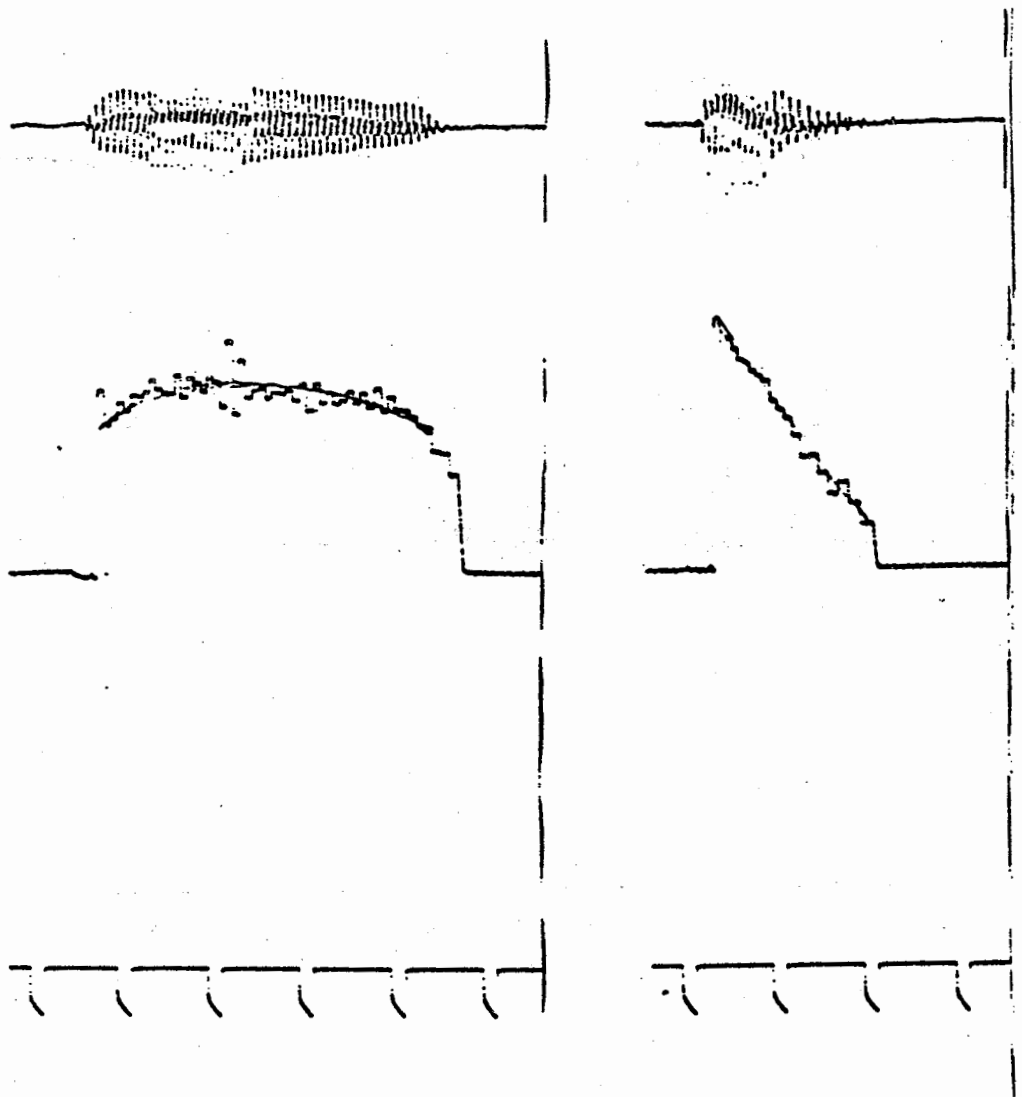
For geminate vowels or vowel-nasal sequences with low rising tones the proportion of the pitch record which rises is considerably greater than for those with low falling tones. (There is also a difference in length: level tones are regularly longer than falling tones, as low tones are longer than high tones.) The more balanced rise-fall of the low falling tone is graphically illustrated in the pitch record of tsɿŋ



tsin̩ 'a pit'

tsiň̩ 'a raft'

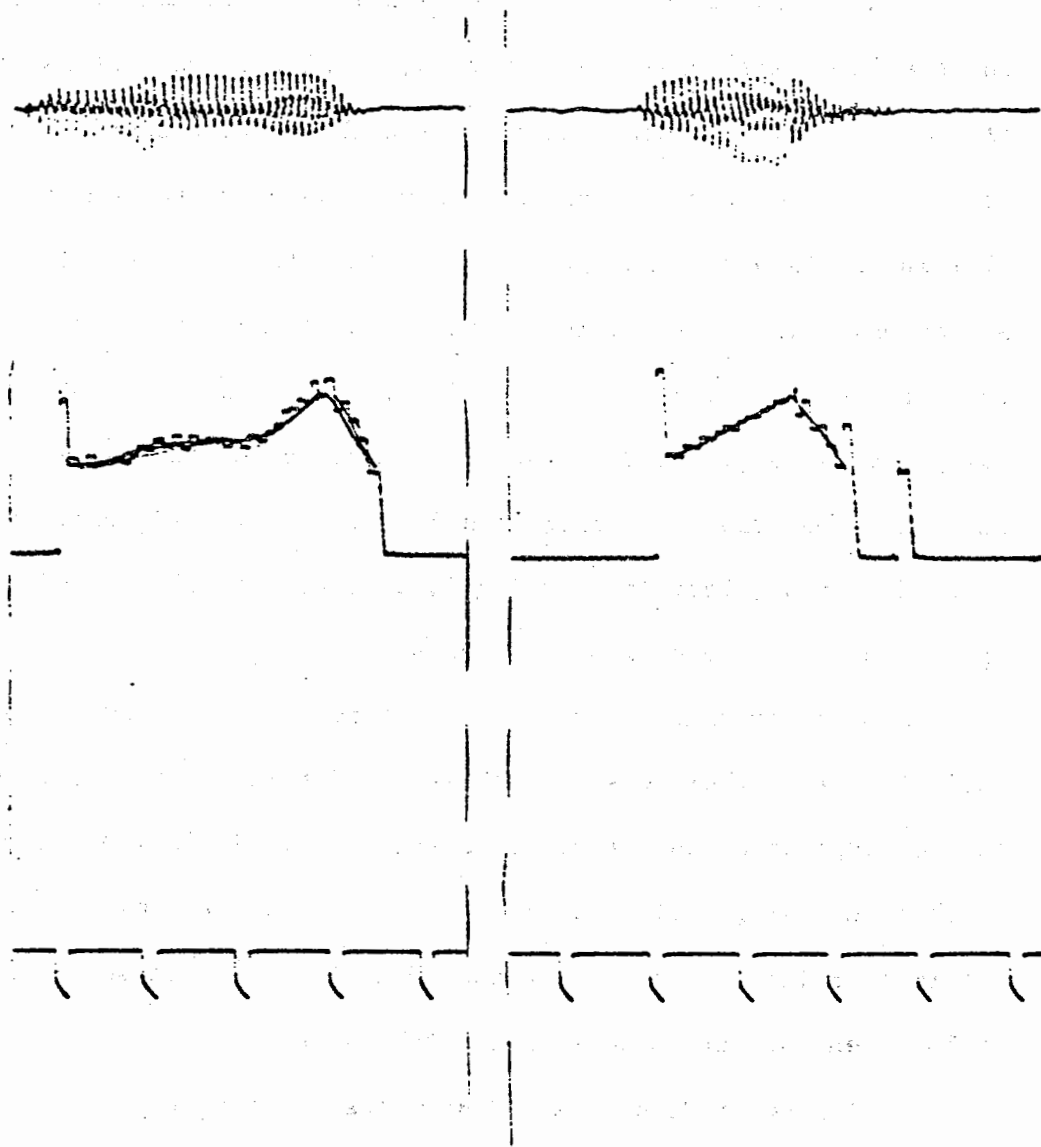
Figure 5



nām 'sky'

tshām 'meditation'

Figure 6



qam 'a box'

ñam 'dignity'

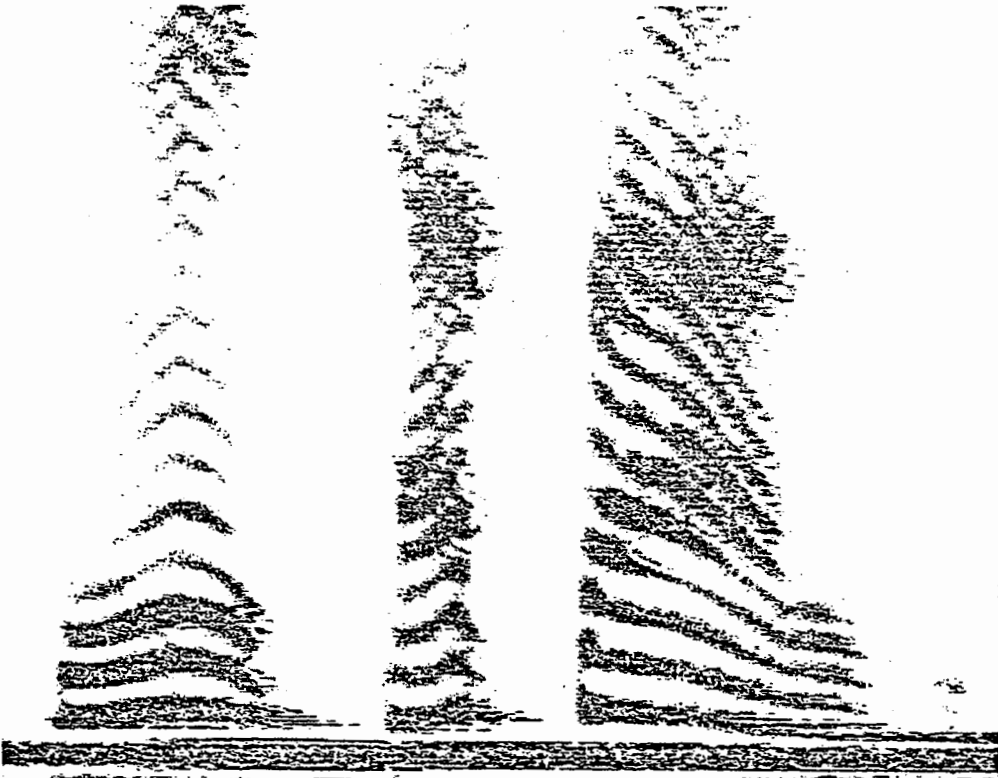
Figure 7

'a raft' (Figure 5), contrasting with the long rise of  $tsiŋ$  'a pit', and in the magnified narrow-band spectrograms of  $ŋɛ̃$  in Figure 8.

In distinguishing in isolation single oral vowels with high tone and the 'geminate' oral vowels with high falling tones it is the nature of the fall which is significant. Here the characteristic contrast is of a steady, relatively slow fall with a sharp, often complex fall. (The latter is also descriptive of the high falling tone with  $-Vŋ$ ,  $-Vm$  syllables.) In one recording of  $tshē$  'life' and  $tshē̃$  'date (time)', for example, the pitch of  $tshē$  fell for 55 cycles (from 140 cps. to 85 cps.) over a period of 0.14 seconds. After a relatively gentle initial fall in  $tshē̃$ , the pitch plummeted 35 cycles (from 135 cps. to 100 cps.) in 0.02 seconds, levelling off again to a gentle fall-rise-fall (to 90 cps.) over the remaining 0.09 seconds.

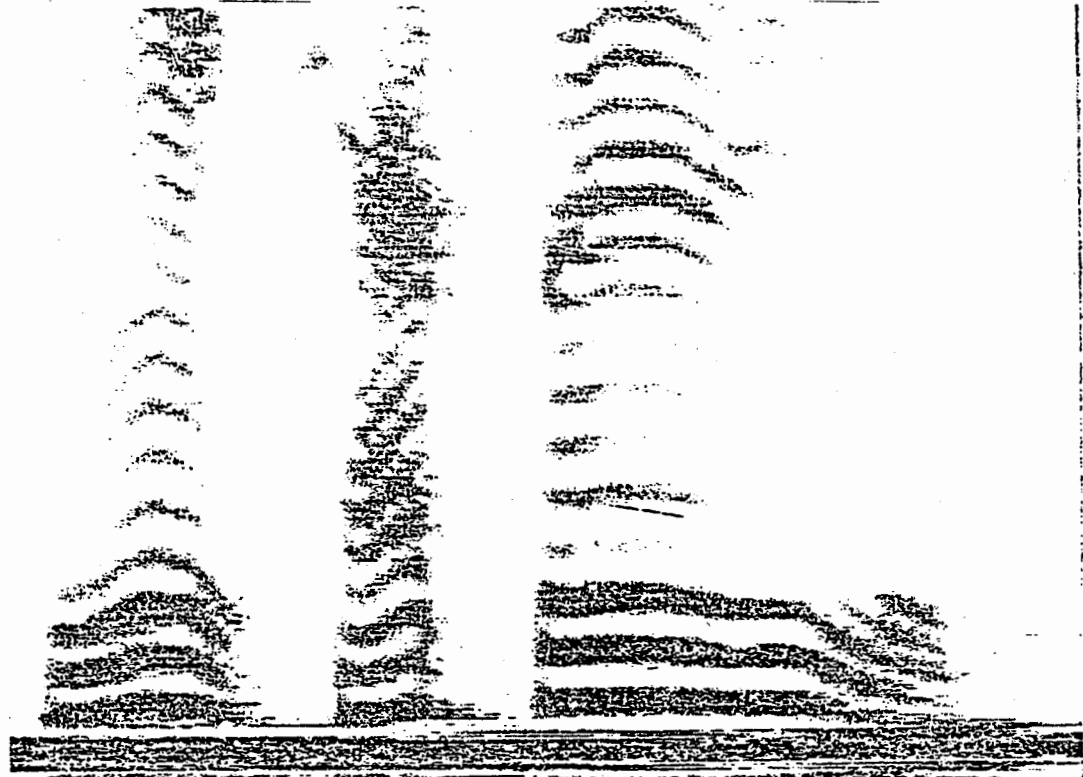
In other examples of the falling tone ( $lɔ̃$  'to read',  $lɛ̃$  'to get',  $chā̃$  'to bark') there was a break at a point in the fall corresponding to the endpoint of the precipitous fall in  $tshē̃$ ,  $šā̃$ , after which the pitch made a slight rise before the final fall. We posit as the articulatory correlate of the precipitous medial fall in these cases a degree of laryngeal stricture less than a full stop.

In "A Note on Glottalized Consonants" (*Phonetica* 21 [1970], 65-74), Haruo Aoki described certain acoustic correlates of 'glottalized' continuants in his Nez Perce spectrograms: a lowering density of vertical striations in the vowels contiguous to the glottalized continuants and



ηεε cha tsāāpa γῑῑ 'I strained the tea'

Figure 8



ηεε cha tsāāqῑ γῑῑ 'I will strain the tea'

a marked decrease of total energy present in the amplitude display, indicating a lowering of pitch. The decrease in the amplitude display, which correlated with the glottalization, took the form of either a single, sharp dip or a repeated ("dramatic saw-tooth") fluctuation.

In final position, there was no voice bar along the baseline.

Spectrograms of Tibetan 'glottalized' or falling tones show similar features. With geminate vowels and nonfalling tones (Figure 9:  $\check{\text{šāā}}$  'deer; east',  $\check{\text{šāā}}$  'brown veins in jade'), for example, the amplitude is fairly level and the fall to zero amplitude coincides with the end of the vowel. (The amplitude is recorded in the upper portion of the spectrograms in Figures 9-12.) With the single vowel ( $\check{\text{šā}}$  'meat', Figure 10), the fall is shorter (the time span in which it must reach zero is shorter), but again the zero amplitude point coincides with the end of the vowel. In the case of the geminate vowel with high falling tone in  $\check{\text{šāā}}$  'to split' (Figure 11), on the other hand, the fall in amplitude occurs at roughly the midpoint of the vowel; also, beyond this point there is no voice bar along the baseline. In some instances, presumably where there is a full glottal stop (e.g.  $\check{\text{šāā}}$  'dwelling place', Figure 10), the vertical striations cease altogether before resuming. In other cases (e.g.  $\check{\text{šāā}}$  'to split', Figure 11), faint striations continue, particularly--and sometimes only--at the lower frequencies, i.e. below 1500 cycles per second.

The same general pattern of acoustic features is seen in the spectrograms of the low falling tone (Figure 12). Although the voice



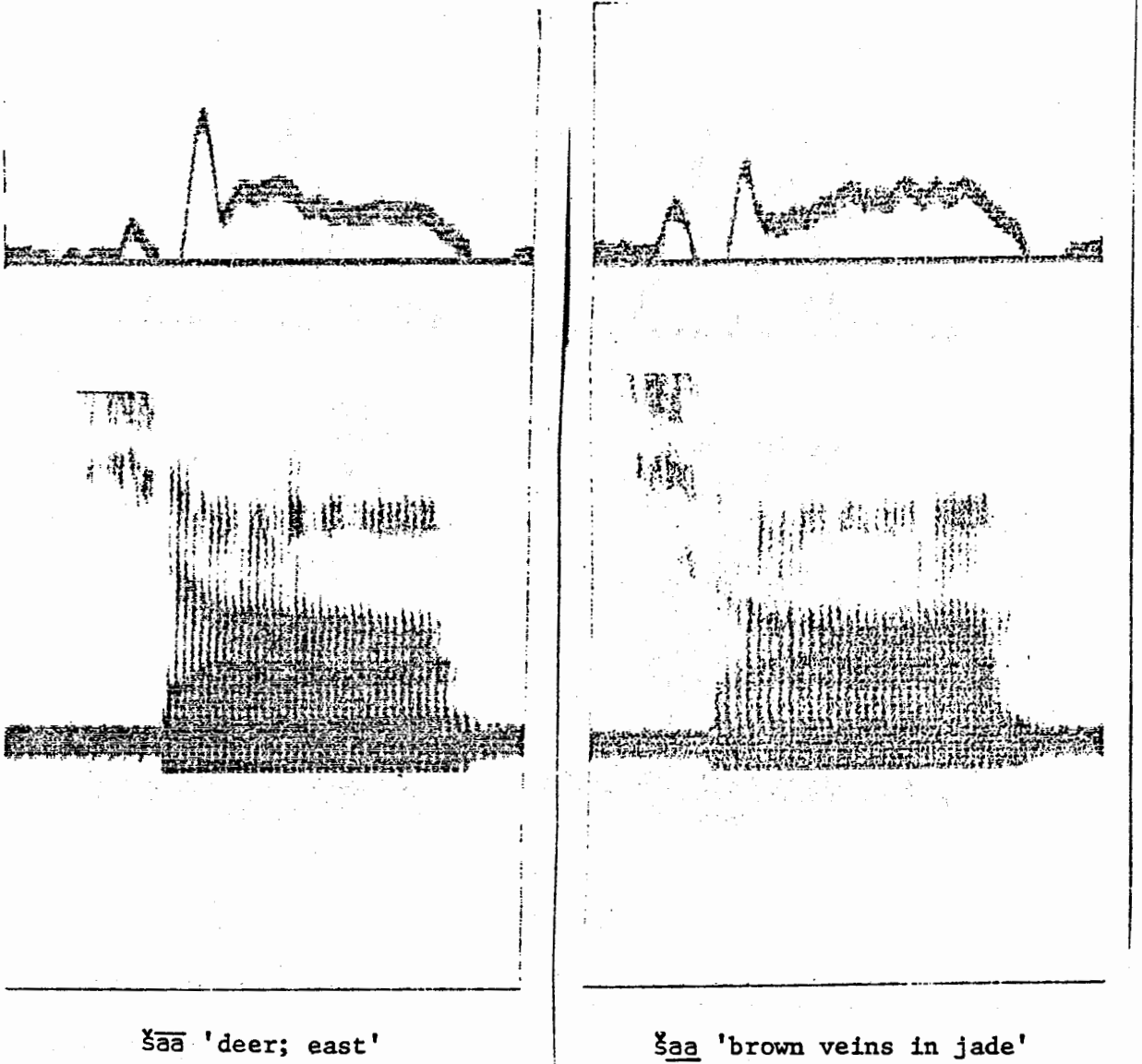


Figure 9

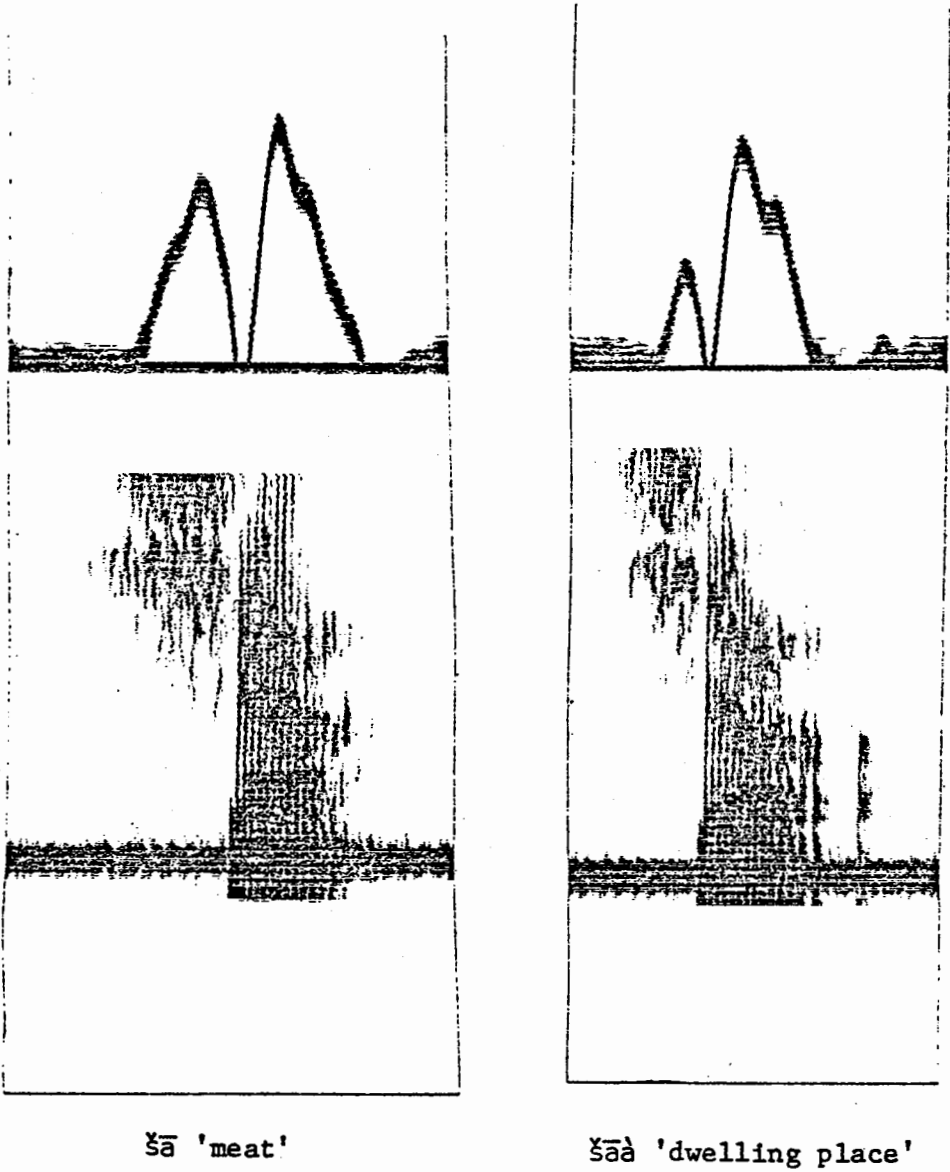
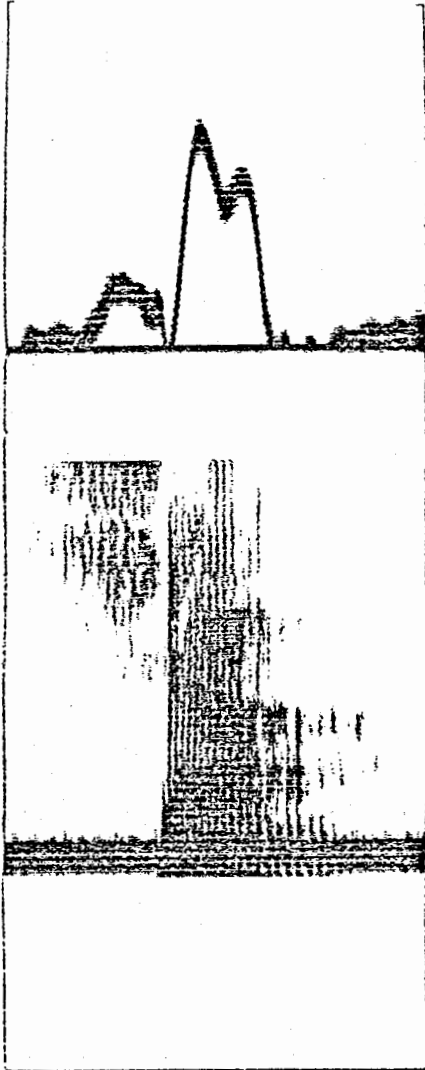
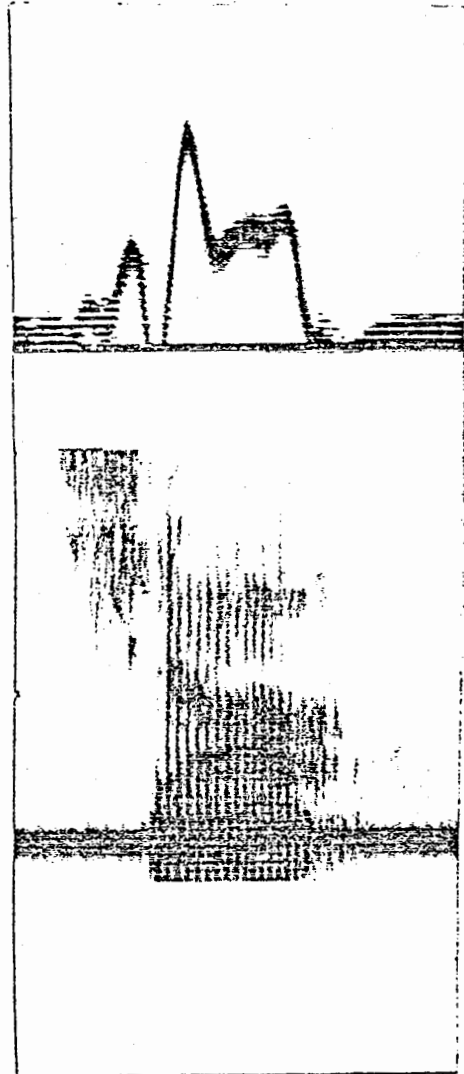


Figure 10



šāà 'to split'



šāà 'oily film'

Figure 11

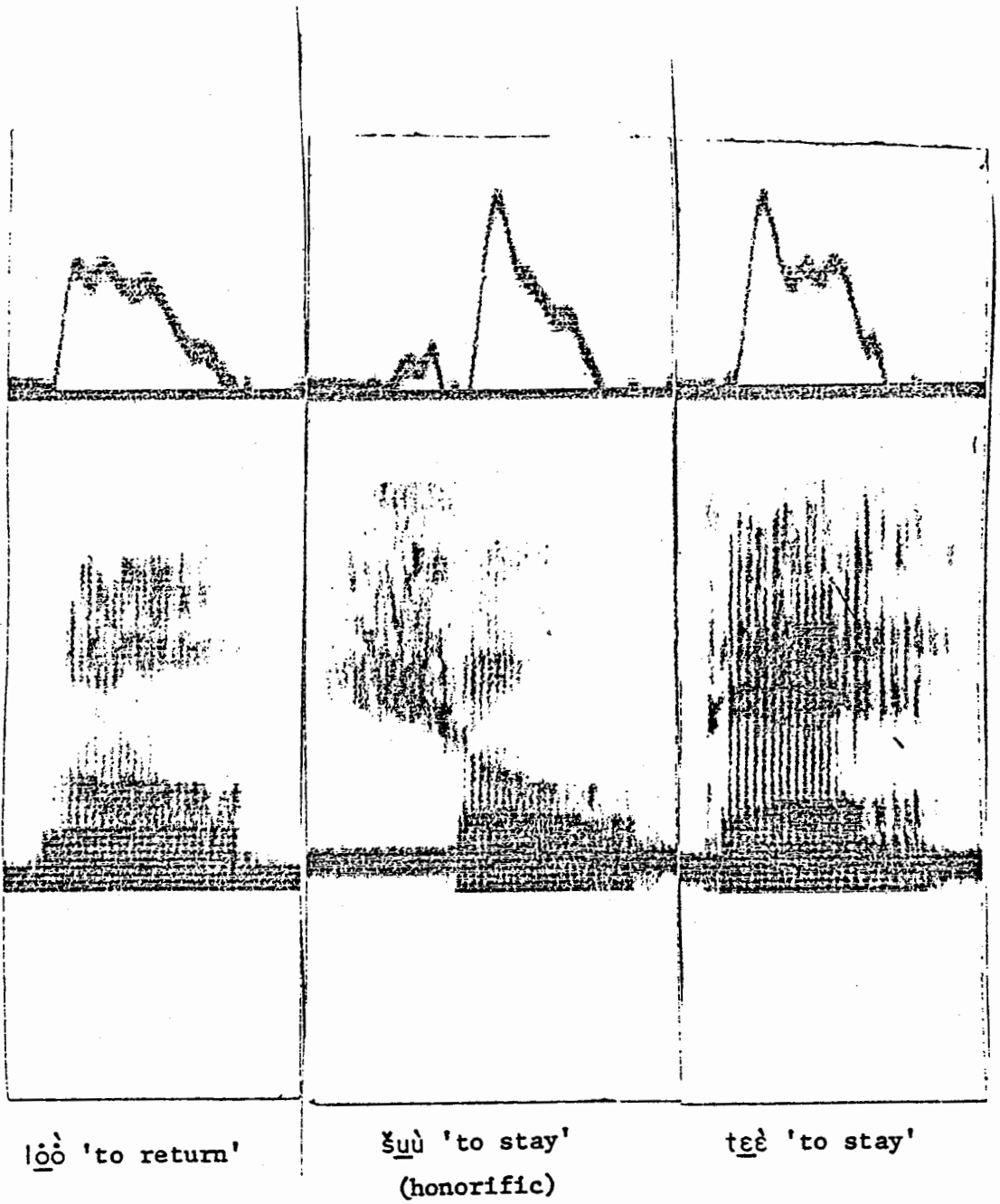


Figure 12

bar along the baseline is present in some cases, the absence of vertical striations at the higher frequencies is striking. It may be noted in the case of šuù 'to stay' even before the amplitude reaches zero.

### Stress

There are three regular degrees of stress in this dialect of Tibetan: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Tone contrasts are found with both primary and secondary stress; absence of a tone mark in our transcription indicates tertiary stress. With tertiary stress, vowels are in some cases shortened and denasalized; an example of this sort is th<sup>oo</sup>chu 'I've seen' (p. 181), where the auxiliary chu is an unstressed variant of the stressed verb base ch<sup>uu</sup> 'to get'. Where the vowel may be shortened but nasality is retained, we have adopted the convention of merely omitting the tone mark, as in t<sup>o</sup> n<sup>uu</sup> 'I've gone', t<sup>o</sup> m<sup>an</sup> n<sup>uu</sup> 'I haven't gone' (p. 44). Before a suffix with tertiary stress, as before a pause, level and falling tones contrast (e.g. š<sup>a</sup>àp<sup>Λ</sup> re<sup>è</sup> 'he put it down', š<sup>a</sup>ap<sup>Λ</sup> re<sup>è</sup> 'he shaved'); before a suffix with primary stress, this contrast is neutralized (š<sup>ΛΛ</sup>q<sup>T</sup> re<sup>è</sup> 'he will put it down; he will shave'). (See also ts<sup>a</sup>àp<sup>Λ</sup> y<sup>īī</sup>, ts<sup>ΛΛ</sup>q<sup>T</sup> y<sup>īī</sup>, Figure 8.)

In our transcription, we do not distinguish between primary and secondary stress, since the environments in which these stresses occur are largely definable. And then, it is more practical to list the exceptions than it is to attempt to mark each and every stress.

The first word in a phrase has primary stress. A word in second position, typically the position of, for example, adjectives and auxiliary verbs, may have secondary stress. (We shall reserve the discussion of longer sequences for another occasion.) Secondary stress is accompanied by a lowering of pitch and loudness.

Stress correlates, however, with style as well as with grammatical structure. Deliberate, emphatic, or pensive speech is, for example, interrupted by more pauses than a quick, casual style. (Our transcription shows actual, not potential pauses; a comma denotes a brief pause, three dots a more extended one.) Before these pauses, vowels may be lengthened and stress heightened. So, for example, in  $\tilde{n}im\bar{\Lambda} \tilde{n}TT \bar{s}um$  'two or three days' (p. 6),  $\bar{s}um$  has secondary stress; in  $l\bar{o} cTq, \tilde{n}TT, \bar{s}um$  'one year, two, three' (p. 74),  $cTq, \tilde{n}TT$ , and  $\bar{s}um$  all have primary stress.

The third syllable in a word of three syllables has either secondary or tertiary stress. If the tone is marked, it follows that the stress is secondary. Examples of this sort are  $qh\bar{a}\bar{a}q\bar{a}|T\bar{o}$  'all',  $\tilde{n}Tq\bar{a}\bar{a}|T\bar{o}$  'both',  $ma\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}y\bar{a}\bar{a}$  ( $ph\bar{a}c\bar{u}\bar{u} \mid \bar{\Lambda}q\bar{o}\bar{o} ma\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}y\bar{a}\bar{a} qh\bar{a}r\bar{e} y\bar{i}naa$  'I wonder why they don't keep cows or oxen', p. 16), as contrasted with  $\check{s}i\bar{q}\bar{\Lambda}tse$  'Shigatse' or  $m\bar{a}ts\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{e}$  ( $\check{s}i\bar{p}\bar{u} m\bar{a}ts\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{e} ts\bar{o}\bar{o}$  ... 'those who don't sell much ...' p. 27).

In the following examples of secondary stress, we use a vertical line to indicate that the next word or morpheme has secondary stress.

## I. Subordination.

## A. Nouns followed by modifiers.

thēmā 't̥hāṭā 'multicolored thēmā (p. 164), chū 'tshāpō 'hot water' (p. 227), cha 'ṇāāmō chi 'some sweet tea' (p. 242), phāmā 'n̄t̄t̄ 'both parents' (p. 279)

Words denoting colors form a consistent exception to the rule that adjectives may have secondary stress. Such words apparently form a closed set, all other members of which contrast with any given member of the set. In the case of phōṭāā māāpō 'the Red Palace' (p. 96), the primary stress of māāpō might be viewed as due to the contrast with phōṭāā qāāpō 'the White Palace', but this would not explain the primary stress of the other examples. Contrastive stress may be the reason for the long or geminate aa of naaqō 'black' (WT naq-po; cf. yaqō 'good', WT yag-po).

The plural particle has secondary stress except in the nominative, where it has tertiary: ṭōqpā 'tsōō 'the nomads' (instrumental), ṭōqpā 'tsōō 'the nomads' (genitive), tshōmceē 'tsōō 'the assembly halls' (dative), chaṇṭōō tshu 'the northern nomads' (nominative; p. 1). Before another word with tertiary stress, the tertiary stress of the nominative may be replaced by secondary stress: k̄mēē 'tsō nī 'the women ... ' (p. 32), š̄ṇpā 'tsō taa ... 'the farmers and ... ' (p. 10), but qūṭāā tshu thā 'and the officials' (p. 141). In this

the noun-particle sequences act like three-syllable words (for which we have, however, standardized the transcription with tertiary stress in the texts); cf.  $\text{ʃi}q\bar{\alpha}tse$  'Shigatse',  $\text{ʃi}q\bar{\alpha}tse$   $n\bar{e}e$  'from Shigatse' (p. 267), or  $tsh\bar{e}c\bar{o}b\bar{i}t\bar{i}t$   $n\bar{e}e$  'from  $tsh\bar{e}c\bar{o}b\bar{i}t\bar{i}t$ ' (p. 100).

B. Nouns which are either semantically or semantically/formally in case relation to each other.

$n\bar{\alpha}p\bar{u}\bar{u}$   $ch\bar{u}p\bar{\alpha}$   $th\bar{u}p\bar{u}$   $t\bar{i}t\bar{e}\bar{e}$  'this sort of thick robe of  $n\bar{\alpha}p\bar{u}$  wool' (p. 152),  $ts\bar{a}$   $t\bar{a}y\bar{a}\bar{a}$  'the taking of pulses' (p. 82),  $ph\bar{o}o\bar{p}\bar{\alpha}$   $c\bar{u}\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{\alpha}$  'a place to put a cup (or bowl)' (p. 221),  $simc\bar{u}\bar{u}$   $qh\bar{e}e\bar{p}\bar{a}$  'reception-hall sweepers' (p. 130),  $qh\bar{a}n\bar{p}\bar{a}$   $ch\bar{i}c\bar{u}\bar{u}$  'the size of the buildings' (p. 143)

C. Verb bases followed by auxiliary verbs.

$p\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\text{ʃ}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}q\bar{\alpha}$   $re\bar{e}$  'they bury it and leave it' (p. 4),  $si\bar{i}$   $tsh\bar{a}\bar{a}p\bar{\alpha}$   $rep\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ? 'they've finished studying, haven't they?' (p. 71),  $n\bar{a}m$   $ph\bar{e}\bar{e}qo$   $re\bar{e}$  'they must carry them' (p. 78) ( $n\bar{a}m$  'to carry',  $ph\bar{e}\bar{e}$  'to come, go [honorific]'),  $\text{ʃ}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $n\bar{a}\bar{a}p\bar{\alpha}$   $re\bar{e}$  'it was erected (honorific)' (p. 96),  $kh\bar{i}t$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $qo$  'I'll bring [it] for you' (p. 268),  $ch\bar{u}\bar{u}$   $m\bar{a}s\bar{o}\bar{o}$  'you didn't get [it]' (p. 269),  $ch\bar{i}t$   $ch\bar{o}oq\bar{\alpha}$   $mar\bar{e}\bar{e}$  'we aren't allowed to go in' (p. 226).



## II. Coordination.

## A. Verbal alternation.

t̥hapēē t̥i̥i̥ 'mā̃t̥t̥i̥ 'whether the monks behave properly or not' (p. 66), q̥hanēē chūū 'mācūū 'where they got it [i.e. where they did or didn't get it]' (p. 99), yāā šāā 'māšāā cēē 'as for whether you get up or not' (p. 267), ch̥t̥q̥p̥ c̥t̥t̥āā t̥i̥i̥ 'mā̃t̥t̥i̥ chūūn̄ n̄t̥ 'if you can arrange for the horses or not' (p. 292).

## B. Non-verbal alternation.

š̥l̥ 'q̥ā ch̥i 'four or five' (p. 123), š̥l̥pcū 'q̥āpcū ch̥i 'forty or fifty' (p. 101), t̥huū 't̥ūū ch̥i 'six or seven' (p. 240), s̄ān̄t̄t̄ 'n̄ān̄t̄t̄ 'tomorrow or the next day' (p. 236).

## III. Reduplication (either partial or total).

t̥sharē 't̥shorē 'messy things' (p. 114), q̥harē 'q̥harē? 'what things?' (p. 112), ts̄āq̄t̄ 'ts̄t̄q̄t̄ 'small, miscellaneous items' (p. 265), nāmēē 'nātsōō 'a variety' (p. 106, but nāmēē nātsōō, p. 282).

In another reduplication stress-type, the first word has extra stress and its reduplicate tertiary. If the vowel of the form in isolation is geminate or long, it is shortened in the reduplicate; if it is single or short, it is lengthened in first position. Examples: n̄t̄t̄ 'two', n̄t̄t̄ n̄ī 'two each, twice' (p. 55), š̥l̥ 'four', š̥l̥ī š̥ī 'four each' (p. 54), ree re 'each' (ree re ree re ree re,

p. 103), genitive: ree ree (tawā ree ree nāā |Λ 'every month', p. 55), dative: ree rēē (maa qhēē ree rēē 'for each qhēē of butter', p. 2).

### Consonants

The contrast of aspirated and unaspirated plays a major role in the consonantal system of this dialect in initial position:

	Unasp.	Asp.	Unasp.	Asp.	Unasp.	Asp.	
Postvelar	q	qh	ŋ	ŋh			h
Prevelar	k	kh					
Palatal	c	ch	ñ	ñh			ʃ
Retroflex	ʈ	ʈh			r	rh	
Dental	t	th	n		l	lh	s
	t	tsh					
Labial	p	ph	m	mh			

There are two semivowels in initial position: y- and w-.

Aspiration is not realized identically for all of the sounds in which we perceive this phonological feature. Spectrograms, for example, clearly show lh- to be both preaspirated and postaspirated; a more graphic transcription would be hlh-. (On the definition of preaspirated sounds as those "in which a period of voicelessness occurs before and during the formation of a stricture" see Ladefoged, op. cit. 9.) The

stops and affricates are solely postaspirated. The perceived identity of the feature of aspiration across stops, affricates, nasals, rh- and lh-, is, however, confirmed by phonetically conditioned allomorphs of the negative prefix.

Verb bases with unaspirated initials and the high tone have the negative prefix mā- ~ mĀ-, e.g. pīl 'to pitch a tent (qhuu)', qhuu mĀpīlpa reè 'he didn't pitch a tent'. Before bases which have the low tone, the negative prefix has the low tone (mā- ~ mĀ-); in the noninitial bases, as in all noninitial syllables, the low tone is raised and aspiration lost, e.g. pēè 'to hide', negative māpēèpa reè, phēè 'to scratch', negative māpēèpa reè. Bases with aspirated initials and high tones have the negative prefix mhā- ~ mhĀ-. For example:

1. Stops.           Base: phēè 'to come'  
Neg.: mhāpēèpa reè
2. Affricates.   Base: chāā 'to bark'  
Neg.: mhācāāpa reè
3. Nasals.       Base: ñhēè 'to get tanned (of leather)'  
Neg.: mhāñēèpa reè
4. rh-.           Base: rhēp 'to get dry, withered (or, of cooked food, tough)'  
Neg.: mhārēpa reè
5. lh-.           Base: lhāā 'to be left over'  
Neg.: mhālāāpa reè

In final position, there are only five consonants:

q      ŋ

r

p      m

The occurrences of even these few are limited in varying degrees. Best preserved are the labial endings. Corresponding to written Tibetan -m, spoken Tibetan has medial -m- and final -m in both monosyllabic and disyllabic forms. For example:

	WT	ST		
1. 'a box'	sgam	q <sup>am</sup> cūū	q <sup>am</sup>	y <sup>ii</sup> q <sup>am</sup>
		'a small box'		'a letter box, filing cabinet'
2. 'oil'	snum	nūmtsūŋa	nū <sup>m</sup>	sānū <sup>m</sup>
		'one who sells oil'		'kerosene'
3. 'a carpet'	rum	rūmtāà,	rū <sup>m</sup>	kārū <sup>m</sup>
		rūmtāqa		'a Chinese carpet'
		'a carpet weaver'		
4. 'dignity'	nyams		ñā <sup>m</sup>	qūñā <sup>m</sup> (honorific)

The reduplicated  $\text{sāmsāā}^{\text{̃}}$  'thought, feeling', with its final nasalized vowel, is exceptional.

The final labial stop is generally preserved in monosyllables; in words of more than one syllable, there are frequent doublets in -Vp, -V $\text{̃}$  (with the falling tone a reflex of the stop). For example:

	WT	ST	
1. 'a book'	deb	thipšūp	thep
		'bookcase'	chāātēp
			(honorific)
2. 'replace- ment'	tshab		tshāp
			sūtsāp
			'a false tooth'
			phu phutsāp
			'an adopted son'
3. 'a stove'	thab		thāp
			nūmtāp 'an oil/ kerosene stove'
			sūūtāp, sūūtōō
			'kitchen'
4. 'a case'	šubs		šūp
			thipšup
			thipšū
			'a bookcase'
5. 'west'	nub	nupcāā	nup, nu
		'northwest'	hūnū
			'southwest'

In the case of the velar endings, it is again the nasal which is more often retained. Both -ŋ and nasalized vowels are common corre-

spondences to written Tibetan -ŋ; loss of the consonantal ending is, for example, frequent among verbs with the vowel u, e.g. WT byuŋ, perfect to N-byuŋ-ba, ST chūū 'to get', WT N-khrungs, ST ṭhūū 'to be born', but -ŋ is also found (e.g. WT brduŋs, perfect to rduŋ-ba, ST tuŋ 'to beat', WT ruŋ, ST ruŋ 'to be allowed'). Even forms which have the -ŋ in monosyllables have nasalized (or, with denasalization, oral) vowels in second-syllable allomorphs. The spoken Tibetan falling tone correlates so well with a written Tibetan s following the ŋ that where we find a written Tibetan nasal ending without s and a spoken Tibetan falling tone we may reconstruct an \*-s for at least a doublet form.

#### Examples:

#### A. WT -ŋ : ST -ŋ in monosyllabic forms:

	WT		ST		
1. 'a pit for water'	rdziŋ		tsiŋ	chāptsĩĩ	'swimming pool'
2. 'a raft'	rdziŋs		tsiŋ	ṭhutsĩĩ	'a ship'
3. 'old'	rnyiŋ	ñĩŋpā	ñĩŋ ṭhaa	khūñĩĩ	'old herd'
			'to be too old'		
4. 'a handle'	luŋ	luntāa	luŋ	thāpiūū	
		'rope for a handle'		thĩpiūū	'a button loop'

	WT	ST		
5. 'majority'	dməŋs	māŋtsō	māŋ	mimāā̃
		'of the majority, democratic'		'the majority of the people'
6. 'a chisel'	gzon	sunrTT,	son,	tosōō̃
		sūūrTT	sōō̃	'a stone chisel'
		'a cutter for making holes in iron'		

7. 'loss'	gyon		khon,
			khōō̃

B. WT -ŋ : ST -V in monosyllabic forms:

1. 'time'	thens	thēŋmā cTì	thēē	sūūtūm tēē
		'one time'		chōōtēē sūm
				tuù 'This meat is enough for three meals'
2. 'full'	khens		qhāā̃	
3. 'north'	byan	chanṭōō̃	chāā̃	nupcāā̃
		'a nomad from the north'		'northwest'

	WT	ST		
4. 'day after tomorrow'	gnəŋs	nāŋtā	nāā	sāānāā
		'an invitation for the day after tomorrow'		'tomorrow and/or the day after'
5. 'copper'	zaŋs	sanseē	sāā	qārsāā, qaasāā
		'a copper nail'		'a copper pan used for boiling milk'
6. 'face'	gdoŋ	tuntūu kʌp	tōō	phōtōō
		'to meet face to face'		'a masculine face'

Velar stop endings which are preserved in monosyllables have second-syllable allomorphs with vowel endings; here, and in monosyllables where the stop is not preserved, the tonal reflex is always falling (as it is with vowel reflexes of labial and dental stops). For example:

A. WT -g : ST -q in monosyllabic forms:

	WT	ST		
1. 'strength'	šugs	šūqtsēē	šūq	qūšūu
		tseēnēē		(honorific)
		'a wrestler'		
2. 'a bag'	N-beg		peq	chūupēē
				'a cheese bag'



	WT	ST	
3. 'difficult'	khaq	qhāqō	qhāq ṭhaà 'to be too difficult'
4. 'hard'	mkhregs	ṭhāqō	ṭhāq ṭhaà 'to be too hard'
5. 'to will, bequeath'			mṭq

B. WT -g : ST -Vṽ in monosyllabic forms:

	WT	ST	
1. 'to throw'	dbyugs, pft. to dbyug-pa		yūṽ
2. 'to split'	bšags, pft. to bšog-pa		šāà
3. 'to die'	gšegs		šāà
4. 'eye'	mig	mṭqpāà 'eyelid'	mṭī 'eye of a needle'
5. 'iron'	lṭšags	cāqtāà 'an iron chain'	cāà 'a metal plowshare'

	WT	ST		
6. 'pig'	phag	phāqpā	phāà	ri <p>ā</p> āà
		'pig'	'pig year'	'mountain pig'
7. 'sheep'	lug	luqtsāā	luù	phüüluù
		'a sheep barn'		'Tibetan sheep'
8. 'help'	grogs	rōqpā	rōò	sarōò
		'a helper'		'an eating companion'

For written Tibetan -r, spoken Tibetan has in some instances -r in monosyllables. Such forms have finally in words of more than one syllable allomorphs with geminate vowels and the level tone. In other cases, the -r-'is found only medially, and not always there.

Examples:

A WT -r : ST -r in monosyllabic forms:

	WT	ST		
1. 'photo'	par	pārqaā	pār	qēēpāā
		'printing house'		'phonograph'
2. 'middle'	bar	phar <sup>̣</sup> sūù	phar	
		'neutral'		
		phatsāā		
		'filling for a quilt'		

	WT	ST		
3. 'a sharp pain'	gzer		<u>ser</u>	qūseē, qōseē (honorific)
4. 'meat, blood, fish, eggs'	dmar	māakōō 'an eater of mār' mālātūū 'a thick, meat soup'	mār	

B. WT -r : ST -VV in monosyllabic forms:

	WT	ST		
1. 'butter'	mar	marqōō 'a skin container for butter'	maa	chīmāā 'New Year's offering of flowers made of butter, etc.'
2. 'red'	dmar	mārīūū 'the Red (Communist) way'	māā	laqmāā, laqmāā 'murderer' kamāā 'Red (Commu- nist) Chinese'

	WT	ST		
3. 'a ladle'	gzar-bu	s <u>ar</u> ū		šepsāā (honorific)
4. 'new'	gsar-ba	sāra	l <u>o</u> sāā	l <u>öö</u> sāā
		'newer'	sāā reè	'New Year'
		sāapā	'the year	
		'new'	has just	
			begun'	

Spoken Tibetan has none of the dental endings of written Tibetan (-d, -n, -l, -s) as such. It does, however, have (a) the front vowels ü, ö, ε where written Tibetan has nonfront u, o, a and dental endings; (b) falling tones where written Tibetan has -d and -s; (c) nasalized vowels where written Tibetan has oral vowels followed by -n; and (d) geminate oral vowels where written Tibetan has single vowels followed by -l. Examples:

(1) Written Tibetan -d.

WT rgyud, ST küü 'tantra'; WT mtšhod, ST chöö 'to eat' (honorific); WT brgyad, ST keè 'eight', WT N-gyed, ST keè 'alms'; WT srid, ST sTl 'to occur'.

(2) Written Tibetan -n.

WT bdun, ST tüü 'seven'; WT tshon, ST tshöö 'paint'; WT sman, ST mee

'medicine'; WT len, ST lēē 'to get'; WT mkhyen, ST khēē 'to know' (honorific); WT rin, ST rīī 'the price paid'; WT phyin, ST chīī 'to go'.

The falling tone of lēē, khēē, and chīī implies \*-ns. This is a sequence not found in written Tibetan; note, however, the common -s perfect suffix of written Tibetan and the asymmetry of, for example, phyin when grouped with semantically similar verbs:

pheb-pa	pft.	phebs	'to come' (honorific)
yon-ba	pft.	yons	'to come'
phyin-pa	pft.	*phyins	'to go'

Other examples of \*-ns: WT gyon, ST yōō (\*gyons) 'left', as opposed to WT gyas, ST yēē 'right' [but yēēyōō 'here and there ("right and left")']; WT yan, ST yēē 'more than, above (of numbers)'; WT man, ST mēē 'less than, below'.

(3) Written Tibetan -l.

WT dḡul, ST ḡūū 'silver'; WT khol, ST qhōō 'to boil'; WT bal, ST phēē 'wool'; WT N-brel, ST tēē 'to be joined, connected'; WT dkyil, ST kTT 'center'.

(4) Written Tibetan -s.

WT dus, ST thūū 'time'; WT sus, instrumental to su 'who', ST sūū, instrumental to sū; WT nyos, pft. to nyo-ba, ST nōō 'to buy'; WT ḡas, inst. to ḡa 'I', ST ḡēē; WT skyes, pft. to skye-ba, ST kēē 'to be born'; WT rtsis ST tsTī 'mathematics'.





tuqT reè.

K: maa taa chuurl tu ll tsoona,  
qhoò qhltseè rllqT reè?

N: maa taa chuurl thu ll tsoona,  
maa qheè reè reè, thu qheè  
ñTT ñi tsl taa, chuurl qheè  
reè reè, thu qheè ñTTtsl  
tlteè yuqT reè.

K: maa thl chuurl ñu ll tsuqT  
marepeè?

N: maa thl chuurl ñu leè  
tsoota tsuqT reè.

K: ñu ll tsoona, qhoò qhltseè  
rllqT reè?

N: ñu ll tsoona, thesaà totseè  
thuutsl rllqT reè, maa qheè  
reè reè.

K: qheè cTl ll ñaqa qhltseè  
yoò reè?

in villages here and there.

If they trade butter and cheese  
for barley, what price do they  
get?

If they trade butter and cheese  
for barley, they get something  
like this: for each qheè of  
butter, about two qheè of barley,  
and for each qheè of cheese,  
about two qheè of barley.

Don't they sell butter and cheese  
for money?

As for selling butter and cheese  
for money, too: yes, they do sell  
them (like this).

If they sell for money, what price  
do they get?

If they sell for money, these days  
they get about six totseè for each  
qheè of butter.

How many ñaqa does a qheè have?



N: qh<sup>h</sup>ēē cTī lA ñaqā ñi<sup>h</sup>šū thāpā  
y<sup>h</sup>ɔ̀b̄ reè.

A qh<sup>h</sup>ēē has twenty ñaqā.

K: ānT, qhōtsōō pū thA phēē  
cTtāā tsūqT repēē?

And then, do they sell/trade  
hair and wool, and so forth?

N: pū thA phēē cētāā ē tsōqāā  
tūqT reè.

Yes, they go to sell hair,  
wool, and so forth, too.

K: qhōrāā tsōō nāā lA thāā  
tālqT repēē? pūpēē qhi thāā

Do they do weaving in their  
homes? That is, weaving of  
hair and wool.

N: qhōrāā tsōō nāā lēē thāā  
tālqT reè.

Yes, they do weaving in their  
homes, too.

K: māḡA chT lA tsūqT repēē?

Do they sell it outside [of  
the nomads' area], for the most  
part?

N: māḡA chTlōō lA tsūqT reè.

Yes, they sell it outside, for  
the most part.

K: qhōtsōō māa, yālqūū ṅTcōō  
tōyāā y<sup>h</sup>ɔ̀b̄ repēē?

As for their butter, do they  
have something to churn in both  
summer and winter?

N: māa yālqūū ṅTqāā tōōkū y<sup>h</sup>ɔ̀b̄  
reè. yāaqā tēētsA mālqT reè.

Yes, as for butter, they have  
something to churn in both summer

K: maa tɔ̀ɔ̀ ni, ʃaasā qhapāā  
ʃʌʌqT rɛ̀ɛ̀?

N: maa tɔ̀ɔ̀ ni, "maacāā" señɛɛ  
tɪɪ nāā tɛ̀ɛ̀ lɪ̀ɪ; ʌnT, qhāʃɛ̀ɛ̀  
qhi sɛɛ ɔ̀ɔ̀ lʌ pɛ̀ɛ̀ ʃʌʌqT rɛ̀ɛ̀.

K: sɛɛ ɔ̀ɔ̀ lʌ qhʌtɛ̀ɛ̀s pɛ̀ɛ̀qT  
rɛ̀ɛ̀?

N: sā ŋɔ̀ɔ̀; ʌnT, tɪɪ ɔ̀ɔ̀ tɛ̀ɛ̀  
lɪ̀ɪ; ʌnT, tɪɪ qhā tɛ̀ɛ̀ sā  
yɔ̀ɔ̀ cɛ̄tāā chɛ̀ɛ̀ cɛɛ ʃʌʌqT  
rɛ̀ɛ̀.

K: ʌnT, rüüqT marepɛ̀ɛ̀?

N: rüüqT marɛ̀ɛ̀.

K: qhōrāā tsöō sayāā tɪ̄wā

and winter. I suppose there's  
a little more in the summer.

After they churn the butter,  
where do they put/keep it?

After they churn the butter,  
they put it there in this thing  
called a "maacāā" [a bamboo  
container for butter]; and then,  
some bury it underground (and  
leave it).

How do they bury it underground?

They dig up the dirt, and then,  
they put it under there; and  
then, they put dirt there on the  
opening ("mouth"), and so forth,  
and leave it.

And then, doesn't it get  
rotten?

No, it doesn't get rotten.

What do they eat as their main

ra thi qharē saqT rēè, namküü?

food, usually?

N: qhōrāā tsōō sayāa tēwā pāa  
taa šā saqT rēè.

As their main food they eat  
pāa [a mixture of tsāpā and  
butter or tea] and meat.

K: ānT, tsāpā taatāpā hūqT rēè,  
tu hōō ni, qhōrāā tsōō ṭqsāa  
tāaqT rēè?

And then, do they buy barley  
flour that is already ground,  
or do they buy barley and then  
grind it in the nomads' place?

N: tu hōō ni, qhōrāā tsōō  
tāaqT rēè. rāātāa la tāaqT  
rēè. chūqōō yōō marēè,  
qhōtsōō.

They buy barley and then grind  
it themselves. They grind it  
on hand-operated millstones.  
They don't have water-driven  
millstones, those ones.

K: qhōtsōō tēesā qhāāqā qhuu  
nāā la tēēqT repēè?

As for the places where they  
stay, do they all stay in  
[flat-topped] tents?

N: qhōtsōō tōōsā qhuu nāā la  
šētāa tūūqT rēè.

Yes, as for the places where  
they stay, they stay only in  
tents.

K: ānT, qūqā nām ṭhānmūū qhāā  
la qharē chiqT rēè?

And then, in the winter, what  
do they do during the cold  
weather?

N: nām ṭhṇṇū qāā lēē qhuu  
 qhōrēē nāā lṇ tūūqT reē.  
 cōō qhī me raa tāā chēē  
 cēē tūūqT reē.

K: qhāā šīṭāā phṇṇā, sēmcēē  
 lṇ tsā rṇṇqT repēē?

N: qhāā šēṭāā kṇṇā, ṇīmā ṇṭṭ  
 sūm sēmcēē lṇ tsā rṇṇqT  
 marēē..

K: ṇṇṭ qhāṇpā, seṇo rēē qhuu,  
 pūqT rēē ... ?

N: yāā qhāā chūṇsāā maa pūqT  
 reē.

K: yāā qhāā šur sona, yaa sōsō  
 tēēsā taqāā yūqT repēē?

N: qhāā šur sona, yaa pōō,  
 tīṭēē chīqT reē. sōsō  
 tēēsā, thī phāā tshūū

Even during the cold weather  
 they just stay in their tents.  
 They may make a fire of yak  
 dung and stay (there).

If a great deal of snow falls,  
 do the animals get grass?

No, if it snows a great deal,  
 the animals don't get (any)  
 grass for two or three days.

And then, do they move their  
 houses--should I say tents?--  
 or ... ?

Yes, they move down again to  
 a place where there is little  
 snow.

When the snow melts again, do  
 they all go back up to their  
 own places where they stay?

When the snow melts, they do  
 like this, that is, they move  
 (back) up. But they move the

pūqT reè māt̄. "ti reè" s  
sācā cTī ɿ tūūqT marēè.

places where they stay here  
and there. They don't stay  
in one place so that you can  
say "This is it".

K: āa ɿɿ. phāa tshūu, tsā  
qhāpāa yōōsā cTī ɿ pōō; ...

Oh, I see. They move here  
and there, wherever there's  
grass; ...

N: tsā qhāpāa yōōsā phātsa  
pōō, tshūtsa pōō chiqT reè.

Yes, they move a little that  
way, a little this, to wherever  
there's grass.

K: tsā qhāpāa yōōsā phāa  
tshūu pōsā tēt̄s, tsā  
taa cTāa ɿ taqō yō rē,  
qhāpāa pōōnēē qhēē sēnēē  
yō marēè?

In the places which have grass,  
to which they move here and  
there, does anyone own the  
grass, and so forth, or is  
there no one who says anything  
wherever they move?

N: ōō, tēētsa sō sōsōō, qhūū  
ɿ chī yō rē.

Well, each one has his own  
little sort of section.

K: āa ɿɿ ... ānT, tōqpēē  
nāāɿ ɿ chāāsā kaptūū,  
tōqpā tōqpā nāātsā cTqōō

Oh, I see ... And then, when  
they marry among the nomads,  
do the nomads only marry within

kΛΛqT rēē, šīnpā tha qhāāqā  
qhāpāā chūūcūū kΛΛqT rēē?

the nomads, or do they marry  
farmers and everyone, wherever  
they (can) get (someone)?

N: šīnpā tha kaañēē yāb rēē,  
t̥hōpā qhōrāā tshu nāātsāā  
kaañēē yāb rēē. nāmēē nātsōb  
rēē. pa chēēnT, t̥hōpā qhōrāā  
tshu nāātsāā kΛΛqT rēē.

There are those who marry  
farmers, and there are those  
who marry within the nomads  
themselves. It varies. For  
the most part, they marry  
within the nomads themselves.

K: t̥hōpā, mitsāā cT) lA, nΛnmT  
mañlōō yōnaa.

I wonder how many members a  
nomad family/household has.

N: t̥hōpā mitsāā rēē rēē nΛnmT,  
tha maññūū nātsōb yāb rēē.  
qhāšēē lA nT, mitsāā rēē rēē  
mī cTq chēēpA tītēē yāb rēē.  
qhāšēē lA nT, cūptāā chēēpA  
ē yāb rēē.

Now, the number of members in  
each nomad family/household  
varies. In some, each house-  
hold is of a sort with one  
person; in some/others, they  
have between ten and twenty,  
even.

K: tshōō kaaqāā khōqā thī tuqT  
repēē?

Is it the men who go to do  
trade?

N: tshōō kaaqāā pa chēē khōqā

Yes, for the most part it's

šētāā tuqT reè.

K: kTmēē, lēeqā qharē chiqT rēè?

N: kTmēē, omā šōō, sēmcēē tshōqāā  
tukū tītēē chiqT reè.

K: AnT, nAnmT māqu mēēnā, pūqu  
chūcūū yōōnā, nāā lA tānēē  
qōō marepēè?

N: nAnmT māqu mēēpA tsōō yāā  
sēmcēē cētāā ē šētāā yōō  
marēē, lēeqā ē šipū rāā yōō  
marēē.

K: sēmcēē manšōō lA qhatsēē  
yōōnā.

N: sēmcēē manšōō, qhāšēē lA  
"t̥hTIūū t̥hTyāā" señēē tītēē  
yōō reè. luū, t̥hT, t̥l, yāā,  
t̥itsū t̥hT cheēpA tītēē yōō  
reè.

just the men who go to do trade.

What work do the women do?

The women have such things  
as milking and going to look  
after the animals to do.

But then, if there aren't many  
members in the family, and if  
they have small children, don't  
they need someone to look after  
them at home?

Those who don't have many in the  
family don't have many animals  
and so forth, either, nor do  
they have a great deal of work.

I wonder what's the largest  
number of animals they have.

As for the largest number of  
animals, some have of the order  
called "t̥hTIūū" ("10,000 sheep")  
and "t̥hTyāā" ("10,000 yaks").  
Sheep, t̥hT, female yaks, male

K: nunšūū l̥ qh̥tsēē yōnaa.

N: nunšūū l̥ēē n̥iśū sūmcū yūkT  
reē.

K: ānT, qhōrāā tshu, phāā tshūū  
tutūū tsā nee, thopō qharēē  
kēēqT rēē?

N: thopō yāā l̥ kēēqT reē.

K: lotāā, n̥opcā kaaqāā toqo  
repēē?

N: lotāā, re šī qhōtsō chāā l̥  
phāā chT̥T; chāā nee tshā  
n̥ōō; "tshā n̥ōō" cheēnēē,  
tha tshōqā nee, tshā l̥ēē;  
tshā thī tshūū khTT yōō;  
ānT, tshūūšōō, nāā l̥ yōōpee  
maa taa chūūrā t̥qēē khTT;  
ānT, š̥np̥ā tsō taa tshōnpā  
t̥tsōō tsōqāā tuqT reē.

yaks--these they have in the  
tens of thousands.

I wonder what's the fewest they  
have.

Even the fewest may be twenty  
or thirty.

And then, when they go here and  
there, on what do they pack  
their loads?

They pack their loads on yaks.

Do they have to go to buy  
(things) every year?

Every year they go north; they  
buy salt in the north. Now, I  
said "buy salt", but (actually)  
they get salt from the banks of  
lakes. They bring the salt  
here; and then, on the way here,  
they bring along the butter and  
cheese that they have at home;  
and then, they go to trade with



ʌnT, tɪnēē, tɯ taa tshōō  
 kʌp; tɯ thi phāā khTT;  
 ʌnT, rāātāā ɿ tāā; ʌnT,  
 qhōtsōō tsāpā thi tɯqs  
 suq(T y)ɔ̀b rēē.

K: āā ɿɿ. ʌnT ... qhōtsō  
 tēsēē tʌquū nāā ɿ cālāā  
 qharē qharē yɔ̀b rēē?

N: qhōtsō tēsēē tʌquū nāā ɿaa  
 ... sāā taa tonmō, tɿtēē  
 mātsō, šēē šetāā yɔ̀b marēē.

K: qōōtāā ŋēē cētāā chesēē tēē  
 cētāā yɔ̀b repēē?

N: tēē yɔ̀b rēē. tsTTpēē tēē  
 tɿtēē yɔ̀b rēē.

the farmers and merchants.

And then, they trade for barley.

They take this barley away; and

then, they grind it on hand-

operated millstones. And then,

they make their tsāpā like this.

Oh, I see. And then ... in the

tʌquū [tents made of a thick,

black, yak-hair fabric] where

they stay, what (kinds of)

things do they have?

In the tʌquū where they stay

... except for things like

copper pots and (butter) churns,

they don't have very many things.

Do the places where they go to

bed at night, and so forth, have

cushions, and so forth?

Yes, there are cushions. There

are cushions of the yak-hair

sort.

K: "t<sub>1</sub>Λquu" señēē thī, qharēē  
söör<sub>1</sub>Λ reē?

What's this thing called a

"t<sub>1</sub>Λquu" made of?

N: yāā qhī tsTTP<sub>1</sub>Λ, cTqōō qhī  
söör<sub>1</sub>Λ reē.

It's made only of yak hair.

K: yāā qhī tsTTP<sub>1</sub>ēē sōōnā,  
thōō yōō repēē?

If it's made of yak hair, is  
it warmer?

N: yāā qhī tsTTP<sub>1</sub>ēē sōōnā, thāqΛ  
yōō reē. mΛrūūpΛ taa cētāā  
qhī khēē yōō reē.

If it's made of yak hair, it's  
stronger. The difference is  
that it doesn't get rotten,  
and so forth.

K: tōqpā tsōō chūpΛ, yūūpΛ  
tsō taa mētāā yōō repēē?

Do the robes of the nomads  
differ from those of the non-  
nomads [i.e. non-nomad laymen:  
farmers, merchants, city  
dwellers, officials, soldiers,  
but not monks]?

N: thōqpā tshu yūūpΛ taa pēē  
tΛqT marēē. qhōtsō lūū qhī  
pāqpā, šētāā, qhūūqT reē.

The nomads aren't exactly the  
same as the non-nomads. They  
(the nomads) wear just sheep-  
skin.

K: lūū qhī pāqpēē chūpΛ

How do they make robes of

qh<sup>h</sup>l<sup>t</sup>ēēs suq(ṭ y)ṽṽ rēè?

sheepskin?

N: l<sup>u</sup>ù qh<sup>i</sup> pāq<sup>pā</sup> nēè; ḁnṭ,  
chūp<sup>l</sup> n<sup>h</sup>ḡš<sup>t</sup> maa phaà chee,  
tsēm chee, suqṭ rēè.

They tan the sheepskin; and  
then, they make it just like  
(other) robes; they cut it  
out and sew it.

K: nāā<sup>l</sup>ṽṽ l<sup>h</sup> pū yōō<sup>p</sup> chēè  
ēè? pāq<sup>pā</sup> cṭq<sup>ō</sup> ...

Do you mean they make them  
with hair on the inside? (That  
is) only (with) hide ...

N: nāā<sup>l</sup>ṽṽ l<sup>h</sup> pū yōō<sup>p</sup> šetāā  
suqṭ rēè. qhōtsō ṭh<sup>h</sup>ḡ<sup>u</sup>  
yōō tsāā.

Yes, they just make them with  
hair on the inside. Since  
they are cold.

K: āā l<sup>ē</sup>. n<sup>h</sup>ṛ<sup>p</sup>ū chūp<sup>l</sup> qh<sup>h</sup>qṭ  
marēpēè?

Oh, I see. Don't they wear  
robes of n<sup>h</sup>ṛ<sup>p</sup> [a woolen fabric]?

N: n<sup>h</sup>ṛ<sup>p</sup>ū chūp<sup>l</sup> ē qhōō<sup>t</sup> qh<sup>h</sup>qṭ  
rēè ... yāaqā t<sup>i</sup>ṭēè.

As for wearing robes of n<sup>h</sup>ṛ<sup>p</sup>,  
too: yes, they do wear these  
... like in the summer.

K: n<sup>h</sup>ṛ<sup>p</sup>ū chūp<sup>l</sup> qhōtsō qhō<sup>p</sup>  
thi yūū<sup>p</sup>ēē tsāā nē nōō<sup>p</sup>  
rēē, sōsōō tāap<sup>h</sup> rēè?

Do they buy these robes of  
n<sup>h</sup>ṛ<sup>p</sup> that they wear from non-  
nomads or do they weave them  
themselves?

N: qhōrāā tsōō tāap<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>i</sup>ṭēè

They have some of the sort

é yɔ̀ɔ̀ rɛ̀ɛ̀; yũũpɛ̃ tsāā nɛɛ  
 ñɔ̀ɔ̀pɾ ɛ̀ yɔ̀ɔ̀ rɛ̀ɛ̀.

that they weave themselves,  
 and they have some that they  
 buy from the non-nomads.

K: ʌnɪ, tɪtɪũũ thɾ ... yāā  
 thɾ cɪtāā tɪt chɛ̃ɛpɾ tɛ̃tsɔ̃ɔ̃,  
 ɔmā ʃɔ̃ɔ̃, tɔ̃ɔ̃ chɛ̃nɛ̃ mɪ mɛ̃qũ  
 ʃɪpũ chi qɔ̃ɔ̃ mɛ̃rɛ̃ɛ̃?

And then, don't those with ten  
 thousand sheep ... and ten  
 thousand yaks, and so forth,  
 need a great many people to  
 milk them and do the churning?

N: mɪ mɛ̃qũ ʃɛ̃tāā yɔ̀ɔ̀ rɛ̀ɛ̀,  
 qhɔ̃tsɔ̃ɔ̃.

They have a very great many  
 people, those ones.

K: lɪũ tɪt cɪq taa yāā taa tɪ  
 tɪt cɪq yɔ̃nā, mɪ qhɛ̃tsɛ̃  
 quqɪ yɔ̃naa, ɔmā ʃɔ̃ɔ̃, tɔ̃ɔ̃  
 chɛ̃nɛ̃.

If they have ten thousand sheep  
 and ten thousand male yaks and  
 female yaks, I wonder how many  
 people they need, to milk them  
 and do the churning.

N: mɪ kaqɔ̃ɔ̃ quqɪ yɔ̃ɔ̃ tɪhu.

They might need about a hundred  
 people, I suppose.

K: qhuu cɪt qhi nāā ɪɾ mɪ  
 qhɛ̃tsɛ̃ chuũqɪ rɛ̀ɛ̀?

How many people does one tent  
 hold? [How many people can fit  
 in one tent?]

N: qhuu chɪcũũ nānɛ̃ nātsɔ̃ɔ̃

The tent size varies. There

γῶḇ reè. qhuu ree ree nãã  
 18 nT, mi ñiśū tsatãã chuunēē  
 γῶḇ reè; yãã qhãšēē 18 nT,  
 cūptãã rɿɿ tītēē chuunēē γῶḇ  
 reè; qhãšēē nãã 18, qatsa  
 tītēē mātōō mhɿcuunēē é γῶḇ  
 reè.

K: qhuu chēšōō nãã 18, mi qhatsēē  
 chuūqT reè?

N: qhuu chēšōō nãã 1ēē, mi sūmcū  
 šipcū chuūqT reè.

K: qhōtsōō qhānpā khōnēē γῶḇ  
 marēē?

N: qhōtsōō qhānpā kūnēē γῶḇ  
 marēē, tɿɿquū šetāā mātōō.

K: qhuu tēē mātāā γῶḇ reē,  
 tɿɿquū šTtāā cTqōō reè?

N: qhuu qhããqā tɿɿquū reè. tha  
 soptā mātāā tēētsɿ yōōnā rɿ  
 chi mēšēē, šēē tɿɿquū šetāā

are those which hold in each  
 tent between twenty and thirty  
 [20-29] people; again, there  
 are some which hold on the  
 order of between ten and twenty  
 [10-19]; some don't hold more  
 than perhaps five.

How many people does the biggest  
 tent hold?

And the biggest tent holds  
 thirty or forty people.

Don't they ever have houses?

No, they never have houses,  
 only yak-hair tents.

Is there any difference among  
 the tents, or are they only  
 just yak-hair tents?

All the tents are yak-hair  
 tents. Now, they may differ  
 a little in shape, but aside

reè. reè qhi qhuu cētāā  
yòò marèè.

K: ānī, qhōtsōō sēm̄cēē māḡḡ,  
tī, yāā, luù, tī mēḡḡ yòò  
mārepēè?

N: tī, yāā, luù mātōō, šēē  
šāpēē sēm̄cēē qhēè yòò marèè.  
tā yòò reè. tā retsa nītsa  
yòò reè.

K: phācūū lāqōō yòò mārepēè?

N: phācūū lāqōō kūnēè yòò  
marèè.

K: phācūū lāqōō māḡḡyāā  
qharē yīnaa.

N: phācūū lāqōō sā ṭhāḡsāā  
tōō thuūqī marèè.

from that, they are just yak-  
hair tents. They don't have  
cotton tents, and so forth.

And then, generally, don't  
they have any animals aside  
from these, that is, the  
female yaks, male yaks, and  
sheep?

No, except for the female yaks,  
male yaks, and sheep, they don't  
have any animals at all. They  
do have horses. They have  
perhaps one or two horses.

Don't they have cows or  
oxen?

No, they never have cows or  
oxen.

I wonder why they don't keep  
cows or oxen.

Cows and oxen can't stay in  
cold places.

K: āā lēē ... ānT, qhōtsō  
tshā lēqāā tūtūū tsā neē,  
yāā thTl̄ ni lTqT rēē,  
lūū thTl̄ ni lTqT rēē?

N: lūū thTl̄ cheē lēqāā tōqo  
rēē.

K: lūū qhatsēētsa thTl̄ ni  
lēqāā tūqT rēē, mānēē?

N: tha, māqū šetāā thTTqT  
mēē tōo

K: ānT, lūū qhi šitāā khōōqT  
repēē?

N: lūū qhi šipū khōōqT marēē.

K: "tshā" señēē thi šitāā  
cipū yōō retāā?

N: tshā cipū šetāā yōō rēē.  
lūū qhi khōōnēē, the šī  
nā tī lhāā khōōqT marēē.

Oh, I see ... And then, when  
they go to get salt, do they  
take the male yaks and get it,  
or do they take the sheep and  
get it?

They have to take their sheep  
to go to get salt.

About how many sheep do they  
take to go get it, those who  
have the most (sheep)?

Now, they must take a great  
number.

And then, can the sheep carry  
very much?

No, the sheep can't carry very  
much.

Salt ["This thing called 'salt'"]  
is very heavy, isn't it?

Yes, salt is very heavy. Even  
though sheep carry it, they  
can't carry more than four or  
five the.

K: āā lēē ... t̄oqpēē l̄ōōsāā  
t̄āātāā taa sōnāpēē l̄ōōsāā  
t̄āātāā cTqpā rēpēē?

N: l̄ōōsāā t̄āātāā cTqpā yIkT  
rēē.

K: chāā l̄ tshā l̄ēqāā t̄āqpāā  
t̄uqT rēpēē?

N: lotāā rē šī t̄oqo rēē.

K: yūūpēē t̄uqT m̄arēpēē?

N: yūūpēē t̄uqT m̄arēē.

K: chānpā cTqōō?

N: chānpā cTqōō t̄uqT rēē.

K: tshā l̄ēēsēē ph̄lqēē t̄hēē  
t̄ēēqo rēē, sōsōō l̄ēē  
thūūpā qh̄ltsēē l̄ēēnēē  
t̄lqT rēē?

N: ph̄lqēē t̄hēē qhēē t̄ēēqo  
m̄arēē. sōsōō qh̄āā l̄ēē  
thūūtūū l̄ēēnā t̄lqT rēē.

Oh, I see ... Is the nomads' way of celebrating New Year's the same as the farmers' way of celebrating New Year's?

I suppose their way of celebrating New Year's is the same.

Do they always go north to get salt?

Yes, they have to go every year.

Don't non-nomads go?

No, non-nomads don't go.

Only the northerners?

Yes, only the northerners go.

Do they have to pay the taxes of the place over there where they get salt, or is it all right if each one gets as much as he can?

They don't have to pay any taxes at all over there. It's all right if each one gets as much as he can.



K:  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{nT}$ ,  $\text{tshā } \underline{\text{yūpāā}} \text{ tsūūtūū}$ ,  
 $\text{qhōtsōō qhōō chēlōō } \underline{\text{rāāqT}}$   
 $\text{rēè?}$

N:  $\text{thā } \underline{\text{tsom}} \underline{\text{tsom}} \text{ lA}$ ,  $\text{tshā } \underline{\text{qhēē}}$   
 $\underline{\text{ree}} \underline{\text{ree}} \underline{\text{tu}} \underline{\text{qhēē}} \underline{\text{ree}} \underline{\text{re ē}}$   
 $\underline{\text{chiqT}} \underline{\text{rēē}}$ .  $\underline{\text{tsom}} \underline{\text{tsom}} \text{ lA}$   
 $"\underline{\text{tsēēnā}} \underline{\text{qōrtāā}}"$  s  $\underline{\text{chēē}} \underline{\text{cheē}}$   
 $\text{tshā } \underline{\text{qhēē}} \underline{\text{ree}} \underline{\text{ree}} \underline{\text{tu}} \underline{\text{qhēē}}$   
 $\underline{\text{cTq}} \underline{\text{taa}} \underline{\text{tḥe}} \underline{\text{nāā}} \underline{\text{nā}} \underline{\text{chēē}} \underline{\text{ni}}$   
 $\underline{\text{ē}} \underline{\text{yāā}} \underline{\text{tsūqT}} \underline{\text{rēē}}$ .

K:  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{nT}$ , " $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}} \underline{\text{qōrtāā}}$ "  $\underline{\text{sēñēē}}$   
 $\underline{\text{chi}} \underline{\text{yōō}} \underline{\text{repēē?}}$

N:  $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}}$  ... " $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}} \underline{\text{qōrtāā}}$ "  
 $\underline{\text{cheēnēē}}$ , " $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}} \underline{\text{thāñšT}}$ "  
 $\underline{\text{sāā}}$ ;  $\underline{\text{tēē}}$ ,  $\text{tshā } \underline{\text{taa}} \underline{\text{tu}} \underline{\text{qutūū}}$   
 $\underline{\text{rēē}}$ .

K:  $\underline{\text{āā}} \underline{\text{lēē}}$ .  $\text{tshā } \underline{\text{tḥe}} \underline{\text{qhāā}} \text{ lA}$   
 $\underline{\text{tu}} \underline{\text{tḥe}} \underline{\text{qhāā}}$ .

N:  $\underline{\text{ōō}}$ .

K:  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{nT}$ ,  $\underline{\text{yūpāā}} \text{ tshu } \text{tshā } \underline{\text{lēqāā}}$

And then, when they sell/trade  
the salt to the non-nomads,  
how big a price do they get?

Now, sometimes for each  $\underline{\text{qhēē}}$   
of salt they charge one  $\underline{\text{qhēē}}$   
of barley. Sometimes, on the  
other hand, using the (exchange  
ratio called) " $\underline{\text{tsēēnā}} \underline{\text{qōrtāā}}$ ",  
they trade by charging for each  
 $\underline{\text{qhēē}}$  of salt one  $\underline{\text{qhēē}}$  and five  
 $\underline{\text{tḥe}}$  of barley.

And then, do they have a thing  
(ratio) called " $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}} \underline{\text{qōrtāā}}$ "?

As for  $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}}$  ... though you  
said " $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}} \underline{\text{qōrtāā}}$ ", it's  
called " $\underline{\text{qēēsāā}} \underline{\text{thāñšT}}$ "; under  
that, salt and barley are equal.

Oh, I see. A  $\underline{\text{tḥe}}$  of barley for  
a  $\underline{\text{tḥe}}$  of salt.

Yes.

And then, the non-nomads don't

tuqT yɔ̀b̃ marepaa?

N: yüüpā tshu künēē tuqT marēē.

K: āa lēē.

N: tɔqpēē tsaa nēē šētāā ñoqo  
rēē.

K: ānT, tɔqpā, tēsēē sācā cTī  
lə qhōrāā tshu nəqmT tītēē  
qhətsēētsə tēēqT yōnaa.

N: sācā cTī lə nəqmT thəcTī  
nəqšīT rēē: thə, məqñū  
nāmēē nātsōb̃ tüqT rēē.

K: marēē. thə, luqpā cTī qhi  
nāā lə tshō, qhətsēē tēēqT  
rēē?

N: tī luqpā chTcūū rēē.

K: chēšō lə qhətsēē yōnaa.

N: chēšō lə tā, kaqō yükT rēē.

go to get salt, do they?

No, non-nomads never go.

Oh, I see.

They just have to buy from the  
nomads.

And then, I wonder about how  
many family members stay in a  
place where the nomads stay.

As for the family members in  
one place, it's just as (I  
said) a little while ago: that  
is, the number that stays  
(there) varies.

No, that's not it (what I meant).  
Now, how many groups stay in one  
place?

That is (depends on) the size  
of the place.

I wonder how many there are in  
the biggest.

In the biggest there may be around

tshēēqT ē marēē. kēē  
tshēēqT marēē.

a hundred. It would be even more than that. It would be more than a hundred. ["It wouldn't be measured by a hundred."]

K: ṇuṇṣūū lA cūptāā rAra  
tītēē?

The fewest (may be) on the order of between ten and twenty?

N: ōō tha cū cōōṇā rAra tītēē  
yōō reē, lūpā chūcūū tītsūū  
nāā lA.

Well, as to that, they may have on the order of ten or fifteen, that is, in those small places.

K: āā lēē ... ānT, tōomō tētsōō,  
thuqlōō, yūūpā taa cTqpā  
marepēē?

Oh, I see ... And then, aren't the clothes of those nomad women the same as (those of) the non-nomads?

N: tōomō tītsūūē kuqpāā qhī  
chūpā qhōrā qhōō tūūqT reē.

No, those nomad women also [like the nomad men] wear only sheepskin robes.

K: yūūpā taa cTqpā maretāā?

They aren't the same as the non-nomads, is that right?

N: cTqpā marēē.

No, they aren't the same.

K: kēcā cTqpā repēè?

Are the ornaments the same?

N: kēcā ē cTqpā marēè.

No, the ornaments aren't the same, either.

K: kēcā qharē qhūqT rēè?

What ornaments do they wear?

N: qhōtsōō cTq nūū qhī tūū  
 šaàpēē tītēē khētsāā rāpā  
 tītēē yōō rēè. yū tha  
 chTū rāpā tītēē, yāā  
 tēē lōō lā maa pēē caa  
 šaāpā rāpā tītēē, tītēē  
 nāmēē nātsōō yōō rēè,  
kēcā.

They have strange sorts of things that they have beaten out of silver. Things like turquoise and very large (chunks of) coral, and things that are stuck right down on their hair: they have a variety of things, that is, ornaments.

K: tōōqēē taa yūūqēē cTqpā  
 marēpēè?

Aren't the speech of nomads and the speech of non-nomads the same?

N: tōōqēē taa yūūqēē cTqpā  
 marēè.

No, the speech of nomads and the speech of non-nomads aren't the same.

K: khēē šītāā yōō rēē ... ?

Is there a great difference (or not) ... ?

N: khēē šipū rāā tā yōō marēē.

No, there isn't really a great difference.

K: phāā tshūū hā qhūqT repēē?

Do they understand each other?

N: hā qhūqT reē.

Yes, they do understand (each other).

K: tōqpā šT sona, rō sūū  
kēēqT reē?

If/when a nomad dies, who takes away the corpse?

N: tōqpā šT sona, yāā qhōrāā  
tsōō kēēqT mēē tōō.

When a nomad dies, I suppose they must take the corpse away themselves.

K: thoṭōō rapA tītēē, yūKT  
marēē.

I suppose they may not have anything like a thoṭōō [place where corpses are cut into pieces].

N: ōō, thoṭōō yūKT reē. tho-  
tōō yōō reē, qhōtsōō.

Yes, I suppose they may have thoṭōō. They have thoṭōō, those ones.

K: ānT, qhōtsō yūūpA, šitāā  
thūuqT yūKT marēē, kTmēē  
tētsoō.

And then, I suppose they may not meet non-nomads very often, that is, those women.

N: kTmēē tītsoū tsom tsom lA

No, except for now and then,

mātō, yūpāl thūqT marē.  
 pha chēē qhī tā phēēcēē  
 yūpāl thūqT ā yōō.

Those women don't see non-nomads. For the most part, I doubt that there is much probability of their seeing non-nomads.

K: pē thi nāā lā tēēqT repēē?

Do they (always) stay at home?

N: nāā lā tēēpāl chēē, nāā-lēē šētāā tāqT rēē.

Yes, they just stay at home and do the housework.

K: "chanṭō" seṇēē tī, tōqpā  
 yāpā taa mētāā yōō rēē,  
 cTqpāl rēē?

Are those called "northern nomads" different from the other nomads or the same?

N: tēētsā tūqT marēē. qēē  
 qhōrā tūqT marēē. šēē yāā  
 yamṭōqā cētāā yīīnāl, qēē  
 qhō ē tsānpēē qēē kālqT  
 retāā? yamṭō tōpā tsōō  
 tsānpēē qēē kāl; ...

They're a little different. Their very language is different. On the other hand, however, the yamṭō ones use the same language as the Tsang people's language, is that right? (That is) the upper yamṭō ones use the Tsang people's language; ...

K: khēē qharē yōō rēē?

What difference(s) is/are there?

N: mēpā tītsūū lhōqāā qhī qēē

[N does not answer, but completes

k<sub>Λ</sub>p; tītēē chīqT rēē.

K: khēē qharē y<sub>ɔ</sub>b rēē?

N: qhōtsō tshā, lītqT marēē.

K: chantōqee ēē?

N: ōō, yamtōqΛ tsōō.

K: āā lēē.

N: tshā cētāā tsōōyāā y<sub>ɔ</sub>b  
marēē. ʌnT, yāā mʌqū  
y<sub>ɔ</sub>b marēē. qhōtsō yāā  
lūū mʌqT rēē.

K: ōō. qhōtsōō šā ma<sub>Λ</sub>  
tsūqT rēpēē, chantōqee?

N: šā ma<sub>Λ</sub>nūū tʌ, phēēcēē  
yamtōqee ma<sub>Λ</sub> tsūqT mēē  
tōō, ʌtōō.

the sentence he had begun.]

These lower (yamtōb) ones use  
the lhōqā people's language;  
they do like this.

[K repeats her unanswered  
question.] What difference(s)  
is/are there?

They don't get salt.

Do you mean the northern nomads?

No, the yamtōb ones.

Oh, I see.

They don't have any salt and so  
forth that they sell. And then,  
they don't have many yaks. On  
the other hand, I should say  
they have more sheep.

Oh. Do they sell more meat,  
that is, the northern nomads?

As for the amount of meat, pro-  
bably the yamtōb nomads must  
sell more, still.

K: mm, aa lɛɛ. "yamɬɔ̀ ɓ̃ qamsāā"  
señɛɛ thi, yamɬɔ̀qee tɔ̀qpā  
tsōō tsūqɬ yɔ̀ ɓ̃ repɛɛ?

N: yamɬɔ̀qee tɔ̀qpā tsōō tsūqɬ  
yɔ̀ ɓ̃ reè.

K: ʌnɬ, sɛmɕɛɛ seētūū tsā neɛ,  
seētāā cɬqpʌ repɛɛ?

N: sɛmɕɛɛ seētūū, ʌʌ, yūūpʌ  
taa ɛɛ? tɔ̀qpā qhōrāā tshu  
nāātsāā ɛɛ?

K: tɔ̀qpā qhōrāā tshu nāātsāā.

N: tɔ̀qpā qhōrāā tshu nāātsāā,  
cɬqpʌ šetāā reè. qhāāqā  
pōr tam cee šetāā sēēqɬ reè.

K: aa lɛɛ. pōr tam cee sēēqɬ  
yɔ̀ ɓ̃ repɛɛ?

N: pōr tam cee sēēqɬ reè.

Mm, I see. As for this thing  
called "yamɬɔ̀ dried meat",  
do the yamɬɔ̀ nomads sell it?

Yes, the yamɬɔ̀ nomads sell  
it.

And then, when they kill  
animals, is the way of killing  
the same?

When they kill animals, mm, do  
you mean compared to non-nomads?  
(Or) do you mean among the  
nomads themselves?

Among the nomads themselves.

Among the nomads themselves,  
it's just the same way. They  
all just kill them by tying  
up the muzzle.

Oh, I see. So they kill them  
by tying up the muzzle?

Yes, they kill them by tying  
up the muzzle.



K: qhōōlāā t̄l̄qT m̄arep̄ēē?

Don't they pull out an artery from the stomach and cut it?

N: t̄ōqp̄ēē qhōōlāā k̄ūnēē t̄l̄qT m̄arēē.

No, the nomads never pull out an artery from the stomach and cut it.

K: ānT, t̄ōqp̄ēē sēē t̄āmā cTq  
l̄, m̄tsāā chēē t̄ētsōō,  
ȳl̄qlūū qh̄atsēētsā sēēqT  
yōnaa.

And then, when the nomads slaughter, I wonder about how many yaks and sheep those larger families kill at one time.

N: tha q̄ūq̄l̄ t̄ōpāā q̄āmsāā sōō  
cēē, tsōōñēē t̄tsūūnT šet̄āā  
sēēqT retāā? šēē, š̄ipū  
m̄atsōōñēē tsōō, sōsōō  
sayāā m̄ātōō, š̄ipū sēēqT  
m̄arēē, yāā.

Now, in the winter time, those who make dried meat and sell it kill a great deal, is that right? Otherwise, those who don't sell much don't kill much, either, except for what they themselves eat.

K: mm, qhōōrāā tshu phāā tshūū  
t̄utūū tsā nēē, tā šōō t̄uqT  
rēē, yāā qh̄i š̄uqōō yāā taa

Mm, when they go here and there, do they ride horses or do they go by yak, slowly, one yak

chācāā chāā lʌ tʉqT rēè?

N: qhāšēē yāā šōō ē tʉqT rēè.  
qhāšēē tā šōō ē tʉqT rēè.

K: qhōtsōō tā šl̄tāā yōō  
marētāā?

N: tā yōōyāā qhāšēē yōō rēè.  
māqū šetāā yōō marēè.

K: mm. qhōrāā tshu, ānT,  
qūqā, tōqpēē qhuu nāā lʌ  
yāā šl̄tāā tʉqū yūkT rēè,  
qhāā phap chitūū.

N: tʉqū yōō rēè.

K: qhōrāā tshu qhōm tēē tsāā,  
qhēē ā yōō.

N: qhōm tēē tsāā, tēētsʌ tʉqʌ  
yūkT rēè. chēēnēē, qhōtsōō  
merqōō tūqT rēè.<sup>1</sup>

K: āā lēē. qhōtsōō qhuu nāā  
lʌ cōqtsē thʌ cTq chēè

behind the other?

Some ride yaks. Some ride  
horses.

They don't have very many  
horses, do they?

As for having horses, they have  
some. They don't have very  
many.

Mm. They may be very cold,  
then, in the winter, in the  
nomads' tents, when the snow  
falls.

Yes, they're cold.

I don't suppose they feel it  
at all, since they're used  
to it.

Since they're used to it, it  
may be a little better. How-  
ever, they start a fire.

Oh, I see. Do they have what  
you call tables, and so forth,

señēē rʌpʌ tēt̥sō yɔ̀b̥ rēē,  
yɔ̀b̥ marēē?

in their tents, or not?

N: cōqt̥sē yōōpʌ ē yɔ̀b̥ rēē. qhā-  
šēē ts̥iḳū šet̥āā yɔ̀b̥ rēē,  
t̥ɔq̥pā ē.

There are those who have  
tables, too. Some are very  
wealthy, that is, (some)  
nomads, too.

K: mm. ʌnT, t̥ɔq̥pā qhāāqāā khT  
yɔ̀b̥ repēē?

Mm. And then, do all nomads  
have dogs?

N: khT yɔ̀b̥ rēē. tha, qhāāqāā ɔ̀b̥  
lʌ khT yɔ̀b̥ rēē.

Yes, they have dogs. Now,  
they all have dogs.

K: tōōkT repēē?

Are they watchdogs?

N: tōōkT ... t̥iḳēē yɔ̀b̥ rēē.  
c̥l̥qū t̥ūūyāā rēē, c̥l̥qū.

Watchdogs ... yes, they have  
this kind. Wolves, they are  
to guard against wolves.

K: āā l̥ēē. c̥l̥qū m̥l̥t̥ūūn̥, qharē  
ch̥l̥qT rēē?

Oh, I see. If they didn't  
guard against the wolves, what  
would they do?

N: c̥l̥qūū, ʌnT, sēm̥cēē s̥l̥qT rēē.

The wolves, then, would eat  
the animals.

K: yāā ē s̥l̥qT repēē?

Do they eat yaks, too?

N: t̥i cēt̥āā ē s̥l̥qT rēē. t̥i ūū

Yes, they eat female yaks and

kɔ̀, tṭṭsū cālqū sḷqṭ rēè.

K: mm. cālqū mēpē sēmccē qnarēè  
... yālqīu sḷqṭ yōnaa.

N: phārēè sḷqṭ rēè, sṭṭ qhī  
sḷqṭ rēè. ḷnṭ, thom ṭheemōō  
tṭṭsū sḷqṭ rēè.

K: ḷnṭ, qhōtsō yōōsā topāà, nām  
ṭhḷḷḷ ṣṭṭṭnāà mēēnā, sṭṭ thḷ  
thom cṭṭāà yūq(ṭ) ā yōō.

N: sṭṭ yṑ rēè. thḷ thom tā  
yūkṭ marēè. ṣēē phārā thḷ  
tṭṭsū yṑ rēè, cālqū.

so forth, too. Wolves eat  
the weak female yaks.

Mm. Aside from wolves, I  
wonder what ... would eat  
yak and sheep.

The phārā would eat them,  
leopards would eat them. And  
then, these black bears with  
white spots around the ears  
and big brown bears would eat  
them. [phārā "a reddish, wild  
animal the size of a small dog"]

But then, in that place where  
they are over there, in the cold  
weather, if there's no forest,  
I doubt leopards and bears, and  
so forth, would come.

Yes, there are leopards. Now,  
as for the black bears with  
white spots around the ears,  
I shouldn't suppose they would

K: aa lee ... anT, "sāmā tɔɔ"  
señee chi γɔɔ repēē?

N: "sāmā tɔɔ" señee chi γɔɔ reē.

K: "sāmā tɔɔ" señee thi qharē  
reē?

N: ti sāṣṭpā ē pēē mētsa, tɔqpā  
ē pēē mētsa tēē "sāmā tɔɔ"  
siqT reē.

K: sāmā tɔɔ taa tɔqpā, rāā  
cheenā, sāmā tɔɔ kTpā mēē  
tɔɔ.

N: kTpīūū, "khēē" s ṣetāā ā  
yōō. tɔqpā ē kTpū ṣetāā  
(y)ɔɔ reē. sayāā yaqō  
(y)ɔɔ repāā? qhōtsō.

be (there). However, there  
 are phārā and these ones,  
 that is, wolves.

Oh, I see ... And then, are  
 there those who are called  
 "sāmā tɔɔ"?

Yes, there are those who are  
 called "sāmā tɔɔ".

What is this (thing/person)  
 called "sāmā tɔɔ"?

As for this, one who is neither  
 completely a farmer nor com-  
 pletely a nomad is called a  
 "sāmā tɔɔ".

If you compare real nomads with  
sāmā tɔɔ, the sāmā tɔɔ must be  
 happier.

As for the amount of happiness,  
 I doubt there's what you'd call  
 a real difference. There are  
 some very happy nomads, too.

K: qhōtsōō yāāqūū tūcTī mēēpēē,  
 lēēqā qhāāqā, omā šōō, maa  
 tōō, taqā šTāā repēē?

N: taqā šētāā reē. kTmēē tsō  
 ni taqā šētāā chiqT reē. khōqā  
 tītsū tshōō kaaqāā tōyāā šētāā.

K: tshōō, lotāā kaaqT repēē?

N: lotāā kaaqT reē.

K: thūūtsūū qhāTēē cTī lA  
 kaaqT reē?

N: qhōtsōō phānēē tshūū qūqā  
 thōō yūqT reē. tawā qurā,  
 cūpēē nāā lA, phānēē tshūū  
 thōō yūqT reē. ānT, phāā  
 tōō qhī qhūū, cūqcTpa

They have good things to eat,  
 is that right? Those ones.

Is their work, regardless of  
 whether it's summer or winter,  
 fall or spring, all just the  
 same, (that is) doing the  
 milking and churning butter?

Yes, it's just the same. The  
 women do just the same things.  
 As for these men, it's just  
 going to do trade.

Do they engage in trade every  
 year?

Yes, they do it every year.

At what time do they do it?

They come out here from over  
 there in the winter. They  
 come here from over there around  
 the ninth or tenth month. And  
 then, when they go there, they

cūṇṇṭpèè nāā 1ḷ, 1ōō tūqT  
reè. tīi pālruū tēè tshōō  
kālqT reè.

go back in the eleventh or  
twelfth month. During this  
interval, they engage in  
trade.

K: ānT, qhōtsōō tshōō, tīqēè,  
maṅḷ ṇūū 1ḷ tsūqT rēē, tū  
1ḷ tsūqT rēè?

And then, as for their trading,  
that is, these things (trades),  
do they trade for money, for  
the most part, or for barley?

N: tū 1ḷ tsūqT reè.

They trade for barley.

K: āā 1ēē. ānT, tshūū tū khTT  
yōō?

Oh, I see. And then, they  
bring the barley back (home)?

N: tū khTT yūqT reè.

Yes, they bring the barley  
back (home).

K: ānT, 1ō cTī qhī nāā 1ḷ, thēē  
cTī 1ēè tūqT mārepēè? ṇopcā  
kaaqaā.

But then, don't they only go  
once a year? That is, to buy  
things.

N: thēē reē re mātōō, thā phēē-  
cēē tūqT marēē. thā maa  
tsōqāā qhōtsōō yāā, thāā  
ñēē tsōō tūqT reè, thēē  
ñTTtsā sūmtsā tītēē; thāā

Now, they probably do just go  
once each (year). To sell/trade  
butter, now, on the other hand,  
those who are closer [to the  
non-nomads] go on the order of

riŋʌ tsōō theē ree re mātoō  
to thūuqT marēē.

perhaps two or three times;  
those who are farther away  
can only go once each (year).

K: maa thʌ cTtāā qhāāqā laqpēē  
tōōqo repēē?

Do they have to churn all the  
butter and so forth by hand?

N: maa cētāā qhāāqā laqpēē tōōqo  
reē.

Yes, they have to churn all  
the butter and so forth by  
hand.

K: maa tōōsā qharēē nāā ʌ tōōqT  
reē?

As for where they churn the  
butter, in what do they churn it?

N: toŋmōō nāā ʌ tōōqT reē.

They churn it in a churn.

K: maa tōōtūū tsā nee, kTmēē  
qhāāqā pāā tʌ cēē tōōqT  
reē, qhāāqā chiqT reē?

When they churn the butter,  
do all the women line up and  
churn, or how do they do it?

N: maŋʌ tshu pāā tʌ cēē tōōqT  
reē. ŋuŋʌ tshu sōsō cTqōō  
tōō cēē tūūqT reē.

Those who have more (animals)  
line up and churn. Those who  
have fewer churn by themselves.

K: khōqēē tōōqT marepēē?

Don't the men churn?

N: khōqā yūūtūūtʌ, tōōqT yūkt  
reē, tee, lēqā maŋʌ kTmēē  
qhi chiqT reē.

When there are men around, they  
may churn, but the women do  
most of the work.



K: khōqā nāā lā tētūū tsā nēē,  
qharē lēeqā chiqT rēē?

When the men stay home, what  
work do they do?

N: khōqā nāā lā tētūū, yōlēē  
raa chiqT rēē. tsTprā yō-  
yāā thā cTī tLquū thāyāā  
qhi yapcēē tītū qhōtsōō  
yōōqT rēē.

When the men stay home, they  
may do the work of spinning.  
Things such as are spun from  
yak hair, and so forth, and  
material for weaving yak-hair  
tents: these they spin.

K: āā lēē. "tLquū" señēē thi  
qhōrāā tshu rāā qhi suqT  
yōō yīpā rēē.

Oh, I see. I suppose they  
make this thing called the  
"yak-hair tent" themselves.

N: qhōrāā tsōō tLqT rēē.

Yes, they weave it themselves.

K: mm. ānT, tLquū yāā pTtūū  
tsā nēē, qhātēēs pTq(T y)ōō  
rēē?

Mm. And then, when they set  
up the yak-hair tent, how do  
they set it up?

N: tLquū yāā pTtūū tsā nēē,  
qārkuū tītēē chēē, yāā lāā;  
ānT, tīl qāā lā tLquū kēē  
cētāā chēē cēē pTqT rēē.

When they set up the yak-hair  
tent, they erect a tent pole  
like this; and then, they  
set it up by putting the yak-  
hair tent on this, and so forth

K: ānT, tLquū qhi thā lā yāā,

And then, do they put earth

sā rΛ chi yōb̄ ni, nāā̄lōb̄ lΛ  
 lhāqpā mΛtsūūyāā qhi thāpšTl  
 rΛ chi chiq(T y)ōb̄ rēē, taqāās  
 tI chēēpΛ rēē?

N: tΛquū qhi thā lΛ sā yōb̄ yōb̄  
 rēē. tsāā qhāāqā maa lēm  
 šāā yōb̄ rēē.

K: sēē lēm chēē ...

N: ōō.

K: ānT, lhāqpā chēpō šipū tītēē  
 kΛpnΛ, qhuu riiqT mēē tōō.

N: qhuu rii thūuqT marēē. "tΛquū"  
 señēē thi tēpō šetāā yōb̄ rēē.

K: āā lēē ... ānT, sēmēē lΛ tsā  
 kūnēē mēētūū tsā nēē, qhōrāā  
 tshu tsā qāpō tītēē nāa tēyāā  
 ā yōō.

along the edge of the yak-hair  
 tent, to use as a sort of way  
 to keep the wind from getting  
 inside, or do they just leave  
 it like that?

They put earth along the edge  
 of the yak-hair tent. They  
 press all the bottom down.

They press it down with earth ...

Yes.

But then, if this sort of very  
 big wind blows, the tent may  
 fall over.

The tent can't fall over. These  
 things called "yak-hair tents"  
 are very firm.

Oh, I see ... And then, (for)  
 when the animals don't have any  
 grass, I don't suppose they  
 have anything like dry grass  
 that they store.

N: ǝǝ, tsā qāpō ñaayāà yǝǝ  
marēè, tǝqpēē lunpāa.

No, they don't have dry grass  
that they store, in the nomads'  
place.

K: tshāmre sēmcēē lā yaa  
nēyām tītēē šitāa yūqT  
retāā?

Sometimes these sorts of epi-  
demics occur many times among  
the animals, don't they?

N: yūqT reè.

Yes, they do.

K: tītēē qāp lā yaa, ānT,  
qhātēēs thāpšTī chlqT yōnaa,  
māšTyāà qhī.

At such times, then, I wonder  
what means they use, so they  
won't die.

N: tha māšTyāà, nēyām tuqpa.  
tha phōǝ qhī nāā lā, sēmcēē  
pūnāà tēē nēyām tuqšūū thī,  
narāā tsōǝ lhātūū qhī so  
ra chi nākū yǝǝ reè, qhōtsōǝ  
"qaapō" sēñēē chi.

Now, so they won't die when  
there is a bad epidemic. Now,  
in Tibet, as for this worst  
epidemic among the pūnāà  
animals [that is, the yaks--male  
and female--and the progeny of  
female yaks and bulls], they  
can get sick with something like  
our smallpox, called among them  
qaapō ("white").

K: qharē, min lā qharē saà?

What? What's it called?

N: "qāapō" saà, mīn lā.

K: "lhāṭūū qāapō" sīq(T y)ḡḡ  
repēē?

N: lhāṭūū qāapō. tha lhāṭūū  
qhi tshōō rā chī reē. tha  
"lhāṭūū qāapō" tā sīqT  
mēēpā t̄aà.

K: āā lēē. "qāapō" cTqōō  
sīq(T y)ḡḡ repēē?

N: qhōrēē mīn lā "qāapō" sīq(T  
y)ḡḡ reē. tī, mānāyāā yāā  
lhāṭūū tsūūpā nāḡṣṭṭ cēē;  
cTī nā tēēpā cTī nēē tshūū  
ṭhāā tsāā; cTī lā phāā lūū;  
tītēēs lhāṭūū tsūūpā nāḡṣṭṭ  
cēē, thāapā sukū yḡḡ reē.

K: āā lēē.

N: tī thāanā, ānT nāqT māreē,

It's called qāapō ("white").

Is it called "white smallpox"?

As to "white smallpox". Now,  
it's a sort of smallpox. But  
it seems it isn't called "white  
smallpox".

Oh, I see. Is it called only  
qāapō ("white").

Yes, it's called qāapō ("white").

To keep them from getting sick  
with this, they do exactly the  
same as in vaccinating against  
smallpox: they take blood from  
one who is sick; they put it in  
another. In this way, by doing  
exactly the same as in vacci-  
nating against smallpox, they  
can be made immune.

Oh, I see.

If they become immune to this,

kūnēè.

K: tī sūū chīqT rēè?

N: tī qhōrāā tsōō chīqT rēè,  
təqpā qhōrāā tsōō.

K: qhōrāā tsōō nāā lā, āmcT  
yōḁ repēè?

N: qhōrāā tsōō nāā lēè, āmcT  
šēpā yōḁ rēè.

K: tītēè nā nī, sēmcēē šītāā  
šītūū, ānT təqpā kōpō šītāā  
chālqT mēè tō.

N: mm. ānT, kōpō šētāā chālqT  
rēè. sēmcēē šītāā, qhōtsō  
qhaà qhēè yōḁ marēè.

K: sēmcēē šītāā šīpā tītēè  
yūqT repēè?

N: yūqT rēè.

K: mm. ānT, āmcT tītēè chēè  
nī, thāā thūpā mālqū yūqT  
repēè?

N: "qāapō" señē qhō lū nī,

then they don't get sick, ever.

Who does this?

They do this themselves. That  
is, the nomads themselves.

Do they have doctors among  
them?

Among them, too, they have those  
who know medicine.

If they get sick like this and  
very many animals die, then the  
nomads must become very poor.

Mm. And then, they become very  
poor. If the animals die, they  
don't have anything at all.

Does it happen that very many  
animals die like this?

Yes, it happens.

Mm. But then, if the doctor  
does like this, can many become  
immune?

If they put in (inject) that

ḁnT cTì é nḁqT marēè. šuù  
 lḁ "qāapō" señēē qho nḁqT  
 marēè. yāā natsā qhāšēē yōò  
 reè. "hōō" señēē tītēè,  
 tītēè hōp hōp lḁ yōōnā, yāā  
 mḁqū šTqT reè.

K: "qāapō" señēē thi phāa tshūu  
 qhḁtēēs lūuqT reè?

N: cTì neē ṭhāa tsāa; yāā cTì  
 lḁ phāa lūu: tītēè chikū reè.  
 na tēēpḁ cTì neē tshūu ṭhāa  
 tsāa; yāā cTì lḁ phāa lūu;  
 qhō phāa lūupḁ taqāa, qhō  
 nḁqT reè. ḁimḁ ḁTT sūm chi  
 nḁqū cētāa ...

K: lūutūū, qhḁtēēs lūuqT reè?

thing called "qāapō", then not  
 even one gets sick. (That is)  
 afterwards they don't get sick  
 with that thing called "qāapō".  
 But there are several diseases.  
 If something like (the one)  
 called "hōō" comes along,  
 suddenly like this, bang bang,  
 again many die.

How do they inject this thing  
 called "qāapō" from one to the  
 other?

They take blood from one; again  
 they put it in another: they  
 can do like this. They take  
 blood from one who is sick;  
 they put it in another; as soon  
 as it is put in him, he gets  
 sick. For two or three days  
 his nose, and so forth ...

When they inject it, how do they  
 inject it?

N: ʈhāā qhōrā tī chīkū rēè, tsāu  
kəp ní.

They can do it with that same  
blood, using a tsāu [a metal  
instrument with a tube, used  
for both taking out and in-  
jecting fluids].

K: tsēē nāā lʌ maa lūū; ...

The inject it down into the  
vein; ...

N: ǒǒ.

Yes.

K: āā lēē ... ʌnT, qhōrāā tshu  
nanā, ʌmɕT yɔ̀ rēpēē?

Oh, I see ... And then, if they  
themselves get sick, do they  
have doctors?

N: tɔ̀qpa qhōrāā tshu nanā?

If the nomads themselves get  
sick?

K: ǒǒ.

Yes.

N: yɔ̀ rēè, ʌmɕT.

Yes, they do have them, that  
is, doctors.

K: mēcōō, chetāā, yūūpʌ taa  
khēē yɔ̀ mārēē, qhōrāā tsɔ̀  
chetāā mētāā yɔ̀ rēè?

As for the medical treatment,  
is there no difference compared  
with non-nomads, or do they  
have a different way of doing  
it?

N: māṭāā qhēē yūkT marēē. qhōtsō  
lāptā yāā tshuū yōqo retāā?  
āmcT lāpqāā cētāā, mētsTl  
qhāā thaa cōqō rī topāā  
yōqo reē.

K: ānT, qhōtsō yūūlā thā cTtāā  
šlṭāā sōōyāā yōnaa, qhēē  
mēnaa.

N: thā yūūlā sōōyāā, yūkT reē.  
chāā qō lā yīInānT, pa  
chēē tī retāā? nēēcēē  
thāālā sūūqT retāā?

K: mm. "nēēcēē thāālā" s  
qhare rēē?

N: qhālārt reē, qhālārt yīīyāā.

I shouldn't suppose there would be any difference. They have to come here to school, is that right? To study medicine, and so forth, they have to come around here to mētsTl qhāā and cōqō rī [the schools of medicine].

And then, I wonder whether they have many local gods [who protect certain areas] and so forth that they worship, or whether they don't have any.

I should suppose they have local gods that they worship. In the north, it's mostly this, is that right? That is, they worship nēēcēē thāālā, is that right?

Mm. What is "nēēcēē thāālā"?

It's a snow mountain, that is,





N: kTṗū śeṭāā yṑḁ reḁ.

Yes, it's very pleasant.

K: tṑqpēē lṑṇpāā thēē ṇṑṇēē?

Have you ever gone to the nomads' area?

N: ṇēē tam pḁtōō tṑ ṇūū. tṑ mātṑṑ, śēē tṑ mḁṇūū. śāpāā phāā tṑṭēē yṑḁ reḁ sṑṭṑ.

I've gone as far as tam.

Except for this, I haven't gone (there). I've heard it said it's like this in the other places over there.

K: "tam" seṇēē tṑ, qhḁpāā yṑḁ reḁ?

Where is this (place) called "tam"?

N: "tam" seṇēē tṑ, rḁṭṑṭ nēē phāā ḁṇṑṭṑ kḁp; ḁṇṑ, phāā chṑṭṑṇḁ, tam ḁ ḁēēqṑ reḁ.

As for this (place) called tam, you go from [the monastery of] rḁṭṑṭ and cross ḁṇṑṭṑ [a mountain pass]; and then, if you go there, you come to tam.

K: ḁḁēēsā nēē ṇṑṇḁ qhḁṭsēē?

How many days (is it) from Lhasa?

N: ḁḁēēsā nēē ṇṑṇḁ ṇḁṭsa chṑ tṑqṑ reḁ, kuqū chṑṭṑṇḁ, ṇḁṭsa chṑ.

You have to go about five days from Lhasa, that is, if you go quickly, about five.

K: "tam" seṇēē tṑ, lṑṇpḁ ṇṑ

As for this (place) called tam,

tɪŋtɪɪ rɐ chi ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ rɛɛ ... ?

is it the all-green sort of  
place (or not) ... ?

N: ŋɔ̄ thɪŋtɪɪ rɐ chi ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ rɛɛ.  
tha tam qhi kũũ tɛɛ yãã  
sācā tɪ, chãã chãã taa pɛɛ  
rãã tɪqɪ mɛɛpɐ taa. naqā  
pɔtɔ̀ɔ̀ ʃɛtāā yɔ̀ɔ̀pɐ chi ɣɔ̀ɔ̀  
rɛɛ.

Yes, it's the all-green sort.  
But now, there in the tam  
area, the place doesn't seem  
exactly like the true north.  
It's a (place) with a lot of  
lumpy grass.

K: "naqā pɔtɔ̀ɔ̀" s qhare rɛɛ?

What's "naqā pɔtɔ̀ɔ̀" ("lumpy  
grass")?

N: naqɛɛ kɪɪ ɪɐ cɪq ɣɔɪjãã?  
tɔqtɔ̀ɔ̀ tɛɛtsɐ tɛɛtsɐ chɛɛ,  
yãã qānpā kɐpɐ taa, maa  
ɪɛm ɪɛm chɛɛɛ rɐ chi.

There are some things in the  
middle of the grass, you know?  
Little lumps, and as soon as  
you step on them, they sort  
of get pressed down (sink  
down).

K: mm.

Mm.

N: ɔ̀ɔ̀, qhũtɛɛ ʃɛtāā ɣɔ̀ɔ̀ rɛɛ.

Yes, there's a lot like that.

K: tam qhi nãã ɪɐ ɛɛ?

Do you mean in the grassy  
swamp? [K has confused the  
place name tam with tam  
"grassy swamp".]

N: ǒǒ, [N laughs] tam qhi nǎǎ  
 lɿ. tɔqpēē lɯnpɿ "tam" señēē  
 chi ɣɔ̀ retǎǎ? lɯnpɿ "tam"  
 señēē chi [K: ɔ̀] tii sǎcǎ  
 qhō naqā pōtɔ̀ chi qhǎǎ  
 [K: ɔ̀] tɛ̀pɿ chi ɣɔ̀ reè.  
 ʌnT yǎǎ tam ciqū thi maretaǎ!  
 ɳǎtsōō sēē tam, ti mareè.

K: mm, tam lɿ yaa, tshōnpā  
 ʂitǎǎ tuqT repēè?

N: tam lɿ, tshūūtūū rɿ chi ɣɔ̀  
 reè. qhūtūū yǎǎ tam lɿ  
 tuqT reè. lھےsǎ ɳɔ̀  
 neē tɔñēē ʂetǎǎ yūqT reè.

K: tɔqpā yūpɿ qhǎǎqā tsumqT  
 repēè?

N: tsumqT reè.

Yes, [N laughs, realizing K's confusion], in tam. There's a nomad place called "tam", is that right? This place called the place of "tam" [K: oh, yes] is full of lumpy grass [K: oh, yes]. But now, this isn't the other tam! This isn't our tam of the ground.

Mm, do many traders/merchants go to tam?

There are times when they trade in tam. At those times they go to tam. There are many who go from Lhasa.

Do the nomads and non-nomads all get together?

Yes, they get together.

lōpcōō

K: khērāā lA phōō qhī lāptēē  
qōr qhī sūūyāā yōpēē?

N: ōō, lāptāā tēētsA tō nūū.  
qhāšēē šūūkū yōō, nāa.

K: phōō lA lāptā šōkēē lāptā  
qhāā tōm nī, qhātsēē yōō  
rēē?

N: šūqēē qhī lāptā qhāā tōm nī,  
tha lhēēsā rāā qhī nāā lA  
sūmcū šlpcū chī yūkt rēē.

K: lāptā thētsōō nāā lA lāptāā  
yāsū maqēē qhī qhātsēē yōnāa.

N: yāsū maqēē qhī chēēnā, tha  
katsA katsA rA chī tsTī  
šaanā, tīqt mēē tōō. yāā

## Education

Do you have something to say  
about Tibet's schools?

Yes, I went to school for a  
little while. I have some  
things that I can say, I do.

As for the government and  
private schools in Tibet, if  
you add all the various schools  
together, how many are there?

If you add all the various  
government and private schools  
together, then there may be  
thirty or forty in Lhasa  
itself.

I wonder how many students there  
are in those schools, on the  
average.

If you count on the average, if  
you calculate about a hundred  
in each (school), it may be all

qhāšēē lā n̄ikātsa yāb rēē;  
 qhāšēē lā kaqō yāb rēē;  
 qhāšēē lā ḡāpcū ḡaṭāā chēēpa  
 ē yāb rēē.

K: šun qhi lāptā qhāā qhātsēē  
 yāb rēē?

N: šun qhi lāptā tha qhāā ḡā  
 ṭhuū chi yāb rēē.

K: šun qhi lāptā "tsṭqāā" taa  
 "tsē lāptā" "yiqtsāā" seṇēē  
 thētsōō nāā lā yaa qūṭāā  
 qhi āwāā tṭṭēē šṭtāā yīnaa,  
 nāmēē nātsōō yīnaa.

N: ḡēēmāā yīṭnā, tsṭqāā nāā  
 lā qūṭāā qhi āwāā šētāā yūqṭ  
 rēē; tṭnēē šuū lā tā, tsṭ-  
 qāā nāā lēē qūṭāā qhi āwāā

right. On the other hand,  
 some have about two hundred;  
 some have about one hundred;  
 and there are also some that  
 have in the fifties.

How many government schools  
 are there all together?

There are, all together, five  
 or six government schools.

As for the government schools,  
 I wonder if in those (places)  
 called the "Finance Office"  
 and the "Peak School" and the  
 "Secretariat", there are just  
 these officials' children, or  
 if there are various sorts (of  
 children).

Formerly, there were only  
 officials' children in the  
 Finance Office; then, after-  
 ward, there weren't just

šētāā marēè. tī šāpā tsē  
lāptāā taa yīqtsāā lāptāā  
cētāānT, pā chēē qūṭāā qhī  
āwāā marēè.

K: tsTTqāā lāptā thōpa tshu  
chāālēē qharē nāqT rēè?

N: tsTTqāā lāptā thōpa tshu  
tsTTqāā nāā lā yīqT taa  
tīqēē lāp; ānT ... āā ...  
sTTtūū lāpqt rēè. sTT-  
tūū taa tīqēē lāp; ānT,  
tīqēē yaqō chūū sona,  
ānT tīhūqōō šūqu rēè.

officials' children even in  
the Finance Office. As for  
these others, the students  
of the Peak School and the  
Secretariat School, and so  
forth, they weren't officials'  
children, for the most part.

What work do the graduates of  
the Finance Office School do?

The graduates of the Finance  
Office School study [have  
studied] writing [especially  
grammar] and these things  
[e.g. mathematics] in the  
Finance Office; then ... mm  
... they study political  
affairs. They study political  
affairs and these things; then,  
if these come along well, then  
they are supposed to serve as  
lay officials.

K: mm, tsē lāpṭāā tshu taa  
yṭṭsāā lāpṭāā tshu?

N: tsē lāpṭāā taa yṭṭsāā  
lāpṭāā ē thaḡā reē: yṭṭ  
taa tṭṭēē thī lāp; ānṭ,  
sṭṭtūū tṭṭēē thī lāp;  
sṭṭtūū sēēnā nṭ ... tsṭ-  
tūū šuqu reē, tṭṭēē thī.

K: ānṭ, yṭṭṭṭṭṭ mēṭāā lāpṭṭ  
repēē? "lēṭsa" señēē  
rāpā thēṭsō?

N: āā, yṭṭṭṭṭṭ mēṭāā lāpṭṭ reē:  
hūryṭṭ taa lēṭsa, tha, ānṭ  
yāā yṭṭ cṭṭ yōō reē. ḡāā  
yaḡō kūū s mēē ... tṭṭ mṭṭ  
thī ... "sāmā tṭṭṭ" sāā

Mm, (how about) the students  
of the Peak School and the  
Secretariat School?

It's the same for the students  
of the Peak School and the  
Secretariat School. They study  
writing and these things. And  
then, they study political  
affairs and these things. When  
they know about political  
affairs ... they are supposed  
to serve as monk ("Peak")  
officials, these ones.

And then, do they study various  
scripts? That is, those such  
as (the one) called "Lantsa"?

Mm, yes, they study various  
scripts. The Hor (Phags-pa)  
script and Lantsa, and then,  
there's still another writing  
system. I don't really know



cTq siqTì tītēē chi tuù.

... it's name ... it's called  
"sāmā tuqtā" or something  
like that.

K: tīkēē qhāāqā tsTtūū qhī nāqT  
repēē?

Do monk officials do all these  
things?

N: tsTtūū tsōō nāqT reē. tsT-  
tūū tha tūqōō qī ē nāqT reē.

Yes, the monk officials do.  
Both the monk officials and the  
lay officials do.

K: ānT, lāptā ... ker qhī lāptā  
tsōō nāā lā tīqīām qhāēē  
reē?

And then, in the schools ... in  
the private schools, what is the  
regimen like?

N: qer qhī lāptā tsōō nāā lā  
šōqēē nāpō nee yāā lāā; phāā  
chTī, chōtsōō tūqāā tsa  
topāā nee; ānT, phāā lēē sona,  
ālēē qātēē lhākā tha qhā qhī  
lōtōō tha cāpēē tshēcōō tha  
tītēē tha sōsō rīqā yāā ru  
toyāā qhī ... āā ... šēēōō  
tītēē yāō retāā? tītsū qhāāqā-  
lōō šōqēē nāqT reē. šōqēē.

In the private schools they get  
up early in the morning; they  
go there [to school] at around  
six o'clock; and then, when they  
arrive there, there are first  
such prayers as will improve  
their minds as qātēē lhākā and  
qhā qhī lōtōō and cāpēē tsē-  
cōō, is that right? They recite  
["do"] all these in the morning.

nāā tshaapʌ taa, ʌnT ...  
 lɔqtāā lōōqT reè. lɔqtāā  
 lɔb̄ tshāā sona, ʌnT, sōsōō  
 ʃɔɔqēè qhi qhālāā saqāā tɔqT  
 reè. tɪnēè qhālāā saqāā  
 chɪɪ ni ... ʌnT ... tshuū  
 yōō; tshuū yōō ni, ʌnT, yɪqT  
 tɪqu reè. yɪqT tɪɪ: nɪqūū  
 pʌtōō yɪqT tɪqu reè. nɪqūū  
 qhʌtūū tēè yāā nɪqūū qhi qhā-  
 lāā saqāā tɔqT reè. nɪqūū  
 qhi qhālāā saqāā phāā chɪɪ;  
 yāā tshuū yōō ni, yɪqT tɪɪ:  
 qōōtāā pʌtōō yɪqT tɪɪ tɔqs  
 tōōqo reè.

K: āā lēē. ʌnT, lāptā qhōrēē  
 nāā lʌ yaa kētāā thʌ yāpā  
 tɪtēē cTq chēē señēē tɪtēē?

N: ōō, yɔb̄ reè. qētāā chēē,

As soon as they have finished  
 reciting in the morning, then  
 ... they read ["read readings"].  
 When they have finished reading,  
 they go to eat their morning  
 food/meal. Then, after going  
 (home) to eat their meal ...  
 then ... they return (to school);  
 after returning, then, they must  
 write. They write: they must  
 write until noon. Around noon  
 they again go (home) to eat their  
 noon meal; after coming back  
 again, they write: they have to  
 go on writing like this until  
 early evening.

Oh, I see. And then, how about  
 the student leaders and others  
 of this sort and so forth in  
 those schools?

Yes, there are (those). The

qēēyōō chēē ... ā ... "šīqū"  
 sēñēē chī chēē, t̄hēēkāqā  
 chēē: t̄īt̄ēē yōō rēē.

K: āā lēē. lāptā t̄īnēē ... nāā  
 lā yaa, lāptāā taa kētāā thā,  
 šīqū, t̄hēēkāqā thā cītāā  
 qhāt̄sēē yōōnaa.

N: mm, lāptā, mm, thā, māññūū  
 t̄īnā rāpā thītsūū nāā lā  
 qētāā n̄t̄sūm rāpā, ānT t̄īnēē  
 šīqū šītsā n̄ātsā, t̄hēēkāqā  
 cōōñā n̄īšū yūkt̄ rēē, t̄īnā  
 thītsōō. ānT yāā, lāptā  
 chēē yīīnā nT, qētāā ē šītsā  
 rāpā, yāā thāqā nāñšīī, qēē-  
 yōō ē šītsā t̄īl yōō nēē maa,  
 ānT, māñ ru māñ ru t̄uqT rēē.  
 lāptā chūñā tsōō nī, qētāā  
 cTqtsā chēēpā ē yōō rēē,  
 chūñā qhāšēē lā.

student leader, the assistant  
 student leader ... mm ... the  
 one called "monitor", and the  
 reader: there are such.

Oh, I see. In a medium-size  
 school ... I wonder how many  
 students, student leaders,  
 monitors, readers, and so  
 forth, there are.

Mm, in those medium-size schools,  
 now, mm, there may be on the  
 order of two or three student  
 leaders, and then perhaps four  
 or five monitors, and fifteen  
 or twenty readers, that is, in  
 those medium-size ones. On the  
 other hand, if it's a bigger  
 school, below the perhaps four  
 student leaders and the assistant  
 student leaders, of whom there  
 are, in the same way, about four,  
 they [that is, the monitors and

readers] become more and more numerous. As for the smaller schools, there are some that have perhaps one student leader, that is, some of the smaller ones.

K: lāptāā tsōō tawā cTī qhī nāā  
lā qhōōsāā qhātseē yōō rēē?

How many holidays (days off) do the students have each month?

N: tawā cTī qhī nāā lā qhūūsāā  
ñīmā šī yōō rēē: tshēpā cūpšT  
taa cōōnā ñTT lā cēē; thīnēē  
ñīšū qu taa nāqāā ñTT lā  
qhūūsāā yōō rēē. tawā ree  
ree ñīmā šīlī šī yōō rēē.

They have four days off a month: there are two days off on the fourteenth and fifteenth, and then two on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth. In each month there are four days (off).

K: tawā cTī qhī nāā lā yīqtsēē  
thēē qhātseē tāqT rēē?

How many times a month do they give out grades on examinations?

N: yīqtsēē thēē ñTT yōō rēē,  
tawā cTī qhī nāā lā. tshēpā  
cōqsōm lā yīqtsēē thīlī; cūp-  
šTT šōōqēē tī yīqtsēē tāā;  
ānT, cūpšTT ñīqāā taa cōō-

They have two examinations a month. On the thirteenth they write the examination; on the morning of the fourteenth they give out the grades on the

ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ;

ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡ; ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ-

ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ; ḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡ; ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ.

examinations; and then the

fourteenth and fifteenth are

holidays; again on the twenty-

eighth they write an examination;

on the morning of the twenty-

ninth they give out the grades

on the examinations; then this

day and the day of the thirtieth

are holidays; every month they

are supposed to give out grades

on examinations twice.

K: ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ, ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ

... ḡḡḡ ... ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ?

As for this examination, does

the one who gets the first (that

is, the highest) grade ... have

any sort of gift/prize?

N: ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

No, there isn't any sort of

prize.

K: ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ

ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ?

When they give out the grades

on the examinations, how do

they do it?

N: ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ

When they give out the grades on

thi qhāāqāīōō tēp lā qeqēē  
 qee āqT kllqT reē. "thāqō  
 tī reē; nTTPā tī reē; sūpā  
 tī reē" s chēē: chāqšT yīī-  
 nā, chāqšT qāā lā šūū; šūqūū  
 lōō lā thīl yōōnā, šūqūū lōō  
 lā chēē cee, qeqēē qhī āqT  
 klp šōōqT reē. thāqā nāqšT  
 āqT nāqšT chēē cee, sōsō  
 tīnēē maa pāā cee, tōōqo reē.  
 tēē nī, ānT yaqšōō tīl sōsōō  
 cōmāā tī nTTPā nee maa sūū  
 nī, nūqšāā šūū; nTTPā tī  
 yāā yaa lāā; sōsōō cōmāā tī-  
 nēē maa sūū nūqšāā šūū; tuqs  
 chīqT reē. ānT, qūūqūū qūū-  
 qūū tēē tēēpā qho nūqcāā šūsā  
 yōō mārēpāā? qhōō šūqōō mī  
 mēē tsāā, ānT, qhō mārōō cTq  
 lā nūqšāā šūqu reē. mārōō  
 tēē nūqšāā tōōs šūūpā taa,  
 ānT qhāāqēē qēēmō qēēqT reē,  
 acā klp.

the examinations, all those  
 (examinations) that have been  
 written are given grades at  
 the same time by the teacher.  
 "This is the first; this is the  
 second; this is the third" he  
 puts down: on a writing board  
 if there is a writing board; on  
 paper, if he is writing on  
 paper, the teacher puts down  
 the grades. And in just that  
 way, just as he has put down  
 the grades, everyone has to sit  
 in a line. After they sit down,  
 then the best one hits the ones  
 below him, counting from the  
 second on down, with a strip of  
 bamboo; again, the second one  
 gets up and hits the ones below  
 him, counting from there down,  
 with a strip of bamboo: this is  
 the way they do it. Then, the  
 last one sitting there has no

place [that is, no one] to hit with a bamboo, is that right? Since he doesn't have anyone after him, then, he has to hit a butter drum made of hide with a bamboo strip. As soon as he hits this drum with the bamboo strip, then everybody laughs, at the same time.

K: phu th phomō ntcōō l  
ñuqcāā šusāl cTqpāl reē,  
šusāl lōōqāā šūqT reē?

Is the place where both boys and girls are hit with the strips of bamboo the same, or are they hit in different places?

N: mm, lāptā qhāšēē l phomōō  
laqpāā šūū, mm, phu l, mm,  
tōō l šūū: tītēē chiqT  
yōōp taā ... šēē, qhāšēē  
l nT yāā ntqaaīōō l  
tōō l šūñēē yōō. phūū  
tir, ānT tāpēē lōō tēē šūqT  
reē.

Mm, in some schools they hit the girls on the hand, mm, the boys, mm, they hit on the face. It seems this is the way they do it ... but, on the other hand, in some they slap both on the face. They blow [their cheeks full of air] and then they get slapped on the cheek.

K:  $\bar{n}\bar{u}q\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $m\bar{e}p\bar{a}$   $y\bar{a}p\bar{a}$   $\bar{s}\bar{u}\bar{u}$   $ni$ .  
 $\bar{n}i\bar{l}q\bar{t}$   $r\bar{e}p\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ?

N:  $th\bar{a}$ ,  $qh\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $qh\bar{i}$   $c\bar{o}p\bar{a}$   $\bar{n}\bar{e}e\bar{p}\bar{o}$   
 $\bar{s}\bar{e}t\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $ch\bar{e}e\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $n\bar{t}$ ,  $t\bar{e}e\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{e}$   
 $t\bar{e}\bar{e}t\bar{s}\bar{a}$   $t\bar{e}\bar{e}t\bar{s}\bar{a}$   $\bar{s}\bar{u}q\bar{t}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .

K:  $\bar{a}n\bar{t}$ ,  $q\bar{o}t\bar{e}$   $qh\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $l\bar{a}$  ...  $k\bar{i}t\bar{u}m\bar{a}$   
 $tshu$  ...  $l\bar{o}p\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $qh\bar{a}t\bar{e}\bar{s}$   
 $n\bar{a}q\bar{t}$   $y\bar{a}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ?

N:  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ ,  $q\bar{i}t\bar{u}p\bar{a}$   $tshu$ ,  $l\bar{o}p\bar{c}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   
 $n\bar{a}\bar{a}t\bar{a}\bar{a}$  ...  $\bar{a}l\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $th\bar{a}q\bar{o}$   $q\bar{o}p\bar{a}$   
 $y\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $ts\bar{u}\bar{u}p\bar{a}$   $taa$ ,  $th\bar{a}$   $tsh\bar{e}\bar{e}n\bar{t}\bar{i}$   
 $s\bar{i}l\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $q\bar{o}p\bar{a}$ -- $s\bar{e}r\bar{a}$ ,  $t\bar{e}\bar{e}p\bar{u}\bar{u}$ ,  
 $q\bar{a}t\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ,  $t\bar{a}st$   $l\bar{h}\bar{u}p\bar{u}$   $c\bar{e}t\bar{a}\bar{a}$ -- $\bar{a}n\bar{t}$   
 $\eta\bar{a}r\bar{t}\bar{i}$   $t\bar{h}ats\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $ch\bar{e}\bar{e}$ , " $th\bar{a}aq\bar{o}$   
 $t\bar{h}ats\bar{a}\bar{a}$ "  $s\bar{e}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $r\bar{a}p\bar{a}$  " $ch\bar{a}m\bar{t}\bar{o}$   
 $tsh\bar{e}\bar{e}n\bar{t}\bar{i}$   $t\bar{h}ats\bar{a}\bar{a}$ "  $s\bar{e}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $r\bar{a}p\bar{a}$   
 $th\bar{i}ts\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $tsh\bar{e}\bar{e}n\bar{t}\bar{i}$   $s\bar{i}l\bar{q}\bar{t}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .  
 $th\bar{i}ts\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $y\bar{i}n\bar{a}$ ,  $th\bar{a}q\bar{o}$   $y\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 $ts\bar{u}\bar{u}$ ;  $ts\bar{u}\bar{u}p\bar{a}$   $taa$ , " $t\bar{u}\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ "  
 $s\bar{e}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $th\bar{i}$   $l\bar{a}p\bar{q}\bar{t}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .  $\bar{a}l\bar{e}\bar{e}$

Do they hit them with anything  
 other than a strip of bamboo?

Now, if there are some who are  
 very naughty, they hit them  
 just a very little with a whip,  
 too.

And then, in the various monas-  
 teries ... the monks ... what  
 is their way of studying?

Well, as for the monks, as for  
 their way of studying ... first,  
 as soon as they enter a monas-  
 tery, that is, a monastery where  
 they study  $tsh\bar{e}\bar{e}n\bar{t}\bar{i}$  [logic  
 broadly viewed: comprising the  
 study of  $\bar{u}m\bar{a}$ ,  $\eta\bar{o}p\bar{a}$ ,  $ph\bar{a}rc\bar{t}\bar{i}$ ,  
 $t\bar{u}\bar{a}$ , and  $tsh\bar{e}m\bar{a}$ ; included in  
 $tsh\bar{e}m\bar{a}$  is  $n\bar{a}m\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ]-- $s\bar{e}r\bar{a}$ ,  $t\bar{e}\bar{e}$ -  
 $p\bar{u}\bar{u}$ ,  $q\bar{a}t\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ,  $t\bar{a}st$   $l\bar{h}\bar{u}p\bar{u}$ , and so  
 forth--and then in  $\eta\bar{a}r\bar{t}\bar{i}$  College,  
 the one called " $th\bar{a}aq\bar{o}$  College",



tüüt̄ā chūḡa lāp; t̄inēē tüüt̄ā  
 t̄inḡa lāp; t̄inēē tüüt̄ā chēē  
 lāp; t̄iqēē t̄i yaqōo yūqT  
 tuunā, ānT, thā, tshēēñT̄i  
 qhī pēcā tēē chōōqT rēē ...  
 tshēēñT̄i āā ... phārcT̄i  
 yīīnāā rēē, nām̄tēē yīīnāā  
 rēē. qhānēē qo tsūuqT yīī-  
 nāā, t̄inēē chēē cēē, tēē  
 chōōqT rēē. ānT yāā t̄inēē  
 r̄iqpā yaqō rāā mēēnā, r̄iqpā  
 tēētsā tuqpa rāpā t̄ītēē  
 yōōnā, t̄iqēē t̄i sāwā t̄ūpā  
 thā, tēcōō thā, c̄iqcT̄i thā,  
 chōōkēē lhamō t̄itsū sim ru  
 cūū nāqT rēē. thā ḡāā qhī  
 t̄iqēē chē ru cūuqT rēē.  
 yāā t̄i lēē tuqpa t̄ītēē yūqT  
 retāā? āā r̄iqpā tuqšūū  
 t̄ītēē, t̄itsū nām̄kūū tshōō  
 lā maa šēētōō nāāyāā thā,  
 "mōlōm t̄iqū" sēēēē rāpā,

and the one called "chām̄tō  
 tshēēñT̄i College", in these  
 they study tshēēñT̄i. In the  
 case of these, you first enter;  
 as soon as you enter, you study  
 this thing called "tüüt̄ā"  
 [elementary logic]. First you  
 study the Smaller tüüt̄ā; then  
 you study the Medium-size t̄ū-  
 t̄ā; then you study the Bigger  
 tüüt̄ā. If those go quite well,  
 then you are allowed to study  
 the tshēēñT̄i texts ... tshēē-  
 ñT̄i, ah ... whether it be phār-  
 cT̄i or nām̄tēē. Wherever you  
 start, you're allowed to study  
 from there. On the other hand,  
 at this time, if you aren't  
 really intelligent, if you have  
 a mind of the sort that's a  
 little inferior, you are made  
 to memorize these: the sāwā

yāā śaptēē qhāā rāpā tītēē  
 thā, ānT "nēētēē" señēē rāpā  
 thitsūū thee sim ru cūuqT  
 reē. tītēēs cheqo reē.

tūpā, the tēcō, the cīqcTī,  
 and the chōōkēē lhāmō. That  
 is, they are made to do these  
 tantras. But there are some  
 that are of an even worse sort  
 than these (monks), is that  
 right? Those like this, whose  
 minds are of the worst sort,  
 are usually made to memorize  
 those prayers which are to be  
 recited down at the assembly,  
 the sort called "mōlōm tīqū",  
 and various sorts of śaptēē  
 prayers, and then those of the  
 sort called "nēētēē". They  
 have to do like this.

K: thāqō thapā sutūū, lo qhātseē  
 tsā lā suqT reē? qōpāā cūu-  
 tūū yaa.

At the time one is first made  
 a monk, at about what age is  
 one made (a monk)? That is,  
 when one is put into a monas-  
 tery.

N: qōpāa cuūtūū, tha lo tūū  
 kēē tītēē 1a cuūqT reē.  
 yāā qhāšēē lo cōqsom cūp-  
 šēē cuūnēē yōō reē. ʾnT,  
 qhāšēēnT mī qēē, yāā cūrqu  
 nīšōō lēē t̥hapā cheñēē  
 yōō reē.

As for the time one is put into  
 a monastery, one is put in at  
 seven or eight, something of  
 this sort. On the other hand,  
 there are some who are put in  
 at thirteen or fourteen. And  
 as for some, there are old(er)  
 people who become monks even  
 at nineteen or twenty.

K: thāqō qōpāa tsūūtūū, qhātēēs  
 tsūūqu reē?

When you first enter a monas-  
 tery, how do you have to enter?

N: thāqō qōpāa yaa tsūūtūū, ʾlēē  
 sōsōō phāmēē yīīnāā reē, yāā  
 mēēnā, sōsōō chītī ni, chūūnāā  
 reē. qeqēē chi tshēēqo repāā?  
 qōpēē nāā 1a. qeqēē chi tshēē;  
 qeqēē tēē yaa, ʾnT, phāmā yīī-  
 nā nT, "qēē pūqū thi t̥hapā suqT  
 yīī. khōrēē qeqēē cherōō chī!"  
 s chēē; pūqū sōsōō chītī yōō-  
 nā nT, "qā t̥hapā chīqT yīī.  
 ʾnT, phāmā cētāā qī ē 't̥hapā

When you first enter a monastery,  
 either you are with your parents  
 or, if you don't have them, you  
 go and do it by yourself. You  
 have to look for a teacher, don't  
 you? That is, in the monastery.  
 You look for a teacher; then, if  
 it's the parents, they say to the  
 teacher: "I want to make this  
 child of mine a monk. Please be  
 his teacher!" If the child has

macēē!' sūqT mītūū. ɲa  
 ʈhapā chiqt yīī. khērāā  
 qhī qeqēē nāārōō naa!" s  
 chēē; qeqēē tēē lAp; ānT,  
 qeqēē tīl "ōō" s chēē; qhēē  
 lēē sona, ānT, pūqū thi  
 qōpāā yaa kēēqT rēē. ānT,  
 qōpāā yaa lēēpā taa, qeqēē  
 tīl pūqū tī ʈhTī, qōpēē  
 qhēpō chēē, lēēnē, qeqōō  
 taa cētāā qhī tsāā lA ʈuqT  
 rēē. qhōtsōō tsāā lA chTī  
 nī, ānT, pūqū tīl "qōpā tēē  
 ʈiqšūū chēē chōqA chi!" s  
 šuqT rēē. ānT, qhēpō taa  
 qeqōō cētāā qhī pūqū tēē  
 qēcā ʈhīqt rēē: "khōrā ʈhapā  
 chētōō yōpēē? khōrā taqāas  
 chēē cēē, chōōtōō rApA tītēē  
 lA mayōō tāā? lēēqā mAkTīpA  
 chēē mayōō tāā?" sēñēē rApA  
 tītēē qātT nāqT rēē. ānT,

gone by himself, he says: "I  
 want to become a monk. Now, my  
 parents and so forth don't say  
 'Don't be a monk!', either. I  
 want to be a monk. Won't you  
 please be my teacher!" The  
 teacher replies; and then, if  
 the teacher says "Yes" and pro-  
 mises (to be responsible), this  
 child will be taken up to the  
 monastery. Then, as soon as  
 they arrive up at the monastery,  
 this teacher takes the child and  
 goes to the abbot of the monas-  
 tery, the caretakers, the monk  
 police, and so forth. When they  
 have gone to them, then, the  
 child says, "Permit me to stay  
 under the regulations of this  
 monastery!" Then the abbot and  
 monk police and so forth ask the  
 child (some questions): "Do

t<sub>1</sub>qēē, pūqū t<sub>1</sub>l "mēē" s l<sub>1</sub>p-  
nā, qōpā tēē t<sub>1</sub>hapā chēē chōōqT  
rēē. ānT, yāā pūqū t<sub>1</sub>l "chōō  
ch<sub>1</sub>ñT tūūqT m<sub>1</sub>tūū" señēē rāpā  
l<sub>1</sub>pānā nT, qōpā tēē t<sub>1</sub>hapā chēē  
chōōqT mārēē, che ru cūūqT mā-  
rēē.

K: āā lēē. ānT, pūqū tētsō  
tēēsā sōsōō qeqēē qh<sub>1</sub> tsāā  
l<sub>1</sub> tēēqT repēē?

N: ōō, thā tēēsā tsōō y<sub>1</sub>īnā,  
qeqēē qh<sub>1</sub> tsāā l<sub>1</sub> šētāā  
tūūqT rēē. qātsōō thāaqō  
t<sub>1</sub>hatsāā taa qārT<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub>hatsāā  
y<sub>1</sub>īnā, q<sub>1</sub>tūū qh<sub>1</sub> r<sub>1</sub>qāā  
qeqēē qh<sub>1</sub> tōpcēē th<sub>1</sub> tēēqo

you want to be a monk? You  
didn't just run away from some-  
where, did you? You aren't just  
lazy, are you?"--they ask ques-  
tions like these. Now, if the  
child says "I'm not" to these,  
he is allowed to become a monk  
at that monastery. Now, on the  
other hand, if this child says  
something like "I don't want to  
do religion", he won't be allowed  
to become a monk at that monas-  
tery, they won't make him do it.

Oh, I see. And then, do those  
children stay with their own  
teachers?

Well, now, in the case of the  
monastic seats [sērā, tēēpūū,  
qātēē], they just stay at the  
teacher's. In the case of our  
thāaqō College and qārT<sub>1</sub>  
College, while one is a

reè ... tōpcēè ... taa  
 thuqlōō yōōqo reè. [yōōqo  
 reè is judged better.] t\_l  
 mātōō šēē qltūū qhāāqāīōō  
 pē thi tshōō rāā lā tōōqo  
 reè. nīmēē qūū lā nT, tshōō  
 šētāā lā tōqo reè. qōōtāā  
 ē nēēsā tuqāā nāā lā nēēqo  
 reè. lāmā kūpāl taa cTqpāl  
 reè.

K: āā lēē. ānT, qōpēē lēēnē  
 tshu qhāāēēs qūqT yōō rēè?  
 ānT, qōpēē lēēnē tsōō  
 lēēqā qharē qharē rēè?

N: mm, qōpēē lēēnē, qōpā chēè  
 tshu nī, qhēpō tha ūmtsēē  
 qeēqōō qhāāqā šūn nēē qōšāā  
 nāqo reè. tha thi lēēnē  
 chūṇa thi qhāšēē mātōō šēē  
 qhāāqā šūn nēē qōšāā nāqo

monk student, the teacher has  
 to give one food ... food ...  
 and put clothes on one [that  
 is, give one clothes]. Except  
 for this, all the monk students  
 have to stay together in the  
 assembly. During the day they  
 must go just to the assembly.  
 And as for where they sleep at  
 night, they have to sleep in  
 the assembly hall. It's the  
 same as for the tantric lamas.

Oh, I see. And then, how do  
 they select the caretakers of  
 the monastery? And then, what  
 are the tasks of the caretakers?

Mm, as for the caretakers of  
 the monasteries, as for the  
 bigger monasteries, the abbots,  
 prayer leaders [those who,  
 having the best voices, lead  
 the chanting], and monk police

reè. yāā qōpā chūḡa tsu,  
 qhēpō yāā šuḡ nēē qōšāā  
 nāā, qhēpō thḡ tēpā. ḡnṯ,  
 tḡ mēpēē, šāpā--lēēnē,  
 ūmṯsēē, qēqōō tshu--qōpā  
 sōsōō nāā nēē ōō tūū nī,  
 qōnēē yōō reè. ḡnṯ, qhēpōō  
 lēēqā tḡ, thḡ, qōpēē nāā  
 lḡ chōō tḡ cheyāā thī  
 qhāāqāḡōō qhēpōō nḡqṯ  
 reè. chōōrāā phēē--thapāā  
 māā--chōō lḡp nāā: nāāyāā  
 thī qhāāqāḡōō nāqō reè.  
 thḡ, "cṯṡ" seḡēē tḡ tōqō  
 tōōyāā cṯōō cheqō reè,  
 tōqō--chḡ taa cētāā tāāyāā  
 thī. āā, "nētsāā" seḡēē  
 thī phōō kaayāā tḡqēē cheqō  
 reè, tḡ thḡ cētāā kaayāā  
 thī. āā, ḡnṯ, ūmṯsēē tḡ,  
 thḡ, šēētōō nāāpēē qhūtūū,  
 thḡqō ūqūū nāānēē tḡ ūmṯsēē

all have to be appointed by the  
 government. That is, except  
 for some minor caretakers, all  
 have to be appointed by the  
 government. On the other hand,  
 as to smaller monasteries, it is  
 (only) the abbots who are  
 appointed by the government, or  
 rather, the abbots and the supply  
 chiefs. And then, except for  
 these, the others--the care-  
 takers, prayer leaders, monk  
 police--are selected by collec-  
 ting votes from ones own monas-  
 tery. Now, as for the abbot's  
 tasks, now the abbot does all  
 the things that are to be done  
 as to religion in the monastery.  
 He comes to the chōōrā, to the  
 monks, and teaches religion: all  
 these things that are to be done  
 the abbot must do. Now, as for

qhi nāqo reè. qeqöö tī  
 qhātūū lā tā, thapēē tīi  
 mātī, tha, mTī tēē cētāā  
 cheñēē thi reè. qeqöö  
 thi reè. tīnēē šēetāā  
 yōō reè. šēetāā nT, cha  
 soñēē reè.

the one called "cTsu" (monas-  
 tery treasurer or bursar), the  
 disbursements that are made,  
 these the bursar has to see to,  
 these disbursements, of tea and  
 so forth, that are made. Ah,  
 what is called the "supply room",  
 the salaries to be paid, these  
 he has to take care of, that  
 is, the barley and so forth  
 that are to be disbursed. Ah,  
 then, as for the prayer leader,  
 now, when they recite the  
 prayers, the prayer leader has  
 to be the one who starts first.  
 As for the monk police, they  
 are the ones who watch (to see)  
 whether the monks behave properly  
 or not. Then there is the šēē-  
 tāā. As for the šēetāā, he's  
 the one who makes the tea.

K: āā lēē. ānT, kītūma tshu,

Oh, I see. And then, after the



chaapē sīlī nī, āā, phāā  
 tshūū tshēēñTī qhī tsōpā  
 kūūtūū, qhāñtēēs nāqT yōō  
 rēē?

N: tshēēñTī tsōpā tsōōpēē qhū-  
 tūū, cTī qhī lēē kaañēē thi  
 chēē, cTī qhī, ānT, qhōō  
 yaa thi cheqo rēē ... qharē  
 seqo rēē? ... tha, thīwā  
 thīñēē rāpā chi, thīwā thī-  
 lēē rā chi rēē. tītēēs  
 chīqT rēē.

K: ānT, tshēēñTī tī, thīwāā  
 yaa lēē kōōñēē thi, ānT,  
 chaapē šītāā sīlīpā chi  
 quqT mēē tōō?!

N: ōō, lēē kōōñēē thi chaapē  
 qhāāqā sūūkū yōōpā chi qōō  
 rēē. tī mācūūnā, qhōō  
 thamcāās chēē cee--lēē  
 kōōñēē chēē cee, šūuqT

monks have studied the texts,  
 mm, when they hold debates on  
 tshēēñTī with each other, how  
 do they do it?

When they hold debates on tshēē-  
 ñTī, there has to be one who  
 replies, and one who does this  
 to him ... how should I put it?  
 ... Now, there's one who asks  
 the questions and one who  
 answers the questions. They  
 do it like this.

And then, as for this tshēē-  
 ñTī, the one who gives the  
 replies, now, must have had  
 to study many texts?!

Yes, the one who gives the re-  
 plies must be one who can discuss  
 all the religious texts. If  
 he can't, when he is answering--  
 when he is giving the replies,

repāā? tēē pēcāā qhāāqā|ōō  
 qhī tsōpā tsōqāā tūqT rēē.  
 tūtūū, ānT, mī mālqūū chTī  
 tsāā, sūū qhāqT t̄hiwā yūqT  
 yōōmēē, hā qhūqT maretāā?  
 sōsōō qhāāqā šūūkū yōōpā  
 qōō rēē. šūūkū mēēnā, yūqT  
 marēē.

K: ānT, "qešēē" señēē tī qhāTēēs  
 yūqT yōō rēē? ... tshēē.

N: "qešēē" señēē tī, ātā nāqšTī  
 cheē cēē, thamcā šāā; "thamcā"  
 señēē thi tha, tsōpā tsonēē  
 tsōō lēē kaayāā tīqēē thi  
 cheē; ānT, tīnēē, pēcā kuū  
 tēēqo rēē. qōpēē nāā lā kuū  
 tēēyāā yōō rēē. ūmā, phār-  
 cTī, tūā, tsōō, nōpā, nāmTēē  
 ... tītū nāā nēē maa kuū  
 tōōyāā tītēē yōō rēē. tīqēē

he sits down, you know? All  
 of the students of the religious  
 texts go there to debate. When  
 they go, then, since many people  
 go, you don't know who will ask  
 what questions, is that right?  
 It requires someone who can say  
 everything to each one. If one  
 can't say it, it won't do.

And then, as for that which is  
 called "qešēē", how does one  
 get it? ... That is, the title.

As for that which is called  
 "qešēē", now they do it in just  
 the same way, by giving thamcā;  
 now, that which is called "tham-  
 cā" means these replies which  
 are made to the debaters; and  
 then they have to give an oral  
 examination on [i.e. recite] the  
 religious texts. This is an  
 oral examination given in the

thi kuù t̃ēē; ānT, t̃itsū  
 yaqō chūūnā, "qešēē" s̃iqT  
 reē. yāā "lhārāpā" s̃ēñēē  
 t̃ii, āā, pēcā kuù t̃ēēyāā  
 t̃i q̃ōpēē nāā lā t̃ēēqT yōō  
 reē. tsōpā tsōō ni, l̃ēē  
 kaāñēē, nāāyāā t̃itsū, nōōpū  
 l̃iqāā nāqō reē ... ỹl̃šT̃  
 nōōpūū q̃ūtūū lā. qešēē  
 yaqā šētāā qhi tsōpā tsūqT  
 reē. tēē qešēē yaqā šētāā  
 qhi tsōpā tsōō ni, ānT,  
 yaqō chūūnā, ānT tēē lhā-  
 rāpā l̃qT thāqō, t̃ii ɔmāā  
 ñT̃pā, t̃ii ɔmāā s̃ūpā;  
 ānT, m̃acūūnā ñi, lhārāpēē  
 m̃iñ ē thōōqT marēē. t̃ii  
 ɔmāā "tsōqrāpā" s̃ēñēē  
 t̃itsū q̃ōpā rāā qhi nāā lā  
 ch̃iqT reē. yāā nōōpū l̃iqā  
 cētāā lā toqō marēē. t̃ii  
 m̃iñ lā "tsōqrāpā" s̃iqT reē.

monastery. ūmā, phārcT̃, t̃ūā,  
 tsōō, q̃ōpā, nām̃t̃ēē ... on these  
 (texts) which have been memo-  
 rized there is an oral examina-  
 tion of this sort which is  
 given. They give these in an  
 oral examination; and then, if  
 these turn out well, one is  
 called "qešēē". Also, the ones  
 called "lhārāpā", ah, give this  
 examination to be given on the  
 religious texts in the monas-  
 tery. After debating, the one  
 who gives the answers must do  
 these things which are to be  
 done in nōōpū l̃iqā [the Summer  
 Palace] ... before His Holiness  
 [the Dalai Lama]. Only the  
 better qešēē debate. After only  
 the better qešēē have debated  
 there, then, if it turns out  
 well, this one is lhārāpā, first

ʌnT, tɪq̄ēē tshaapʌ taa q̄ōpaa  
 yaa, sōsōō ʈhatsāā yɪɪnʌ,  
 ʈhatsāā tēē tōōqō chi tāā;  
 ʌnT, tɪnēē, sōsōō ōōtsʌ yōō-  
 nā nT, qhām̄tsēē nāā ɪʌ cha  
 raa tāā; ʌnT, tɪnēē, ʌnT,  
 "q̄ēēē ɪaa! q̄ēēē ɪaa!" s  
 chēē cēē, sɪqT rēē.

K: āā ɪēē. ʌnT, "ɪāmā k̄ɪpʌ"  
 šuñēē thētsō qhāāqā q̄ēēē  
 šTtāā repēē?

grade; the one below this,  
 second; the one below this,  
 third; but then, if it doesn't  
 turn out (well), one doesn't  
 even get the name (degree) of  
 ɪhārāpʌ. Those below this,  
 called the "ts̄q̄rāpʌ", do it  
 in the monastery itself. But  
 they don't have to go to nōōpū  
 ɪɪq̄ʌ, and so forth. And then,  
 as soon as they have finished  
 these things at the monastery,  
 in the case of their own college,  
 they give a party there at the  
 college; and then, if they have  
 independent means, they serve  
 tea and the like in the division.  
 And then they address him, saying  
 "q̄ēēē ɪaa! q̄ēēē ɪaa!".

Oh, I see. And then, are all  
 those who are called "tantric  
 lamas" without exception q̄ēēē?

N: lāmā kūṗā qhāāqā "qešēē" s  
 siqT marēē. lāmā kūṗēē nāā  
 lā tī yōb rēē: lāmā kūṗēē  
 nāā lā lhārāpā yōb rēē,  
 tsōqrāpā yōb rēē, kṭṭrīpā  
 yōb rēē.

K: "kṭṭrīpā" s qharē rēē?

N: "kṭṭrīpā" seṇēē thi tshēē-  
 ṇṭī siṭi yōb marēē, thāqō  
 nēē. ṇāā qhī tīqēē thi--  
 "chōōkēē lhāmō, ciqcTī, sāwā  
 tūpā, tecōb" seṇēē tīqēē  
 thi--siṭi tīqēē rēē. tīqēē  
 tēē "kṭṭrīpā" siqT rēē.  
 tha, lhārāpā tha tsōqrāpā  
 tshu, tshēēṇṭī ṇēē lā siṭi  
 tshāpā repāā? siṭi tshāā  
 ni, tīi šuqōō, ānT, ṇāā qhī  
 tīqēē siṭiṇēē tēē "lhārāpā"  
 siqT rēē. "lhārāpā" seṇēē  
 thi qōyōō chēē yōb rēē.  
 tsōqrāpā tshu tshēēṇṭī sūyāā

No, not all tantric lamas are  
 called "qešēē". Among the  
 tantric lamas there are these:  
 among the tantric lamas there  
 are lhārāpā, there are tsōq-  
 rāpā, there are kṭṭrīpā.

What are "kṭṭrīpā"?

Those who are called "kṭṭrīpā"  
 haven't studied tshēēṇṭī, that  
 is, first. These tantras--  
 these called "chōōkēē lhāmō,  
 ciqcTī, sāwā tūpā, and tecōb"  
 --they have studied. They are  
 called "kṭṭrīpā". Now, the  
 lhārāpā and tsōqrāpā have  
 finished studying tshēēṇṭī  
 before, haven't they? Those  
 who finish studying (tshēēṇṭī)  
 and, after this, study these  
 tantras are called "lhārāpā".  
 Those called "lhārāpā" possess  
 greater knowledge. The tsōq-

yòḁ marēè ... "tsḁqrāpḁ" saà;  
 tḁ kṭṭrīpḁ tso. tsḁqrāpḁ  
 tshēēñṭḁ sūūkū yòḁ reè tee,  
 lhārāpḁ nḁḡṣṭṭṭ rāā, ḁnṭ, chūū  
 yòḁ marēè, tsōpā thī.

K: ḁnṭ, "pētsāmḁ" señēē thētsō?

N: ōḁ reè. "pētsāpḁ" señēē  
 thī tha, lāmā kūū tōōmēè  
 ḁṭṭ ḁḁ yṭṭnḁ, tsūūqḁ ḁhāmō  
 tēè pēcā kūū tēēqo repāā?  
 tḁtsū qhāāqā kūū tēè nḁ  
 māṭṭṭ, tsūū chōōqṭ marēè.  
 ḡēē ḁḁ sim nḁ, kūū tēè;  
 ḁnṭ, yāa tsūū cheqo reè.  
 cheè tsāā, tḁtsū simṣūū  
 rḁqāā, pēcā sim tūūṣūū  
 rḁqāā tḁḁ mḁḁ ḁḁ "pētsāpḁ"  
 sḁqṭ reè. yāā pēcāā ṣāpā  
 qeṣēè tāāñēē yṭṭnḁ, qeṣēè

rāpḁ can't discuss tshēēñṭḁ  
 ... I said "tsḁqrāpḁ"; these  
 are [I meant] the kṭṭrīpḁ.  
 The tsḁqrāpḁ can discuss tshēē-  
 ñṭḁ, but they aren't quite like  
 the lhārāpḁ when it comes to  
 debating.

And then, as for those called  
 "pētsāmḁ"?

Yes. Now, as for those called  
 "pētsāpḁ", in the case of both  
 the upper and the lower tantric  
 (college) lamas, before they  
 enter (the colleges), they have  
 to give an oral examination on  
 the religious texts, you know?  
 Unless they have given an oral  
 examination on all these (texts),  
 they aren't allowed to enter.  
 They memorize before, and then  
 they give the oral examination;  
 and then, they must enter.

qhi kuù t̃ēyāā pēcā tha, t̃i-  
tsū lō l̃a maa s̃imšūū r̃īqāā,  
p̃āl̃rūū t̃ēē "p̃ētsāp̃a" s̃iq̃T  
r̃ēē.

Therefore, while they are memorizing these things, that is, while they are memorizing the pēcā, they are called "p̃ētsāp̃a". Furthermore, in the case of the other students of the pēcā, who are going to take the q̃ēšēē (degree), during the interval (time) when they are memorizing those pēcā which are to be used in the oral examination for the q̃ēšēē (degree), now, they (too) are called "p̃ētsāp̃a".

K: āā l̃ēē. ānT, p̃ētsām̃a chišūū  
r̃īqāā, s̃ōsōō t̃shōā t̃i ...  
qhāqō m̃ēē t̃ōō?

Oh, I see. And then, while one is a p̃ētsām̃a, as for things to eat and wear (ones livelihood) ... one might have a hard time (difficulties)?

N: mm, tha, thāā ñēē t̃shō ni,  
s̃ōsōō nāā nēē cTq r̃ōō chēē  
cTq chēē ni, ōōts̃a yōō r̃ēē.

Mm, now, as for those who are closer [to home], their families may help them and so forth, and

tI mēpēē thāā rIḡa nT, pa  
 chēē cētāā, thi cheqo reē.  
 mītsāā thāqa tsōō ḡāḡqT  
 reē. lō cTq, ḡTT, sūm,  
 qhātseē yīḡnaa, mI tI ḡaa;  
 tI pēcā sIm tshāā ni, ānT,  
 kūū Iā tsūū rēē sona, kūū  
 Iā chTḡ; tuqs chIqT reē.  
 tēēsa tsōō lēē taqā rāā  
 reē. pētsāpā tsōō yāā  
 cētāā tshēēqāā toqo reē.  
 sōsō ōōtsa yōōnā nT, taqā  
 retāā? sōsō yāā tshōa  
 tāātsōō mēēpā thIḡsū  
 qhāāqāIō cētāā phāā  
 tshēēqāā toqo reē.

they have independent means.  
 Aside from these, as for those  
 who are farther away [from  
 home], there must, for the most  
 part, be those who act as  
 patrons/sponsors. Wealthier  
 households keep them. One year,  
 two, three, however many it may  
 be, they keep this person; when  
 he has finished memorizing the  
 religious texts, then, when he  
 is ready to enter a tantric  
 college, he goes to the tantric  
 college; this is the way they  
 do it. In the monastic seats,  
 too, it's exactly the same.  
 Again, the pētsāpā has to go  
 look for a patron. If one has  
 means oneself, it's all right,  
 is that so? But all those who  
 don't have enough for their  
 food and clothes have to go  
 look for patrons.



K: ʌnT, pētsāml tshu, kũũ  
 tōōmēē nTT lʌ lamsāā  
 tsũũ chōcōō yōnaa.

N: mm, pētsāpʌ pēcā kuù  
 mhaṭṭōō pʌtōō lamsāā tsũũ  
 chōcōō yōō marēē, qītūpʌ.

K: mm, marēē ... aa ... pēcā  
 cTtāā kuù ṭhōōnēē, yʌqēē  
 lamsāā, šutēē taa tiqēē  
 rʌʌqT yōnaa ... tshēē rʌ  
 chi yōnaa.

N: ōō, tshēē yōō rēē. kũũ  
 tōōmēē nTT lʌ.

K: tōō lʌ qhʌtsēē yōnaa. mēē

And then, I wonder whether the  
 pētsāml are allowed to enter  
 the two tantric colleges, the  
 upper and lower, right away.

Mm, the pētsāpʌ aren't allowed  
 to enter right away, not until  
 they pass the oral examinations  
 on the religious texts, that is,  
 the monks.

Mm, no, that's not it (not what  
 I meant) ... aa ... even if they  
 pass the oral examinations on  
 the religious texts, and so  
 forth, I wonder if they get  
 seats and those things up there  
 right away ... or if there is a  
 sort of quota.

Yes, there is a quota. At both  
 the upper and the lower tantric  
 colleges.

I wonder how many there are in

lA qhatsēē yōnaa.

N: mm, nāpkā nāpkā yṑ reè ...  
 mm, nāpkā tīnēē yāā meēnā,  
 sōsō, tha, mm, kūū qhi nāā  
 lA sāwā tūpā tha tīqēē,  
 nāā qhi tīqēē thi nāmīēē  
 tshaāpā chi yūqT retāā?  
 šēē tshaāpā chi, tīqēē tī  
 ānT, kūū nēē sōsō qōpāā  
 yaa lōō nāānāā reè, yāā  
 retōō phētsūū lA phāā phēē-  
 nāā reè. tītēē nāā sona,  
 ānT, qhōō qhi tshōō qhō  
 yaa tsūūkū yṑ reè, šūū  
 lA yaa.

K: lō cTī qhi nāā lA pētsāmā  
 chāapē sī tūpānā, qhatsēētsā  
 tsūū thūuqT yōnaa. tsūūsā

the upper one. I wonder how many there are in the lower one.

Mm, there are five hundred at each ... mm, if, however, there are some of these five hundred who are not there, one, now, mm, there are some who have finished practicing sāwā tūpā and these things, that is, these tantras, is that right? Some who now know, that is, these things and have either returned to their own monasteries from the tantric colleges or gone away in this direction or that to some mountain retreat. When one has done like this, then, he (the pētsāpā) can enter in his place, that is, afterward.

If the pētsāmā finish studying the religious texts in a (given) year, I wonder about how many

raà nāqT yōnaa.

might be able to enter. I wonder whether they might get places to enter.

N: ōō, tha ti nāmēē nātsōō  
chiqT reè. thōō nēē  
phēēēē qhātseē chūūnāā,  
tīī tshōō thi manēē tsūūsā  
yūqT reè, sāapā yaa.

Well, now, this varies. As many as come from above [that is, as many as graduate], this many have places to enter in their stead from below, that is, the new ones.

K: šipū rāā yūqT ā yōō.

I don't suppose there are exactly a lot (I doubt there are very many).

N: cāpcū rāpā yūqT yūkt reè.

There may be about ten.

K: kūūqāā 1ā šitāā qūṭṭī thāpō  
mēē ṭōō.

The tantric colleges must have many strict rules.

N: kūū tōōmēē nṭṭ 1ā ṭhīī  
thāpō yōō reè. phāā tshūū  
phēēēē qhūṭṭī cētāā chṭqpā  
ē chṭp chōōqT marēē. šap-  
tāṇā šētāā phēēqo reè. ānṭ,  
sōsōō tshōēē yopceē yōō retāā?

Yes, there are strict rules in both the upper and the lower tantric colleges. When they go here and there, and so forth, they aren't even allowed to ride horses. They must just go on



cöönats/ tshēē lA phēē qoyāā  
 yḁḁ reē. tshēē lA phTTtūū,  
 sūūšTl taa tḁqēē qhāāqā tshēē  
 qhī tḁnēē phūūqu reē. ānT,  
 tḁnēē, qātēē lA phēē qoyāā  
 yḁḁ reē, qātēē chōōtḁḁ lA.  
 qātēē lA phTTtūū yāā yānēē,  
 tha qhācēē sūūšTl taa cētāā  
 phāā tshūū ḁḁ moqḁḁ qhī  
 sāmḁ tāāpA reē. šēē, lhēē-  
 sēē nāā lA šūūšūpA nāā nI,  
 tḁqēē tshūū lēē, sēē šaanēē,  
 tḁqT retāā? sōsōō qōpāā, tḁ  
 mēpA chēē, qhātūū qhātūū lA  
 phāā tshūū phTTq(T y)ḁḁ reē.  
 ḡēmāā, tha, tḁḁ tshōō rA  
 chī repāā? ... kaqāā ḡḁḁ  
 lA yḁḁnā.

lower tantric colleges have to  
 go to (the village of) tshēē  
 for about fifteen days each.  
 When they come to tshēē, tshēē  
 has to give them tsāpā and all  
 these things. And then, from  
 there they have to go to (the  
 monastery of) qātēē. But,  
 anyway, when they come up to  
 qātēē from there, now, they  
 think there is no need to take  
 tsāpā and so forth back and  
 forth. Otherwise [when the  
 monks are not on chōōtḁḁ], it's  
 all right if they stay in Lhasa,  
 get these things here and eat  
 them, isn't it? Aside from  
 this, at certain times they go  
 here and there to their own  
 monasteries. It's sort of in  
 place of these former ones, now,  
 you know? ... that is, in India.

K: sōōnōm lōqāā phTTqT reè.

They go to beg for food.

N: ōō, sōōnōm lōqāā phTTqT reè.  
retāā? tōpā śakā thūpā thā  
cētāā, ōō, tīī tshōō rāpā  
chēē cēē, phTTqT γōō reè.  
qhasā qha lā phāā tshūū  
phTTqT γōō reè.

Yes, they go to beg for food,  
 is that right? Lord Shakyamuni and so forth, well, they go in place of these. They go here and there, all over.

K: ōō.

Yes.

N: ōō, "śōō" señēē tēēlēē  
phēēqo reè, phēpō. tīnēē,  
ānT, tecēē lā phēēqo reè.  
maa tūūlūū nāā lā chēēnā,  
chTmTī śāqō phēēqo reè  
 ... "chTmTī śāqō" sāā;  
chTmTī nūū, "chTmTī nūū"  
sāā ... chTmTī nūū lā phēēqo  
reè. tīnēē sānpōō phēēqo  
reè. caḥ qūcūū lā phēēqo  
reè. tītēē phēēsā māqū  
γōō reè, chōōtōō lā phāā  
tshūū phēē qoyāā.

Yes, they have to go there to  
 (the place) called "śōō", too,  
 that is, to phēpō [śōō is in  
phēpō]. And then, they have to  
 go to tecēē. When they go into  
tūūlūū, they have to go to chT-  
mTī śāqō ... I said "chTmTī  
śāqō", but I mean ("it's")  
chTmTī nūū, it's called "chTmTī  
nūū". Then they have to go to  
sānpū. They have to go to caḥ  
 on winter chōōtōō. There are  
 many places of this sort where  
 they go, where they have to go

K:  $\overline{\text{anT}}$ ,  $\text{ph}\overline{\text{ö}}\overline{\text{ö}}$   $\overline{\text{nāā}}$   $\text{I} \Lambda$   $\text{Ih}\overline{\text{āprTpa}}$   
 $\text{I}\overline{\text{āpñēē}}$   $\text{qhi}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āptāā}}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{itāā}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ā}}$   $\text{yöō}$ .

N:  $\text{Ih}\overline{\text{āprTpa}}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āpñēē}}$   $\text{q}\overline{\text{röō}}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{cò}}$   
 $\text{rēē}$ .  $\text{Ih}\overline{\text{āprTpa}}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āpñēē}}$   $\text{m}\overline{\text{āqū}}$   
 $\text{y}\overline{\text{cò}}$   $\text{rēē}$ .  $\text{Ih}\overline{\text{āprTpeē}}$   $\text{qeqēē}$   
 $\text{ti}$   $\overline{\text{ē}}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{aqō}}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{cò}}$   $\text{rēē}$ . " $\text{Ih}\overline{\text{āp-}}$   
 $\text{rTl}$   $\text{chēmō}$   $\text{Iaa}$ "  $\text{s}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{aqō}}$   
 $\text{š}\overline{\text{etāā}}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{cò}}$   $\text{rēē}$ .

K:  $\overline{\text{amcT}}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āpsēē}}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āptā}}$   $\text{metsTl}$   
 $\text{qhāā}$   $\text{tha}$   $\text{cōqō}$   $\text{r}\overline{\text{l}}$   $\text{ti}$   $\text{mēpā}$   
 $\text{y}\overline{\text{cò}}$   $\text{repēē}$ ?

N:  $\overline{\text{amcT}}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āpsēē}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{amcT}}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āpsēē}}$   
 $\text{tha}$   $\text{mēqāā}$   $\text{I}\overline{\text{āptā}}$   $\text{r}\overline{\text{āpā}}$   $\text{chēē}$   
 $\text{tiñTl}$   $\text{mātō}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{cò}}$   $\text{marēē}$ .  $\text{yāā}$   
 $\text{sō}$   $\text{sōsōō}$   $\text{m}\overline{\text{l}}$   $\text{sūmts}\Lambda$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{itsa}}$   
 $\text{r}\overline{\text{āpā}}$   $\text{t}\overline{\text{itēē}}$   $\text{ñaa}$   $\text{cēē}$ ,  $\text{I}\overline{\text{āp}}$   
 $\text{tēēñēē}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{etāā}}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{cò}}$   $\text{rēē}$ .  $\text{māñēē}$

here and there on  $\text{chōötō}$ .

Now, I don't suppose there are  
 very many students in Tibet  
 who study to be painters.

There are quite a few who study  
 to be painters. There are many  
 who study to be painters. And  
 there are good teachers for  
 painters, too. There are very  
 good "painting supervisors".

Are there any schools where one  
 studies to be a (medical) doctor,  
 aside from  $\text{metsTl}$   $\text{qhāā}$  and  
 $\text{cōqō}$   $\text{r}\overline{\text{l}}$ ?

Where one studies to be a doctor,  
 where one studies to be a doctor,  
 now, except for these two there  
 is no hospital or school of any  
 size. On the other hand, there  
 are many individuals who keep

keè qu cū rλpλ tītēē fāa  
 cee lāp tōōhēē šetāa yōb  
 reè.

K: āmcT lāpaa lo šītāa qōōqT  
 yūkt reè.

N: āmcT lāpaa lo, āmcT rāā  
 "tsā tāyāā tha, chāptāā tā-  
 yāā thλ, mēē tāāyāā" cTī  
 chee señēē ci yōb retāā?  
 tīqēē lāpaa tλ šīpū qōōqT  
 ā yōō.

K: tha mēēsūū simyāā thi.

N: mēēsūū thi pē thi simqu reè.  
 mēēsūū ē šetāa mλqu yōb marēē.  
 ... mēēsūū ... pēcā ... pūtT  
 chūcūū rλpλ cTqtsλ chi ā yōō.

about three or four people with  
 them and teach them. There are  
 many who keep, at most, some-  
 thing like eight or nine or ten  
 and teach them.

To study to be a doctor may take  
 many years, I suppose.

As for the years (it takes) to  
 study to be a doctor, what medi-  
 cine itself consists of is what's  
 called "the taking of pulses,  
 the examination of urine speci-  
 mens, the giving of medicine",  
 and so forth, is that right? I  
 doubt it takes very long to study  
 these things.

Now, how about memorizing medical  
 books (manuals)?

They have to memorize the medical  
 books thoroughly. But there  
 aren't very many medical books  
 ... medical books ... books ...



tha, mēē, cōrtā cheyāà chi  
 yòò retāā? tīqēē thi tha  
 qhāāqāīōō īāpqu chūūnā nT,  
 īo tēētsā mānā qōōqT mēē  
 tōō. thēsāā tha, mētsTī  
 qhāā nāā īā īāptāā qhi  
 kTt īēē qēpa qhāšēē īo  
 nīšū tsātāā chīpā ē tēē  
 tuqāā?

K: mēqāā qhi qhōrā īāp nī ... ?

N: mēqāā qhi tīqēē īāp nī, ānT,  
 šōō īā tsTī īāpqt rēē, tā.

K: āā īēē. ānT, phōō īā yaa,  
 īetō sōnēē tshu yāā qhōrāā  
 tshu īōōqāā īāp ... īōpcōō  
 chīqt mēē tōō.

N: īotō ē mētsTī qhāā nēē tūqT

I doubt that there's about one  
 small volume. Now, as for the  
 medicine, there's the mixing,  
 is that right? If they have to  
 study all of these things, it  
 may take a little more than a  
 year. These days, now, there  
 are among the students staying  
 in mētsTī qhāā some older ones  
 who are even in their twenties,  
 is that right?

They study those hospital  
 matters, and then ... ?

They study these hospital  
 matters, and then, meanwhile  
 they study astrology, now.

Oh, I see.. And then, in Tibet  
 those who make calendars  
 must study ... must make  
 separate studies.

mētsTī qhāā issues calendars,

reè.  $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè.  
 $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{T}\bar{i}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{i}$   $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 $\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{h}\bar{u}$   $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{o}$   
 $\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{a}$   $\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{s}\bar{T}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè.

K:  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ . mm,  $\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{o}$   $\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   
 $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{o}$   $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{o}$   
 $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{x}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ .

N:  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{o}$   $\bar{t}\bar{l}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{o}$   $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{o}$ ,  
 $\bar{t}\bar{i}$ .  $\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , " $\bar{t}\bar{i}$   $\bar{y}\bar{u}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè,  
 $\bar{t}\bar{i}$   $\bar{y}\bar{u}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè,  $\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{a}$   $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   
 $\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{y}\bar{u}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè"  $\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{a}$   
 $\bar{t}\bar{i}$   $\bar{c}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{q}\bar{o}$   $\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ?  $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{u}$   
 $\bar{y}\bar{i}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{w}\bar{a}$   $\bar{s}\bar{x}\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{T}\bar{i}$   
 $\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{l}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{l}$   $\bar{s}\bar{x}\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{T}\bar{i}$   $\bar{c}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$  " $\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{a}$   
 $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{y}\bar{u}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè"  $\bar{s}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   
 $\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{k}\bar{u}$   $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{l}$   $\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{o}$   $\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ?  $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{T}$ ,  
" $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{l}$   $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{c}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{a}$   $\bar{k}\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè,  
 $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{l}$   $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{m}$   $\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{o}$   $\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{q}\bar{T}$  reè,  
 $\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{i}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{i}$   $\bar{l}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{q}\bar{p}\bar{a}$   $\bar{k}\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{q}\bar{T}$   
reè"  $\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{r}\bar{l}\bar{p}\bar{l}$   $\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ -  
 $\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{o}$   $\bar{k}\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{q}\bar{T}$   $\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ?

too. They study (this) together  
[with medicine]. The students of  
 $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{s}\bar{T}\bar{i}$   $\bar{q}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , all the students,  
know how to make calendars, and  
so forth.

Oh, I see. Mm, when they learn  
to make calendars, I wonder if  
they find it difficult, or how  
is it?

Well, it may be difficult at  
first, this thing. Afterwards,  
they have to say all these  
things, don't they--"This will  
happen, that will happen, on  
this date such a thing will  
happen", and so forth. They  
usually have to be able to tell/  
foretell our moon eclipses and  
sun eclipses and so forth: "On  
this date it will occur"--is  
that right? And then, "On this  
day it will rain, on this day  
the weather will be good, on

K: tsTì lōpcōō cheñēē qhī mī  
qhātseēt̄s̄l yōnaa.

N: tsTì lōpcōō cheñēē qhī mī  
ñīkāl sūmkāl yūkT rēē ... chā-  
cōē ... mētsTì qhāā l̄.  
šāpā tha yāā l̄pñēē yūqT  
retāā?

K: lhēēsāā mēpaa, tsTì cTtāā  
l̄pñēē qhī lāptā ā yōō.

N: ǒō, yōō rēē. "lāptā" s  
cheē nī, mīn thōō nī, yōō  
marēē mātōō, sōsōō tha mī  
cūptāā r̄l̄p̄l̄ kēē qu r̄l̄p̄l̄  
tītēē l̄ l̄p̄ nī, yāā lūnp̄l̄  
qhasā qhā l̄ yōō rēē.

K: ānT, phōō l̄ yaa ... tsTī-  
pēē tsTī k̄l̄p̄ nī, cTq sōsōō

this day it will be windy",  
they put all such things down  
clearly, is that right?

I wonder about how many people  
study astrology.

There may be two or three hundred  
people who study astrology ... on  
the average ... at mētsTì qhāā.

But, now, there are also others  
who study it, is that right?

I don't suppose there are schools  
where they teach astrology and  
so forth, aside from in Lhasa.

Yes, there are. Except that they  
don't get the name "school",  
there are also, in places all  
over, individuals who teach some-  
thing like between ten and  
twenty, or eight or nine, people.

And then, in Tibet ... when  
astrologers make astrological

ŋēēmāà kēwā chī qharē chēē-  
 mēē thā cēēmāà qharē yōōmēē  
 thā, ʌnT, tshē tēē qharē  
 yōōmēē thā, cTtāā qhāāqā  
 ... tāyāā thētsō mētsTì  
 qhāā nēē tʌqT repēē?

N: tʌtsū ē tsTì tsTqT rēē. ōō,  
 tʌqēē thī mētsTì qhāā nēē  
 tsTì nʌqT rēē.

K: āā lēē.

N: yāā cōqō rī la, tʌtsū letō  
 tōōyāā taa tʌtēē lʌpqT mārēē.  
 ʌmcT cTqōō mātōō. "mētsTì  
 qhāā" sʌtūū, ʌmcT taa tsTì  
 nTqāā lʌpq(T y)ōō retāā?  
 chēē tsāā, "mētsTì qhāā" s

readings about what one did or  
 failed to do in a previous  
 birth (incarnation), and what  
 will or will not happen in a  
 future one, and then, what  
 will or will not happen in  
 this life, and so forth, all  
 these things ... these things  
 which are forecast, does one  
 forecast them at mētsTì qhāā?

These, too, they divine by  
 astrology. Yes, they make these  
 astrological readings at mētsTì  
 qhāā.

Oh, I see.

On the other hand, at cōqō rī  
 they don't teach the issuing of  
 calendars and things like this.  
 Only medicine. When you say  
 "mētsTì qhāā" (you imply that)  
 they teach both medicine and

ch<sub>ē</sub>ēp<sub>Λ</sub> rēè.

K: ānT, t<sub>l</sub> mēp<sub>Λ</sub> qhēè lāp<sub>q</sub>T  
marēpēè?

N: mm, mētsT<sub>l</sub> qhāā l<sub>Λ</sub> ēè?  
mēē th<sub>Λ</sub> tsT<sub>l</sub> th<sub>Λ</sub>, ānT,  
y<sub>l</sub>qT lāp<sub>q</sub>T retāā? t<sub>l</sub>  
nT š<sub>oo</sub> retāā? y<sub>l</sub>qT  
lāpyāà th<sub>l</sub>. šēē, ānT,  
šāpā qhēè lāp<sub>q</sub>T marēè.

K: mm, ānT, phōō l<sub>Λ</sub> chTkēē qh<sub>i</sub>  
qēè yōōpēē lāptā y<sub>oo</sub> repēè?  
cTq "qh<sub>oo</sub>rqā lāptā" señēē qh<sub>i</sub>  
so r<sub>Λ</sub>p<sub>Λ</sub> t<sub>l</sub>tēē.

N: mm, chTkēē qh<sub>i</sub> qēè yōōp<sub>Λ</sub>

astrology, is that right? That's  
why they call it "mētsT<sub>l</sub> qhāā".

[That is, mētsT<sub>l</sub> is a compound  
made up of mēē 'medicine' and  
tsT<sub>l</sub> 'astrology'.]

But then, don't they teach/study  
anything aside from this?

Mm, do you mean at mētsT<sub>l</sub> qhāā?

They teach medicine and astro-  
logy, and then, writing, is that  
right? This is done along the  
way (at the same time, inci-  
dentally), is that right? That  
is, the teaching of writing.  
Otherwise, then, they don't  
teach anything else.

Mm, and then, are there schools  
in Tibet for foreign languages?  
Say, something like one called  
a "Gurkha School".

Mm, as for foreign languages

ɣɛɛmāā tha, kantsɛɛ yĩcT  
 lɛ̄ɛpɛ̄ qhutũũ, kantsɛɛ  
 lāptā chi tsũpɿ rē, yĩcT  
 lāptā chi. qɛ̄ lāpqā  
 tɔ̄nɛ̄ tĩtɛ̄ yɔ̄ rē. ɿnT,  
 lhɛ̄sɛ̄ nāā lɿ qhɔrqɛ̄  
 lāptā yōnaa mɛnaa phɛ̄cɛ̄  
 yɔɿ mɛ̄. ɣɛɛmāā ɣɛɛmāā  
 yĩĩnɿ, "qhuryT lāptā" sā  
 pāācɛ̄ qhāā qhi qhāpt̄ō̄  
 tii nāā tɛ̄ yɔ̄ retāā?  
 thɛ̄sāā yɔ̄ marɛ̄.

K: qhuryT lāptɛ̄ nāā lɿ, hĩtũ  
 ... phũũyT ...

N: ɔ̄, hĩtũ lāpqT yũkT rē,  
 tɛ̄ɛtsɿ tɛ̄ɛtsɿ rɿ chi, phũũ-  
 yT lāpqT rē. ɿnT, qhɔrqɛ̄  
 yiqT rāā lāpqT retāā?

before, now, when the English  
 came to Kyangtse, they estab-  
 lished a school in Kyangtse,  
 that is, an English school. It  
 was the sort where one goes to  
 study a language. But then, as  
 to whether or not there is a  
 Gurkha school in Lhasa, there  
 probably is not. A long time  
 ago, there was in the place  
 opposite pāācɛ̄ qhāā one called  
 the "Gurkha [Written] Language  
 School", is that right? These  
 days it isn't there.

In the Gurkha Language School,  
 Hindi ... the Tibetan [written]  
 language ...

Yes, they may have taught Hindi,  
 just a little, and they taught  
 the Tibetan [written] language.  
 But then, they taught the Gurkha  
 [written] language itself, is

K: ōō reè. ānT, phōō lA kāmT  
lāptā γḡ repēè, ḡēmāā?

N: ḡēmāā γḡ marēè. ḡēmāā  
cTtē γḡ marēè. tīnēè šūu  
lA qhunṭēè yaa lēè nī, ānT  
lāptā sāapā cTqñT chī tsūu  
γḡ reè. "sēšT lāptā"  
señēē rAṗA, ōō, "ṭhūcT  
lTqēè lāptā" señēē rAṗA  
tītēè tsūu γḡ reè. ānT,  
qhāšēè lA nT; "cTtsōō lāptā"  
señēē rAṗA tītēè γḡ reè.  
tēè tA, "lāptā" s qhēè A  
γT. pā chēè lēeqā cheñēē  
šētāā mēē ṭḡḡ, cTtsōō lāptā.

K: ānT, lēcēè lāptā?

that right?

Yes. And then, was there a  
 Chinese school in Tibet, that  
 is, before?

No, there wasn't before. Before,  
 there wasn't even one. Then,  
 afterwards, when the Communists  
 came up, they established one or  
 two new schools. They estab-  
 lished such schools as the ones  
 called "sēšT School" and "Offi-  
 cial Community Park School".

And then, there were several of  
 the sort called "public [adult]  
 schools". As for those, I don't  
 really suppose you'd call them  
 "schools". For the most part,  
 I suppose, they were just  
 workers, the public schools.

And then, how about trade  
 schools?

N: mm, "l̥ɛc̥ɛ̃ l̥apt̥ā" s̥aà  
 r̥ɛp̥ɛ̃? l̥ɛ̃s̥ɔ̃ l̥apt̥ā̃ ỹl̥-  
 n̥ā̃ th̥l̥ ɛ̃? l̥ɛ̃q̃ā ch̥ɛ̃p̥ɛ̃  
 s̥ɔ̃ l̥ ɪ l̥ɔ̃p̥c̥ɔ̃ ch̥ɛ̃n̥ɛ̃ th̥l̥,  
 "l̥ɛ̃s̥ɔ̃ l̥apt̥ā̃" s̥aà, l̥ɛ̃-  
 s̥ɔ̃ l̥apt̥ā̃ t̥l̥ ɛ̃ ỹɔ̃ r̥ɛ̃.  
 t̥l̥ ỹā̃ l̥apt̥ā l̥ɔ̃q̃ā̃ q̃h̥ɛ̃  
 ỹɔ̃ m̥ar̥ɛ̃, s̥ɔ̃s̥ɔ̃ l̥ɔ̃p̥c̥ɔ̃  
 ch̥l̥k̥ū m̥āt̥ɔ̃. th̥l̥s̥ɔ̃  
 "l̥apt̥ā̃ l̥apt̥ā̃" s̥ ch̥ɛ̃p̥ā  
 m̥āt̥ɔ̃, "l̥apt̥ā" s̥ q̃h̥ɛ̃  
 ỹɔ̃ m̥ar̥ɛ̃.

K: ʌn̥T̥, l̥apt̥ā th̥ɛ̃ts̥ɔ̃ n̥ā̃ l̥ ʌ  
 ỹā, ph̥ɔ̃ q̃h̥l̥ l̥apt̥ā t̥ā  
 m̥ɛ̃t̥ā̃ q̃h̥l̥ t̥l̥q̃l̥m̥ q̃h̥ar̥  
 ỹɔ̃ r̥ɛ̃?

N: ɔ̃, t̥ā, th̥l̥ts̥ū̃ n̥ā̃ l̥ ʌ ph̥ɔ̃  
 q̃h̥l̥ l̥apt̥ā t̥ā m̥ɛ̃t̥ā̃ ... th̥ā,  
 l̥apt̥ā̃ t̥l̥ p̥ɛ̃ r̥ā̃ c̥T̥q̃p̥ā  
 m̥ar̥et̥ā̃? ɳ̥āt̥s̥ɔ̃ ph̥ɔ̃ q̃h̥l̥  
 t̥l̥l̥ n̥ā̃ l̥ ʌ ỹl̥l̥n̥, s̥ɔ̃q̃ɛ̃  
 s̥ɛ̃t̥ɔ̃ n̥ā̃k̥ū t̥ā, ʌn̥T̥, ph̥ū̃-

Mm, ones called "trade schools"?

Do you mean those who are students  
 while they work? Those called  
 "working students" who study while  
 they work--there are these, too.  
 But they don't have a special  
 school, they just have things  
 they can study by themselves.  
 They call them "students", but  
 there's no "school" at all.

And then, what are the differences  
 in the regimens in these schools  
 and the Tibetan schools?

Well, now, as to the differences  
 in these and in the Tibetan  
 schools ... now, the way of  
 teaching isn't quite the same,  
 is it? In our Tibetan ones,  
 there are morning prayers to be



yTì cTqōō mātōō lāpqT yōō  
 maretāā? tha, thēsāā yīīnā,  
 šōōqēē līēē ... lūūtsēē chikū  
 chēē; tīnēē ānT lōpcōō; ānT  
 tīnēē yāā tsēmō tsēyāā  
 tsēnā tha nāmēē nātsōō  
 lāpqT yōō retāā? phōpēē  
 lāptā tsēmō tsēyāā thītēē  
 lāpqT marēē.

recited, and then, teaching is  
 conducted only in Tibetan  
 writing, is that right? Now,  
 these days, the first thing in  
 the morning ... there are phy-  
 sical exercises to do; and  
 then, studies; and then, again,  
 they teach a variety of various  
 kinds of games, now, is that  
 right? The Tibetan schools  
 don't teach such playing of  
 games.

K: ānT, tī mēpēē lōptsēē qhāā  
 qharē qharē yōō rēē?

And then, aside from these, what  
 different sorts of lessons are  
 there?

N: ōō, lōptsēē, tha, qhāšēē  
 qhī nāā lā "sTtūū lōpcōō" s  
 chēē nī, lōptsēē, tī chēñēē  
 yōō retāā? sTtūū qhī.  
 qhāšēē lā nT yāā sāptā  
 rāpā tītēē ē tī chēñēē yūkt  
 rēē. tītēē nāmēē nātsōō

Well, as for lessons, now, in  
 some there are those who have  
 lessons in what is called "the  
 study of political affairs", is  
 that right? That is, (lessons  
 in) political affairs. And  
 then, again, in some there may

meè tɔɔ.

K: ʌnT, qhʉnt̃ēē r̃ɪŋl̃ũ ʌp  
quqT meè tɔɔ.

N: ɔɔ, r̃ɪŋl̃ũ ʌpqu r̃ē, qhʉn-  
t̃ēē r̃ɪŋl̃ũ ʌpqu r̃ē. tha  
pa chēē "s̃ēšT̃T̃ ʌp̃t̃ā" seŋēē  
thi tā pūqū chūŋʌ šētāā  
ruur̃ũ s̃ōō yɔɔ r̃ē. pūqū  
chūŋʌ pa chēē s̃ēšT̃T̃ ʌp̃t̃āā  
ruur̃ũ s̃ōō yɔɔ r̃ē.

K: qēpa tshu?

N: qēpa tshu, ɔɔ, tha, t̃hūūcT̃T̃  
ʌT̃qāā yɔɔ r̃ē. cāā qēpa  
tshu ... thitsū t̃ʌ, tho ē  
thāpō šetāā t̃hūūcT̃T̃ ʌT̃qāā  
yɔɔ r̃ē. chT̃lōō ʌ šl̃pū

be those who do geography and  
the like. There must be a  
variety of such (lessons).

And then, they must have to  
study the principles of  
Communism.

Yes, they have to study the  
principles, that is, the princi-  
ples of Communism. Now, for the  
most part, the one called "s̃ē-  
šT̃T̃ School" gathers together  
just the younger children. The  
younger children are, for the  
most part, gathered together at  
s̃ēšT̃T̃ School.

How about the older ones?

The older ones, yes, now, tney  
are at Official Community Park.  
The ones who are a little older  
... as for these, Official Commu-  
nity Park has very strict rules.

ɬɔyāà yɔ̀ɔ̀ m̄arēè. qhōrāā  
 tshu phāā tshuū chTlōō  
 l̄a l̄ɛɛqā cheqāā tsom tsom  
 tāāpēē qhūtūū qhāāqā khū  
 t̄l̄l̄ t̄l̄qT rēè m̄ātɔ̀, sō  
 sōsō cheè, ɬɔyāà š̄ipū m̄l̄-  
 tūū. ȳl̄qēē n̄ātsōō t̄l̄ chi  
 yōō, n̄o šēpa chi, "l̄ōsāā  
 t̄ɔɔcē" señēē n̄ātsōō ...  
 q̄ōpēē m̄l̄ ȳl̄p̄a chi yōō. qhō  
 t̄hūūcT l̄l̄qēē l̄āp̄tāā tsūūp̄ā  
 rēè. š̄uū l̄a qhō k̄ūnēè  
 thūūyāā m̄l̄tūū. thēē cT̄l̄  
 l̄a qhōtsō khū r̄ap̄a th̄i t̄l̄l̄  
 cēē yūūtūū, ānT, "qhāpāā  
 t̄ɔqāā?" s̄ n̄ēē tsēē cēēpēē  
 n̄i, ānT, qhō "l̄ɛɛqā cheqāā  
 t̄uqT ȳl̄l̄" s̄āā. "ānT, ōnā,  
 p̄āl̄rūū l̄a š̄ōō aa! ... n̄āñT̄l̄  
 thūū yōō" s̄ cheēpēē n̄i, "p̄āl̄-  
 rūū l̄a yōōyāā yɔ̀ɔ̀ m̄arēè.  
 n̄ātsō phāā tshuū t̄utūū, pē

They can't go outside very much.  
 They don't go much by them-  
 selves, just when they from time  
 to time form a group when they  
 are sent here and there outside  
 to work. We have one of those  
 up there that we know, called  
 "l̄ōsāā t̄ɔɔcē", a man who is from  
 our ... monastery. He entered  
 Official Community Park's school.  
 After that we didn't see ("meet")  
 him. Once, when they formed a  
 group and came (out), I inquired:  
 "Where are you going?". And  
 then, he said: "We're going to  
 work." "Well, then", I said,  
 "come over when you have some  
 spare time ("in between")! ...  
 Let's get together!" "We don't  
 have any spare time", he said  
 to me, "we can't go out alone;  
 we have to just go out together

thi tuqs khū tīi ñāpōō šetāā  
toqo reè mātōō, cīqōō toyāā  
yōō marēē" saā. qhāqō yōōpā  
taā, qhōō setāā tēē tēēnā.

K: āā lēē. ānT, tsōō rā thi  
qharē lāpqt yōnāa.

N: tha, tsōō rā thi, luqsūū  
saapā tītū lāpqt yōōpā  
taā.

K: māntsoō rīnīū ...

N: qhūntēē rīnīū. tsōō tsōō  
qhōrāā tsōō luqsūū rāā  
lāpqt yōō reè.

K: mm ... ānT, sōsō lāptāā  
tūtūū, tsītā sōsō qhēē kār  
qoyāā rāpā tītēē cītāā yūkt  
reè.

N: ōō, tha remōō kāā qoyāā yōō  
reè. tsītā ree ree nāā lā  
mī cūtsā yōōnā, tīqēē yāā

in groups like this when we go  
here or there." It seems to  
be difficult, if we consider  
the way he talks.

Oh, I see. And then, I wonder  
what the main thing is that  
they study/teach.

Now, it seems these new customs  
are the main things they study/  
teach.

The principles of Socialism ...

The principles of Communism.

The main things they study/teach  
are the customs themselves.

Mm ... and then, when they go  
to school, I suppose they may  
have to sweep the classroom and  
do other such things.

Well, now, they have to take  
turns. If there are about ten  
people in each classroom, these

rem<sup>oo</sup> che<sup>e</sup>; ñim<sup>l</sup> cūtsaa yā<sup>ā</sup>  
 rem<sup>oo</sup> cheqo re<sup>e</sup>. tītē<sup>s</sup>  
 cheqo re<sup>e</sup>.

take turns; each one has to  
 take his turn again about  
 every ten days. They have  
 to do it like this.

phōṭāā

The Palace (Potala)

K: phōṭāā qhi kTT qhi simcūū  
māamō thl qharē reè?

What is the red reception hall  
in the center of the Palace?

N: phōṭāā qhi kTT qhi sim ...  
AnT, phōṭāā māapō ēè?

The reception hall in the center  
of the Palace ... oh, do you  
mean the Red Palace?

K: ǒǒ.

Yes.

N: phōṭāā māapō yΛqT ēè?

Do you mean the Red Palace up  
there?

K: ǒǒ.

Yes.

N: ǒǒ, yΛqT, tha pa chēè  
qūtūū ṇāpēè šāā nāāpa reè.  
simcūū šetāā yṇṇ marēè.  
chōōqāā šetāā reè. tii  
nāā tēè chōōqāā pa chēè  
reè.

Well, now, that (Palace) up  
there was erected for the most  
part by His Fifth Holiness  
(Presence, that is, Dalai Lama).  
It doesn't have very many re-  
ception halls. They are just  
chapels. Inside it there are,  
for the most part, chapels.

K: chōōqāā tētsoō nāā lΛ qharē  
qharē yṇṇ reè?

What things are there in these  
chapels?

N: chōōqāā nāā lΛ tha, qūtūū

Now, the things in the chapels

rimcūū qhi tūntēē tītēēē  
 šetāā yòò rēè. yāqīī nāā  
 lā, qhāā sō sōsō sōsō chēè  
 yòò rēè. ānī, phāqā lūqī  
 šūrī yòò rēè, qāā tēè.

include many tombs of the  
 successive Dalai Lamas, things  
 of this sort. In that (Palace)  
 up there, each one has his  
 section. And then, there is  
 Avalokiteśvara, that is, there  
 at the top [i.e. a little higher  
 than the other chapels].

K: phāqā lūqī šūrī thāqō  
 qhānēē šūūpā rēè?

From where was the Avalokiteś-  
 vara first brought?

N: tār nēē šēpā yīpā rēè.

I suppose they got it from  
 underground.

K: ānī, tūntēē tētsoō nāā lā  
 yāa ... qharē qharē lūū  
 yòò rēè? ānī, tūntēē  
 tētso qharēē sōōpā rēè?

And then, what things did they  
 put ... into these tombs? And  
 then, out of what did they make  
 these tombs?

N: tūntēē qhāāqāīōō sītūū  
 šētāā rēè.

All the tombs are, without  
 exception, gold tombs.

K: sēē qhi sōōpā rēpēè?

Are they made of gold?

N: sēē qhi sōōpā rēè. sēē  
 kāṅkāā qhi "cāntūmā" s

Yes, they're made of gold. Of  
 course, they're not of the sort

cheè cee yaa tɔqtɔɔ sɔɔpa  
tɪt̃eè maretāa! tɔm cheè  
tɔm la sēē yɔɔpa rēè.

K: āa lēē. ānT, nāālɔɔ la  
qharē qharē yɔɔ rēè?

N: nāālɔɔ la sunʃuū rɪpū chi  
nāmēē nātsɔɔ yɔɔ rēè.

K: ānT, tɪl nāā la, hā lēēpēē  
qētāa cheyāa tɪt̃eè qharē  
yɔɔ rēè?

N: tha, khēē tshāšɔɔ tɪ yɔɔ  
rēè. lūyūū nēē yaa tēt̃ɔɔ  
šūūpēē, "kaqpāa sāpēē thūūū"  
señēē qhi nōōpū chi yɔɔ rēè,  
lūū nōōpū šɪpū chi yɪɪ señēē  
chi. tɪ qūūū qūūū cōqsōpa  
thūtēē katsōō tuntēē nāā tēē

that's built up solid of pure  
gold, called "cāntūma!" They  
make a frame and put the gold  
on the frame.

Oh, I see. And then, what  
things are there inside?

Inside there's a variety of  
precious sunʃuū [the precious  
stones, charms, and gold cups  
which are put inside tombs or  
statues].

And then, what is there among  
these of a sort that's astoni-  
shingly famous?

Now, there are these things  
that are extremely unusual.  
There's a jewel brought up from  
the land of the Nagas called  
"The Wish-fulfilling Stick",  
said to be one of the Nagas'  
many jewels. This is there in



γῶḇ reè. ḁnṯ, qūṯūū thūṯēē  
 katsōō, tūṯṯēē qhī qūkṯm qhāà  
 γḁqēē, mutṯī chēpō šīpū chi  
 γῶḇ reè. tha tī qēṯāā šetāā  
 chīq(ṯ γ)ῶḇ reè. tha ṇātsōō  
 mī qḡ chēē qhī chṯcūūṯsa  
 chēēpēē mutṯī pḁḁṯsa chi γῶḇ  
 reè.

K: mm, mutṯī tī qhḁṇēē chūūpḁ  
 yīṇaa.

N: qhḁṇēē chūū mḁcūū hā qhoyāā  
 γῶḇ marēē.

K: ḁnṯ, tīī nāā ḁ chōōqāā  
 tēṯsōō qōṇēē qhḁṇēē phṯṯiq(ṯ  
 γ)ῶḇ reè?

N: sṯṯūū qhāā taa phāqpā ḁqṯ  
 šūrṯṯ qōṇēē tsṯṯūū nēē  
 phēēqo reè. šēē, šāpā,  
 sāṇṯē cīq sūm qhī kṯqōō  
 cēṯāā yōōsēē chōōqāā  
 thēṯsōō nāmḁēḁ phēēqo reè.

the tomb of the thirteenth Dalai  
 Lama, thūṯēē katsō. And then,  
 up there on the opening of His  
 Holiness thūṯēē katsō's tomb,  
 there's a very big pearl. Now,  
 this is very famous. Now, this  
 is a huge pearl about the size  
 of a rather large human head.

Mm, I wonder where they got  
 this pearl.

It's not known where they got  
 it.

And then, from where do the  
 sacristans of these chapels  
 inside come?

The sacristans of the gold-tomb  
 sections and Avalokiteśvara must  
 come from the monk (Peak) offi-  
 cials. Otherwise, as for the  
 others, to those chapels which  
 are the place of the Mandala

K: āā lēē. tēēsa qhāā qhi  
kītūma phēēqo marepēē?

N: tēēsa qhāā phTTqūū yōō  
marēē, tīl nāā lā. āā,  
chūūpūū lā phēēyāā yōō  
reē. phāqpā luqT šurTT  
yΛqēē kamcōō phūū nāāñēē  
tshēcōōlīī nēē phēēqo  
reē. ānT, yāā topāā qāāsō  
tāā nāāñēē tītēē qhāšēē  
mōtōōlīī nēē phēē qoyāā  
yōō reē. qhāšēē qhōqāā  
chōōtē nēē phēē qoyāā  
tītēē yōō reē.

of the Three [Deities]--san[wā  
tōpā], te[cōō], c|q[cTl], and  
so forth, monks from nāmkeē  
(College) must come.

Oh, I see. Don't the monks of  
the various monastic seats  
have to come?

The various monastic seats  
don't have any reason to come,  
that is, in here. Well, yes,  
they may come to make religious  
offerings. They have to come  
from (the monastery of) ishē-  
cōōlīī to make a hundred  
religious offerings up there  
to Avalokiteśvara. And then,  
too, from (the monastery of)  
mōtōōlīī there must come over  
here some of the sort who  
perform (the ceremony of) qāāsō.  
There are also some of this  
sort who must come from (the

K: chōōqāā khōō tōm ni, qhΛ-  
tsēetsΛ chi yōò rēè?

N: ānT, šipcū ḡāpcū chi mēè  
tōō. thāqā ḡaa tētēē šūūkū  
mēè.

K: ānT, phōtāā qhi tīprTī lōò  
lΛ yaa, ḡēmēē lūkūū cītāā  
šītāā thīi yōò retāā?

N: phōtāā qhi tīprTī lōò lΛ  
lūkūū šētāā yōò rēè. ḡēē-  
māā qhi kēērΛp qhāāqā tīp-  
rTī lōò lΛ yōò rēè, phōtāā  
māapōō tīprTī lōò lΛ. thā  
phōtāā qāapōō topāā yāā  
šāpā tītēē yōò rēè.

monastery of) qhōqāā chōōtē.

If you add all the chapels  
together, about how many are  
there?

There may be about forty or  
fifty. I can't tell you the  
exact number.

And then, on the palace wall  
paintings they've written a  
great deal of ancient history  
and so forth, haven't they?

Yes, on the wall paintings  
there is a great deal of his-  
tory. The whole history of  
the kings of ancient times is  
on the wall paintings, that is,  
on the wall paintings of the  
Red Palace. Now, over here at  
the White Palace, there are,  
again, other things of this  
sort.

K: qharē yōb rēè?

N: phōṭāā qaapōō topāa nāmēē  
nātsōō yōb rēè, tīprī.  
tsēkā, tha, ānṭ nātsōō  
topāa, qharē seqo rēè? tha  
topāa "tuptōō kṛcū" cṭī  
cheè seṇēē tītēē yōb retāā?  
tītēē qhī nāmṭāa tītēē thīī  
yōb rēè. phōṭāā maapōō tīī  
nāā 1, phōō qhī kēerāp  
kāṅkāā thīī yōb rēè.

K: ānṭ, āā, śāaqōō tētsōō nāā  
1, qharē nāāṇēē śuū yōb  
rēè?

N: śāaqōō, tēyāā śāa qhī śāa-  
qōō thītsūū nāā 1, tha  
tsē lāpṭāa taa, ānṭ, tsṭūū  
tha tītēē śuūsā rēè.

What is there?

There's a variety of things  
over here at the White Palace,  
that is, wall paintings. The  
life of Buddha, now, and then,  
around us, how should I put it?  
Now, over here there's this  
thing called "the eighty  
arhats", and so forth, is that  
right? They've written a sort  
of biography of this kind of  
thing. In this Red Palace,  
they've written solely the  
history of the kings of Tibet.

And then, ah, what do the people  
do who stay in these rooms  
opening on the courtyards?

As for the rooms opening on the  
courtyards, in these rooms  
opening on the courtyards in  
East tēyāā, now, this is where

K: tinēē, yūtsīī nāpā ñīī  
qhapāā śuuq(ī y)ṽṽ reē?

N: yūtsīī nāpā ñīī taa, ānīī,  
topāā tha chaālēē nāāñēē  
yṽṽ retāā, yāā?

K: mm.

N: sūūstīī tsho tha cētāā, ti  
teyāā śāā qhī śāaqṽṽ nāā  
īā marēē. thōō tēē tshōm-  
cēē śāā qhī śāaqṽṽ nāā īā  
yṽṽ reē.

K: ānīī, sō sōsṽṽ śāā reē re  
reē reē reē yṽṽ repēē?

N: yṽṽ reē. śāā chūcūū, chū-  
cūū, chūcūū yṽṽ reē. yūū-  
tsīī nāpā ñīī lēē śāā chū-  
cūū reē reē yṽṽ reē, śimśāā.

the students of the Peak School,  
and, then, the monk (Peak) offi-  
cials and the like stay.

Then where do the two tutors  
stay?

There are the two tutors and,  
then, those who work over there,  
is that right?

Mm.

His Holiness's servants and so  
forth aren't in East teyāā in  
the rooms opening on the court-  
yards. They are up there in  
the East Assembly Hall in the  
rooms opening on the courtyards.

And then, does each one have  
his own living quarters?

Yes, he does; each has a small  
living place. Each of the  
two tutors has a small living  
place, too, that is, a resi-



K: mm.

N: t̥l̥i̥ š̥t̥ōō taa cētāā pē thi  
t̥ēcōm̥ t̥l̥q̥T rēē. p̥ū̥ ni,  
h̥l̥pt̥ōō kaā ru cūuq̥T rēē.

K: ōō, ʌnT, t̥ēēp̥ōō qhāāq̥ēē  
h̥l̥pt̥ōō k̥l̥p̥ chōōq̥T rep̥ēē?

N: sū ch̥T̥n̥ēē, t̥l̥q̥T rēē. h̥l̥p-  
t̥ōō kaāñēē t̥l̥q̥ēē tēē tha  
qhōō kaqpāā tumtūū ch̥i kh̥T̥-  
kū yōō rēē, qhōrēē laqpāā.  
kaqpāā, qhōrēē laqpāā yōōp̥ēē  
kaqpāā thi qh̥t̥sēē š̥u thūu-  
nēē, qhēpsāā rēē, ph̥l̥q̥T̥  
nāā ʌ, h̥l̥pt̥ōō kaāñēē t̥l̥q̥ēē  
tēē.

K: ʌnT, qh̥r̥ē qh̥r̥ē h̥l̥pt̥ōō  
kaayāā yōō rēē?

N: q̥ār̥q̥ām taa, ʌnT, ch̥ir̥T̥ p̥o-

Mm.

He puts out everything, fruit  
and so forth, for people to  
jump for. He piles it up and  
then lets them try to get it  
(scramble for it).

Well, then, are all the spec-  
tators allowed to try to get  
it?

Yes, anyone can go. Those who  
try to get it, now, they can  
carry short sticks, in their  
hands. Whatever (as much as)  
they can hit with the sticks,  
that is the profit (winnings)  
of those over there who are  
trying to get the things.

And then, what things are there  
to try to get?

There are various things:

qāā taa, šītōō āmā thā, nāmēē  
nātsōō yōō rēē. šītōō qūtūū  
thā.

K: phorōō qaamā yōō repēē?

N: phorōō qhaamā rāā ā yōō.  
thā, šītōō qhī rīq thī yōō  
rēē.

K: āā lēē. ānT, qhāpsēē yōō  
repēē?

N: qhāpsēē yōō rēē. qhāpsēē  
pē thī tēqā kār cheē šāāqT  
rēē.

K: ānT, chōōqāā qhāāqā nītāā  
sēqō tōō šāāqT rēē ... chē  
šāāqT rēē? qharē chīqT rēē?  
tshēsāā thūūsāā cTqōō lā  
chTqT rēē?

N: qhāā qhāšēē tshēsāā thūūsāā  
lā mātōō, nām kūū kōō šāayāā

apricots and, then, white candy-  
balls and persimmons. And  
raisins.

Do they have phorōō qaamā [a  
candy made of boiled brown sugar  
mixed with butter]?

I really doubt they have phorōō  
qhaamā. Now, they have all  
kinds of fruit.

Oh, I see. And then, do they  
have qhāpsēē (fried pastries)?

Yes, they have qhāpsēē. He  
stacks up all the qhāpsēē and  
leaves them there.

And then, are all the chapels  
left closed every day ... or  
are they left open? What do  
they do? Do they open them  
only on auspicious days?

There are some sections of the  
sort that are usually kept



tītēē yòò rēē, tee, pa chēē  
yāā nām̄kūū chē nāānāp̄ rēē.  
qhātūū chītīnēē chōōcēē šukū  
yòò rēē.

K: sēqō chāpēē qāp lā yaa, chōō-  
cēē šuñēē šītāā mēē tōō.

N: sēqō chītūū, tshēsāā thūū-  
sāā lā chōōcēē šuñēē mālqū  
šetāā yūqT rēē.

K: ānT, tsītūū tētso pē thi  
tsē rāā lā šuūšūp̄ nālqT  
repēē? qōñēē tētso?

N: qōñēē tsho qōñēē cēēnā, qhō-  
rāā tshu šuūšūp̄ nāqo retāā?  
qōñēē tshu. tēē yāā sōsō  
tēē mhātūūnā, ānT, mī lā yaa,  
lācā tēē chēē, yāā mī šāpā  
chi: "tōōrōō chīi!" s chēē,  
tshāp tsūū šālqT rēē.

closed except on auspicious  
days, but on the other hand,  
for the most part, they usually  
open them. One can visit (them)  
whenever one goes (there).

At the times they open the doors  
there must be many visitors.

When they open the doors on  
auspicious days very many  
visitors come.

And then, do all those monk  
(Peak) officials stay at the  
Peak itself all the time? That  
is, those sacristans?

If you're really talking about  
the sacristans, they have to  
stay all the time, is that  
right? That is, the sacristans.  
On the other hand, if one can't  
stay there oneself, then one  
pays someone, says to another

K: tshāp tsū̀ šāanā, t̥iqT repēè?

person, "Please stay!" and  
(puts and) leaves a substitute.

Is it all right if they leave  
substitutes?

N: tshāp tsū̀ šāqT rēè.

Yes, they leave substitutes.

K: tshāp šāanā, qhāqT qhū̀ qhi  
kītūma šāqT rēè?

If they leave substitutes, from  
which section of monks do they  
leave them?

N: tshāp šāanā, tha nāmkerā  
šāanēè, t̥iqT rēè. ānT, t̥ē-  
sāā šāanēè, t̥iqT rēè: tshāp  
sū šāanēè, t̥iqT rēè.

If they leave substitutes, now  
it's all right if they leave  
nāmkerā monks; but then, it's  
all right if they leave monks  
from the monastic seats: as for  
substitutes, whoever they leave,  
it's all right.

K: ānT, tsē phōtāā qhi ɔ̀ t̥iqēè  
qharē rēè? phantsōō repēè?

And then, what are these things  
under [i.e. in the basement of]  
the Peak Palace? Are they  
storerooms?

N: ɔ̀ topāā phantsōō šetāā ɔ̀  
rēè.

Yes, around here underneath  
there are many storerooms.

K: phantsōō, qharē qharē phantsōō yōb rēè?

N: phantsōō, tha, nāmēē nātsōb yōb rēè. chēē phantsōō tha, lānT yāā, rīpū chi kākāā qhi phantsōō tha, tha marūyāā tītēē, qhāāqā yāqTT bō lā yōb rēè, phantsōō.

K: nāmsēē phantsōō nāā lā qharē yōb rēè?

N: nāmsēē phantsōō nāā lā tha nōōpūū rīq rāpā šētāā yōb retāā?

K: qharē rāpā tītēē, khēē tshāā? nāmō lhāyūū nec tētēē šūūpā rēē señēē rāpā tītēē?

N: cTī tētōō šūūpā rēē. ōō, seyāā rāpā tītēē. ōō, ta

As for the storerooms, of what things are they the storerooms?

As for the storerooms, now, they are of various sorts. Store-rooms for tea, and again, store-rooms for nothing but jewels, that is, things of the sort that won't get rotten, they are all under that (Palace) up there, that is, the storerooms.

What's in the nāmsēē storeroom?

In the nāmsēē storeroom, now, there are just all kinds of jewels, is that right?

What kinds of things, very unusual things? Kinds of things said to have been brought from the land of the gods long ago?

Some things were brought. Yes, something of this sort is said.

nòopū cētāà lūyūū nēe yaa  
tētōō šūūpā rēè, sēñēē rāpā  
tītēē, tītēē šētāà yòò rēè.

K: mīn hā qhoyāà qharē qharē  
yòò rēè?

N: mīn hā qhoyāà, thā, qharē  
yīnaa.

K: nòopū qōtōō pūcūū tēè?

N: ōō thā, "qōtōō pūcūū" thā  
"sāpēē" sēñēē thitsū tā,  
tēè yòò retāā? chōō qhī,  
sunšūū lā yòò rēè.

K: āā lēē.

N: lhēēsāā, chōō qhī sunšūū  
lā yòò rēè, qōtōō pūcūū taa  
sāpēē ṁṁ, ṁṁ ... tī yòò  
retāā? "tsūqkēē nòopūū

Yes, now, jewels and so forth  
of the sort said to have been  
brought from the land of the  
Nagas, there are just things  
of this sort.

What are the names that we  
know?

The names that we know, now, I  
wonder what they are.

How about the qōtōō pūcūū jewel  
there?

Well now, as for those called  
"qōtōō pūcūū" and "sāpēē", they  
are there, is that right? They  
are among the sunšūū in the  
(statue of the) Lord (Buddha).

Oh, I see.

Yes, they are in Lhasa, among  
the sunšūū in the (statue of  
the) Lord (Buddha), that is,  
both the qōtōō pūcūū and the

tośēē" señēē chī, tī nT yāā  
 chōō qhī śuqtT yōtāā? chōō  
 qhī śuqtT thōō yāqēē śuqtT  
 kēcāā kAp śāā yōō reē.

K: "tsūqkēē nōōpūū tośēē" señēē  
 thi ... qharē reē?

N: mutTī qhī thānā chī yōō  
 reē. yītōō qhī thānā reē.

K: āā lēē. nāmō kēpō noosāā  
 qhī tsūmū thi.

N: ōō, yītōō qhī thānā.

K: ānT, tī nārāā tshu chTīnā,  
 cēyāā yōō rēpēē?

N: cēyāā yōō reē. tī qhāāqēē  
 cēēqT reē.

K: āā lēē. ānT, phantsoō tātso

sāpēē, and then ... there is  
 this, is that right? A thing  
 called the "tsūqkēē nōōpūū  
 tośēē", and also there is this,  
 the throne of the Lord (Buddha),  
 is that right? Up there, above  
 the throne of the Lord (Buddha),  
 they have placed it for a  
 throne ornament.

This thing called the "tsūqkēē  
 nōōpūū tośēē" ... what is it?

It's a pearl rosary. It's  
 (Queen) yītōō's rosary.

Oh, I see. The long-ago queen  
 of King noosāā.

Yes, yītōō's rosary.

And then, as for this (rosary),  
 if we go, can we see/visit it?

Yes, it can be seen. Everyone  
 sees it.

Oh, I see. And then, do they

tāqpāā qo chTqT rēē, ... ?

always open the doors of these storerooms, or ... ?

N: phant<sup>3</sup>sōō, t<sup>3</sup>ā tāqpāā qo chTqT marēē.

No, they don't always open the doors of the storerooms.

K: ānT, cTtāā qo n<sup>3</sup>ā<sup>3</sup>tūū, qo chēqo repēē?

And then, when they need things, do they have to open the doors?

N: qo n<sup>3</sup>ā<sup>3</sup>tūū ... qo n<sup>3</sup>ā<sup>3</sup>tūū mā<sup>3</sup>tō, chTqT marēē. qh<sup>3</sup>utūūnT, lēēqūū qhāā qhāāqēē thūūmT yūqT rēē.

When they need (things) ... except when they need (things), they don't open them. At those times (when they do open them), representatives of all the various Departments come.

K: mī qh<sup>3</sup>at<sup>3</sup>sēē ts<sup>3</sup>ā chī tsōm nī, chē quqT yōnaa.

I wonder about how many people have to get together and open them.

N: ānT, mī cū cōōnā t<sup>3</sup>ī<sup>3</sup>tēē tsōm cēē, qo chTqT rēē. ānT, nāmō šīpūū t<sup>3</sup>ī<sup>3</sup>tēē l<sup>3</sup>ā yaa cūū šāāp<sup>3</sup> thī<sup>3</sup>tsū nT šōōyāā yōō marēē, qharē qharē yōōmēē.

And then, on the order of ten or fifteen people get together and open the doors. But then, as for the sorts of things that were put in there a very long time ago, about them nothing can be said, that is, as to what things are or are not there.

K: thō rāpā tītēē yṑ mārēpēē?

N: thō tāl yūkt reē tee, ānT  
... qhapāā qhayōō cētāā  
šōōyāā yṑ mārēē ... šī nēē  
tshēē qoyāā tītēē.

K: ānT yāā thāqō cūūtūū nēē,  
"qhañpā tīl suu tītēē cTq  
lā yōō" s chēē nī, "tītēē  
āñtāā rāpā kAp!" cheyāā  
tītēē yṑ mārēpēē?

N: tītēē qhāšēē chī chēē yūkt  
reē tee, yāā mī qhāšēē qhī  
yūqT mārētāā? qhō cheñēē  
qhācūū mācūū šāā cēē.

K: ānT, tīl nāā lā, nāmsēē  
phantsōō nāā lā qhāāqā, pē  
thī rīpū chēē thā cTq šTtāā  
repēē?

Isn't there some sort of list?

As for a list, there may be one,  
but then ... as to where and  
which and so forth nothing can be  
said ... this sort of search from  
the beginning which is required.

But then, when they were first  
put in, didn't they say "It's in  
such and such a corner of this  
building" and then say something  
like "Give it such a number!"?

Some people may have done some-  
thing of this sort, but other  
people wouldn't come [and do  
this], is that right? Those  
ones leaving things here and  
there, everywhere.

And then, in this [storeroom],  
that is, as for all the things  
in the nāmsēē storeroom, are  
they all just jewels and so  
forth?

N: ǒǒ, tĩtēē sētāā rēē. ʌnT,  
 cha tha cTĩ tĩtēē tsharē  
 tshorē cTē yǒǒ marēē.

K: chēlōō yǒǒ rēē?

N: tha, chēpō šetāā mēē tǒǒ.  
 tĩ ʌaa kūū mēē: tǒ mʌñūū.

K: mm, chTlōō nēē tēēnā, chT-  
 cūū hā qhuqT mēēpʌ rēē.

N: hā qhuqT marēē.

K: ʈhāà qhĩ ǒǒ ʌ yaa tĩtēē  
 ʈhūū šaàpʌ rēpēē?

N: ǒǒtā, ʈhāà ʌ phāā ʈhūū  
 šaàpēē sǒ rʌpʌ tĩtēē rēē.

K: mm, nʌʌqūū šipū chĩ yūkt  
 rēē.

N: nʌʌqūū yǒǒ rēē. tha thē-

Yes, there are just these kinds  
 of things. And then, as for  
 tea and so forth, there's  
 nothing at all of these sorts  
 of messy things.

How big is it?

Now, it must be very big. I  
 don't know this: I've never  
 gone there.

Mm, I suppose if you look at it  
 from outside, you don't know  
 (can't tell) the size.

No, you don't know.

Did they dig it out under the  
 rock like this?

Well, now, over there at the  
 rock it looks as if they had  
 dug it out.

Mm, I suppose it's very dark.

Yes, it is dark. Now, except



sāā lōō yōō tsāā, mā<sup>ˈ</sup>tōō.

these days, since there is electricity.

K: thēsāā lōō t̥hT̥l̥l̥ yōō retāā,  
yāā?

These days they've brought electricity, is that right?

N: thēsāā phōtāā l̥l̥ p̥e̥ th̥l̥  
lōō yōō rēē.

Yes, these days the Palace has electricity all over.

K: mm, lōō qh̥l̥n̥ēē t̥hT̥l̥p̥l̥ yīnaa,  
āmā.

Mm, I wonder where they brought the electricity from, that is, the source.

N: lōō, tōōtēē nāā nēē t̥hT̥l̥p̥l̥  
rēē.

They brought the electricity from inside tōōtē [a mile or so north of Lhasa].

K: āā l̥ēē. tōōtēē nāā qh̥l̥  
lōōqāā, t̥l̥l̥ nāā nēē maa  
t̥hT̥l̥ n̥l̥, ēē?

Oh, I see. Do you mean they brought the electricity down from inside the electric plant/building in tōōtē?

N: ōō.

Yes.

K: mm, ānT̥, qū<sup>ˈ</sup>tūū, nōōpū l̥T̥q̥l̥  
taa, tsē l̥l̥, qh̥l̥q̥ēē māṅl̥  
šuuqT̥ rēē?

Mm, and then, in which does His Holiness stay more, nōōpū l̥T̥q̥l̥ or the Peak (in the Potala)?

N: nōōpū l̥T̥q̥āā māṅl̥ šuuqT̥ rēē.

He stays more in nōōpū l̥T̥q̥l̥.

K: tsē lʌ qũqʌ tʰʌŋu šl̥tʰaa yɔ̀b̥  
rɛp̥ɛ̃ɛ?

Is it very cold in the Peak  
in the winter?

N: tsē lʌ qũqʌ tʰʌŋu yɔ̀b̥ rɛ̃ɛ  
tɛ̃ɛ, yãã qũqʌ šut̥ɛ̃ɛ caasā  
tsē lʌ yaa, šut̥ɛ̃ɛ caàqo rɛ̃ɛ.  
yaaqaa maa phɛ̃ɛ nòòpū l̥t̥qaa  
maa.

It's quite cold in the Peak in  
the winter, but on the other  
hand, as for the place he stays  
in the winter, he has to stay  
in the Peak. He comes down in  
the summer, that is, down to  
nòòpū l̥t̥qʌ.

K: tsē šl̥tʰaa chɛ̃pō tũ. phl̥cōō  
šɔ̀b̥ yɛ̃ɛ ɲōō t̥l̥qɛ̃ɛ qh̥arɛ̃ rɛ̃ɛ?

The Peak is very big. What are  
those things over there on the  
right side?

N: yɛ̃ɛ ɲōō topāa, nām̥kɛ̃ɛ taa  
cɛ̃tāa qh̥i t̥i yɔ̀b̥ rɛ̃ɛ ...  
t̥h̥šāa. ʌn̥t̥, phō̃t̥āa maãpōō  
t̥h̥t̥i qh̥i k̥ʌp̥t̥i yō̃pɛ̃ɛ yãã  
c̥t̥i tũqāa? maãpō c̥t̥q.

Around there, on the right,  
there's this (thing) of the  
nām̥kɛ̃ɛ monks, and so forth ...  
that is, the monks' quarters.  
And then, near the Red Palace,  
there's also something with a  
Chinese roof, is that right?  
Something red.

K: ɔ̃ō tũ.

Yes, there is.

N: ǒǒ, tǐ qūtūū thūtāā k̄atsōō  
tuntēē šuù ǀ saapā šāā  
nāāpǀ tǐ rēē.

Well, this, the tomb of His  
Holiness thūtēē k̄atsō, was newly  
erected afterwards [that is,  
after the Red Palace was built].

K: āā ǀǀǀ. qūtūū thūtēē k̄atsōō  
tuntēē qhǐ ɔ̀ tēē, ǀnT, khēē  
tshāpō chǐ ɔ̀ rēē sǐqTǐ.  
tǐ qharē yīnaa.

Oh, I see. There, under His  
Holiness thūtēē k̄atsō's tomb,  
then, they say there's some-  
thing very unusual. I wonder  
what it is.

N: tuntēē qhǐ ... k̄atōō qāā nēē  
šāārēē sǒ ǀ chǐ kēē ɔ̀  
rēē, thā.

From the surface of the tomb's  
stone slab ... something like  
deer horns have grown, now.

K: mm.

Mm.

N: tǐ ātā thēsāā qām ɔ̀ marēē.  
yǀqēē tēē ɔ̀ rēē. šēēqōō  
nāā ǀ cēēkū ɔ̀ rēē.

Even these days, now, they have  
not yet become dry. They've  
stayed up there. They can be  
seen in glass.

K: šēēqōō nāā ǀ cūū šāā ɔ̀  
repēē?

Have they been put in glass  
[that is, a glass box]?

N: rēē. šēētōm tǐq ɔ̀ rēē,  
qhōrāā. k̄atōō qāā nēē kēē

Yes, they have. A glass frame  
has been constructed, that is,

γὰρ ρεῖ.

K: ὦ, khēē tshārA lA! ānT,  
ti mēpa qharē γὰρ ρεῖ?

N: ὦ, ὦ, qūtūū thūtēē katsōō  
tuntēē, yōōsēē lhāqāā tii  
nāā lA ēē?

K: ὦ.

N: ὦ, tii nāā lA šāpēē qūsūū  
thuūtēē šetāā γὰρ ρεῖ.

K: āā lēē. qūtūū tētsō qūtsēē  
chTcūū qhAqAtsA γὰρ ρεῖ?

N: tuntēē tha chēōō, qūtūū  
hāpā taa, qūtūū thūtēē  
katsōō, tuntēē nTt γὰρ ρεῖ.

for them. They have grown  
from the surface of the stone  
slab.

Oh, how unusual! And then,  
aside from these, what is there?

Oh, now, do you mean in the  
chapel where His Holiness thū-  
tēē katsō's tomb is?

Yes.

Yes, in this (tomb) there are  
many other things, statues,  
books, and stupas. [qū(tēē)  
sūū(tēē) thuūtēē: qū- ('body')  
-tēē 'image, statue', sūū-  
(('voice')) -tēē 'book, text',  
thūū- ('mind') -tēē 'stupa']

Oh, I see. About how big are  
these tombs?

Now, the biggest tombs are the  
two tombs of His Fifth Holiness  
and His Holiness thūtēē katsō.

tiñtì thōsō šitsa šitsa  
 yòò reè. šēē, šāpā  
 yāā thōsō ñtitsa cēēpa,  
 sūmtsā cēēpa, retsa cēēpa,  
 nāmēē nātsōò yòò reè.

K: mm, chūñšūū thi sūū yīnaa.

N: chūñšūū thi phēēcēē luntōō  
 qhi mēē tōò, kawā luntōō  
 qhi, chūñšūū reè.

K: kawā luntōō thi qūtōō qharē  
 reè?

N: kawā luntōō qūtōō, qūtēē  
 tūpā kēpā topāā cTī l  
 yīpā yōtāā.

K: kawā qēēsāā katsōō, tuntēē  
 yòò repēē?

N: yòò reè. qēēsāā, kawā qēē-  
 sāā qhi tuntēē "sītūū chēmō"

These two are each about four stories (high). Otherwise, on the other hand, the others vary, having perhaps two stories, perhaps three, perhaps one.

Mm, I wonder whose is the smallest.

As for the smallest, probably luntōō's, that is, kawā luntōō's, is the smallest.

What is kawā luntōō's place in the sequence of Dalai Lamas?

As for kawā luntōō's place in the sequence of Dalai Lamas, I think it's either the seventh or the eighth place, around there, in the sequence.

Is there a tomb for kawā qēē-sāā katsō [the sixth Dalai Lama]?

Yes, there is. qēēsāā's, that is, kawā qēēsāā's tomb, is the

señēē thi reè.

K: āa lēē. ānT, sTtūū tētsōō,  
qūtūū lā yaa sTqūū ē šlāā  
yūkt reè.

N: yōō reè. sTqūū šetāā yōō  
reè.

K: sTqūū tētsō šun rāā neē tuḥ  
nāāpā reē, kēr qhāā qhī  
phūūpā reè?

N: qēr qhī phūūpā ē yōō reè,  
šun qhī tuḥpā ē yōō reè.  
nāmēē nātsōō yōō reè.

K: qhāqT māpā yōnāā, kēr qhī  
phūūpā taa šun qhī tuḥpā.

N: āu, qēr qhī phūūpā māpā  
mēē tōō.

K: ānT, tūntēē reē re šāātūū,  
šēētēē phūūñēē šlpū chi

one called the "Big Gold Tomb".

Oh, I see. And then, the gold  
tombs of the Dalai Lamas may  
have many gold bowls, too, I  
suppose.

Yes, they do. They have many  
gold bowls.

Were these gold bowls made by  
the government itself, or did  
private individuals offer them?

Private individuals offered  
some, and the government made  
some. It varies.

I wonder which are more numerous,  
those offered by private indi-  
viduals or those made by the  
government.

Laymen, that is, private indi-  
viduals may have offered more.

And then, when each tomb was  
erected, I suppose there were

yükṭ reè.

a great many who made donations  
[of e.g. gold, silver, jewelry,  
money, barley].

N: šeṭaā yɔ̀ɔ̀ reè, šēēṭēē phūū-  
ñēē.

Yes, there were many, that is,  
who made donations.

K: ānṬ, phōṭāā̄ ṭi, m̄āšṬ qhōrā  
nēē, šāā̄ nī, lo qhāṭsēētsa  
ṭuq(Ṭ y)ɔ̀ɔ̀ reè?

And then, since this Palace was  
originally erected, about how  
many years have passed?

N: tha, sūmkā̄ lhāqtsā chi ṭuqṬ  
mēē ṭɔ̀ɔ̀.

Now, a little more than three  
hundred (years) must have passed.

K: kawā qūṭ̣ṬṬ qhāqṬṬ thɔ̀ɔ̀ lā  
šāā̄pā reè?

In which Dalai Lama's time was  
it erected?

N: qūṭ̣ṬṬ ṅāpēē thɔ̀ɔ̀ lā. phōṭāā̄  
māapō̄ ṅāpēē thɔ̀ɔ̀ lā šāā̄pā  
reè. ṭiī šuū̄ lā, ānṬ, tha,  
yēemēē topāā̄, ānṬ, ṭiī šuū̄  
lā, šāā̄pā repāā̄? phōṭāā̄  
māapō̄, ṅāpēē thɔ̀ɔ̀ lā šāā̄pā  
reè.

In the time of the fifth Dalai  
Lama. The Red Palace was erected  
in the time of the fifth. And  
then, afterward, now, (these  
buildings) above and below over  
there, then, were erected after-  
ward, weren't they? The Red  
Palace was erected in the time  
of the fifth (Dalai Lama).

K: tii nēē lā qhāà qhēē yǒò  
marepēē?

N: tii nēē lā qhēē ā yǒō. tii  
qāā lā nēēmaā phōtāā maapōō  
yāqT qāā tēē lāptsēē chi  
cēēkū yōtāā? tii qhātū  
tēē lhāqāā chi yǒò reē slqT  
... "chōōkēē tūpūū" s. chōō-  
kēē sūntseē qhī tūqū yōōpēē  
tūpūū chi yōpāā? lāptsēē  
yōōsēē tshūcōō nōō tēē.  
ōō, tī lhāqāā tī yǒò reē  
saā, nTnpā thi mēē tōō.

K: āā lēē. šēē mēēpā reē.

N: šēē mēēpā tūā.

Before this, wasn't there any-  
thing at all?

Before this, I doubt there was  
anything. Above this, before,  
that is, there above the Red  
Palace you can see the top of  
a mountain pass, is that right?  
In the vicinity of this, I've  
heard it said, there was a shrine  
... called the "Royal Meditation  
Cave". It was a meditation cave  
with a statue of King sūntseē,  
you know? Over this way from  
where the top of the mountain  
pass is. Yes, as for this, I  
was told there was this shrine,  
it must have been this old one.

Oh, I see. Otherwise, I suppose  
there was nothing.

Otherwise, it seems there was  
nothing.



K: ʌnT, qūtūū tīnēē yaa chū  
 nʌʌtūū, tɔpkāā qhī šām  
 tīnēē chTqpʌ phʌp nī, chū  
 nāqo repēē?

And then, when His Holiness  
 goes up from here, does he have  
 to get down from his horse below  
 the stone steps and go up?

N: ɔ̄ɔ̄ rēē. tha kʌpʌɔ̄ nēē  
 phēēnā, tālām qhōnmā nēē,  
 ʌnT, chTqpʌ phʌp nʌkū rēē.  
 tālām qhōnmā nēē yaa chTqpʌ  
 chTpsʌ yɔ̄ɔ̄ marēē.

Yes, he does. Now, if he comes  
 from behind, then, he can get  
 down at tālām qhōnmā [the name  
 of a road]. There's no place  
 to ride a horse up from tālām  
 qhōnmā.

K: "tālām qhōnmā" señēē thi  
 qhʌqTT qhʌtūū tīnēē, ʌnT,  
 mēēpʌ rēē?

At which place does this (road)  
 called "tālām qhōnmā", then,  
 end?

N: phōtāā qhī qūkʌp phʌqēē ...  
 tha yaa phōtāā rāā ʌ mhā-  
 pēētsʌ cTī nēē yɔ̄ɔ̄ marēē.

Over there behind the Palace  
 ... now, it stops just short  
 of the Palace itself.

K: tīnēē šaaqōm kūūkū šīṭāa  
 yɔ̄ɔ̄ repēē?

Does he have far to walk from  
 there?

N: šīpū rāā yɔ̄ɔ̄ marēē. thōōsō  
 ṇTT, šī qā chi ā yōō, thōōsō

It's not very (far). I doubt  
 it's two stories, or four or

šī nā chi.

K: āā lēē.

N: tshōō rʌpʌ cheenā, tītēē  
cTī qhī topkāā yaa tsāā  
nāānā, ʌnT, phōtāā ʌ yaa  
phTTqT reē.

K: ʌnT, tsēē nāālōō ʌ lēēqūū  
tshuūsʌ šītāā yōō repēē?

N: lēēqūū tshuūsʌ, qʌrōō yōō  
reē. yīqtsāā, qāšāā, tsē-  
cāā, tsē nētsāḡ: thītsū  
yōō reē.

K: yīqtsāā kūū thu tsē ʌ šTtāā  
tshōōqT repēē?

N: yīqtsāā ... yīšTī nōōpū tsē  
ʌ šūtēē cʌʌšūū rīqāā, tsē  
ʌ šētāā tshōōqT reē. ʌnT  
yāā nōōpū līqāā maa pōō nāā-

five, that is, four or five  
stories.

Oh, I see.

If you make an estimate (as a  
rough estimate), when he has  
climbed up stone steps of this  
sort (number), then, he comes  
up to the Palace.

And then, are there many depart-  
ment offices inside the Peak?

As for department offices, there  
are quite a few. The Secreta-  
riat, the Cabinet, the Peak  
Treasury, the Peak Supply  
Official: there are these.

Does the Secretariat always meet  
only at the Peak?

The Secretariat ... while His  
Holiness is staying at the Peak,  
it meets only at the Peak. On  
the other hand, when he moves

nā, yāā nōōpū līqāā tshōōqT  
reè.

K: qāšāā tshuūsā taa yiqtsāā  
tshuūsā qhāqT chTqT reè?

N: qhānpā chēēnā, yiqtsāā chTqT  
reè.

K: mī qhāqT māqT reè? šuūñēē.

N: mī ē yiqtsāā māqT reè. qā-  
šāā nāā lā šīpū yōō mārēē.

K: yiqtsāā nāā lā yiqtsāā lāptāā  
qhāāqā šuūqu repēē?

N: yiqtsāā nāā lā yiqtsāā lāptāā  
ē yōō reè, ānT, yiqtsāā lēēcā  
ē māqū yōō reè, nēēpā thā.

down to nōōpū līqā, it meets at  
nōōpū līqā.

Which is bigger, the Cabinet  
Office or the Secretariat  
Office?

If you're talking about the  
building, the Secretariat is  
bigger.

Which has more people? That  
is, those who stay there.

The Secretariat has more people,  
too. There aren't very many  
in the Cabinet.

Do all the students of the  
Secretariat School have to stay  
in the Secretariat?

In the Secretariat there are  
the students of the Secretariat  
School and, then, many Secre-  
tariat workers, as well as the  
administrator in charge of the  
workers.

K: y<sub>i</sub>qtsāā tshōōsā qh<sub>Λ</sub>qTT nāā  
l<sub>Λ</sub> rēè?

Where is the place in which the  
Secretariat meets?

N: y<sub>i</sub>qtsāā phōtāā māapō rāā  
qhi nāā l<sub>Λ</sub> yōō rēè.

The Secretariat is in the Red  
Palace itself.

K: qāšāā?

(How about) the Cabinet?

N: qāšāā phōtāā māapō yōō  
marēè. šāā nōō tēè, y<sub>i</sub>šTT  
nōōpūū simcūū qhi yōō taqāā  
yōō rēè.

The Cabinet isn't in the Red  
Palace. It's there to the east,  
just below His Holiness's  
reception hall.

K: mm, <sub>Λ</sub>hT, t<sub>h</sub>ūūc<sub>Λ</sub> tshōōsā  
qhāpāā yōō rēè?

Mm, and then, where is the place  
where the officials meet for  
tea [in the morning]?

N: t<sub>h</sub>ūūc<sub>Λ</sub> tshōōsā, phōtāā māa-  
pōō šāā qhi qāapō chi tuqāā?  
y<sub>Λ</sub>qēē teyāā šāā qhi kūū  
qhi qāapō chi.

As for the place where the offi-  
cials meet for tea, there's  
something white east of the Red  
Palace, is that right? Some-  
thing white up there next to  
East teyāā.

K: ōō.

Yes.

N: ōō, t<sub>l</sub>l k<sub>Λ</sub>plōō topāā yōō  
rēè. tshōm<sub>c</sub>ēē šāā qhi

Well, it's over there, behind  
this. There, in the vicinity

qhātūū tēē, "sīmcūū hēyōō"  
sāā tēē, t̥hūūcā tshōōsā tēē.

of the East Assembly Hall, there  
(in the place) called the "hēyōō"  
Reception Hall", there's the  
place where the officials meet  
for tea.

K: t̥hūūtsTī tshāŋmā chūrā tshōō-  
sā yōō rēē ... ?

Is it a meeting place which  
holds all of the officials, lay  
and monk, or ... ?

N: yōō rēē. qhāāqā chūrā yōō  
rēē.

Yes, it is. It is one which  
holds them all.

K: nām kūū tāā thu tsT̥t̥ūū šTtāā  
mētōō, t̥hūūqōō phT̥t̥qT marepēē?

Isn't it always just the monk  
officials, not the lay officials,  
who come?

N: nām kūū tsT̥t̥ūū mātōō, t̥hūūqōō  
phēēqo marēē.

Yes, usually the lay officials  
don't have to come, just the  
monk officials.

K: ānT, nōōpū lT̥qēē nāā lā yaa  
... phēēnēē tāqā šuūsā yōō  
retāā? tsT̥t̥ūū qhāāqā.

And then, when they go to nōōpū  
lT̥qā ... they have, in the same  
way, a place to stay, is that  
right? That is, all the monk  
officials.

N: reè. nòopū līqāā lèè, qēē-  
sāā phōṭāā qhi ṭhṭī lā.

Yes, they do. At nòopū līqā,  
too, near qēēsāā Palace.

K: ānṭ, phōṭāā, tsē phōṭāā qhi,  
tīqēē qhāāqā śalā retāā?  
ānṭ, ṭhuntsṭī tshu śuusā  
qhāāqā yaa śutēē tōō yò  
repēē?

And then, these (floors) of the  
Palace, that is, the Peak Palace,  
are all polished floors inlaid  
with pebbles, is that right?  
And then, do all the places  
where the officials sit have  
cushions placed on them?

N: śutēē yò reè.

Yes, there are cushions.

K: ānṭ, sōsōō tūū tēē sōōcō  
chēē?

And then, they put a table in  
front of each one?

N: tha, sōōcō, yò marēē.

Now, they don't have tables.

K: āā lēē.

Oh, I see.

N: sōōcā lēēnā, qhātū qhātū  
lā chūūkū reè. śutēē mātō,  
sōōcō yò marēē.

When the tea comes, they can  
only drink it when and where it  
comes. They don't have tables,  
just cushions.

K: ānṭ, qūtūū śuusēē sīmcūū  
qhāā mētāā yōō tsāā, ñīmā  
cṭq tēē śuū, yāā phāā tshūū

And then, since His Holiness has  
various different reception  
halls where he stays, if he

pōō nāqT mēē tōō.

stays there (in one reception hall) one day, he must also move back and forth.

N: tītēē nāqT marēē. tītēē  
kūnēē nāqT marēē.

No, he doesn't do (it like) this. He never does (it like) this.

K: cTqrāā 1A šuukāā nāqT repēē?

Does he stay in just one place?

N: cTqrāā 1A šuukāā nāqT rēē.

Yes, he stays in just one place.

K: ānT, yāpā tētsō qharē chēē  
šāqT rēē? thaqaas qhēcTī  
chēē, tōnpāā šāqT repēē?

And then, what do they do with those others? Do they just sweep and dust them and leave them empty?

N: šāpā thitsūū nāā 1A qūsūū  
thuutēē yōō tsāā, chōōcēē  
1A tosā yōō rēē.

Since there are in these others images, books, and stupas [representing Buddha], they are places to which people go on pilgrimages.

K: ōō, chōōcēē 1A chTīnā, tīqT  
repēē?

Oh, is it all right to go on pilgrimages there?

N: chTīnā, tīqT rēē.

Yes, it's all right to go (there on pilgrimages).

K: āā 1ēē. ānT, qūtūū qhī sim-

Oh, I see. And then, those who

cūū tētsoo ... chōōcēē lā  
tāāñēē yāā ... tsTūū mēē too.

N: tsTūū, taa, ānT, qhēpa yō  
retāā? simcūū qhēpā. qhē-  
pēē, tXqT reē.

K: simcūū qhēpā tētsoo thapā  
marepāā?

N: simcūū qhēpā thapā marēē.

K: ānT, simcūū nāā lā yaa sāp-  
tēē cTtāā yaqō šitāā yūkt  
reē.

N: tha, yaqō yūkt reē, simcūū  
nāā lā.

K: phōō rāā lā tāāpā repēē?

N: phōō rāā lā tāāpā tītēē

let people in ... to go on  
pilgrimages to His Holiness's  
reception halls ... must be  
monk officials, too.

There are monk officials and,  
then, there are sweepers/  
janitors, is that right? That  
is, reception-hall sweepers.  
The sweepers let one (in to  
visit).

Those reception-hall sweepers  
aren't monks, are they?

No, the reception-hall sweepers  
aren't monks.

And then, I suppose the carpets  
and so forth in the reception  
halls are very good.

Now, I suppose they are good,  
in the reception halls.

Were they woven in Tibet itself?

Yes, they were, without excep-



šetāā yòò reè.

K: ānT, "qāpēē" taa cTq chēē  
ni señēē tētsō ḡāmō šlpū  
tītēē qhī yīkT reè.

N: ōō, yòò reè. qāpēē tha  
chūpūū tha thitsū qhāāqā,  
yaqō yòò reè. tha, śmcūū  
nāā la tha tītēē šlpū yòò  
marēē. pa chēē lhāāā  
tsōō mātōō. śmcūū nāā la  
šetāā qhī kēēpā qhēē yòò  
marēē. šutēē cētāā māāpōō  
chūcūū chī mātōō, kūqT  
marēē, qhēē. tīptōō cTī  
lēē, šuqT chēē "thōpō" s  
qhēē yòò marēē.

K: ānT, cēēqā cTtāā nāāūtū,

tion, of this sort, woven in  
Tibet itself.

And then, I suppose the things  
called "pillar decorations" and  
so forth are of a sort that is  
from a very long time ago.

Yes, they are. The pillar deco-  
rations and beam decorations,  
all these things are very good.  
Now, in the reception halls  
there aren't very many things  
of this sort. Just for the  
most part in the shrines. In the  
reception halls there isn't any-  
thing very extravagant. As for  
cushions and so forth, they  
don't put out anything except  
a small red cushion and so forth.  
Only a thin one, and the throne  
isn't at all what you'd call  
"high".

And then, when he grants an

yāā šuqtTT qhāā IΛ šuqtT  
repēē?

N: cēēqā nāātūū, šuqtTT qāā IΛ  
šutēē cāqt reē.

K: šuqtT thōpō retāā?

N: šuqtT tha tēcēē qāā IΛ klp  
tsāā, thōtō qhāpō chēēpa  
mātō, šuqtT qhōrā "thōpō" s  
qhēē yōō mārēē.

K: ānT, cēēmāā tāā nāāpēē qhāā  
IΛ, tha, nīqāā šuū quqt  
yūkt reē.

N: cēēmāā māpēē qutūū "nīqāā" s  
cēēnēē, tha, chōtsōō nātūū  
šūqu nāqt reē, šutēē cāāqo  
reē.

K: ānT, šītāā qū nīqt yūkt  
reē.

audience and so forth, does he  
sit on the throne?

Yes, when he grants an audience  
he sits on the throne.

The throne is high, is that  
right?

Now, since the throne is placed  
on a platform, it seems high,  
but the throne itself isn't at  
all what you'd call "high".

And then, when he grants group/  
public audiences, now I suppose  
he may have to sit there all day.

At the time of the larger group  
audiences, though you say "all  
day", it's five or six hours he  
has to sit, has to remain  
sitting.

And then, I suppose he gets  
very tired.

N: "qū nēē nāā" s qhēē nāqT  
maretāā? qarāā tshu rapA  
cēē, "qū nēēyāā" s qhēē  
yōō maretāā?

K: ānT, thāācāā tI, qhātāā  
nāmēē nātsōō qhī sōōpA  
repēē?

N: ōō reē. thāācāā, tha ...  
tha, qēmāā yīīnā, thāā-  
cāā qhī nāāpA repāā? thē-  
sāā thāācāā yōō maretāā!  
thēsāā chāā qhī nāqT reē.  
qāmō thāācāā qhī nāq(T  
y)ōō reē siqT tuqA, qaa  
nT "kūū" s mēē.

K: šI nēē ... thāācāā qhī nāā  
yōōqāā?

N: qātsōō nT nāā mānūū.

He doesn't act "tired" at all,  
is that right? There's no such  
thing as his getting "tired"  
like us, is that right?

And then, are the thāācāā  
[tassels used to touch a person  
in giving a blessing] made of  
a variety of qhātāā [ceremonial  
scarves]?

Yes, they are. The thāācāā,  
now ... now, formerly, they gave  
it with thāācāā, you know?  
These days, there are definitely  
no thāācāā! These days he gives  
it with his hand. Before, they  
say, don't they, that they gave  
it with thāācāā, but I don't  
really know about that.

In the beginning ... they gave  
it with thāācāā, didn't they?

It was never given to us.

K: ṭhapāā chāā qhī nālq(T γ)ṇṇ  
repēē?

Does he give it to monks with  
his hand?

N: ṭhapā mēpēē, ṭha thēsāā tāl,  
khṭpāl ē qhāāqāā nālq tūqā.  
chāā qhī ṣētāā nālq(T γ)ṇṇ  
reē.

Not only to monks, now these  
days he gives it to laymen, too,  
to everyone, doesn't he. He  
gives it just with his hand.

K: āā lēē.

Oh, I see.

N: ṇāmō nālq mē tṇṇ, thāā-  
cāā yṭṭnāā cṭṭ qhī, nālq(T  
γ)ṇṇ reē sāā. ṇāā kūū mēē.

They may have given it long ago,  
that is, I was told they gave  
it with thāācāā or something.  
I don't know (myself, by first-  
hand knowledge).

K: ānṭ, cēēqā qhāā tṭṭēē, qū-  
tūū lā ṣaptēē phūū cheṇēē  
tṭṭēē qhāāqāā yāā qūṭūū  
rāā qhī simcūū nāā lā tōōsā  
γṇṇ retāā?

And then, as for these various  
sorts of audiences, all those  
who offer prayers to His Holiness  
have places to sit in His  
Holiness's own reception hall,  
is that right?

N: tōōsā γṇṇ reē.

Yes, they have places to sit.

K: ānṭ, sōōcā cṭṭāā nāā nālq  
repēē?

And then, are they given tea  
and so forth?

N: nālq reē, lhēkēē.

Yes, they are, together.

K:  $\overline{\text{AnT}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{simcūū}}$   $\overline{\text{nāā}}$   $\overline{\text{I}}$   $\overline{\text{yaa}}$   $\overline{\text{tāqpāā}}$   
 $\overline{\text{tēēnēē}}$   $\overline{\text{sīqāā}}$   $\overline{\text{qhātsēē}}$   $\overline{\text{yā}}$   $\overline{\text{rēē}}$ ?

And then, how many guards are there who stay in the reception halls all the time?

N:  $\overline{\text{sīqāā}}$   $\overline{\text{śi}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{tsom}}$   $\overline{\text{tsom}}$   $\overline{\text{sūm}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{tha}}$   
 $\overline{\text{nāmēē}}$   $\overline{\text{nātsō}}$   $\overline{\text{yā}}$   $\overline{\text{rēē}}$ .

Now, it varies: there are sometimes four guards, sometimes three.

K:  $\overline{\text{sīqāā}}$   $\overline{\text{titsū}}$   $\overline{\text{tāqpāā}}$   $\overline{\text{tēētpā}}$   
 $\overline{\text{cheqo}}$   $\overline{\text{retāā}}$ ?

Those guards have to go on staying there all the time, is that right?

N:  $\overline{\text{tēētpā}}$   $\overline{\text{cheqo}}$   $\overline{\text{rēē}}$ .

Yes, they have to go on staying there.

K:  $\overline{\text{sūūsTm}}$   $\overline{\text{qhātsēē}}$   $\overline{\text{yā}}$   $\overline{\text{rēē}}$ ?

How many servants to His Holiness are there?

N:  $\overline{\text{sūūsTm}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sōōpōō}}$   $\overline{\text{qhēpōō}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{cTq}}$   
 $\overline{\text{chēē}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sīpōō}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{qhēpōō}}$   $\overline{\text{nTT}}$   
 $\overline{\text{chēē}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{AnT}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{chōōpōō}}$   $\overline{\text{qhēpōō}}$   
 $\overline{\text{cTq}}$   $\overline{\text{chēē}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{sūm}}$ , " $\overline{\text{sūūsTm}}$   $\overline{\text{chōō}}$   
 $\overline{\text{sūm}}$ " s:  $\overline{\text{sūm}}$   $\overline{\text{yā}}$   $\overline{\text{rēē}}$ .

As for the servants to His Holiness, the  $\overline{\text{sōōpōō}}$   $\overline{\text{qhēpō}}$  [tea master] makes one, the  $\overline{\text{sīpōō}}$   $\overline{\text{qhēpō}}$  [personal attendant, in charge of, for example, cleaning] makes two, and then, the  $\overline{\text{chōōpōō}}$   $\overline{\text{qhēpō}}$  [in charge of the servants who make  $\overline{\text{tōmā}}$

K: ʌnT, phōṭāā qhi tsē tīnēè  
 tshām̄rē tamā rʌ chi tūqT  
 tuqʌ. tsē topāā cTī ʌ  
 tūq(T y)ṽṽ rēē, qhapāā  
 tūq(T y)ṽṽ rēè?

N: ǒǒ, ǒǒ, tamā tūyāā thi tī  
 rēè: qūtūū tsōō, thā,  
 qōōtsṽṽ qhi, tshēṭāā tsṽṽ,  
 ʌnT, tamā tūū; qōōtāā chūū-  
 pūū chēè cētāā cheqo rēè.  
 ʌnT, yāā, chTpkūū cētāā  
 nāāpēē qutūū è yāā yṽṽ rēè.

K: ʌnT, phōṭāā qhi tsē rāā

offerings] makes three: there  
 are three, called the "sūūst̄m  
 chōō sum".

And then, sometimes they beat  
 the kettle drums from the  
 Palace's Peak, don't they.  
 Do they beat them over there  
 somewhere at the Peak, or  
 where do they beat them?

Yes, yes, the beating of the  
 kettle drums is this: on the  
 dates (anniversaries) of the  
 deaths, now, of the Dalai Lamas,  
 then, they beat the kettle  
 drums; at night they have to  
 make offerings and so forth.  
 And then, again, when he [His  
 Holiness] arrives or departs,  
 and so forth, they also have it  
 [the beating of the kettle  
 drums].

And then, as for the Palace's

γ<sub>Λ</sub>qēē thōōqā lēplēē rēē,  
qharē rēē?

N: lēplēē rēē. tha, k<sub>Λ</sub>pTī  
yōōsā tshō nī, lēplēē ma-  
retāā? šēē mī, thōōqā  
qhāāqā lēplēē rēē.

Peak itself, is the rooftop  
up there flat, or what is it?

It's flat. Now, as for those  
places with Chinese roofs,  
they aren't flat, is that right?  
Otherwise, of course, the roof-  
tops are all flat.

K: āā lēē ... ānT, thōōcēē taa  
cTāā tāāñēē γ<sub>Λ</sub>qT qhāā l<sub>Λ</sub>  
thēēqo rēē?

Oh, I see ... and then, do those  
who blow the big trumpets and  
so forth have to go on the top  
of that (Peak) up there?

N: phōtāā māapōō qāā nēē šētāā  
rēē, thōōcēē th<sub>Λ</sub> k<sub>Λ</sub>lT qhāā-  
qā.

They are only from on the top  
of the Red Palace, that is, all  
the big trumpets and Chinese  
(horizontal) flutes.

K: ānT, qh<sub>Λ</sub>tūqēē cTāā, t<sub>h</sub>āpq(T  
γ)ōō rēp<sub>Λ</sub>. tīl qhāā tēē  
t<sub>h</sub>āpq(T γ)ōō rēē, qharē rēē?

And then, the secular boy  
dancers perform some things,  
don't they. Do they perform  
there on top of this, or what?

N: qh<sub>Λ</sub>tūqēē t<sub>h</sub>āpyāā thī, tēyāā  
šāā l<sub>Λ</sub> t<sub>h</sub>āpqT rēē. lōōsāā

As for the secular boy dancers'  
performance, they perform at

cētāā 1A t̥h̄lpq(T y)ɔ̀ɔ̀ re(è)  
 saà tee, ɲaa kũũ mēè, tshɔ̃ɔ̃-  
 cōō sēepāā 1A nT.

K: ʃōō 1A t̥h̄lpq(T y)ɔ̀ɔ̀ repēè?

N: ʃōō 1A t̥h̄lpqT reè, pārqāā  
 qhī tũũ tēè.

K: ānT, tshēsāā tũūsāā cTtāā  
 tāqpāā nām̄kēree t̄inēè, thōō-  
 cēē tāqo repēè?

N: nām̄kēree sōōtsɔ̀ɔ̀ yũūtũũ,  
 thōōcēē tāqo reè. thaqaas  
 t̄l̄qT marēè, thōōcēē.

East t̄eyāā. I was told they  
 perform on New Year's day,  
 and so forth, but I don't know,  
 that is, about tshɔ̃ɔ̃cōō sēepāā  
 [when, after mōlōm, the monks  
 exhibit their collections of  
 treasures in a parade].

Do they perform in ʃōō [the  
 area below the Potala]?

Yes, they perform in ʃōō, there  
 in front of the Printing House.

And then, on auspicious days  
 and so forth, do the nām̄kēē  
 monks always have to blow the  
 big trumpets from there?

The nām̄kēē monks have to blow  
 the big trumpets when there is  
 an assembly. They don't blow  
 them just like that (for no  
 special reason), that is, the  
 big trumpets.



K: ʌnT, mm, chōōkōō tītēē nēē-  
cūū chōōkōō taa cītāā, qūpTī  
šūūqu yōōnā, phōtāā nāā ʌ  
tētēē šuqT rēē, šuqT marēē?

N: phōtāā nāā ʌ tētēē šuqT  
rēē.

K: phōtāā nāā ʌ šuqT yōō  
repēē?

N: tshōmcēē tsōō šuqT tōō;  
ʌnT, qōsōō šuqT rēē.

K: mm, phōtāā tēpō šītāā mēē  
tōō, ŋāmō nēē kʌp tsāā.

N: tēpō šētāā yōō rēē.

K: maŋʌ tutsTī šītāā repēē?

N: tutsTī mʌtōō tʌ, phʌqtsTī

And then, mm, as for this sort  
of oracle ("guardian of reli-  
gion"), the nēēcūū oracle and  
so forth, if they want to summon  
the spirits/deities, do they  
bring them [i.e. the oracles]  
into the Palace itself, or not?

Yes, they bring them into the  
Palace.

Do they have thrones in the  
Palace?

They put thrones in the assembly  
halls; and then, they (the  
oracles) go into trances.

Mm, the Palace must be very  
firm/solid, since it was built  
a long time ago.

Yes, it's very firm.

For the most part, does it have  
just stone walls?

It doesn't even have one mud-

cTTē yɔ̀ɔ̀ mārēè.

K: qhāāqā tutsTì repēè?

N: qhāāqā tutsTì reè.

K: tsTqšāā chēlōō yōnaa.

N: tsTqšāā t̄, tōpā sūmtsA  
mēè t̄ɔ̀ɔ̀.

K: āa m̄ l̄! qh̄tsēētsA qɔ̀ɔ̀  
yōnaa. l̄ š̄ipū ch̄i qɔ̀ɔ̀  
yōō̄ t̄hu.

N: tha, l̄ m̄qū qɔ̀ɔ̀ yūkt̄ retāā?  
laqpēè k̄p tsāā ... tha,  
ȳqT̄ nāā l̄ thēsāā qh̄lōō̄  
chēēpēē, šēēqō th̄tsū yūkt̄  
retāā? ch̄T̄kēē nēē th̄ōō̄ tsāā.  
šēē, qhāāqā l̄ɔ̀ laqpēè sōōp̄A  
šētāā yɔ̀ɔ̀ reè.

K: ānT̄, tēyāā šāā nēē, tēē

brick wall--just stone walls.

Are they all stone walls?

Yes, they are all stone walls.

I wonder what the width of  
the walls is.

The width of the walls must  
be about three fathoms.

Oh, my! I wonder about how  
long it took. It must have  
taken a great many years.

Now, I suppose it did take many  
years, is that right? Since  
they built it by hand ... Now,  
these days they may have these  
glass things [windows, boxes]  
in that (Palace) up there, is  
that right? Since they come  
from abroad. Otherwise, every-  
thing was, without exception,  
made by hand.

And then, when the qutōō̄ (dance)

qutōō cītāā thūūtūū, qūtūū  
 šuusēē tīnēē maa siimū sii-  
 sēē simcūū yōō retāā?

and so forth come out there  
 from East tēyāā, the place  
 where His Holiness stays has  
 a reception hall from which  
 he can look down on the per-  
 formance, is that right?

N: yōō rēē. qūtūū thā qūtāā  
 tshu thā qhāāqā šuū; topāā  
 šuuqT rēē. nāmkēēē thapā  
 thā, tsē lāptāā thā, mīmāā  
 tshu, pā chēē rāpā, tā šāā-  
 qōō yēēmēē tsōō tēēqT rēē.

Yes, it does. His Holiness and  
 the officials and everybody  
 stay; they stay over there.  
 The monks of nāmkēē (College),  
 the students of the Peak School,  
 and the common people, for the  
 most part, now, stay up and  
 down the rooms opening on the  
 courtyards.

K: ānT, qūtāā tshu qhāāqā tēē  
 qūtūū šuusā tēē chūuqT repēē?

And then, does that, the place  
 where His Holiness stays, hold  
 all the officials?

N: qūtūū lhēkēē maretāā! šuusā  
 lōōqāā yōō rēē.

They aren't together with His  
 Holiness, you know! They have  
 a separate place where they  
 stay.

K: āa lɛɛ.

Oh, I see.

N: yɪʃt̃t̃ nòp̃p̃u lhēkēè, th̃a,  
yũts̃t̃ nāp̃a tshu, tshēē-  
šāp̃ tshu, t̃t̃ēè lhēkēè lhē-  
kēè šuq̃T rēè.

Together with His Holiness, now,  
stay the tutors, the debaters  
[who debate with His Holiness]--  
such (people) stay together  
[with His Holiness].

K: ānT, simcūū šuq̃T̃ chē cɛɛ,  
sɪ̃i šuq̃T̃ rɛɛ ... ?

And then, do they open the win-  
dows in the reception hall and  
watch [from there], or ... ?

N: chē cɛɛ, sɪ̃i šuq̃T̃ rēè.

Yes, they open them and watch  
[from there].

K: ānT, t̃t̃i qāā ɪa yaa, qūṭāā  
tsōō sōōcā taa cTtāā šun  
nɛɛ kālq̃T̃ rēp̃ēè?

And then, during this, are the  
officials served tea and so  
forth by the government?

N: yōè rēè: sōōcā cētāā.

Yes, they are: tea and so forth.

K: ānT, tēemōō yāp̃a tēesā tēè,  
qharē seqo rēè? thōōcāā  
seqo rɛɛ, qharē rēè?

And then, what do ("should")  
you call that place where the  
other spectators stay? Do you  
call it a platform, or what?

N: šāaqōō ēè?

Do you mean the rooms opening  
on the courtyards?

K: šāaqōō. ȳōō.

The rooms opening on the courtyards. Yes.

N: šāaqōō tēṅšōō sum rēē chī  
yōtāā? mī mālqū chuūqT yōō.

There are perhaps three stories of rooms opening on the courtyards, is that right? They should hold many people.

K: mī qhatsēētsa chuūqT yōnaa.

I wonder about how many people they hold.

N: mī qhacēē chuūqT yōō t̥hu.  
tōṅtāā qhāšēē qhāšēē chuūqT  
yōō t̥hu, šāaqōō nāā ɿ.

They must hold quite a few people. They must hold in the thousands, that is, in the rooms opening on the courtyards.

K: chōōqāā chēšōō thī qhḷqT  
rēē? tsēē nāā ɿ.

Which is the largest chapel? That is, in the Peak.

N: chōōqāā tha, chōōqāā chēē-  
nā ... qhāṅpā chTcūū ēē,  
qhārē?

The chapels, now, when you say chapels ... do you mean the size of the buildings, or what?

K: chōōqāā rāā.

The chapels themselves.

N: chōōqāā rāā ēē? chōōqāā  
chēšōō sTtūū chēmōō to tēē,  
cTq yōō rēē tha ... tī chē-

You mean the chapels themselves? As for the largest chapel, there is one there in front of the Big

šöö reè. tshōmcēē chi yɔ̀  
reè. "tshōmcēē chēmō" sàà.

Gold Tomb, now ... this is the largest. It's an assembly hall. It's called the "Big Assembly Hall".

K: qāa qh<sub>1</sub>tsēē tsʌ chi qh<sub>1</sub> sā  
yɔ̀ reè?

About how much space does it have, in terms of pillars?

N: qāa š<sub>1</sub>pcū šet<sub>1</sub>āā chi yɔ̀ reè.  
nāmkērʌ pē thi tshṑ tshūu-  
nēē pē thi tii nāā tēē chuūq<sub>1</sub>  
reè.

It has between forty and fifty [40-49] pillars. Even when all the nāmkēē monks hold an assembly, it holds them all inside there.

K: ɔ̃, thōssā qh<sub>1</sub>tsēē yɔ̀ reè?

Mm, how many stories does it have?

N: phōt<sub>1</sub>āā ʌ ēè?

Do you mean the Palace?

K: mm.

Mm.

N: thōssā cūrqu tsʌ chi yɔ̀  
reè.

It has about nineteen stories.

K: ʌn<sub>1</sub>, thōssā thāqō qharē  
yɔ̀ reè?

And then, what's on the first floor?

N: qhānpā rāā ʌ, thōssā thā-  
qō, thā, topāā qūcēē, cūusā

In the building itself, on the first floor, now, over there

tī<sup>̄</sup>tēē māt<sup>̄</sup>ō, šēē šetāā yō<sup>̄</sup>  
 marēē. thōōsā thūqpāl tsā<sup>̄</sup>  
 neē māt<sup>̄</sup>ō, šēē ɔ<sup>̄</sup> pa chēē  
 tī rēē: tī tha, qūcēē  
 cūūsā pa chēē rēē.

there's nothing much except for  
 the sort of places where you  
 put (store) things [such as  
 furniture]. Except for about  
 the sixth floor and up, other-  
 wise, below, this is all there  
 is, for the most part: that is,  
 for the most part, now, this  
 is, now, a place to put (store)  
 things.

K: ɔ<sup>̄</sup> lā ēē?

Do you mean below?

N: ōō.

Yes.

K: qhāā lā?

And above (on top)?

N: qhāā lā, ānT, chōōqāā taa  
 cētāā yō<sup>̄</sup> rēē, pa chēē.

Above, then, there are chapels  
 and so forth, for the most part.

K: qūcēē, cūūsā qhāāqā, sō  
 sōsō sōsōō nāā lā qhūū cheē,  
 cūū nāqT yō<sup>̄</sup> repēē?

As for the places where one puts  
 (stores) things, is everything  
 put in according to its proper  
 section?

N: yō<sup>̄</sup> rēē.

Yes, it is.

K: qūtūū rāā qhī cTtāā cheē?

Including His Holiness's own  
 things?

N: qūtūū rāā qhi qūcēē, "qūtūū  
qūqT qhi qūcēē" s šetāa  
yōō maretāā! tha "šun",  
seqo repāa, mi?

K: ānT, qūtūū rāā qhi namsā taa  
cTtāā, cūyāā namsā qhāā  
ra chi yōō rēē ... ?

N: yōō rēē. namsā qhāā chi  
yōō rēē.

K: ānT, tīnēē ti mēpa, qharē  
qharē yōō rēē?

N: phōtāā nāā lā ēē?

K: mm.

N: phōtāā nāā lā, tha, tsūūpūū  
tshu, chēē, ānT, chōōqāā  
tshu, sīmcūū tha, šēē tītēē

As for the things belonging to  
His Holiness himself, there  
isn't very much of what you'd  
call "His Holiness's own things",  
you know! Now, you should, of  
course, say [belonging to the]  
"government", you know?

But then, as for the clothes  
and so forth of His Holiness  
himself, is there some sort of  
place (room) to put clothes in,  
or ... ?

Yes, there is. There is a  
place for clothes.

And then, aside from this, what  
things are there?

Do you mean in the Palace?

Mm.

In the Palace, now, aside from  
the storage places for precious  
things and, then, the chapels



chi marēē? nām̄kēē ...

ṭhaśāā, tuqāā.

K: šēē yāpā qhēē yōb marēē?

N: šāpā yūkt repāā? yūkt reē  
teē, ṇaa yaqō šūūkū mēē.

K: ānT, mm, phōṭāā qhi thōōqēē  
kApTī tētsō, ānT, cTī qhi  
cTī lA pē thi ṭiq šāāpA rēē,  
qhāṭēēs sōōpA rēē?

N: qhāṭēēs?

K: kApTī tētsō.

N: ōō. āā lēē, ōō, thāqō  
šTṇṭōm yaa lāā; šTṇ qhi  
tōm sōō; tll qāā lA, ānT,  
sēsāā maa qAp šāā yōb reē.

and reception halls, isn't there  
something of this sort? That  
is, nām̄kēē monks' ... monks'  
quarters, (and) assembly halls.

Otherwise, isn't there anything  
else?

I suppose there are other things,  
you know? I suppose there are,  
but I can't tell it well.

But then, mm, as for those  
Chinese roofs among the Palace's  
roofs, then, were they all stuck  
together, one thing to another,  
or how were they made?

How?

Those Chinese roofs.

Yes. Oh, I see, yes, first they  
put up a wooden frame; they made  
a frame of wood; on top of this,  
then, they put down a layer of  
brass covered with gold.

K:  $\overline{\text{anT}}$ ,  $\text{ti}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{itaa}}$   $\text{s}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{yaa}}$   
 $\text{m}\overline{\text{ep}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$ ?  $\text{ph}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{aa}}$   $\text{n}\overline{\text{aa}}$   $\text{la}$ .

And then, don't you have many things to tell about? That is, what's in the Palace.

N:  $\text{ph}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{aa}}$   $\text{n}\overline{\text{aa}}$   $\text{la}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{etaa}}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{yaa}}$   
 $\text{m}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$ .

No, I don't have many things (left) to tell about what's in the Palace.

K:  $\text{un}\overline{\text{a}}$ ,  $\text{ñ}\overline{\text{im}}\overline{\text{a}}$   $\text{c}\overline{\text{ti}}$   $\text{ch}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{la}$   
 $\text{ph}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{c}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{anT}}$ ,  $\text{q}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{la}$   $\text{yaa}$ :  
 "n $\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{š}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\overline{\text{aa}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{a}}$   $\text{chi!}$ "  $\text{š}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{a}}$ ,  
 $\text{yaq}\overline{\text{a}}$   $\text{m}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\overline{\text{a}}$ .

Well, then, it might be better if we went (there) to visit those religious places one day and, then, asked the sacristan to "Please tell (us) some stories!"

N:  $\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{o}}$   $\text{re}\overline{\text{e}}$ . "n $\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{š}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\overline{\text{aa}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{a}}$   $\text{chi!}$ "  
 $\text{ch}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{a}}$ ,  $\text{re}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{a}}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{i}}$   $\text{n}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{T}}$   
 $\text{re}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{aa}}$ ?  $\text{q}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{a}}$   $\text{y}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{T}}$   $\text{re}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{aa}}$ ?  
 $\text{š}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$ ,  $\text{ti}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{yaa}$ ,  $\overline{\text{anT}}$   $\text{ti}$ ,  $\text{yaq}\overline{\text{o}}$   
 $\text{ch}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{o}}$   $\text{s}\overline{\text{e}}$   $\text{š}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{T}}$   $\text{m}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{u}}$ .  
 $\text{qh}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{a}}$   $\text{m}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{i}}$   $\text{qh}\overline{\text{i}}$   $\text{th}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{a}}$ ,  $\text{ma}\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{a}}$   
 $\text{la}\overline{\text{p}}$   $\text{th}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{u}}\overline{\text{q}}\overline{\text{T}}$   $\text{re}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{aa}}$ ?

That's right. If you say, "Please tell (us) some stories!", he will tell them, one by one, from the beginning, is that right? We will remember (better then), is that right? Otherwise, from here, then, you can't tell these things really well. If you see them with your own

eyes, you can tell more, is  
that right?

Yes, that's right.

K: oo re.

thuqlōō

## Clothing

N: lhēēsēē nāā lʌ, t̥hōōsēē  
phēt̥sūū taa ... thuqlōō  
māt̥āā khēē yɔ̀b̥ rēpēē?

Is there a difference ... between the clothing in Lhasa and in the villages here and there?

K: thuqlōō mēt̥āā khēē yɔ̀b̥ rēē.  
qhōt̥āā ē tēēt̥sʌ t̥ʌqT mārēē.

Yes, there is a difference in the clothing. The way of dressing is a little different, too.

N: mm, qhōt̥āā, yāaqā thʌ qūqʌ  
cēt̥āā sō sōsō māt̥āā lɔ̀ɔqāā  
māt̥āā rʌ chɪ qhūqT yɔ̀b̥ rēē,  
qhʌt̥ēēs chɪqT yɔ̀b̥ rēē?

Mm, as for the way of dressing, in summer and winter, and so forth, do they dress differently in each [of the seasons], or how do they do it?

K: yāaqā taa, qūqʌ, qhāāqā sō  
sōsō mēt̥āā qhūqT rēē, nʌm-  
tūū tshēēt̥āā qhɪ.

Yes, in summer and winter, in each they dress differently, because of the temperature of the season.

N: ʌnT, qūqʌ qhʌt̥ēē chɪ qhūqT  
rēē?

And then, how do they dress in the winter?

K: qūqʌ ... pāqtsāā qhūqT rēē,  
khōqā kTmēē ʌTcōō qhɪ.

In the winter ... they wear fur (or fur-lined) robes, both men

N: anT, pāqtsāā tī kapšā yōōpā  
tītēē rēē, qhōrā pāqpā cTqōō  
chēē qhūqT rēē?

K: pāqtsāā lā, lHēsēsē nāā lā  
"kapšā" sī chēē, mēēpā qhōō-  
ñēsē cTtē yōō marēē. qhāāqā  
kapšā kāpā šTtāā qhūqT rēē.

N: mm, anT, pāqtsāā kapšā kāpā  
taa makāpā ñTt lā, min māṭāā  
rāpā yōō rēē, marēē?

K: min māṭāā yōō rēē. pāqtsāā  
kapšā makāpā tēē "kātsāā"  
saā.

N: anT, qūqā, nāpūū chūpā thūpū

and women (do).

And then, are these fur robes  
the sort with an outer cover,  
or do they wear just the fur  
alone?

In Lhasa there's no one who  
wears a fur robe without what  
is called an "outer cover".  
They all wear only those for  
which outer covers have been  
made.

Mm, and then, do those for  
which outer covers have been  
made and those for which they  
have not have different names  
or not?

Yes, they have different names.  
Fur robes for which outer covers  
have not been made are called  
"kātsāā".

And then, in the winter, do they

tĩĩēē qhũqT rēē, mārēē?

K: qũqā nāpũũ chũpā thũpũ tĩĩēē  
qhũqT rēē. nāpũ "pōcēē"  
señēē tĩĩ chũpā ...

N: "pōcēē" señēē thĩ thũpũ šetāā  
yāō repēē?

K: "pōcēē" señēē thĩ thũpũ qārōō  
yāō rēē.

N: tĩ tāāsā lũpā qhāsā qhā lā  
tālqT rēē, yāā lũpā rāpā  
qhāā cTq nĩ nēē, mātōō matōōpā  
tĩĩēē chĩqT rēē?

K: nāpũ, "pōcēē" señēē thĩ thā  
lũpā qhāšēē rāā lā tālqT  
yũkT rēē, tālqT yōōpā tāā.  
tēētsā mētāā mētāā rā chĩ  
thũqT mēē tōō.

or don't they wear this sort of  
thick robe of nāpũ wool?

Yes, in the winter they wear  
this sort of thick robe of nāpũ  
wool. Robes of this nāpũ called  
"pōcēē" ...

Is this one called "pōcēē" very  
thick?

Yes, this one called "pōcēē" is  
quite thick.

As for where they weave it, do  
they weave it just anywhere, or  
is it produced in (does it come  
from) only one or two different  
places?

As for this nāpũ called "pōcēē",  
now, I suppose they may weave  
it in quite a few places, that  
is, it seems they weave it [in  
several places]. They may  
produce slightly different ones.

N: མྱོ, thūpa qhanēē thūqT yōnaa.

Mm, I wonder where the thicker one comes from.

K: thūpa ... lhēēsēē thōō topāa  
nee thūqT reē saā.

The thicker one ... I was told, comes from the area above (up-river from) Lhasa.

N: འོ, tha lhēēsēē thTl topāa  
nee thūqT yūkt reē.

Well, now, I suppose it comes from the area near Lhasa.

K: འོ, ḁḁ, qōqō nēē thūqT reē,  
yaqa.

Yes, and then, it comes from qōqō, that is, the better one. [qōqō is below, or down-river from, Lhasa.]

N: འོ, qōqō ḁḁ nēē thūqT yḁḁ  
yḁḁ reē. qōqō pōcēē tēē  
mḁḁ māḁāa ḁḁḁ yḁḁ reē, mā-  
rēē?

Mm, I suppose it comes from the qōqō area. Does the pōcēē of qōqō have a different name, or not?

K: yḁḁ reē.

Yes, it does.

N: ḁḁḁḁḁḁ yaqa ḁḁḁ tsḁḁāa.

That is, the one that's usually considered better.

K: འོ, yaqa tsḁḁāa, mḁḁ mēḁāa  
yḁḁ reē ... "qōqō, tsḁḁḁḁ"  
saā.

Yes, the one that's considered better has a different name ... It's called "qōqō tsḁḁḁḁ".

N: mm, qōqō tsētēē.

K: ǒǒ, "qōqō tsētēē" sǎà.

N: ānT, pāqtsāà taa nāpū cētāà,  
mm, khōqā kTmēē nTqāā lōō  
cTqpā qhūqT rēē, qhāṭēē rēē?  
qūqā.

K: pāqtsāà taa, nāpū nTcōō,  
khōqā kTmēē qhī, cTqpā qhūqT  
rēē. yīīnēē, sōptā, khōqā  
taa kTmēē, thūqlōō, cTqpā  
marēē.

N: ǒǒ, sōptā mētāà qhāṭēē chī  
yōō rēē?

K: sōptā mētāà tīī ... qūqā  
qhōōyāà nTcōō phōyōō chēē  
nī ... "hā lēēpēē mētāà,  
tī tūū", samsāā rā chī chūpā  
qhōrā cTqōō lā tēēnā, yōō  
marēē. yīīnēē, kTmēē qhī  
tēē sōtē nTT tūū; phūtūū

Mm, qōqō tsētēē.

Yes, it's called "qōqō tsētēē".

And then, as for the fur robes  
and nāpū, and so forth, do the  
men and the women dress the  
same, or how is it? That is,  
in the winter.

As for both fur robes and nāpū,  
the men and the women dress the  
same. However, in design, the  
men and women's clothing aren't  
the same.

Well, how is the design diffe-  
rent?

As for the difference in design  
... what they both wear in the  
winter has sleeves, and ... if  
you just look at the robe itself  
you don't have any sort of fee-  
ling that "this is an astoni-  
shing difference". However,



... tha cTāā rīntūū khēē  
 yɔ̀ɔ̀ marēē. chēēnēē, sōtē  
 nT tūū; khɔ̀qēē tēē qūpsūū  
 tūū, chīqT rēē.

there on the women's they gather  
 two side-folds [at the back];  
 as for the sleeves ... and so  
 forth, there isn't any difference  
 in length. However, they  
 gather two side-folds; there  
 on the men's they gather many  
 folds on the back.

N: ōō, taa, qhōpēē qhutūū māṭāā  
 chēēpā māṭōō sōptā qhōrā  
 cTqpā repēē?

Well, now, aside from the  
 difference the time one wears  
 things makes, is the design  
 itself the same?

K: sōptā qhōrā ē tēētsā chī  
 cTqpā marēē.

Even the design itself is a  
 little different.

N: chā chTcūū rā chī yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēē  
 ... ?

Is there any difference in the  
 width, or ... ?

K: chā chTcūū yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēē.

Yes, there's a difference in  
 the width.

N: ānT, chūpā māṭōō, šēē qūqā  
 "qūcēē yīT" s chēē nī, šamō  
 tha cētāā šāpēē qhēē khēē

And then, aside from robes, is  
 there, otherwise, any difference  
 in the winter in other things,

γῶḃ rēē, marēē?

K: šamō cTtāā khēē γῶḃ rēē.  
 qūqāl ... "pāqšā" s chēē ni,  
 šamō pāqpā tāāpā chl γῶḃ  
 rēē, t| qhūqT rēē. ānT,  
 pāqšēē nāā lēē mētāā γῶḃ  
 rēē. "tshTrī kīqōō" señēē  
 rāpā tītēē, "ñāṇśā" señēē  
 rāpā tītēē nāmēē nātsōḃ  
 γῶḃ rēē.

N: thitsū qhāāqā, nāā|ōḃ |ā  
 pāqpā tāāpā šētāā yīpā rēē,  
 qūqāl qhōōyāā thī.

K: qūqāl qhōōyāā qhāāqā pāqpā  
 tāā γῶḃ rēē.

N: ānT, yāāqā qhātēē rā chl

such as hats and so forth, so  
 that one says, "They're winter  
 things"?

Yes, there's a difference in  
 hats and so forth. In the  
 winter ... there are hats with  
 fur put on them, called "fur  
 hats", they wear these. And  
 then, even among the fur hats  
 there are differences. There  
 are various kinds, such as the  
 sort called "tshTrī [stressed  
 form: tshTrī̃] kīqōō" or the  
 sort called "ñāṇśā".

I suppose these all, without  
 exception, have fur put on  
 them inside, that is, the ones  
 worn in the winter.

Yes, they put fur on all the  
 ones worn in the winter.

And then, how do they dress in

qhũqT rēè? tha nāmkuũ ...  
qhõõ tōōyāā.

K: yāāqā, kTmēē qeē ... tawā  
ñTṭpāl sūpāl neē phōmēē qhũqT  
rēè. "phōmēē" senā, phūtũũ  
mēēpēē chūpāl chi yōò rēè.  
ānT, tī, māyāā ... thēmēē  
suqT rēè. ānT yāā nāpū  
ṭāpēē sōñēē yōò rēè. phōmēē,  
qhõõ; ānT, tīi yōò lā yāā  
ōōcūũ ṭāpūũ tītēē ... qhõõ  
... chiqT rēè.

N: ōō šamō. šamō, yāāqā mātāā  
yōò rēē, māṛēē?

K: mm, šamō, yāāqā mētāā yōò  
rēè. šamō, yāāqā, šamō  
"yanšā" señēē chī yonāā?

the summer? That is, the things  
... they usually wear.

In the summer, the women ...  
wear phōmēē from the second or  
third month. When you say "phō-  
mēē", it's (you mean) a sleeve-  
less robe. And then, these,  
for the most part ... they make  
of thēmā [a thin, woolen fabric].  
But then, again, there are also  
those who make them of thinner  
nāpū. They wear sleeveless  
robes; and then, under these,  
they ... wear ... quite thin  
blouses.

Mm, hats. As for hats, are  
they different in the summer,  
or not?

Mm, yes, in the summer, the hats  
are different. As for hats, in  
the summer, there's a hat called

"yaŋmɔɔ" sɛ̃ɛɛ chɪ, tɪ qhũqT  
rɛ̃ɛ.

N: āā, chTŋpēē sōō šāàpɐ tɪtēē.

K: chTŋpēē sōō šāàpɐ rɛ̃ɛ.

N: ʌnT, nʌmkũũ lɛɛqā chitũũ,  
thuqlōō taa, ʌnT yāā, thōōtō  
rɐpɐ tɪtēē ɪ ɪ phāā tshũũ  
tutũũ, thuqlōō ... tɪtēē  
māṭāā yɔɔ rɛɛ, marēē? nāā  
qhi nāā ɪ tũũtũũ qhi thuq-  
lōō thɐ cētāā.

K: "sɔptā mēṭāā" s qhēē yɔɔ  
marēē. yɪɪnēē, kupcɐ pũũ  
thaqlōō qhi khēēpāā šitāā  
yɔɔ rɛ̃ɛ.

the "yaŋša" [Chinese yang  
"foreign", Tibetan -ša "hat"],  
is that right? That is, they  
wear this one called the "yaŋ-  
mɔɔ" [Chinese yang-mao "foreign  
hat"].

Mm, the kind made of felt.

Yes, they're made of felt.

And then, as for the clothes one  
usually (wears) when working  
and, again, the clothes (worn)  
when going here and there to  
parties and the like ... is  
there a difference of this sort  
or not? That is, the clothes  
(worn) when one stays at home,  
and so forth.

There isn't what you'd really  
call any "difference in design".  
However, as for the fabric,  
there's a great difference in  
quality.

N: tha, thoōtō rapa tītēē  
cētāā la tūtūū yaqa šetāā  
qhūqT retāā?

Now, when one goes to parties  
 and the like, one wears better  
 things, without exception, is  
 that right?

K: thoōtō rapa tītēē la tūtūū  
tsā nēē, yaqa, šetāā qhūqT  
reē. thēmā, yaqa rapa tītēē,  
ānT qhocēē rapa tītēē cītāā  
qhūqT reē.

Yes, when one goes to parties  
 and the like, one wears better  
 things, without exception. One  
 wears better thēmā and the like,  
 and brocade and the like, and  
 so forth.

N: ānT, kTmēē qēpa yīīnā,  
"pāātēē", señēē thi yīcTī  
mīcTī kīqT reē, qhāṭēē  
chīqT reē?

And then, in the case of adult  
 ["older"] women ["eighteen or  
 over"], are they sure to wear  
 this thing called an "apron",  
 or how do they do it?

K: kTmēē qēpēē pāātēē yīcTī  
mīcTī cīpa reē. pāātēē  
cītī; ānT, kēcā chātsāā  
qhōō chīqT reē.

Yes, adult women are sure to  
 wear aprons. They wear aprons;  
 and then, they wear sets of  
 ornaments.

N: kēcā tītsū, tāqpāā qhōō  
tūūqT reē, ānT yāā thūūtūū

As for these ornaments, do they  
 always wear them or, then again,

chōōcōō rapa tītēē la qhōō;  
 šēē namkūū maqōpa chēē cēē,  
 šāaqT rēē?

K: nāmō mītsāā nāā la āmēē tāq-  
 pāā qhūqT yōō rēē sesōō ra  
 chi tuū. yītēē, chTī su,  
 qhōōnēē nēē thōō mānūū. nāā  
 la qhōpa marēē. chTīōō la  
 thūūtūū chōōcōō rapa tītēē  
 la tutūū qhōpa rēē. ānT,  
 phāā tshūū tēmēē rapa tī-  
 tēē tutūū, yīcTī mīcTī qhōpa  
 rēē, sāāsōō rapa tītēē cītāā  
 la yaa.

N: qhōtāā, qhītēēs qhūqT yōō  
 rēē? thāqōō, mm ... thāqō  
 rapa thi, qharē qhōqo rēē?

K: kēcā ...

do they wear them for special  
 occasions and the like and  
 otherwise not wear them?

Formerly, they say, the mother  
 always wore them in the house-  
 hold/family. However, these  
 days I haven't seen anyone wear  
 them. That is, they don't wear  
 them at home. They wear them  
 when they go out for special  
 occasions and the like. And  
 then, when they go here and  
 there for celebrations and the  
 like they are sure to wear them,  
 that is, for incense-offering  
 and the like, and so forth.

As for the way they put them  
 on, how do they put them on?  
 First, mm ... what is it that  
 they have to put on first?

The ornaments ...

N: qh<sub>Λ</sub>ū ηεε ΙΑ tãàqo rεε, yãã  
 εεqɔɔ ηεε ΙΑ tãàqo rεε?  
 qh<sub>Λ</sub>t̃ēēs chIqT rεε?

Do they have to put on the charm  
 box first, or, on the other  
 hand, do they have to put on the  
 εεqɔɔ [turquoise and gold pen-  
 dants attached to the hair at  
 the sides of the face] first?  
 How do they do it?

K: κ̃εcā, chātsāā t<sub>Λ</sub>Λtūū ...  
 thãqō, "l̃εtsē" sēñεε chi γɔɔ  
 rεε. t̃ā tsūūm<sub>Λ</sub> chi ... tI,  
 qhūqT rεε. tII qhãã ΙΑ yaa,  
 p<sub>Λ</sub>tūū qhōō; <sub>Λ</sub>nT, εεqɔɔ t<sub>Λ</sub>Λ-  
 qT rεε. εεqɔɔ tãā ni, εε-  
 qɔɔ qhi c<sub>Λ</sub>qkū tI, t̃ā tsūūm<sub>Λ</sub>  
 tII, qh<sub>Λ</sub>tūū tēē cTq γɔɔ rεε.  
 qōōsā chi. c<sub>Λ</sub>qkū kaasā chi,  
 tēē, c<sub>Λ</sub>qkū thi k<sub>Λ</sub>p; <sub>Λ</sub>nT,  
 εεqɔɔ tãā tshāā ni, kē<sub>Λ</sub>t̃āā  
 t<sub>Λ</sub>ΛqT rεε. <sub>Λ</sub>nT, qh<sub>Λ</sub>ū tha  
 t̃hūū<sub>Λ</sub>tūū tãā; ...

When they put on a set of orna-  
 ments ... first, there's a thing  
 called a "l̃εtsē". An artificial  
 hair(-piece) ... they put this  
 on. On top of this, they put  
 the p<sub>Λ</sub>tūū [the crown-like  
 support for the hair]; and then  
 they put on the εεqɔɔ. They  
 put on the εεqɔɔ and, as for  
 the metal hook of the εεqɔɔ,  
 there's something ["a piece of  
 black felt"] there around the  
 artificial hair(-piece). That  
 is, a place to hook onto. They  
 attach the metal hook there on

a place for attaching the metal hook; and then, after they've finished putting on the རྒྱུ་ལྗོངས་, they put on the necklace [usually of jade]. And then, they put on the charm box and the long, dangling chain [of pearls, onyx, jade]; ...

N: ལྷོ་ཏུ་ ཡཱཱ་ པལྱུ་ མཱཱ་ ཡོ་ མཱ་  
 རེཔེ་? རྒྱུ་ལྗོངས་ "མུ་ཏུ་ པལྱུ་"  
 རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ ཏུ་ ཏུ་.

K: པལྱུ་ མཱཱ་ ཡོ་ རེ་ ... mm,  
 རྒྱུ་ལྗོངས་ རྒྱུ་ ལྷོ་ ཏུ་ པལྱུ་  
 ཏུ་ "ཡུ་ལྱུ་" རྒྱུ་ ཏུ་ རྒྱུ་  
 ཏུ་ ཡོ་ རེ་.

N: ལྷོ་ཏུ་, རྒྱུ་ལྗོངས་ ཏུ་, ཏུ་, རྒྱུ་  
 རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་ ཏུ་ ཏུ་ ཏུ་ ཏུ་  
 ཏུ་ རེ་.

K: རྒྱུ་, རྒྱུ་ལྗོངས་ ཏུ་ རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་  
 རྒྱུ་, ཏུ་ "ཏུ་ ཏུ་ ཏུ་ ཏུ་"

And then, aren't there also different པལྱུ་? Some of the sort called "pearl པལྱུ་".

Yes, there are different པལྱུ་ ... mm, in Lhasa there are two, the pearl པལྱུ་ and one called "just turquoise".

And then, I suppose, there may be a difference between the clothing of the Tsang people, now, and the Ü people, too.

Mm, now, there isn't what you'd call any "amazing difference in



s qhèè yòò marèè. yīīnēē,  
qhōtāā, ṭlqT marèè. ʌnT,  
tshūūšT pērtāā rʌ tētso.

N: tsanpēē qhā̃tēēs qhūqT rēè?

K: tsanpēē ... kTmēē qhī qhōō-  
yāā rʌ tētso tā, tshūūšT ē  
tēētsʌ mētāā rʌ chī chēè,  
ʌnT ... sɔptā rʌpʌ thētso ē  
cTq, ʌhāqT ʌhūqT tshāā rʌ  
chī, yōō. ʌnT, tshūūšT thī  
qhūtūū, pēnā ōōcūu tshēēqā  
rʌ chī qhōōnā, chūpʌ cāqū  
rʌ chī qhōō, chē qōñēē rʌ  
chī yòò rēè.

N: ōō, chūpʌ cāqūū yòò ʌ ōōcūu  
tshēēqā qhōō chīqT yòò yīpʌ  
rēè. ʌnT, qhāāqā' ʌōō yāā  
tī chūpʌ cētāā thātā rʌpʌ

design" between the Tsang people  
and the Ū people, too. However,  
the ways they dress are diffe-  
rent. And then, their ways of  
combining colors and these  
things.

How do the Tsang people dress?

As for these things the Tsang  
... women wear, the colors are  
sort of a little different, and  
then ... as for these designs,  
there's something sort of too  
loose about them. And then,  
when they wear these colors,  
if, for example, they wear a  
sort of orangish red blouse,  
they are the sort that has to  
wear a sort of green robe.

Mm, I suppose it's true that  
they wear orangish red blouses  
under green robes. But then,  
does or does not everyone else

tīṭṭṣṣṣ qhōōññēē yṑṑṑ rēē, mā-  
rēē? Ihēēsā thā tsāā ḡṑṑ  
topāā.

K: āā, chṭī su Ihēēsā ḡōō lā  
ṭhāṭā qhōōññēē rīñṭī yūḡṭ  
rēē. yīīñēē, ṭhāṭā, ṭhā-  
kāā qhōōññēē śīṭāā yṑṑ mā-  
rēē. ṭhāṭā, thēmā ṭhāṭā  
sūḡṭ repēē?

N: mm, mēpēē, nāpū tīṭṭṣṣ yūḡṭ  
tuḡḡ! phōō nēē thōpēē ṭhāṭā  
tīṭṭṣṣ.

K: āā lēē. yṑṑ rēē, tīṭṭṣṣ.  
phōō rāā nēē thōpēē. nāpū  
ṭhāṭā ṇṭṇ cepō tīṭṭṣṣ yṑṑ  
rēē. kantsēē tīī ṭhēē śīṭāā  
tāḡḡṭ (y)ṑṑ rēē.

wear these things, that is,  
robes and so forth which are  
multicolored? That is, around  
(both) Lhasa and Tsang.

Oh, these days there may be a  
few around Lhasa who wear multi-  
colored things. However, there  
aren't very many who wear only  
multicolored things. By multi-  
colored do you mean ["say"]  
multicolored thēmā?

No, aside from this, there is  
a nāpū of this sort, you know!  
That is, this sort of multi-  
colored one produced in Tibet.

Oh, I see. Yes, there is some-  
thing of this sort. Produced  
in Tibet itself. There's a  
beautiful multicolored nāpū of  
this sort. In Gyangtse they  
weave a great deal of this sort.

N: ǒǒ. tītēē qhī chūpāl suqT  
repēē? ʔhāʔā qhōrēē chūpāl.

Yes. Do they make robes of this sort? That is, robes of that multicolored sort.

K: suqT rēē, ʔhāʔā qhōrēē chūpāl.

Yes, they make them, that is, robes of that multicolored sort.

N: qhōō ʔhā tōōtāā: "pāātēē"  
señēē ʔhī taa, cTqpāl rēē,  
qhāʔēē rēē?

As for the way they make its stripes: is it the same as (in) the thing called an "apron", or how is it?

K: marēē. ʔhā ... tōōtāā:  
"ʔhā šūmTī" señēē chī kālākū  
yǒǒ rēē. tī cTī kālāqT rēē.  
ānT, "qēērTī" señēē qhī remō  
chī kālāqT rēē. ānT, tīnēē  
tīl qhāā lā yaa yāā, šī cTq  
cheērā cTī lā yaa, ānT, tī-  
nēē maa lān rā chī cheē,  
thTī rā chī, cheē chīqT yǒǒ  
rēē.

No, it isn't. As for the ... way they make the stripes: there's one called "square-check stripes" they can make. They make this kind. And then, they make a design called "qēērTī". And then, on top of this, that is, on something with one base [that is, of one color], they make it by making a sort of line down from here and a sort of line [up; as in a series of linked V's].

N: ǝǝ, tsāā taa lhēēsēē pāl-  
 rūu lʌ mʌtōō lʌnpʌ šāpaa  
 tha thuqlōō šetāa mātāa  
 qhēē ā yōō, qhōtāā.

K: mm, tha lʌnpʌ šāpā tshōō  
 thuqlōō qhōtāā mētāa, yōō  
 reē. pēnā ... qōqōō qhī  
 kTmēē tētsō nT, pē thi qā-  
 tsō, lhēēsā qōcōō taa mētāa  
 reē.

N: ǝǝ, qhōtsō hʌqōō cētāa ē  
 qhāāqā chā rēē, ... ?

K: hʌqōō ē cTqpʌ mʌtūū. hʌqōō  
 yāpā chī qhūqT. tīl mīn  
 tī qēē šTqT mēē.

N: ǝǝ, "qhaalō" señēē thi mēē tōō.

K: āā lēē. onā, "qaalō" señēē  
 tī yTpa tāa; tī qhōō; ʌnT,  
 tīl qhāā lʌ šāmō taa tīqēē

Mm, except for that between  
 Tsang and Lhasa, I don't suppose  
 there's any great difference in  
 the clothing of other places,  
 that is, in the way they dress.

Mm, now, there is a difference  
 in the way they wear clothes in  
 other places. For example ...  
 the qōqō women are completely  
 different from us in the Lhasa  
 area.

Mm, are their shoes and so forth  
 all the same, or ... ?

The shoes aren't the same,  
 either. They wear other shoes.  
 I don't know their name.

Mm, they must be the ones called  
 "qhaalō".

Oh, I see. Well, now, it seems  
 they're the ones called "qaalō";  
 they wear these; and then, in

qhāāqā, pē thi, thaāqō  
 qhi kTmēē thā, khōnēē rāā  
 cTqpā marēē.

addition to this, the hats and  
 absolutely all these things are  
 never at all the same as those  
 of the thaāqō women.

N: mm, tsānpā taa, lhēēsāā nT  
 lā, šetāā rāā khēē mēēpā  
 reē.

Mm, I don't suppose there's a  
 very great difference between  
 the Tsang people and the Lhasa  
 people.

K: ōō, thaāqō qhi tsT chēēnā,  
 šitāā qhi khēē chūqT reē.

No, if you consider the thaāqō  
 people, the difference is much  
 smaller.

N: ānT, pātūū chā reē, marēē?  
 tsānpā taa, lhēēsāā.

And then, are or are not the  
 pātūū the same? That is, as  
 for the Tsang people and the  
 Lhasa people.

K: tsānpā taa, lhēēsāā pātūū  
 chā marēē.

No, in the case of the Tsang  
 people and the Lhasa people,  
 the pātūū aren't the same.

N: tsānpā pātūū qhātēē chī  
 qhūqT (y)ōō reē?

What sort of pātūū do the Tsang  
 people wear?

K: tsānpēē pātūū qāqāō cT

As for the Tsang people's pā-

taa, yāā yaa rīqū rā chi  
qhūqTī.

N: ǝǝ, mīŋ lā qharē sīqT (y)ǝǝ  
rēē, pāl̥tūū qhōrā sīqT (y)ǝǝ  
rēē?

K: mīŋ lā yaa, cTq lā nī "pāā-  
qǝǝ" sīqTī. tī qhāqT yī-  
naa, ŋēē šīqT mēē. šēē,  
"tsāŋmōō pāl̥tūū" s, chēē nī  
se yōō. māō mīŋ mēṭāā chi  
yūkt rēē.

N: tsāŋ ŋǝǝ lā, tsāŋmō pāl̥tūū  
qhōpēē qhutūū, ṭā kaatēā  
qhāṭēēs kllqT yǝǝ rēē?

K: ǝǝ, pālō kllqT rēē.

N: "pālō" s chēēnā, lhēmā kll-  
qT yǝǝ rēē, qhāṭēēs rēē?

K: "pālō" sēnā, ṭā tēētsā tēē-

ṭūū, they sometimes wear a  
round one, but also a sort of  
tall one.

Mm, what do they call them, or  
do they call them simply pāl̥tūū?

As for the names, one is called  
"pāāqǝǝ". I don't know which  
one it is. Otherwise, it's  
called the "Tsang woman's pāl̥-  
tūū". I suppose there may be  
a basically different name.

In Tsang, when the Tsang women  
wear the pāl̥tūū, how do they  
fix their hair?

Well, they make pālō ["two  
hundred pālō"].

When you say "pālō", (do you  
mean) they make braids, or how  
is it?

When you say "pālō", (you mean)

tsa tītēē thīm klap; ...

they twirl a tiny, tiny bit of  
the hair, like this; ...

N: ǝǝ, t̄ā māt̄ip̄a cīt̄ē mēēp̄a  
tītēē rēē, yāā qhāšēē qhā-  
šēē thīm, qhāšēē qhāšēē  
lhūmāa šaap̄a tītēē rēē?

Mm, is it so that not even one  
hair isn't twirled, or is it  
so that some are twirled and  
some are left loose?

K: rhTq thi qhā la t̄imqT rēē,  
pūraa.

They twirl them completely,  
all.

N: mm, qhāāqā t̄imqT rēpēē?

Mm, they twirl them all?

K: ǝǝ.

Yes.

N: ānT, t̄ā t̄i, t̄i r̄iqū šipū  
chī so quqT mēē t̄o, ānT,  
pāt̄ū chēpō yīīnā.

And then, as for this hair, they  
must have to make this very long,  
then, if the pāt̄ū is big.

K: ǝǝ, t̄ā r̄iqū sōō; ānT, t̄ā  
thūtūū yīīnā, thūū cūū chiqT  
rēē. thūūmēē pēē chēē, t̄ā  
la ... tshāmre qūp̄ā naaqō  
phēē rap̄a tītēē qēē thūūmēē  
pēē chiq(T γ)ōō rē(ē) s̄ā.

Mm, they make their hair long;  
but then, if their hair is short,  
they put on an extension. They  
put on an extension, that is,  
on the hair ... sometimes they  
put an extension of black thread  
or wool or the like on their  
hair, I was told.

N: ʌnT, pāā ... pʌt̥u̯ qhōrēē  
 sɔptā rʌpʌ thi tha, ɲarāā  
 tsōō tēē šūū sɔ rʌpʌ tʃt̥ēē  
 yɔɔ rēē, qhar(ə) rēē? ta  
 kʌʌt̥u̯ qhi šu yɔɔ retāā?  
 tʃt̥ sɔ rʌ chi.

K: ɔɔ, ɔɔ, šūū sɔ rʌ chi yɔɔ  
 rēē.

N: ʌnT, tʃt̥ tɔɔ ʌ chi r̥u taa  
 yu tha, tʃt̥ēē yɔɔ rēē, ... ?

K: chi r̥u, yu, mut̥t̥i, pōšēē ...  
 yɔɔ rēē.

N: ʌnT, qētāā, tsan̥mōō qētāā  
 taa ʌhēsāā qhi qētāā n̥t̥  
 mātāā yɔɔ rēē, ... ?

K: ɔɔ, mātāā yɔɔ rēē. ʌhēs-  
 sāā yaa tshūū tʌʌqT rēē,

And then, as for the pāā ...  
 as for the shape of that pʌt̥u̯,  
 now, does it have the sort of  
 shape of our bow's arrow, or  
 what is it? There's a bow when  
 you shoot an arrow, is that  
 right? Sort of the shape of  
 this.

Mm, yes, it has sort of the  
 shape of a bow.

And then, does it have coral  
 and turquoise and this sort of  
 thing on it, or ... ?

Yes, there are ... coral, tur-  
 quoise, pearls, and amber.

And then, as for the necklaces,  
 are the two necklaces, the Tsang  
 women's and the Lhasa people's  
 different, or ... ?

Yes, they're different. In  
 Lhasa they wear tshūū [Chinese



kētāā. ʌnT, tshāmre "nɪlT"  
señēē ɾʌpʌ tɪtēē qeē sōō  
yōō. pə chēē thi, tshūū reē.

ts'ui; green jade], that is, for  
the necklaces. But then, some-  
times they also make them of  
this sort of thing called  
"sapphire". For the most part,  
they're (of) green jade.

N: tsanmōō qētāā qhɿtēēs reē?

What are the necklaces of the  
Tsang women like?

K: tsanmōō kētāā chirū taa ..  
pōšēē reē.

The Tsang women's necklaces are  
(of) coral and ... amber.

N: ʌnT, hɿqōō, ōō, chā reē,  
qhɿtēē reē? yāaqā taa qūqʌ  
yāā lōqāā yōō reē, ... ?

And then, are the shoes, mm,  
the same, or how are they? Are  
they different in the summer  
and in the winter, or ... ?

K: yāaqā taa qūqʌ lōqāā yōō  
reē. qūqʌ, "qōtō" señēē chi  
qhūkū yōō reē. yāaqā, "sōpā  
lhāmō" señēē chi qhūkū yōō  
reē. thTnTmʌ, sōpā lhāmō,  
ñTcōō, yāaqā cTqʌ, qhūqT  
reē. tōqā taa qūqēē rɪqāā

Yes, they're different in the  
summer and in the winter. In  
the winter, they have ones called  
"qōtō" to wear. In the summer,  
they have ones called "sōpā  
lhāmō" to wear. They wear both  
thTnTmʌ and sōpā lhāmō in the

thl, mm, qōtō rʌ chi qhōō  
tēēqT rēè.

N: ǒǒ, qōtō t̄l, qharē, t̄hōb̄ rʌ  
chi yōb̄ rēē, qharē rēè?

K: ǒǒ, š̄l̄t̄aa qh̄i t̄hōb̄ yōb̄ rēè;  
t̄hopō, yāqō, tēpō.

N: ʌnT, l̄hēēsaā qh̄i, t̄ʌptsūū  
chi yōb̄ repāā? t̄l̄ nʌq̄š̄T̄  
tsan̄mō, qhōōqo rēē, marēè?

K: mm, tsan̄mōō, qhōōqo marēè.  
tsan̄mōō t̄ā t̄l̄ yaa thēē chēè,  
qhōrāā tsōō p̄ʌt̄ūū qh̄i suu  
topāā cTq lʌ t̄āā š̄ʌʌqT̄l̄.  
t̄ā t̄l̄ š̄ōb̄ yʌcT̄l̄ rʌ, cTq lʌ  
t̄āā; yʌcT̄l̄ cTqū tēē t̄āā  
ch̄l̄qT̄l̄.

summer and spring. During the  
autumn and winter, mm, they  
keep on wearing the qōtō sort.

Mm, as for these qōtō, what is  
it, are they sort of warmer,  
or what is it?

Yes, they're much warmer; warm,  
light, and comfortable.

And then, there's the artificial  
hair(-piece) of the Lhasa people,  
you know? Do the Tsang women,  
similarly, have to wear this, or  
not?

No, the Tsang women don't have  
to wear it. As for the Tsang  
women's hair, they pull it up  
and fasten it there somewhere  
around the corners of the p̄ʌ-  
t̄ūū. They fasten the hair on  
one of the two sides; (and then)  
they fasten it there on the  
other.

N: ʌnT, kɛ̀ɛpʌ ɾʌpʌ cheyāà yɔ̀ò  
rɛɛ, marɛ̀ɛ? yāā, tɪ, chācɛ̀ɛ  
qhi thi mɛ̀pɛɛ.

And then, are there more elaborate things that they wear, or not? Aside from these usual sorts of things.

K: ɔ̀ɔ, kɛ̀cā lɔ̀ɔ?

Mm, do you mean the ornaments?

N: ɔ̀ɔ, kɛ̀cā tha, qhɔ̀ɔyāà qhāāqā.

Yes, the ornaments, and everything that is worn.

K: kɛ̀cā taa qhāāqā, kɛ̀ɛpʌ che-  
yāà yɔ̀ò rɛ̀ɛ.

Yes, as for the ornaments and everything, there are more elaborate things that they wear.

N: ɔ̀ɔ, qharɛ yɔ̀ò rɛ̀ɛ? pʌtɪ̀u, qāā topāà cTq kaayāà ɾʌpʌ  
tɪtɛ̀ɛ yɔ̀ò rɛɛ, ... ?

Well, what are they? Are they things of the sort that are put somewhere around on top of the pʌtɪ̀u, or ... ?

K: pēnā, kɛ̀cā kɛ̀ɛpaa, "kɛ̀ɛsāmʌ"  
sɛ̀nɛɛ chi yɔ̀ò rɛ̀ɛ. tɪ qhɪ̀qT  
rɛ̀ɛ: "qhʌu sɪmɪ̀tɪmʌ" sɛ̀nɛɛ  
ɾʌpʌ tɪtɛ̀ɛ tha, ʌnT, qharɛ  
saà, tɪɪ mɪn tɛ̀ɛ, mm, pʌtɪ̀u  
tha, ʌnT, tɪ qhɪ̀qT rɛ̀ɛ: mutɪ  
thɪuqɔ̀ɔ tha tsɪyɪ̀u thāqpā,

For example, as for more elaborate things, there's a (woman) called "kɛ̀ɛsāmʌ". [To the annual mɔ̀lɔ̀m-festival procession, each of the two yaasɔ̀ families sent one of its women, called a kɛ̀ɛ-sāmʌ, who wore a great deal of

t<sub>1</sub>qr̄ lōm̄t̄āā, ānT, āsā pātT̄  
 ... cTtāā qhūqT rēē. šītāā  
 kēepō yōb rēē.

[jewelry.] She wears these: a thing of the sort called the "sūm̄t̄ūm̄ charm box" [three charm boxes forming one unit], and then, what's it called, its name, mm, and the pāt̄ū, and then, she wears these: the pearl thūūqōō and the rope of the [turquoise and gold] tsT-yū, the t<sub>1</sub>qr̄ lōm̄t̄āā, and then, the āsā pātT̄ [pearls attached to the pāt̄ū and worn on the forehead] ... and so forth, she wears these. It's very elaborate.

N: "t<sub>1</sub>qr̄ lōm̄t̄āā" cT̄ cēē sēñēē  
 t̄tsū qhāāqā māt̄āā šētāā  
 rēē, qhāt̄ēē rēē? kēpāā  
 tāayāā t̄t̄ēē rēē, kē lā  
 tāayāā t̄t̄ēē rēē?

Are all these things called "t<sub>1</sub>qr̄ lōm̄t̄āā" and so forth without exception, different, or how is it? Are they of the sort that's put on/worn at the waist, or are they of the sort that's put on/worn at the throat?

K: qhāāqā mētāā reè. "t\_lqrā  
lōmṭāā" seṇēē thi, kēpāā  
taayāā chi yòò reè. chirū  
taa cTtāā chēēpa chi.

They're all different. The one  
called "t\_lqrā lōmṭāā" is a thing  
which is worn at the waist [like  
a long rosary suspended from  
the belt at the front]. A thing  
which has coral and so forth  
[pearls and turquoise].

N: ānT, tēē lòò lā yāā šāpā  
mutTl rāpā tītēē cētāā kūyāā  
yòò reē, marēē?

And then, are there also other  
things like pearls and so forth  
which are threaded on the hair,  
or not?

K: tēē lòò lā, yāpā mutTl  
cTtāā kūū yòò marēē.

No, there aren't other things,  
pearls and so forth, which they  
thread on their hair.

N: "tākīT" seṇēē rāpā tītēē?

Something of the sort called  
"tākīT"?

K: āā lēē. yòò reè. tā  
tsūūmā tll lòò tēē "tākīT"  
seṇēē chi kūū yòò reè.

Oh, I see (what you mean). Yes,  
there is. There is something  
called a "tākīT" which they  
thread there on the artificial  
hair(-piece).

N: t̄ā qhōrēē lɔ̀ɔ̀ l̄.

On that hair itself.

K: mut̄T̄i taa ... mut̄T̄i taa  
chirū.

Pearls and ... pearls and coral.

N: ʌnT̄, yāāqā, ȯȯcūū cētāā  
t̄ʌpʌ qhōqo chūūnʌ, nʌpū,  
qhōrā qhōqo rēē, yāā šāpā  
nēē thōpēē rēē rʌpʌ t̄t̄ēē  
cT̄i t̄ʌpʌ t̄t̄ēē qhūqT̄ rēē?

And then, in the summer, if one  
has to wear thinner blouses and  
so forth, does one have to wear  
that nʌpū, or does one also  
sometimes wear thinner things  
of a sort like the cotton fabric  
produced elsewhere?

K: yāāqā, chūpʌ t̄ʌpʌ qhūūū,  
ʌnT̄, sT̄iT̄i rʌ t̄t̄ēē cT̄tāā  
kaqāā nēē thōpʌ t̄t̄ēē yɔ̀ɔ̀  
rēē. t̄t̄ēē, ʌnT̄, qarāā  
tsōō phōpā tshōpēē, phāā  
phēē taa cT̄tāā kēē; ʌnT̄,  
tshūū tshōōsɔ̀ɔ̀ t̄up yūqT̄  
rēē. rēēcā nāmēē nātsɔ̀ɔ̀  
t̄t̄ēē. ʌnT̄, t̄ʌmtūū nātsɔ̀ɔ̀  
ñukū yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēē. ʌnT̄ t̄inēē  
t̄ʌpʌ t̄t̄ēē tam cēē ȯȯcūū  
suqT̄ rēē. ʌnT̄, sap̄t̄ōō

In the summer, when you wear  
thinner robes, then, there are  
such things as silk and so forth  
produced in India. Like this,  
then, our Tibetan merchants load  
wool and so forth and take it  
there; and then, they bring back  
merchandise. Like various cotton  
fabrics. And then, you can buy  
a variety of thicknesses. And  
then, from these, after you have  
chosen a thinner one, you make

qhí qhǎǎ lʌ nT, t̥huutsT  
qhũqT rɛ̀.

the blouse. But then, when  
you're dressing up, you wear  
t̥huutsT [Chinese ch'ou-tzu;  
a fine, thin silk].

N: ʌnT, ʃanpā yǎǎ mǎtǎǎ yǒǒ  
t̥hu.

But then, the northerners must  
be different, I suppose.

K: āpō hōō ɛ̀ɛ?

Do you mean the Apo Hor?

N: ǒǒ.

Yes.

K: yǒǒ rɛ̀.

Yes, they are (different).

N: hōōmō tsōǒ, pʌt̥uũ qhũqT  
rɛ̀ɛ, mǎrɛ̀ɛ?

Do the Hor women wear pʌt̥uũ  
or not?

K: hōōmō tsōǒ pʌt̥uũ qhũqT  
mʌt̥uũ. hōōmō tsōǒ, qo lʌ  
yaa, t̥ǎqā qāapō t̥t̥ɛ̀ thʌ  
cTq mʌqū chɪ t̥ǎ qhōraa tǎa  
nɪ yũqTɪ. tɪ tǎatǎpʌ t̥ɛ̀qT  
yōǒpʌ t̥ǎa, phɛ̀cɛ̀.

No, the Hor women don't wear  
pʌt̥uũ. On their heads the Hor  
women come wearing many things  
like white t̥ǎqā [old Tibetan  
silver coins] and so forth on  
the hair itself. It seems they  
wear them all the time, that  
is, probably (they do).

N: ʌnT ɔnā, hōōmōō thuqlōō lɔɔ-  
qāa yǒǒ rɛ̀ɛ, qhʌt̥ɛ̀ rɛ̀ɛ?

Well now, then, are the Hor  
women's clothes different, or

K: hōmōō thuqlōō, yāqūū  
 mēēpa, pāqtsāā, kātsāā  
 rā chi, qhōō tēēñēē rā chi  
 thōō chu, ɣēē, taqā yīpā  
 t̄aā.

N: ānT, khōqā tshōō yāaqā, āā,  
 chūpā mēēpā cēē rāḡrāā  
 rāpā chēē tūūqT rēē, yāā  
 yīcTī mīcTī chūpā qhūqT rēē?

K: chTī su rāḡrāā chēē tēēñēē  
 qhāšēē yōō. šēē, pā chēē  
 qhī chūpā qhūqT rēē.

N: šēē, lēēqā chitūū, chūpā  
 mēēnā, ānT, tūm tēpō rā chi  
 yōō retāā? tee, chūpā qhōō-  
 qōpā tōō quqT yōōpā nōō?

how are they?

As for the Hor women's clothes,  
 regardless of whether it's  
 summer or winter, I've seen  
 them wearing fur robes of the  
 sort which doesn't have a cloth  
 cover, I have, that's the way  
 it seems to be.

And then, in the summer do the  
 men, ah, dress simply, without  
 robes, or do they wear robes  
 regardless [of the weather]?

These days there are some who  
 dress simply [wearing shirts  
 and trousers]. However, for  
 the most part, they do wear  
 robes.

Otherwise, when they work, if  
 they don't have robes, it's  
 kind of more convenient and  
 comfortable, is that right?



lɛɛqā cheñēē tshu, ʃɪqā  
tāpñēē tshu cētāā.

K: qhāʃēē qhɪ chūpā qhōō; qhā-  
ʃēē qhɪ chūpā pɪɪ chɪqɪ rēē.

N: āā, ānɪ, ʃɪqā tāpñēē tɪtsū  
cɪɪ, "uɪāā" taa cɪɪ cɛɛ sēñēē  
tɪtsū thuqlōō, chūpā qhōō-  
qōpā tōōqo retāā?

K: ōō, tha, qhōō qɔɔ sɛrā qhēē  
yɔɔ mārēē. qhāʃēē qhɪ qhōō;  
qhāʃēē qhɪ maqōpā chɛɛ chɪ-  
qɪɪ. nātsɔɔ rā chɪ tuu.

N: ānɪ, qūṭāā tsōō, namsā,  
yāacēē qūcēē cētāā, tēētsā  
lɔɔqāā yɔɔ retāā?

But I wonder if they have to  
wear robes all the time? That  
is the workers, those who cul-  
tivate the fields, and so forth.

Some wear robes; some take off  
their robes.

Ah, but then, as for those who  
cultivate the fields, they al-  
ways have to wear the clothes,  
that is, the robes, of those  
called "uɪāā" (corvée laborers,  
tenant farmers) and so forth,  
is that right?

Well, now, there isn't (any  
rule) saying they have to wear  
them. Some wear them; some  
don't wear them. It varies.

And then, as for the clothes of  
the officials, the summer  
things, the winter things, and  
so forth, are a little diffe-  
rent, is that right?

K: ǒǒ, tēētsa lǒǒqāa yǒǒ rēē.

Yes, they're a little different.

N: ūšā, māṭāa rā chi mātōō,  
namsā qhōrā tā khēē šipū  
ā yōō.

Except for the difference in hats, as for the clothes themselves, I doubt there's very much difference.

K: namsā qhōrā, khēē šitāa  
mēēpā ṭāa.

No, as for the clothes themselves, they don't seem very different.

N: ānT, kūnēē tha, kTmēē yīt-  
nēē, qūṭāa tha māṇ qhī pāl-  
rūū lā thuqlōō māṭāa yǒǒ  
rēē, marēē?

And then, is there or isn't there ever, even in the case of women, a difference in clothing as between officials and the common people?

K: kū yāānēē rā chi mētōō, sōp-  
tā khēē yǒǒ marēē.

There's no difference in design, just in the quality of the material.

N: ǒǒ, cTqpā yīpā rēē, tīqēē  
... ānT ōnā, šāpcT thītsūū  
qhōō yōōyāa šāmō māapō rā chi  
tuqā. qōōqōō pāltsa chi.

Yes, I suppose they're the same, these (things) ... Well now, then, there's a sort of red hat these servants wear, you know. A very large, round one.

K: tī mī lā "sōqšā" sàà.

It's called a "Mongolian hat".

N: mm, "sōqšā" señēē thi yīpā  
reè, tī.

Mm, I suppose it's called a "Mongolian hat", this one.

K: reè.

Yes, it is.

N: tī yāqūū nīqāā lā qhūqT  
yōōpā taa. ɣēē tāqpāā  
qhōō tōōñēē qhi sō rā chi  
thōō chu.

It seems they wear these in both the summer and the winter. I've seen some who seemed to wear them all the time.

K: tī yāqūū nīcōō qhūqT reè.  
qūṭāā tshōō šāpcTī qhūqT  
reè. ānT, tsē lāpṭāā qēē  
sōqšā qhūqT reè.

Yes, they wear these in both the summer and the winter. The officials' servants wear them. But then, the students of the Peak School also wear the Mongolian hats.

N: ōō, šāmō tī, āā, ṭhapā taa  
... ā nīqāālōō qhi qhūqT  
yōō yīpā reè.

Yes, as for these hats, ah, I suppose both monks and ... laymen wear them.

K: qhūqTī.

Yes, they do wear them.

N: ānT, tsṭtūū tsōō, yāā  
"sētēē" s chēē sēepō chi

But then, the monk officials, on the other hand, come wearing

chōō phTtqT tuql. tI qūqā  
 ē taqā chūūqT rēē, yāaqā  
 cTqōō chūūqT rēē?

K: ōō, qūqā chūūqT rēē. marēē,  
 yāaqā.

N: ōō, yāaqā yIpa rēē.

K: yāaqā.

N: chēē tsāā, nēē yāaqā thōōnēē  
 qhI so rA chI chēē chu.  
 qūqā, chūūqT yōnaa mēnaa  
 sām chu. phēēcēē chūūqT  
 mēēpa yIpa rēē ... ānT, šāpā  
 māṭāā qhēē yōō mēēpēē? ...  
 āā Iē(ē), thā qūṭāā tsōō  
 namsā tIqēē thI, nēē thā-  
 qaas tII pālārūū tēē qēcā  
 thI su ... āā, nātsōō,  
 phōpēē thā thūqlōō, nāpū  
 taa tIṭsū sotāā thI qhāṭēēs  
 suq(T y)ōō rēē?

yellow ones called "sētēē",  
 you know. Do they wear these  
 same ones in the winter, too,  
 or do they just wear them in  
 the summer?

Yes, they wear them in the  
 winter. No, in the summer.

Yes, I suppose it's the summer.

The summer.

That's why I seem to have seen  
 them in the summer. I wondered  
 whether or not they wear them  
 in the winter. I suppose they  
 probably don't wear them ...

And then, aren't there any other  
 different things? ... Oh, I see,  
 now, as for these clothes of the  
 officials, I just asked this  
 casually now, in passing ... ah,  
 now, as for our Tibetans' clo-  
 thing, how are nāpū and these  
 things made?

K: phöppe nāpū, sotāā thi tha,  
 nāpōō lēē mētāā šitāā yōō  
 reē. nāpū "šēēmā" señēē  
 thi nT, šitāā qhi, kupcā  
 yaqō pūū thaqō, ānT, sutūū  
 ē qhāqō, mī ē mālqū nīmā  
 mālqū šitāā qōōqT reē. ānT,  
 cTq sōō tshaānā nT, tōō  
 thāqaa. ānT, yaqa, šitāā  
 yōō reē. yaqō yōō reē.  
 ānT, qhōō ē chēpō reē.  
 kaqāā neē thōppe "thēmā"  
 señēē rapā kanāā neē thōppe  
 "qhōcēē" señēē rapā tētso,  
 taa, chēnā, šitāā qhi,  
 qhōō chTqT reē, šēēmā.

N: tha, yaqšōō thi "šēēmā"  
 señēē thi yīpā reē.

K: reē. "šēēmā" señēē thi  
 tāātūū tsā neē, ānT ...

As for the Tibetans' nāpū, as  
 for the way it's made, now,  
 there are many different nāpūs,  
 too. As for the nāpū called  
 "šēēmā", a fabric which is of  
 very good quality, then, they  
 have a difficult time making it  
 and it takes many people very  
 many days. But then, once it's  
 finished, it's more durable and  
 stronger. And then, it has many  
 good qualities. It's good. But  
 then, the price is high, too.  
 If you compare it to the sorts  
 (of fabrics) called "thēmā",  
 which comes from India, or "bro-  
 cade", which comes from China,  
 the price is much higher, that  
 is, for šēēmā.

Now, I suppose the best one is  
 the one called "šēēmā".

Yes, it is. When they weave  
 the one called "šēēmā", then ...

phüü<sup>u</sup>lū<sup>u</sup>, qhi phēē yō<sup>b</sup>  
retāā?

N: mm.

K: phēē tīqēē<sup>u</sup>, ānT, yaqa šTtāā  
ñaa cēē; ānT reerēē šI<sup>u</sup> thu,  
ānT, phēēsēē k<sub>ap</sub>; phēēsēē  
k<sub>ap</sub> cēē, ānT, tīqēē<sup>u</sup> tī,  
tsharē tshorē tīqēē<sup>u</sup> thi  
tōō; ālēē mā<sup>u</sup>tōō qhōō<sup>u</sup> l<sup>u</sup>,  
thūqT retāā? thūū; qām;  
tīqēē<sup>u</sup> phēēsēē k<sub>ap</sub>; ānT,  
phāpō šipū<sup>u</sup> chi qhēēqT rēē.  
ānT, ŋātsōō lunpāā yaa,  
cTq "mīšT<sup>u</sup>T" señēē r<sub>ap</sub>  
tītēē<sup>u</sup> yō<sup>b</sup> maretāā? qhōlōō<sup>u</sup>  
lēeqā cheñēē r<sub>l</sub> tītēē<sup>u</sup>.  
cheē tsāā, thantōō<sup>u</sup> cheē nī,  
qhāāqā laqpēē qhēē nī, pūū<sup>u</sup>  
thaqō šipū<sup>u</sup> chi yōō.

they have the wool of Tibetan  
sheep, is that right?

Yes.

As for these (strands of) wool,  
then, they keep just the better  
ones, and then, one by one, then,  
they comb the (strands of) wool;  
they comb them, and then, these  
things, these messy things (sand,  
dirt, wood, and the wool adhering  
to them] they remove; first, be-  
fore they remove them, they wash  
[the strands of wool], is that  
right? They wash them; they dry  
them; they comb them; and then,  
they spin them very fine. But  
then, our country doesn't have  
anything of the sort called "ma-  
chines", is that right? Of the  
sort that does the work of the  
wheel. Therefore, they spin  
everything by hand, with care,

N: mm, laqpeè qheè; anT, thālātT  
qhātēè chi yòò reè?

K: āā, thālātT thi t̥hupst rā chi  
yòò reè.

N: št̥ŋ qhi reè, qhātēè reè?

K: št̥ŋ qhi reè. yòò tēè mī  
teesā chi cheè ... anT,  
qānpēè lēm tītēè qālātāp  
chesā rā chi cheè; qālātāp  
cheyāā rā chi, phāā, ku,  
qhā chē nī ... anT, tālāqT  
reè.

N: ōō, nāpū mēpā, tītsū, yāāqā  
qhōōyāā tītsū, lunpā, kaqāā  
mēpa nēe thōpa tītēè qhūqT  
reè, marēè?

K: kaqāā mēpa nēe, thōōsā, kanāā  
nēe thūqT reè. tha, kanāā

and it is of very good quality.

Mm, they spin by hand; but then,  
what sort of a loom do they have?

Ah, this loom is a sort of  
quadrangle.

Is it of wood, or how is it?

It's of wood. With a place  
for a person to sit there below  
[at one end] ... and then a  
sort of place where you operate  
a treadle like this, by pressing  
with your foot; operating the  
treadle, you open the warp  
there, and ... then, you weave.

Mm, aside from nāpū, as for  
these things [fabrics], that  
is, these things worn in the  
summer, does one wear sorts  
imported from any places aside  
from India, or not?

As for places they're imported  
from aside from India, they're

nee thö<sup>ö</sup>yāā pa chēē ... qho-  
cēē t̥huutsT rʌpʌ t̥t̥ēē mēt̥<sup>̣</sup>,  
rēēcā, phö<sup>ö</sup> lʌ thōpa māṇa,  
ʌnT, kaqāā thāā ṇepō chēē  
cēē, kaqāā nēē, tshōṇpēē  
nāmēē nātsō<sup>̣</sup> khTT yūqT rēē.

N: ǝǝ, n̄pū, "šēēmā" seṇēē t̥l̥,  
taa, ʌnT yāā pūrūū šāpā  
th̥tsō, tāātāā, māṭāā khēē  
yō<sup>̣</sup> rēē, khēē yō<sup>̣</sup> marēē?

K: ǝǝ, "šēēmā" seṇēē tēē, tāā  
lōqāā yōōpʌ t̥āā ... ʌnT,  
nēē cTtāā mēt̥āā rʌpʌ t̥t̥ēē  
kū quqT mēē t̥ōō. ʌnT, "pū-  
rūū" seṇēē t̥l̥, yaqʌ chūūnʌ,  
š̥itāā yaqō yō<sup>̣</sup> rēē. ʌnT,  
pūrūū qh̥l̥ cōmāā "chT̥ṇtsē"

imported from China. Now, as  
for things imported from China,  
for the most part ... except for  
things like brocade and t̥huutsT,  
as for most cotton fabrics  
which are imported to Tibet,  
well then, since India is near-  
by, merchants bring a variety  
from India.

Well, as for n̄pū, is there a  
difference, or not, in the ways  
they weave this one called  
"šēēmā" and, then, on the other  
hand, pūrūū [a woolen fabric]  
and the others?

Well, for the one called "šēē-  
mā", it seems it (the loom) has  
a different (bamboo) reed ...  
And then, they may have to  
thread it with various different  
sorts of heddles, and so forth.  
And then, as for this one called



señēē chi yɔ̀ɔ̀ reè. nāpū

"chTṇtsē" señēē chi.

"pūrū̀", if you get a better one, it's very good. But then, there's one below pūrū̀ (in quality) called "chTṇtsē".

That is, a nāpū called "chTṇtsē".

N: āā, "chTṇtsē" s cheēnā, qhā-tēē rʌ chi yɔ̀ɔ̀ reè?

Ah, if you say "chTṇtsē", what sort of a thing is it (that you are referring to)?

K: "chTṇtsē" senā, ta, nāpū  
nāā neē tuqʌ rʌ chi chā šʌʌqT  
(y)ɔ̀ɔ̀ reè ... "nāpū chTṇtsē"  
senā, tsūpʌ è tsūpʌ rʌ chi  
cTɪ taa cTq yɔ̀ɔ̀ reè. yāā  
cāpō sōōnēē, qhōrā, yaqō rʌ  
chi yōō. ʌnT, pūqū cTtāā  
ṇātsōō lūnpāā, pūqū keēpāā  
khTṭqT reè, phāā tshuu tu-tūū.

If you say "chTṇtsē", now, among the nāpūs it's considered sort of an inferior one ... If you say "nāpū chTṇtsē", it's coarser and so forth. On the other hand, if they make it smooth, too, that thing, it's sort of good. And then, as for children and so forth, in our country they carry children on their backs, that is, when they go here and there.

N: mm.

Mm.

K: ʌnT kɛɛpāā khTtūū, ʌnT,  
 nʌpū ... pūrūū rʌpʌ tītēē  
 chTŋtsē rʌpʌ tītēē cTāā  
 qɛɛ, ʌnT ... pūqū kɛɛpāā  
 khTtāā suqT rēē, t̥hupšT  
 chɛē; ʌnT, tii kʌplōō  
 tēē yaa, ʌnT, ñimʌ taa  
 tawā rʌ chi kʌʌqT rēē,  
 qhāšēē qɛɛ. qhāšēē qɛɛ  
 nT, ʌnT, cTq, kTqōō rʌpʌ  
 tītēē, t̥hupšT ŋōpō rʌ chi  
 taa tshēēqā rʌ chi, ʌnT,  
 tsāqtō kʌp cɛɛ sōō yōō.  
 pūqū kɛɛpāā khTt cheyāā,  
 tuqs chiqT rēē.

N: āā, chūpʌ cētāā, ʌnT,  
 tshūūšT qhʌtēē chi qhūqT  
 yōō rēē?

And then, when they carry them  
 on their backs, then, with this  
 sort of nʌpū ... pūrūū, this  
 sort of chTŋtsē, and so forth,  
 then ... they make something  
 for carrying children on their  
 backs, that is, they make a  
 quadrangle and, then, there on  
 the back they put something like  
 a sun and a moon, that is, some  
 do. Some, then, may make it  
 by superimposing diagonally,  
 one across the other, then, a  
 sort of blue and a sort of  
 orangish red quadrangle of this  
 sort of brocade [imported from  
 India, Japan, Russia]. In this  
 way they make something for  
 carrying children on their backs.

Ah, as for robes and so forth,  
 then, what sorts of colors do  
 they wear?

K: mm, tha pēnā ḡātsōō lunpāa  
 yaa ... "nāpū šēēma" seḡēē  
 rapa tētsoō, tshūūšT, naaqō  
 mētso, "ḡōpō, cāqū, māamō"  
 seḡēē rapa tītēē, cītāa  
 šītāa yōō marēē. tha, māamō  
 yōō rēē tee, qharē seqo rēē?  
 āā, kītūma tso, chōōyāa tētso  
 māamō suqT retāā? šēē, mikā  
 qhōōyāa, cTq "cāqū" seḡēē  
 rapa tītēē tshūūšT ta mētāa  
 nātsōō, šītāa suqT marēē.  
 chēē tsāā, tshōō, tī naaqō  
 kālqT rēē. sōō tshāapa ta-  
 qāa lamsāā tshōō naaqō kap;  
 ōō, qharē sāa, ālēē nāpū  
 tāa; nāpū tāa tshāa nī, ānT  
 "chāa" seḡēē chi cālākū yōō  
 rēē. chūū nāā la lūū chēē,  
 "chāa chāa chāa chāa" s mī  
 nTt tēē chēē, "chāa" seḡēē  
 thi cālqT rēē. chāa cāa

Mm, now, for example, in our  
 country ... as for the colors  
 of this sort (of material)  
 called "nāpū šēēma", there isn't  
 much of (these sorts "called")  
 blue, green, red, and so forth,  
 there's just black. Now, there  
 is red, but, how should I put  
 it? Ah, as for the monks, they  
 make these things they wear red,  
 is that right? Otherwise, as  
 for the things the laity wear,  
 they don't make a great variety  
 of colors, like (the sort  
 "called") green. So, as for the  
 dye, they make this black. Just  
 as soon as they've finished  
 making it, they dye it black;  
 mm, what did I say? First, they  
 weave the nāpū; then, they have  
 a thing called "chāa" [soaking  
 and rubbing in water] that they

tshāā ni, ānT nāpū tii kḷḷqT  
 reè. nāpū tii kḷp; tīnēē  
 nāpū, ānT qām sona, ānT,  
 nāpū tēē, pūcāā rḷ chī kḷp;  
 ānT, qāapō sāanā, qāapō  
 taqā chēē; ānT naaqō sōōnā,  
 tshōō ḷḷ cūūqu reè. ānT  
 tshōō kḷp tshāā ni, nāpū,  
 phup phup phup phup qhōrā,  
 ānT ihēēsāā ḷupḷ yēyōō  
 nēē yūqT reè. qhōpō kāā  
 ni yīīnēē, qharē chēēnēē,  
 tsōqāā yūqT reè, tītēēs.  
 qhōpō nāā ḷḷ lūū; ānT, qam  
 rḷḷ tītēē nāā ḷḷ lūū cēē,  
 tsōqāā yūqT reè. ānT tētso  
 tuqs ḥōō cēē, ānT tshīpōō  
 qēē tsīmḡqT reè. ānT, tshī-  
 pōō qēē tsīmḡtūū tsā nēē,  
 nḷmkūū, sōsōō sōqō tshēē  
 kḷpḡT reè. yāā sōsōō sōqō  
 tshēē mḷkḷpnḷ, yāā sōsōō

do. They put it in water, and  
 two people stay there [making  
 a sound like] "chāā chāā chāā  
 chāā", and this is called "chāā".  
 After they've finished soaking  
 and rubbing it in water, then  
 they roll the nāpū [on a stick].  
 They roll the nāpū; then, when  
 they've dried the nāpū, then,  
 they rub off the (loose) hair  
 from the nāpū; then, if they  
 leave it white, they just keep  
 it white; but then, if they  
 make it black, they have to put  
 it into a dye. And then, when  
 they've finished dying it, that  
 nāpū comes to Lhasa, then, roll  
 after roll ("rolls, rolls, rolls,  
 rolls"), from places all over  
 ("from places right and left").  
 They fill leather bags, or what-  
 ever it may be, with it,

chūp̄l tēē rλ chi tēē šaanā,  
 ānT tēē tshēē k̄ap; tshēē  
 k̄ap̄yāā t̄l, ānT, "thTqšT̄T" s  
 cTq yōō rēē, šT̄q chi. tshēē  
 kaayāā qhi tshēēšT̄T rλ chi,  
 t̄l̄ k̄ap; aa, t̄hēētsē, t̄l̄  
 tshēē k̄ap; ānT, mm, phāā  
 tshōō qāapō rλ chi, thT̄i  
 qāapō rλrλ t̄l̄tēē k̄ap; thT̄T-  
 kēē thλ cT̄tāā yōō rēē,  
 qhōtsōō. t̄l, qāapō rλrλ  
 t̄l̄tēē qhi thT̄i k̄ap; ānT,  
 ch̄imtsēē phāā; ānT, l̄aqtsēm  
 thλ qhōrtsēm nātsōō ch̄iqT  
 rēē.

and come to sell it, like this.  
 They put it in leather bags; and  
 then, they put it in boxes and  
 the like and come to sell it.  
 And then, they buy it like this,  
 and then, tailors sew it. And  
 then, when the tailors sew, they  
 usually measure your body. On  
 the other hand, if they don't  
 measure your body, if you give  
 them a sort of quite comfortable  
 robe of yours, then they measure  
 that; as for this measuring,  
 then, they have a "yardstick",  
 that is, a (stick of) wood. A  
 sort of measuring stick for  
 taking a measure, they use this;  
 ah, they measure with this yard-  
 stick [t̄hēētsē = tshēēšT̄T]; and  
 then, mm, they make something  
 white here and there, white  
 lines and the like; they have

bags (containing powder) for marking lines, and so forth, they do. As for this, they make these sorts of white lines; and then, they cut it (the robe) out with scissors; and then they sew it, either by hand or by machine.

N: mm, qūpā qhō ē phēē qhī suqT  
rēē, yāā qhāṭēē cTī qhī suqT  
rēē?

Mm, do they make that thread of wool, too, or of what sort of thing do they make it?

K: nāpōō yaa, yīcTī mīcTī qūpā  
phēē qhī suqT rēē.

For nāpū, they are sure to make the thread of wool.

N: phēē qhī māṭōō, yāā rēē qhī  
mātsēpā rā chī cheqāā chīqT  
repēē?

Do they make a point of not sewing it with cotton, too, just with wool?

K: yāā rēē qhī tsīmāqT mītuū.  
kupcā rā thī, thūqT mēēpā  
ṭāā, phāā tshūu tsāā nī.

No, they don't sew it with cotton, too. As for this sort of fabric, it seems they don't agree, that is, with each other, ever.

N: ᐱᐅᐅ, ᐅᐱᐅᐅ, ᐱᐅᐅᐅ ᐱᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ?

K: mm. ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ.  
 ᐅᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ.  
 ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ.

N: ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ.

K: ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ. ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ.

N: ᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ  
 ᐅᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ.

K: ᐅᐅ, ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ

And then, as for the ᐅᐅᐅᐅ which  
 are left white, do both men and  
 women wear these, or do just the  
 men wear them, but never the  
 women?

Mm. The women don't wear them.  
 Now, there aren't any men in the  
 Lhasa area who wear them, either.  
 They dye them.

I suppose they don't wear these  
 things in Lhasa, just in the  
 villages.

No, they don't wear them (in  
 Lhasa). But in some places,  
 there are those who take care  
 to wear white. (In some places,  
 it is fashionable to wear white.)

Mm, in which area? I wonder if  
 it's worn over there in the  
 Tsang area, or how is it?

Mm, they wear it, for the most

topāa qhūqT rēè.

N: qārkāā tītēē qhōō tūūqT  
rēē, tēē yāā cTq, māāā  
rΛpΛ thītēē, tāqT rēè?

K: qārkāā tītēē qhōō tēēqT  
rēè. ānT, kTmēē, tsāā  
qōō topāa qhi kTmēē qeē  
ni, chūpā, pāātēē qhi so  
rΛ thātā tītēē qhūqT.  
ūmsūū, māamō, thā nātsōō  
tāā šāapΛ rΛ tītēē. yāā  
tI lhēēsā qōō lΛ khōnēē  
yōō marēē. cTtē qhūqT  
marēē.

N: ānT, yāāqūū nTqāā phūtūū  
rIqū tītēē qhūqT rēē,  
qhātēē qhūqT yōnaa.

K: ōō, yāāqēē rIqāā ni, qhāā-  
qēē phūmīt qhūqT rēè.  
phōmēē qhōō; ānT tīnēē  
cTqā šāātūū ... phōyōō

part, in the Tsang and tōō areas.

Do they wear this sort of pure  
white, or do they add something  
else there of a different sort?

They wear this sort of pure white.

But then, the women, that is, the  
women of the Tsang area, wear robes  
which are of this multicolored sort,  
like the aprons. Red sweaters  
trimmed with a variety of stripes,  
and the like. But they never have  
these in the Lhasa area. [Later  
comment: this was an exaggeration.]  
They don't wear even one.

And then, do they wear these sorts  
of long sleeves in both the summer  
and the winter or, I wonder, how  
do they dress?

Well, during the summer everyone  
wears sleeveless robes. They wear  
sleeveless robes; but then, when  
spring sets in ... though there are



yīpɿ cTī lɿ, t̚p̚u chi qhūqT  
 reè. qhāšēē qhī phōyōō thɿ  
 phōmēē n̄Tcōō tsɿlɿqT reè.  
 phōyōō, t̚p̚u chi qhōō; ɿnT,  
 t̄l̄l qhāā lɿ yaa, phōmēē  
 tsāā; ɿnT, t̄ōqā, phōyōō  
 qhī, nāāl̄ɿ lɿ, nāāšā qā-  
 paali t̄āpɿ, thūp paɿpā  
 rɿ chi qhūqT reè. ɿnT,  
 qūqɿ rāā šɿlɿt̄ū, ɿnT, pāq-  
 tsāā qhūqT reè. "pāqtsāā"  
 señēē t̄l̄, mamō l̄ēēqā cheñēē  
 lɿ yaa š̄l̄t̄ā tepō yōō marēē.  
 thā qhomnɿ n̄l̄, tepō yūkt̄ reè  
 mēt̄ō, šēē, qhōō khēēcōō  
 tēwā rɿ thi ... t̚hopōō, t̄l̄  
 reè: t̚hopō yōōyāā reè.

robes with sleeves that they  
 wear, they are thin ones. That  
 is, some wear both robes with  
 sleeves and sleeveless robes,  
 one put on over the other. They  
 wear thin robes with sleeves;  
 and then, on top of these, they  
 put on sleeveless robes; but  
 then, in the fall they wear,  
 inside the robe with sleeves,  
 a woolen (blanket-like) lining,  
 something sort of thick and  
 soft. And then, when winter  
 itself sets in, then, they wear  
 fur robes. As for these (things  
 "called") fur robes, they are  
 basically not very comfortable  
 for workers. Now, *if* you're  
 used to them, they may be com-  
 fortable, but otherwise, their  
 main advantage ... is of being  
 warm: they're to make you warm.

N: pāqtsāā ihāqpā k<sup>h</sup>ātūū t<sup>h</sup>ā  
t<sup>h</sup>opō šlpū chi mēè t<sup>h</sup>oo.

The fur robes must be very warm  
when the wind blows.

K: "pāqtsāā" señēē thi šlīāā  
t<sup>h</sup>opō y<sup>h</sup>ò reè. "pāqtsāā"  
señēē thi lūqūū tshārūū  
sōōp<sup>h</sup> reè.

Yes, these (things "called") fur  
robes are very warm. They make  
these (things "called") fur  
robes of lamb's fur.

N: ōō, lūqūū tshārūū.

Mm, of lamb's fur.

K: ōō, ānT yāā Tpāā th<sup>h</sup> ɔɔpāā  
qhi sōōp<sup>h</sup> è y<sup>h</sup>ò reè.

Yes, and then, they're made of  
lynx fur and fox fur, too.

N: ōō, lūqpāā qhi sōōp<sup>h</sup> tītsū  
taa, Tpāā ɔɔpāā qhi sōōp<sup>h</sup>  
tshu qhōō, chTcūū khēē r<sup>h</sup>  
chi y<sup>h</sup>ò reē, cTqp<sup>h</sup> reè?

Mm, as for those made of sheep  
fur and those made of lynx fur  
or fox fur, is the price differ-  
ent or is it the same?

K: mm, qhōō chTcūū khēē y<sup>h</sup>ò  
reè. Tpāā taa ɔɔpāā sōōp<sup>h</sup>  
šlīāā qhi qhōō chTqT reè.

Mm, the price is different.

Those made of lynx fur and fox  
fur are much more expensive.

N: ānT, pāqpā yāā šāpā tītēē  
"tāpāā" señēē r<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup> tītēē  
qhi, yaqa tītsūū, pāqtsāā  
suqT reē, marēē?

And then, do they or don't they  
also make fur robes of this  
other sort of fur, this better  
sort called "sealskin"?

K: mm, suqT reè. "tāpāā" señēē

Yes, they do make them. That

qhi yaqa tiì é pāqtsāā suqT  
 "reè. ānT yāā, "tsTtsTT pāq-  
 pē ... reè" s chēè nī, phōō  
 qhi tsTtsT nT, marēè. kaqāā  
 qhi topāā cTī nēè, thūqT mēè  
 tōō. yāā, tshūūšT thūtōō  
 rāpā chūcūū tītēè pē thi qhā  
 lā, yaa, cTq qhi cTī lā tēè  
 nī tsēm šāāpā tītēè yōō.  
 tītēè qhi pāqtsāā é suqT reè.  
 pāqpā yāāñēè nātsōō qhi suqT  
 reè. tha mañ chēè rā ti, lu-  
 qūū tshārūū suqT reè. qāapō  
 chēè; ānT, luqtūū qhi tshārū  
 ti, pāqtsāā sōō cēè; ānT, yāā  
 thūsāā, tiī qhāā lā kapšā klp  
 nī é, yāā thūpēē sōōyāā rā  
 tītēè yōō reè. qharē yīī se-  
 nā, kapšā nTnpā thi phāā qōō  
 cēè, ānT, luqtūū qhi tshārū  
 ti, chemēē kTT lā chipṭūū  
 kapqu reè. chūū nāā lā yaa

is, they also make fur robes of  
 this better one called "seal-  
 skin". But, on the other hand,  
 if they say "It's ... rat fur",  
 they're not Tibetan rats. They  
 must come from somewhere in  
 India. But there is this kind  
 where these little smoke-colored  
 [that is, chocolate brown] sorts  
 [of rat fur] have been joined  
 together and sewn, one to the  
 other, all over. They also make  
 fur robes of this sort. They  
 make them of furs of varying  
 qualities. Now, for the most  
 part, they make them of lamb's  
 fur. It's white; and then,  
 as for this lamb's fur,  
 they make fur robes; and then,  
 also, by again putting outer  
 covers on them the next year,  
 in this way they're made usable

pāqpā tūyāā yāb̄ maretāā?  
 cheè tsāā, ānT, "chiptūū" s  
 cheè cee, chemēē tūū cee,  
 kā sāṇT s̄ā l̄ā pē thi sāapēē  
 so r̄ā chī, cheè nī, yaqō  
 chāā yōō. ānT, "chiptūū"  
 seṇēē t̄l̄ k̄ap cēē, ānT yāā  
 tēē yaa k̄ap̄sā sāapā t̄āā  
 t̄l̄t̄ēē cheṇēē ē yōōp̄ā t̄āā.  
 k̄ap̄sā sāapā k̄ap cee qhōō;  
 ānT, qhāṣēē qhī nT, ānT,  
 lotāā re šī sāapā taa,  
 ānT, tha qharē seqo rēē?  
 mī sōsōō ... tēē pāqpeē,  
 ku qōōpō th̄ā qhāāqāā pāq-  
 peē, ānT, nāmēē nātsōō r̄ā  
 chī chīqT rēē. ānT thoōtō  
 r̄āp̄ā t̄l̄t̄ēē l̄ā nT, qhocēē  
 cTtāā šl̄tāā qhōō chēpō  
 t̄l̄t̄ēē qhōōnēē yāb̄ rēē.  
 thēmā, th̄ā, nāmēē nātsōō  
 yāb̄ rēē. ānT, khērāā,  
 āā, qōpā nēē phēēpeē?

again. The reason is (if you ask why), they take off the old outer covers, and then, as for this lamb's fur, they have to give it a sand-washing in sand. You can't wash fur in water, is that right? So, then, they do a "sand-washing", and after they wash it in sand, it becomes completely pure white and as good as new. And then, after doing this thing called a "sand-washing", then, again, it seems there are also those who put new outer covers on them [that is, on the robes]. After they put new outer covers on them, they wear them; and then, some, then, (do this) every year; that is, new ones (new outer covers), but, now, how should I put it? According to what each individual ... has, that is, according to

one's things and everything, then one does it sort of differently.

[That is, the individual's wealth determines the quality of both the fur and the outer cover.] And then, for parties and the like, there are those of the sort who wear very expensive things, brocades, and so forth. And they have, now, various thēmās. But then, you, mm, did you come from the monastery?

Mm, yes, I did. I came here from the monastery.

And then, as for the monks in the monasteries, I don't suppose there's a difference in the summer and winter clothing.

Yes, as for the monks, there is a difference in the summer and

N: āā, yīī. ɲa qōpā nē tshuū  
yōōpā yīī.

K: ānī, qōrēē nāā | ʌ yaa ʈhapāā,  
yālqūū qhī thūqlōō khēē ā  
yōō.

N: ʈhapā yālqūū thūqlōō khēē  
yōō rēē.

K: khēē qharē yāb rēē?

N: tha, saptā cētāā lā nī  
mātāā, "khēē qhēē" s yāb  
marēē. šēē, yāāqā yīīnā  
nī, sēēšām yīīnēē, tēētsā  
tāpā chī qhōō; qūqā yīī-  
nā nī, tēētsā thūpā rā chī  
qhōō: tītēē chīqī rēē.  
šāmtōō yīīnēē, yāāqā ...  
thēmā tāptōō rāpā yāqō  
tītēē qhūkū yāb rēē. thī-  
tēē yāb rēē. sēē, ōō,  
"thītūū" sēēē rāpā tāptōō  
tītēē qhūkū yāb rēē. ānī  
yāā, qūqā yīīnā nī, ānī,  
šāmtōō tī ē, tēētsā, "thī-  
pāp" s chēē cēē, ānī yāā  
thēmā thūpā chī yāb rēē.  
tītēē qhūkū yāb rēē. sēē  
yāā pōcēē rāpā, pūrū rāpā  
tītēē qhī sēē qhūqī rēē.

winter clothing.

What is the difference?

Now, as for different designs  
and so forth, there isn't what  
you'd call any real difference.  
However, if it's summer, they  
wear slightly thinner outer and  
lower robes; if it's winter,  
they wear slightly thicker ones:  
they do like this. Even in the  
case of the lower robes, in the  
summer ... they have this sort  
of good, thin thēmā to wear.  
It's like this. As for the  
outer robes, well, they have  
this thin [woolen] sort called  
"thītūū" to wear. On the other  
hand, if it's winter, then, as  
for the lower robes, too, they  
again have a slightly thicker  
thēmā, called "thīpāp". They  
have this sort to wear. As

for the outer robes, however, they wear outer robes of the pōcēē or pūrū sorts [that is, robes made of heavy woolen fabrics].

And then, even in the winter, even when it's very cold, can't they wear sleeves?

No, they can never wear sleeves.

I wonder why this is.

As for "sleeves", now, with monks' clothes one is never, absolutely never, allowed to wear these things called "sleeves", if one acts correctly, in accordance with the Vinaya itself. Buddha stopped it, (saying) "One is not allowed to wear this thing called a 'garment with sleeves'".

But then, on the other hand,

K: ānT, qūqā ē nām tḥaṇṇū śiṭāā  
yōñēē, phūtūū chōōyāā yā  
marēē?

N: ōō, phūtūū qhōōyāā kūñēē  
yā marēē.

K: ti qharē yīnaa.

N: "phūtūū" s tha, tḥacēē  
ñāpōō, "phūtūū" señēē thi  
kūñēē pēē, ṇūñēē chiqT yīT-  
nā, tūā rāā la chēnā;  
kūñēē qhōō chōōqT marēē.  
cōmṭēē tēē qhi "'qhōō  
phūtūū cēē' señēē thi,  
qhōō chōōqT marēē" s qāā  
nāāpā rēē.

K: ānT onā, qhāṣēē yāā tḥacēē

chōō nī, namsā phūtūū yōōpā  
tītēē chōōñēē tuqā!

there are some of the sort who  
wear monks' clothes and then  
wear clothes with sleeves!

N: ōō, qhāśēē yāā ṭhacēē ɔ̀ ɪ, phūtūū yōōpā tītēē ē qhūqT  
tuqāā? tī ē, "phūtūū" señēē  
tī, tūā, rāā laa, ṇōō su  
sūū ɔ̀ reē.

Yes, there are also some who  
wear these sorts of things with  
sleeves under their monks'  
clothes, is that right? These,  
too, that is, these things  
called "sleeves" were clearly  
stated [that is, prohibited] in  
the Vinaya itself.

K: ānT onā, tī kamqēē yīpā reē.

Well now, then, I suppose it is  
in contradiction [to the Vinaya].

N: "phūtūū" señēē thī, qhōpā  
tsām qhī qhō tēētsā, tūā taa  
nT mhātūū tshaāpā retāā?

Yes, he who just wears these  
things called "sleeves" a little  
(while; "even a minute") is  
already in disagreement with  
the Vinaya, is that right?

K: ōō reē. ānT, śapcāā ɪ khēē  
ɔ̀ repēē?

Yes, that's right. And then,  
is there a difference in shoes?

N: hāqōō, tha, sō sōsōō lūqsūū

As for shoes, now, each



tī, qōpā sō sōsōō cTī yōbē  
 retāā? lūqsūū rā chi tītēē  
 qhī qhōtāā māṭāā śeṭāā yōbē  
 reē. ōō, ṭhasā sūm qhī nāā  
 lā yīīnā nT, pa chēē qhī śā-  
 sūmā qhūqT reē. "śāśūmā" s  
 chēēnā, qōō qhī, sōōpā chi  
 yōbē reē.

K: ōō, yōō.

N: qhāāqā|ōō qōō chēēpā chi.

K: ōō tuū.

N: ōō tī, pa chēē qhī śīlīqT  
 reē. ānT, tī mēpēē, śāpāā  
 yāā "qhaalō" s chēē, phēpō  
 ṇōō nēē thōpēē yāā qhaalō  
 cTq yōbē reē. tī chōōnēē  
 śeṭāā yōbē reē. ānT, thaāqō  
 qōqō ṇōō nēē thōpēē yāā

monastery has its own, according  
 to its own custom, is that  
 right? There are many different  
 ways of wearing them according  
 to these sorts of customs.

Well, if it's in the three  
 monasteries [sērā, ṭēēpūū, qā-  
 tēē], they wear śāśūmā, for the  
 most part. If you say "śāśūmā",  
 you mean ("they are") those  
 made of leather.

Yes, they have those.

Made of all leather.

Yes, they are.

Well, they get these, for the  
 most part. But then, aside  
 from these, there are also shoes  
 called "qhaalō", that is, also  
 some qhaalō that come from  
 phēpō. There are many who wear  
 these. And then, there are

qhaa|ō cTī yab̄ rē. t|  
 chōōñēē šetāa yab̄ rē. ānT  
 yāā, qhām̄ ŋōō nēē thōpēē  
 ... "t|T|ām̄" señēē rΛpΛ,  
 t|tēē yāā qhamlām̄ t|tēē  
 yūqTī. t|tēē chōōñēē šetāa  
 yab̄ rē, tēēsēē nāā |Λ y|TnΛ.  
 tha, š|iqūū qhāā |Λ, qōpā  
 chūŋΛ tsōō cheēnā nT, qhā-  
 šēē yāā sōpā cTqōō qhōō  
 tōōñēē yab̄ rē. ānT, ŋātsōō  
 thaqō t̄hatsāā taa, cētāā |Λ  
 nT, šāsūmΛ cTqōō mātōō, šāpā  
 kūnēē qhōō chōōqT marēē.

K: āā |ēē.

N: ānT, "reēsōm̄" ... señēē t|  
 nT, qhēpō taa ... tēpā, ānT,  
 chāātsōō, t| sūm qhi mātōō,  
 reēsōm̄ kūnēē qhōō chōōqT

also some qhaa|ō that come from  
 the thaqō and qōqō areas.

There are many who wear these.

And then, again, there come from  
 the Kham area ... the sort  
 called "t|T|ām̄" [from t|Tu] and  
 the qhamlām̄ sort. There are  
 many who wear these sorts, that  
 is, in the monastic seats. Now,  
 in the various local monasteries,  
 that is, if you consider the  
 smaller monasteries, there are  
 also some who wear only sōpā.  
 But then, in our thaqō Monastic  
 College and so forth, one is  
 never allowed to wear anything  
 except šāsūmΛ.

Oh, I see.

But then, as for these (shoes)  
 called "cotton shoes" (shoes  
 made of cotton cloth) ... except  
 for the abbot and ... the supply

marēè, nātsōō qōpēē nāā 1A.  
 1nT, tēēsa tsōō yīīnēē,  
 "rēsōm" señēē tī, lēēnē  
 thūūsTī yākāptsA rA chi  
 mātsōō, thapā māñ tī qhōō  
 chōōqT marēè, rēsōm.  
 šīīqūū qhāā 1A qhācūū  
 mācūū qhūqT reè, yāā.

chief and, then, the treasurer,  
 (except for) these three, one  
 is never allowed to wear cotton  
 shoes, that is, in our monastery.  
 And then, in the monastic seats,  
 too, as for these things called  
 "cotton shoes", only perhaps the  
 retired caretakers and up are  
 allowed to wear them, not the  
 majority of the monks, that is,  
 the cotton shoes. In the vari-  
 ous local monasteries, they can  
 wear anything at all, however.

K: āā lēē. māšT qhōrēē, tha,  
 thacēē rāā tēē, qōpā,  
 phētsūū qhāā rhTq thi  
 tha, phōō qhi nāā 1A khēē  
 yōō marepēē?

Oh, I see. Basically, now,  
 aren't there differences in  
 the monks' clothes themselves  
 in all the various monasteries  
 here and there in Tibet?

N: phōō qhi nāā 1A, cōtā  
 qhāāqā ... tha, qōpā, tī  
 yōō retāā? tēētsA māṭāā  
 tīṭēē qhōōnēē yūqTī.

In Tibet, well now, all ... now,  
 as for the monasteries, it's  
 this way [as follows], is that  
 right? There are those of the

K: āā lēē.

N: qhāšēē. tha, kilūqā tshu  
tā, qhāāqā cTqpā šētāā reē.  
thaqā nḥqšT sākāā yīTnēē  
reē. tha, ḥTḡmāā qhi kTṭ  
lḥ, tēētsḥ qhāšēē qhi šām-  
tōō qaapō qhūqT tuqāā?  
tshūūšT thi.

K: āā lēē. ōō, qaapō qhōōyāā  
thi qharē yīT chēēpḥ yīnaa.

N: qaapō qhōōyāā thḥ, tha, qhō-  
rāā tsōō cTq lḡqsūū cTī yīpḥ  
tāā.

K: āā lēē.

N: šēē, qhāāqālōō šāmtoō cētāā  
ē ... māpō tha, sēē tha  
qhāāqā māpō qhōōyāā mātōō,

sort who wear things which are  
a little different.

Oh, I see.

(That is) some (do). Now, as  
for the Gelugpa (monks), they're  
all the same, without exception.  
The same holds true for the Sa-  
kyapa (monks), too. Now, among  
the Nyingmapa (monks), some few  
wear white lower robes, don't  
they? That is, the color.

Oh, I see. Now, as for these  
white things they wear, I wonder  
if they say why.

As for the white things they  
wear, now, it seems to be the  
custom of some of them.

Oh, I see.

Otherwise, as for the red lower  
robes and the other things, too,  
they all ... otherwise, they

šēē šāpēē tshūūšT, qhōō  
 chōōqT marēē. ta, qhōō  
 chōqa rapa chiqT yīīnā,  
 ḡōpō, qhōō chōōqT yābē reē,  
 siqTī. ḡōpō, qhōō chōōqT  
 yābē re(ē) siqT(ī) tē(e),  
 thēsāā nT, ḡōpō qhōōhēē  
 cTīē yābē marēē.

K: ānT, kupcā qhāāqā nāpū šTāā  
 qhī mātcā, rēcā rapa tītēē  
 qhī sōōpa cTīē ā yōō.

N: cōtā, thacēē, pa chēē nāpū  
 šētāā reē. tha thacēē yaqa,  
 ānT, šāmtōō cētāā "tsētēē"  
 señēē, rapa, "pātēē" señēē  
 rapa, tītēē qhī thēmā yaqa  
 yābē reē. tītūū sōōnā nT,  
 šētāā nēēqT reē. šāmtōō  
 reē rēē, cTq totsēē šlpkātsa

aren't allowed to wear other  
 colors, just these red things  
 they wear, the outer robes and  
 everything. Now, if you con-  
 sider what one is allowed to  
 wear, I've heard it said one's  
 allowed to wear blue. I've  
 heard it said one is allowed to  
 wear blue, but these days there's  
 not even one (monk) who wears  
 blue.

And then, I don't suppose  
 there's even one thing made  
 of cotton and the like, all  
 the material is just nāpū.

Well, now, monks' clothes are,  
 for the most part, just nāpū.  
 Now, as for the better-quality  
 monks' clothes, then, the lower  
 robes and so forth, they have  
 better-grade thēmās, such as  
 the ones called "tsētēē" and  
 "pātēē". If they're made of

tīṭṭēē tēēqo reē. ānṭ, ōō,  
 tīi ɔ̀ nēē, maa, cāa tīi  
 ɔ̀māa qhi, thēmā rʌpʌ tītsūū  
 sōōnā nṭ, totsēē ṇīkʌtsʌ  
 nēēqṭ reē. tīi ɔ̀ nēē, katsa  
 nēēpa; tuqšūū qhi sōōnēē,  
 totsēē cūptāā mānēēpēē tha  
 šʌmtōō tsāā ni so šṭqṭ  
 marēē. ṭhapēē thuqlōō šetāa  
 nēē chēpō reē; chēpō soqo  
 repāa!

K: ōō reē.

N: ānṭ, tī ē nāpū kākāā yīṭ tsāā,  
 šetāa nēē chēpō reē. ānṭ,  
 sēē yīṭnēē, taqā rāā reē.  
 tha sēē, ṭʌpʌ rʌpʌ, qhāšēē  
 qhāšēē kaqāā nēē thōpēē thēmā

these, they cost a lot. For  
 each lower robe one has to pay  
 on the order of around four  
 hundred totsēē. And then, mm,  
 below this, if they make it of  
 thēmā of a little lower grade,  
 it costs about two hundred to-  
 tsēē. As for (the grade) below  
 this, it would cost about a  
 hundred; even if they make it  
 of the worst (grade), now, they  
 can't ever make lower robes that  
 don't cost from ten to twenty  
 [10-19] totsēē. Monks' clothes  
 cost a great deal; they have to  
 be made large, you know!

Yes, that's so.

And then, too, they cost a great  
 deal since they're made only of  
 nāpū. And then, it's exactly  
 the same in the case of the  
 outer robes. Now, as for

tītēē qhūqT reè, mātō, šēē  
 pa chēēnT, phōō qhi thēmā  
 rāā qhūqT reè.

K: āā lēē. ānT, ūšā yōō rēpēē?  
 ṭhapāā.

N: ōō, šāmō yōō reè. kīlūqā  
 yīīnā nT, šāmō sēēpō rāpā  
 tītēē qhūqT reè. ānT, nTŋ-  
 māā taa tītō ē ... šāmō  
 māpō rāpā tītēē qhūqT,  
 qhāšēē qhi šāmō māpō tītēē  
 chēē; qāmāpēē nī, qāpō ...  
 māēē, ōō, qāmāpēē ūšā thī  
 cTī, qhāā cTī qhi, "qāmāpa  
 šā nāqō" s chēē cēē, ūšā  
 nāqō chī chūūqT reè. qhāā  
 cTī qhi, "qāmāpa šā māpō" s  
 chēē, ūšā māpō chī chūūqT  
 reè. tītēē qhāā nT yōō,  
 ūšā, nāqō chōōnēē cTī taa

thinner outer robes, some wear  
 those of a sort of thēmā pro-  
 duced in India, but otherwise,  
 for the most part, they wear  
 just the Tibetan thēmā.

Oh, I see. And then, do they  
 have hats? That is, the monks.

Yes, they have hats. In the  
 case of the Gelugpa (monks),  
 they wear this sort of yellow  
 hat. And then, the Nyingmapa  
 (monks) and these ([Karmapa]  
 monks), too ... they wear this  
 sort of red hat, that is, some  
 wear this sort of red hat; as  
 for the Karmapa (monks), white  
 ... no, that's not it, rather  
 ("yes"), as for the Karmapa  
 monks' hats, some, that is, one  
 group, wears a black hat, called  
 "the Karmapa black hat". Another  
 ("one") group wears a red hat,

maapō chōōñēē cTī.

K: ānT, ūśā thi, chōō phētsūū  
 lA phTTtūū chūūqT rēē, nām-  
 kūū qōpēē nāā lA šuutūū nēē  
 chōōcōpa rA chi rēē?

N: ōō, chōōcōpa šuū "qoyāā" s  
 tA yōō marēē. tēēseē nāā  
 lA yīīnā nT, tshēēñTī tsōō  
 cētāā nāāpēē qhutūū ūśā thi  
 chūūqT rēē. ānT yāā cTī,  
 tAśTī rA rA tīēē cētāā nāqo  
 retāā? šuqōō. tīēē qhī  
 qhutūū, ūśā thi chūūqT  
 rēē ... ānT, "tācēē" señēē  
 tī khētsāā šetāā yōō rēē,  
 tī. nāmō nāmō yīīnā nT,  
 tōqāā yōō marēē. "tōqāā"

called "the Karmapa red hat".

There are thus two groups, one  
 which wears black hats and one  
 which wears red hats.

And then, as for these hats,  
 do they wear them when they go  
 different places here and there,  
 or do they usually go on wearing  
 them when they stay in the  
 monastery?

Well, there's really no "need"  
 to go on wearing them when one  
 stays (there). In the (monastic)  
 seats, they wear these hats when  
 they hold debates on tshēēñTī,  
 and so forth [for example, when  
 they pray or blow trumpets].  
 And then, also, they do it for  
 the tAśTī [good-luck prayer],  
 this sort of thing, and so forth,  
 is that right? That is, at the  
 end. [The tAśTī prayer is



señeē ti kũnēē yab̄ marēē,  
 ḡamō. tii šuū la, an̄T,  
 "tōqāā" señeē ti ... sab̄  
 nāāp̄a reē. tōqāā ti, ce  
 rīpū chēē phēē nī, sōō  
 nāāp̄a reē. ce rīpū chēē  
 phēē nī ... phēpōō nāā la  
 phāa chTkūū nāātkūū, an̄T  
 phēpōō phāqēē mōō, qāmū  
 cTī qee qūqāā thi sōōp̄a  
 reē, saā. qūqāā thi saptā  
 māāā chi yab̄ reē. cTī  
 phūtūū, mēē tēēpēē ... tha  
 qhācēē ti lāācēē qhī tīqēē  
 chātsāā yōō siqT (y)ab̄ reē.  
 chāquū ab̄ tīnēē phāpō tītsōō,  
 lāācēē qhī chēē yīnāā cTī  
 tha tīnēē yāā "qhōōsōō" s  
 chēē cee cTī tāqT tūqāā ?  
 pūnpēē qāā tīnēē māa lhēplēē  
 chī. tī phāa tūqs tāp šēē,  
 yāā lāācēē qhī mTī qhī saptā

recited daily, after the other  
 prayers.] They wear these hats  
 at such times, too ... And  
 then, these things called  
 "monks' [or nuns'] clothes" are  
 very unusual, these (things).  
 A long, long time ago, there  
 were no monks' vests. They  
 never had this thing called a  
 "monk's vest", that is, a long  
 time ago. Afterwards, then,  
 they made ... this thing called  
 a "monk's vest". As for this  
 monk's vest, it was made when  
 Lord Tsongkhapa came. When  
 Lord Tsongkhapa came, and ...  
 went there into phēpō, then,  
 I was told, an old phēpō woman  
 over there, a really old woman,  
 made this monk's vest. As for  
 this monk's vest, it had a  
 different design. Something

ra chi chāā tītēē chiqT (y)ɔ̀̀  
 reè. lāācēē qhi tī, cTq  
 tshāā yɔ̀̀ reè, siqT (y)ɔ̀̀  
 reè.

without sleeves ... now, anyway, they said this had a set of these elephant things [representing parts of the elephant's body]. There under the armpits these narrow things [pieces of cloth; one on each side] which were something like the elephant's tusks, and then, also, they put on something there called "armhole flaps", is that right? Something flat and flexible hanging down from on top of the shoulders. However, if you fold it there like this, it comes to have the shape of the elephant's eyes. They say it had a complete set of these elephant things.

K: āā lēē. nōōpūū rīqcēē ra  
 chi.

Oh, I see. All kinds of precious things.

N: ǒǒ. nōōpūū rīqcēē ra chi.

Yes. All kinds of precious

ʼanT, thēsāā ē phēpō ... āmā  
 tī nāā tēē, "lēpō lēpō" s  
 sḷq(T y)ḡḡ reē. tī qhāā yīT  
 senā, ce rīpū chēē, ʼanT, qū-  
 qāā thī chōō cee, "tī lēpō  
 šetāā tuū" s sūḡpḷ reē. chēē  
 tsāā, mītsāā tēēlēē thēsāā  
 "lēpō lēpō" s thēsāā ē tēē  
 (y)ḡḡ reē, mītsāā thī.

things. And then, even these  
 days, in phēpō ... everyone  
 calls this old woman's ("mo-  
 ther's") family "suitable".  
 (If you ask why) the reason  
 is, Lord Tsongkhapa, then,  
 having put on this monk's  
 vest, said "This is very sui-  
 table". So, this household/  
 family, too, these days, re-  
 mains, even these days, "sui-  
 table", that is, this family.

K: ʼanT, thacTī, qaa yaa tshūu  
 qāḷT nāāyāā, ʼanT, "qarāā  
 tsōō lhēsēē nāā lḷ qūḷāā  
 tsōō namsā, yḷḷqūū cēpō  
 kōōyāā tētso, qhāḷtēēs yḡḡ  
 reē?" s sūqTī tee, qaa yaa  
 nī thā ḡnēē, qharē seqo  
 reē? tī cTqcTī ḡTḡTī qhī  
 mīḡ rḷpḷ tētso "sēepō šu-  
 yāā" s mītuū. chēēnēē, mm

And then, a little while ago,  
 you asked me a question, then,  
 when you said, "As for these  
 officials' clothes in our Lhasa  
 that they change in the summer  
 and winter, how is it?", but  
 to me, now, really, how should  
 I put it? I can't really  
 "clearly tell" their names,  
 one by one. However, mm ...

... tha, t̥i̥i̥ n̄āā l̄ā t̥h̄ēē  
s̄ōō n̄l̄q̄T̄ ȳū̄k̄T̄ r̄ēē.

N: ōō, thā n̄ēē q̄l̄r̄ōō t̥h̄ēē s̄ū̄-  
q̄T̄ī. s̄ā̄l̄ō t̄l̄l̄t̄ū̄, h̄ā m̄a-  
q̄ōp̄ā t̄īq̄ēē, thā n̄ēē m̄ā̄ n̄ā  
t̄ēē l̄h̄ēē s̄ā̄ t̄ēē p̄ēē q̄h̄ut̄ū̄  
q̄h̄ī t̄īq̄ēē, q̄l̄r̄ōō t̥h̄ēē s̄ū̄-  
q̄T̄ī.

K: q̄h̄āq̄l̄ts̄ā?

N: mm, thā ... ts̄T̄t̄ū̄ t̄shū ȳī̄-  
n̄l̄ n̄T̄, q̄h̄ū̄q̄l̄ ȳī̄n̄l̄, ū̄š̄l̄ t̄ī,  
t̄ī ch̄ū̄q̄T̄ r̄ēē ... t̄ā̄š̄ā ch̄ū̄-  
q̄T̄ r̄ēē. thā ȳā̄ ts̄ēē c̄ēē  
q̄h̄ā̄ l̄ā ȳī̄n̄l̄, ū̄š̄l̄ t̄ī, "q̄h̄ā-  
p̄ū̄" s̄ē̄ēē ch̄ī ch̄ū̄q̄T̄ r̄ēē,  
ts̄T̄t̄ū̄ t̄shū. "q̄h̄āp̄ū̄" s̄ē̄ēē  
t̄ī, ā̄ā, q̄h̄ū̄c̄ēē r̄ēē, ts̄ēē c̄ēē  
q̄h̄ī. ā̄n̄T̄, q̄ū̄s̄ēē q̄h̄ī t̄sh̄ōō  
t̄ēē ... t̄ī ȳōō r̄ēē: "ch̄āp-

now, you may remember about  
this interval of time.

Yes, now, I remember quite a  
bit. When I think, as for  
those things which I didn't  
know then [when I asked you  
before], now, I remember quite  
a bit about those things of  
the time when I stayed there  
in Lhasa.

About how much?

Mm, now ... in the case of the  
monk officials, if it's winter,  
as for the hats, they wear  
these ... that is, they wear  
t̄ā̄š̄ā. Now, on the other hand,  
in the case of the various big  
celebrations, as for the hats,  
they wear those called q̄h̄āp̄ū̄,  
that is, the monk officials do.  
As for this thing called a

sēē" señēē chi yòò reè.  
 sēē, chīṣā nāāṣā chēē cēē,  
 ānī tīī thā lā yaa qhōcēē  
 taa cētāā tāā ṣāàpā chi yòò  
 reè. ānī yāā, "qhōōtōō"  
 señēē māapō chi chūūqī tu-  
 qāā? tīī tshāp tēē yāā,  
 "chāptōō" s chēē cēē, yāā  
 māṭāā cīq yòò reè. qhōcēē  
 qho, tī taa, chā reè. chāp-  
 sēē taa, chā reè.

K: āā lēē.

N: thīṭēē chēēpēē, qōtōō thī  
 chūūqī reè. ānī yāā, yāāqā

"qhāpūū", mm, it's a winter thing,  
 for big celebrations. And then,  
 there, in place of the (ordinary)  
 outer robe [a piece of cloth  
 draped, not tailored, to make a  
 robe] ... there's this: that is,  
 there's a thing called a "chāp-  
 sēē". As for the outer robe,  
 they make an outer cover and a  
 lining, and then, it's borders  
 are trimmed with brocade and so  
 forth. And then, also, they  
 wear a red thing called a "qhōō-  
 tōō" (jacket), don't they? In-  
 stead of that, again, there's a  
 different thing, called a "chāp-  
 tōō". That brocade is the same  
 as this. That is, it's the same  
 as [matches] the chāpsēē's.

Oh, I see.

They wear this jacket [qōtōō  
 is honorific to chāptōō] with

yīīnā, thāqā nāḡšīī qhī qhō,  
 chīnāā mēēpēē, yāā t̄l̄p̄t̄ōō,  
 qhōcēē tāā šāāp̄l̄ t̄īīēē yōō  
 reē. "chārū chāpsēē" señēē  
 t̄ītsū, t̄īīēē qhī chēē, ūšā  
 t̄ī, tsēēcēē qhāā l̄ yīīnā,  
 "šāqāā" s yāā qāāpō l̄p̄l̄ēē  
 chī (y)ōō reē. šāmō, ōō,  
 t̄ī chūūq̄T reē.

this sort of thing [that is, silk  
 trimming]. And then, further-  
 more, if it's summer, they have  
 this same sort of thing which,  
 regardless of whether it's the  
 outside or the lining, is thin,  
 and trimmed with brocade. As  
 for these things called "chārū  
 chāpsēē" [a costume consisting  
 of chāpsēē, chāptōō, and chāp-  
 l̄ū (traditionally, a container  
 for water)], with these sorts  
 of things, as for the hats, in  
 the case of the various big  
 celebrations, they also have  
 a flat, white one called a  
 "white hat". As for hats, yes,  
 they wear these.

K: āā l̄ēē.

Oh, I see.

N: t̄hūqōō tshu yīīnā, qhūq̄l̄,  
 ānT, rīm̄šT yākāp tsho nT,

In the case of the lay officials,  
 in the winter, those of the

pa chēè òqTT šētāā chūūqT  
 reè. yāaqā, ānT, cāntā  
 chūūqT reè. ānT, tii ɔ̀ɔ̀  
 nēē maa, tha, rīpā nāpā  
 mākāp, līh̄ tī pɔqtō šētāā  
 chōō šuuqT reè.

K: āā lēē. ānT, "ūšā cāntā"  
 tha cTq, "òqTT" tha nTT,  
 ānT, "sētēè" tha cTl cēè  
 māā cēè señēē rāpā tīqēè  
 tī, tshān mā phōō lā sōōpā  
 šTtāā yīpā nōō.

N: ɔ̀ɔ̀, thītsū qhāāqā phōō lā  
 sōōpā šētāā reè. tha "òqTT"  
 señēē tī, tuus chiqT yīīnā,  
 phēēcēē, sōqō nōō topāā  
 qhī luqsūū mēē tōō, samsāā  
 rā chī tuū.

fourth rank and above, for the  
 most part, wear just the òqTT.  
 In the summer, then, they wear  
 the cāntā. And then, under  
 this [that is, under the fourth  
 rank], now, that is, those of  
 the fifth rank and below, all  
 these go on wearing just the  
 pɔqtō.

Oh, I see. And then, as for  
 those called the "cāntā hat"  
 for one, the "òqTT" for another,  
 and then, the "sētēè", and so  
 on and so forth; I wonder  
 whether they are all, without  
 exception, made in Tibet.

Yes, these are, without excep-  
 tion, all made in Tibet. Now,  
 as for this one called the "ò-  
 qTT", if I may venture a guess,  
 I have a sort of feeling that  
 it's probably a custom of the

K: tha yāā "t<sub>1</sub> reè" s chēè nī,  
ḡarāā tsōō hā qhuqT marepāā?

N: "reè" s chēè nī, t<sub>1</sub> chiqT  
mītūū. šēē qhāāqā lōō phōō  
l sōōp repāā?

K: āā lēē. ānT ... "cāṅtā"  
señēē thī, qhāṭēēs sōōp  
reè?

N: "cāṅtā" señēē t<sub>1</sub>, tha, ḡa-  
rāā tshōō chTṅpēē šamō chī  
yūqT tuqāā? "chTṅšā" señēē  
chī.

K: ōō, tuū.

N: ōō. sōptā qhōō sō r chī  
(y)ōō reè. qhōō sō r p l  
cTī laa, chūpēē qhī thā tēē  
cāṅtā chī tāā (y)ōō reè ...  
ānT, ḡlqT, qotsāā chī ḡōō  
retāā? qotsāā qhī qāā tīnēē

Mongolian area.

Now, on the other hand, we don't  
 know, do we, so that we can say  
 (for sure) "It's so"?

No, we don't say "It's so".

However, they're all made in  
 Tibet (now), aren't they?

Oh, I see. And then ... how is  
 this one called the "cāṅtā"  
 made?

As for this one called a "cāṅ-  
 tā", now, there's a hat of our  
 felt, isn't there? That is,  
 one called a "felt hat".

Yes, there is.

Yes. As for its shape, it's  
 like that one s. There, along  
 (that is, around) the edge of  
 the brim which is like that  
 one's, they have put a wire  
 frame ... and then, up there



maa tūqūū māapō tītēē, lūq-  
 lūū cēē šāà yòò rēē. ānT  
 tēē ūtōō ... sēē qhī tītēē  
 chī kḷp yòò rēē. šēē, sṓptā  
 rḷpḷ thi, ṇātsōō tha "chTṇšḷ"  
 sēñēē thi tapō yòò rēē. ānT,  
 tḥūqōō tsōō namsā nT yḷḷqūū,  
 tha, tḷmtūū rḷ chī mātōō,  
 šēē khēē šetāā yòò marēē ...  
 tsēēcēē qhāā lḷ yīṇḷ, tha,  
 qhāšēē cTī qhōcēē yāā ...  
 "kēēšT", sēñēē rḷpḷ tītēē  
 chōōqo rēē. qhāšēē yāā,  
 tshūūñTmḷ chōō qoyāā rḷpḷ  
 tītēē yòò rēē. tītēē māṭāā  
 tēētsḷ yòò rēē ... ānT, tī-  
 nēē, "kḷlū chēē" sēñēē cTq  
 tha tī yḷḷqūū ṇTqāāḷōō lḷ  
 chūūqT rēē, "kḷlū chēē" sēñēē  
 thi, tḥūqōō tsōō. qūsēē  
 tḥāṭā chī chēē; ānT, "phōtōō"  
 sēñēē qho, tūūtūū chī (y)òò

it has a crown, is that right?  
 (Hanging) down from the top of  
 the crown there are these kinds  
 of red silk threads, these loose  
 things, which have been put  
 there. And then, there [on top  
 of the crown], as for the knob  
 ... they've put this kind of  
 gold thing. However, as for the  
 shape, it's similar, now, to  
 this (hat) of ours called the  
 "felt hat". And then, as for  
 the clothes of the lay officials  
 in the summer and in the winter,  
 now, except for the relative  
 thickness or thinness, otherwise  
 there's no very great difference  
 ... In the case of the various  
 big celebrations, however, now,  
 some have to wear brocade ...  
 of this sort called "kēēšT"  
 [which has designs of dragons,

reè, tūūtūū t̄hātā chi, tī  
 chēè; ānT, šām̄tōō so r̄apa  
 qūpsūū rhūrūū naaqō chi  
 chēè; ... ānT, ūšā tī ē,  
 "ār̄qōō" s chēè, rēè qaapō  
 r̄apa, tēētsa cTī qhī sōō  
 šaàpēē ūšā chi yōō reè.  
 qhō reè.

clouds, and water]. Some, on  
 the other hand, have this sort  
 of two-colored satin that they  
 wear. There are little differ-  
 ences of this sort ... And  
 then, this thing called the  
 "k̄alū costume", now, they wear  
 in both the summer and the  
 winter, that is, this thing  
 called the "k̄alū costume", the  
 lay officials (do). They wear a  
 multicolored outer robe; and  
 then, there's a jacket called  
 a "phōtōō", that is, a multi-  
 colored jacket, they wear; and  
 then, they wear a thing like a  
 monk's lower robe with many  
 small gathers at the back ...  
 and then, there's this hat, too,  
 called an "ār̄qōō", that is, a  
 hat made of a little white  
 cotton fabric. That's it.

K: āā lēē.

N: ānT, qhūtūū, ǝǝ, "k<sub>Λ</sub>lū  
chēē" señēē thl chōōpēē  
qhūtūū, yīcTl mīcTl, qōō-  
kēē tēēlēē, thl rapa pītsa  
chl see, tītēē rapa chlqTl.  
qharē yīnaa, hā qhūqT  
mītūū. thl rapa pītsa chl  
see nāā.

K: āā lēē. tī chēē qhō taa  
ñāmtoō toyāā chl yīqT retāā?  
thl tha tīqēē tshañmā.

N: ǝǝ reē. ānT, ǝtoō, tī yǝǝ  
retāā? thūqōō tsǝǝ yīīnā,  
"phūšūū" s chēē cēē, lǝǝqāā  
cl, phōōpā cūūsā yīpā tǝā.  
maapō, lhēplēē, chēpō chl  
yǝǝ reē. ānT, "k<sub>Λ</sub>tT" señēē  
tī tā kēpēē lǝǝ lā maa, lōō

Oh, I see.

And then, at those times, mm,  
that is, when they wear this  
thing called the "k<sub>Λ</sub>lū costume",  
they are sure to do this sort  
of thing: attach a kind of short  
knife at the waist, too. I don't  
know why this is. That is, that  
they attach a kind of short  
knife.

Oh, I see. I suppose it's some-  
thing that goes with that cos-  
tume, is that right? The knife  
and all these things.

Yes, that's right. And then,  
furthermore, there's this, is  
that right? That is, in the  
case of the lay officials, it  
seems there's a thing called a  
"cup bag", a special thing, a  
place to put a cup (or bowl).

ʃɔɔyāà thi rēè. kanāà nēē  
 thōpēē t̃hi chi yɔ̀bè rēè, t̃hi  
 "kɛt̃t̃" s. yāā, qɔɔqɔɔ rɛpɛ  
 cT̃i yɔ̀bè rēè, "kɛqūu" s. ʌnT̃  
 yāā kanāà nēē thōpēē, ŋūūqūu  
 rɛ chi ȳpēē qhūū mēē t̃ɔɔ,  
 "kɛqūu" s. t̃t̃ēē qɔɔqɔɔ  
 rɛpɛ chi yɔ̀bè rēè. t̃sēēqō  
 qhāà ɪɛ, ɔɔt̃ā, m̃t̃ā rɛpɛ  
 t̃ēētsɛ chi chūūqT̃ rēè. ʃēē,  
 nɛmkūū qhi yāacēē taa qhūcēē  
 qhi khēēpā rɛpɛ thi ūʃɛ  
 m̃t̃ɔɔ, ʃet̃ā yɔ̀bè m̃arēè.

[The phūʃūu is special to lay  
 officials; monks don't have it.]  
 It's a big, red, flat and flexi-  
 ble thing. And then, as for  
 this thing called a "Chinese  
 knife", it's a thing that hangs  
 down at the side of the waist.  
 It's a knife that comes from  
 China, a knife called a "Chinese  
 knife". Also, there's something  
 round, a "Chinese bag", and then,  
 it must be a tradition that it's  
 a money bag which has also come  
 from China, the "Chinese bag".  
 It's this sort of round thing.  
 At the various celebrations,  
 well now, yes, they wear slightly  
 different things. Otherwise,  
 the differences in the things  
 they ordinarily wear in the  
 summer and in the winter aren't  
 very great, except for the hats.

K: āa lɛɛ. nōōs, šl̥tāā hēepō  
tuù. āa, ānT ... qharē saà,  
namsā "k̥l̥iū chēē" señēē taa  
t̥l̥tēē yɔ̀b̥ retāā?

N: ǒǒ.

K: tēt̥sō ... ānT, phōō rāā l̥  
suq(T y)ɔ̀b̥ rēpēē? th̥l̥T  
qhēēs̄.

N: phōō rāā l̥ suq(T y)ɔ̀b̥ rēē,  
qhāāqā.

K: ānT, k̥p̥c̥l̥, qharē y̥l̥naa,  
thēt̥sō.

N: "k̥l̥iū chēē" señēē t̥l̥ nT,  
p̥a chēē t̥l̥ rēē, th̥a: qhōcēē  
taa t̥l̥tēē qh̥l̥ sōōp̥a šētāā  
rēē. ānT, ūš̄l̥ t̥l̥ nT, rēē  
rēē. "ār̥qōō" s̄ rēē qāap̥ōō  
sōōp̥a.

Oh, I see. Yes, that's very  
good. Ah, and then ... what's  
it called, they have the clothes  
called the "k̥l̥iū costume" and  
this sort of thing, is that  
right?

Yes.

As for these things ... then,  
do they make them in Tibet it-  
self? That is, these days.

Yes, they make them in Tibet it-  
self, all (of them).

And then, as for the material,  
I wonder what it is, that is,  
as for these things.

As for the one called the "k̥l̥iū  
costume", for the most part,  
it's this, now: it's made just  
of brocade and the like. But  
then, as for the hat, it's  
cotton. That is, the "ār̥qōō"  
made of white cotton.

K: tha, sōsō rāā qhī phōō rāā  
nee thōpa, šTtāā qhī kupcā  
ra chī marepāā? tha qharē  
seqo rēē? "nāpū" señēē ra.

N: nāpū, suqT mītūū. tha, tī  
nāpū cētāā qhī, soqo chūūnā,  
nāpū thi thūpū yīī tsāā,  
tēpō yūqT marepāā? tītēē  
qhī mēē tōō.

K: āā lēē. ōō yīpa rēē. cTq  
cheēnā, nāmō topāā cTī nāpū  
ra cTq qhī sōō; ānT, šuqōō  
kurpa ē mēē tōō.

N: ōō, tītēē ra chī mēē tōō.

K: ānT, tī mēpēē, khēē šītāā

Now, the materials of every  
one of those aren't all, without  
exception, the sorts produced  
in Tibet itself, are they? Now,  
what should I say? Take the one  
called "nāpū".

They don't make them of nāpū.  
Now, if they had to make them  
of nāpū and so forth, since nāpū  
is thick, they wouldn't be com-  
fortable, would they? It must  
be like this.

Oh, I see. I suppose that's so.  
Perhaps, some time, a long time  
ago, they made them of a kind  
of nāpū; but then, afterwards,  
they may have changed [this  
practice], too.

Yes, it may have been something  
like this.

And then, aside from this, there

yɔ̀bè maretāā?

aren't any great differences,  
are there?

N: šēē, šetāā qh! "khēē" s  
qhēē yɔ̀bè marēē.

No, otherwise, there isn't  
what you'd call any great  
"difference".

K: āā lēē.

Oh, I see.

## chūqāā

## Bathhouses

G: Guest, a merchant from Kham (Mrs. Karsip); L: Local resident of Lhasa (Mr. Nornang); A: Attendant at the bathhouse (Mr. Nornang)

G: lhēēsēē nāā lA chūqāā qhāā  
qhāṭsēē yōb̄ rēē?

How many different bathhouses  
are there in Lhasa?

L: chūqāā qhāā, ḡēmāā nēē yōō-  
yōpA sūmtsA chi yōb̄ rēē. thA  
t̄nēē šuù laa, phlqēē sāpā  
chi yōb̄ rēē. ts̄t̄ūū l̄t̄qēē  
t̄ūū tēē, chēēpēē š̄i yōb̄ rēē.  
sāpā t̄i nT, yaqō ē šetāā yōb̄  
rēē. yāā t̄i qhāqō yōb̄ rēē.

As for the different bathhouses,  
there are three that are there  
from before. Now, then, after-  
wards, there was a new one  
over there. With the one there  
in front of Monk Officials' Park,  
there are four. As for this new  
one, it's very good, too. How-  
ever, it has difficulties.

G: qhāqō yōb̄ rēē lōō?

Did you say it has difficulties?

L: m̄m̄.

Yes.

G: qharē chēē n̄i?

Why?

L: phlqēē ḡarāā tshu, t̄i mēē-  
paa, laqkēē mēēpaa, ch̄t̄t̄  
chōōqT mārēē. thēsāā phl-  
qēē, t̄i tēē (y)ōb̄ retāā?

Over there, if we don't have  
this thing, that is, if we don't  
have a pass, we aren't allowed  
to go in. These days, they stay



qhuŋt̃ēē mālm̃. chēē tsāā,  
 thēsāā chīī chōōq̃ marēē.  
 tha šāpā sūpū cīī m̃qēē  
 lūqāātīī l̃ yāb̃ rēē. tī  
 ē kīpū yāb̃ rēē. tēē, qāā-  
 nēē yāb̃ marēē. narāā tsōō  
 cīīnī, narōō šāā qhī nāā  
 tēē yāb̃ rēē. cīī qāāmā šāā  
 qhī līqēē nāā tēē yāb̃ rēē.  
 kūnēē, ānī, chūqāā ... nāā  
 l̃ yīcīī mīcīī thēēqo yōpēē?  
 khērāā. šēē, narāā tsōō  
 ... chūqāā nāā l̃ chīpā lēē,  
 chū kuq, chū, yaqō thītsōō  
 qēēnā, šētāā kīpū yāb̃ rēē.

G: tha chūqāā nāā l̃ cīī tūqī  
 yīī.

L: šēē, nīmā nī tshāpō tuū.  
 yīcīī mīcīī chū tshāpō qo-  
 yaanī mītūū.

over there, is that right? That  
 is, the Communist soldiers. So  
 we aren't allowed to go in, these  
 days. Now, as for the other  
 three, there's one down there in  
 lūqāātīī (Park). This one's  
 very pleasant, too. There,  
 there's nobody who stops you.  
 One of ours is there in narōō  
 šāā [an apartment house]. One  
 is there in qāāmā šāā's park.  
 But then, do you still want to  
 go into a bathhouse, regardless?  
 You. Otherwise ... if we, rather  
 than going into our bathhouses,  
 bathe in running water, these  
 good waters, it's very pleasant.

Now, I want to go into a bath-  
 house.

But it's a hot day. You don't  
 need hot water, regardless.

G: che<sup>ē</sup>ne<sup>ē</sup>, tuqT yīī.

Even so, I want to go.

L: tsāāqō rʌpʌ tītēē ɿ qeē  
nāānā, tōpō šetāa yɔ̀<sup>ò</sup>  
reē.

If you bathe in something like  
the Tsangpo (River), it's very  
pleasant.

G: na chūqāā ɿ tuqT yīī.

I want to go to a bathhouse.

L: chūqāā qhʌqēē thēēqaa, onā?

To which bathhouse do you want  
to go, then?

G: qhʌqēē chūūnēē cTī yaqšōō  
cTī ɿ tuqT yīī.

I want to go to whichever is  
the best we can find.

L: thāā tēētsʌ rɪntʌ yɔ̀<sup>ò</sup> reē  
mātɔ̀, šuqtT ɿqēē mʌqēē  
thēēqēē?

It's a little far, but do you  
want to go down there to šuqtT  
Park [= iūqāātT Park]?

G: chūqāā yɔ̀<sup>ò</sup> repēē, yāā?

Is there yet another bathhouse?

L: ɔ̀ō, mʌqēē kTpu šetāa yɔ̀<sup>ò</sup>  
reē.

Yes, there's a very pleasant  
one down there.

G: ʌnT šɿ yɔ̀<sup>ò</sup> repāā.

But then there are four, you  
know.

L: cheē tsāā, saapā chɿ cheē  
ceē, šɿ yɔ̀<sup>ò</sup> reē.

So, with the new one, there are  
four.

G: ʌnT onā, khērāā qhɿ paqpāā

Well now, then, you drive the

thi tōō tha! ɲa paqpāa kɿp  
tēē šūūnTT tūūqTl̄.

L: ōō yonāa. ɲēē t̄l̄ chēē qo.  
khērāa maa, t̄l̄ chēē. ɲarāa  
n̄Tqaal̄ɔ̄ chū chi qēē tāqtāa  
reē. m̄l̄qēē cha ē š̄l̄pū chi  
tsūqTl̄. ɲarāa n̄TT sōōcā  
chōō; ʌnT, qhāpt̄ɔ̄ ē yaqō  
tuū, qhōtsōō tēē, chūqāa  
qhi to thaqaā.

G: ōō, tha t̄l̄ yaqō yōōpɿ t̄aà  
... tha paqpāa qh̄l̄TT mā-  
tāānā, yaqō meyoṅaa.

L: nāntāa meyoō, tshōpōō laa!  
... ɲa t̄l̄nēē maa tāqpāa  
thaqa šōō cēē tuqT yōō.

motorcycle, will you! I'd like  
to ride there at the back of  
the motorcycle.

All right, I will. I'll do it  
for you. You do this down here.  
The two of us will bathe; that's  
settled. They sell delicious  
tea down there, too. We two'll  
drink tea; and then, the snacks  
are good, too, that is, theirs  
there, right there in the outer  
room of the bathhouse.

Mm, now, this sounds ("seems")  
good ... Now, if you don't drive  
the motorcycle slowly, it won't  
be good.

Don't worry, merchant! ... I  
always go down from here like  
this.

#### At the Bathhouse

G: chūqāa ɿ chūrTT qh̄l̄tsēē

What's the price of water at

reè?

A: chūqāā laa tha, chūrīī ...  
 chāp qhāṭṭṭṭṭṭṭ chi nāā ṭṭṭ?  
 chāp tshāā cee maṇa nāā  
 ṭṭṭ yāā? ṇātsōō tēē  
 cāqṭīī chṭcūū nāmēē nā-  
 tsōō yōō.

G: tshāā, maṇa, yaqa chi.

A: ōō, lēs. maṇsōō nāānā nṭ,  
 ṇūsāā ṇīṣū thāpā nāqo reè.

G: ṇīṣū thāpā lēē marepēē?

A: ṇīṣū thāpā māṭṭṭ, nāqo  
 marēē.

G: ōō, onā, thaqa reè. thaqa  
 ṇīṣū thāpā qhōrā qēēqṭ yīī.

A: ānṭ onā, tshōpōō laa, khērāā  
 tīī, puṭ tēē ... chāpqaā nāā

the bathhouse?

As for the price of water at the  
 bathhouse, now ... What kind of  
 water would you like to bathe  
 in? And would you like to bathe  
 in quite hot water and more  
 water? Our metal casks here  
 vary in size.

Some that is hotter, more, and  
 better.

Yes, certainly. If you use the  
 maximum amount ("the most"),  
 you have to pay twenty ṇūsāā.

It's only twenty?

Yes, you only have to pay  
 twenty.

Well, then, so be it. I'd like  
 to bathe in that twenty (ṇū-  
 sāā) sort.

Well now, then, merchant, you  
 stay here in the inner room ...

tèè šyù! ʔnT ɲɛè, phʔqT  
 sūʔtōō nāā nɛɛ tshuu, chū  
 lōō qo. ʔnT khērāā lʔ thūu-  
 kūū yōpɛè? phʔqɛè, pōrtōō  
 chl toqāā? tɪ cūūpuu tshūu  
 tʰɪpʔ taa, ʔnT chū maa thūqT  
 reè. tshōpōō laa, khērāā  
 lʔ thūukūū yōpɛè?

G: thə tɪ tʔ, kūū yōō tʔ yōō.

A: ōō, lès. ɔnā, cūūpuu thɪ  
 tshūu, tʰɪm nāā; ʔnT, chlʔp  
 tɪl nāā tèè nāā! yāā tshā  
 tʰʔʔqT tuunʔ, ʔnT tɪnɛè phāā  
 tshā tʰʔʔqT sūū šɪ! ʔnT  
 phʔnɛè yāā ɲɛè tʰan ru tāā qo.

here in the bathhouse! And then,  
 I'll release the water for you  
 here from the kitchen/room with  
 a stove over there. [The water  
 casks are in the thick wall  
 between the inner room and the  
 room with the stove.] And  
 then, do you know (how it  
 works)? Over there, there is  
 a spout, is that right? As  
 soon as you turn this knob this  
 way, then the water will come  
 (out and) down. Merchant, do  
 you know (how it works)?

Now, I certainly know about  
this.

Yes, certainly. Well now, turn  
 this knob this way; and then,  
 bathe here in this water! But  
 if it's too hot, then tell me  
 over there that it's too hot!  
 And then, I'll cool it off for

šēē yāā nātsōō topāā tī,  
 cētāā yòò mārēē: chū, phānēē  
 tshāpō sōō, cāqtīt nāā lā  
 lūū chēēpā mātōō yāā, lōō  
 rāpā tītēē qhī tshāpō sōōsōpā  
 tītēē yòò mārēē.

you from over there, too. On  
 the other hand, however, we  
 don't have all these sorts of  
 things around here: we just  
 heat the water from there and  
 pour it in metal casks; we  
 don't have anything like elec-  
 tricity which keeps on heating  
 it.

G: āā lēē. nō nās. ānT, chū  
 qēē tshāā ni ... māāli  
 chēēē yòò rēpēē? cāqcāā  
 chēēē.

Oh, I see. Yes. And then, when  
 one has finished bathing ... is  
 there a masseur/masseuse? That  
 is, someone who gives massages  
 [māāli = cāqcāā].

A: ōō thā, tī, ōō, chūqāā yaqō  
 phāqēē yòò rēē mātōō, thēsāā,  
 qēē tēē mēē. ānT, khērāā  
 chū, qēē nāā tshāā sona,  
 ānT, chTlōō tēē nēētT toqāā?  
 tīl qāā tēē yaqō chēē slm šu!  
 tōpō yòò rēē.

Well now, as for this, yes, over  
 there in that good bathhouse  
 [the one in front of Monk Offi-  
 cials' Park] they have one, but  
 these days I don't have anyone  
 here in my place. But then,  
 when you have finished bathing,  
 then, there is a bed there out-

G: anT onā, na chū chī qééqT  
yīī. chū qéé tshaapA ta-  
qāā, anT na, ñīqūū qhi qhā-  
lāā, phööseè tsaṅmā cTī  
taa, anT, šo chī chēè, mm,  
phaatāā chī chēè, maa kēēqāā  
tāārōō naa!

A: ōō, lēs. sööcā chööqaa,  
mhācööqaa?

G: cha ṅaamō chī, tūqT yīī.  
tha "ṅaamō" senēē, phööcā  
chī thūūnā, šimqT reè.

A: anT yāā khēnāā tshu qḥām.  
ṅōō nēē yāā phēè tsāā, šā  
chūūqT yīīnā, ṅēè tēè šā  
tsöö ceē, tī chīqT yötāā!  
khēnāā tshu šā lA nēepō  
yīī tsāā.

side, is that right? Sleep well  
 there on it! It's pleasant.

Well now, then, I'd like to  
 bathe. As soon as I finish  
 bathing, then, as for me, please  
 send someone down to serve lunch:  
 some pure Tibetan food, then,  
 with yogurt, mm, and with some  
 baked bread!

Yes, certainly. Would you like  
 to drink tea, or not?

I'd like to drink some sweet  
 tea. Now, I said "sweet", but  
 it will taste better if I drink  
 Tibetan tea.

And then, too, since you've come  
 up from Kham, if you want to eat  
 meat, I'll certainly make it by  
 boiling meat here in my place!  
 Since you like meat.

G: mm, tha, nīqūū qhī qhālāā  
 tī nām̄tōō, šā, ɔ, tɔqtsōō  
 kʌpʌ cTī taa, cē chi, chēē  
 ... ʌnT, komāā kǎǎkǎpʌ yōō-  
 nā, cTq nōō nī thāpāā qhǎā  
 tāārɔ naa!

A: onā, lēs. onā ʌlēē tshōpōō  
 laa, khērāā chʌp nǎā šī!  
 nēē tīqēē thī phʌqēē thʌtTī  
 cheqāā chTī qu.

G: onā, na chū qēē nī, mʌqēē  
 nīmʌ mʌqēē nēētT qhǎā ʌ  
 nēē tēēqT yTī.

A: nō nas.

G: ʌnT, ʌtqēē nǎā mʌqēē kēēqāā  
 tāārɔ naa!

A: lēs.

G: ōō, tho che.

Mm, now, together with the  
 lunch, please send me a big  
 piece of boiled meat, and some  
 tongue ... and then, if you have  
 sausages already made (already  
 "filled"), a plateful of those,  
 fried!

Well now, certainly. Well now,  
 first, merchant, please bathe!  
 I'll go over there to prepare  
 these things for you.

Well now, after I bathe, I'd  
 like to sleep down there on the  
 bed down there in the sun.

Yes.

And then, please send (someone)  
 to serve (the food) down there  
 in the park!

Certainly.

Well, thank you.



## After Lunch

G: tha, tiqēē tēē qhōō qhatsēē  
nēē sōō, qhāāqā tom ni?

Now, how much did these things  
cost, added all together?

A: thirT, sūūṭum ti qhāā ṇṭṭ sum  
yōō tsāā, qarōō nēē su.

Today, since you had two or  
three kinds of meat, it cost  
quite a bit.

G: qhatsēē?

How much?

A: ṇūsāā ... šipcū šepkēē tsā  
chi nēēnēē rā chi chiqṭi.

It costs about ... forty-eight  
ṇūsāā.

G: āā, ti lēē marepēē?

Oh, that's all?

A: ti māṭṭō nēēqṭ marēē.

Yes, that's all it costs.

G: āāā.

Aah.

A: mēē ṇṭṭ lēē tēētsā topāā  
qhēē rā chi tuqēē?

Is it a little cheaper around  
here than in lower Tibet [the  
Kham, Amdo areas]?

G: tha ṇātsō qhāpēē lunpāā yaa,  
qhōō chēpō yōō reē. qharē  
yṭṭ senā, šā qhōrā, šā  
qhōrā saqo retāā? māšT  
qhōrā nēē, saqāā cṭtāā,

Now, in our Khampa country, the  
prices are high. (If you ask  
why) the reason is, we have to  
eat just meat, just meat, is  
that right? Basically, we

yāqōō yōò reè.

have quite good restaurants  
and so forth.

After the Bill is Paid

G: tha onā šutēē cāà! yāā  
sānTT yūqT yīī.

Well now, goodbye! We'll come  
again tomorrow.

A: ōō reè. onā, sānTT nānTT  
phēērōō naa!

All right. Well now, please  
come tomorrow or the next day!

G: nō nas.

Yes.

A: tho che. onā, qhāIT chūkūū  
nāā qōō!

Thank you. Well now, go slowly!

G: tha, paqpāā thi tshūū thTì  
šu tha!

Now, please bring the motorcycle  
here!

## saqāā

## Restaurants

G: Guest, a merchant from Kham (Mrs. Karsip); L: Local resident of Lhasa (Mr. Nornang); W: Waiter (Mr. Nornang)

G: ɲa qhēē ɲīqāā qhām̄ nee yōōpa  
yīī. ʌnT, ɲa l̄hēēsēē saqāā  
cTī l̄a t̄uñTT t̄üüqTī tee, sa-  
qāā qhapāā yaqa yōnāā, cTtāā  
cTTē šTqT mēē, ɲēē. khērāā  
l̄a saqāā yaqa thuukūū yōōpa  
nōō?

I came from Kham the day before yesterday. And now, I want to go to one of Lhasa's restaurants, but I don't know even a thing about where the better restaurants are, and so forth, I (don't). I wonder whether you know the better restaurants?

L: ɲaa kūū yōō. khērāā, qh̄Λqēē  
thēēqaa? topāā, kaqāā qhī  
saqāā tītēēē yōō reē. ʌnT  
yāā k̄mTT saqāā ē yōō reē.  
ʌnT yāā thēēpūū qōō qhī  
qh̄Λtūū ȳΛqēē sōqōō saqāā  
cTTē yōō reē. ʌnT, ɲarāā  
tsōō phōpēē ē yōō reē.  
qh̄Λqēē thēēqaa?

Yes, I know them. Which one do you want to go to? Around here there are restaurants of the Indian sort, and then, again, there are Chinese restaurants, and then, again, up there in the thēēpūū qōō area [Chinatown] there's a Mongolian restaurant, too. And then, there are our Tibetan ones. Which do you want to go to?

G: mm.  $\bar{\alpha}l\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\eta a$   $k\bar{a}q\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $qhi$   $q\bar{h}\bar{a}$ -  
 $l\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $chi$   $s\bar{a}q\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $t\bar{u}q\bar{T}$   $y\bar{I}\bar{I}$ .

L:  $k\bar{a}q\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $qhi$   $thi$   $ch\bar{o}oq\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $th\bar{e}\bar{e}q\bar{T}$   
 $y\bar{I}\bar{I}n\bar{\lambda}$ ,  $q\bar{h}\bar{\lambda}q\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $th\bar{e}\bar{e}q\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ?  $th\bar{a}$ ,  
 $q\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{n}T$   $s\bar{u}m$   $chi$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .  
 $r\bar{a}p\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $n\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $ph\bar{\lambda}q\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $th\bar{e}\bar{e}n\bar{a}$ ,  
 $t\bar{o}p\bar{o}o$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .  $t\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{a}p\bar{\lambda}$   
 $ch\bar{e}\bar{e}n\bar{a}$ ,  $r\bar{a}p\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $n\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $ph\bar{\lambda}q\bar{e}\bar{e}$   
 $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .

G:  $q\bar{h}\bar{a}r\bar{e}$   $q\bar{h}\bar{a}r\bar{e}$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ?

L:  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ ,  $ph\bar{\lambda}q\bar{e}\bar{e}$  ... "ph $\bar{a}t\bar{a}t\bar{o}o$ "  
 $s\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $thi$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ,  
 $t\bar{i}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ,  $h\bar{\lambda}l\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $th\bar{\lambda}$  ... mm,  
 $p\bar{o}l\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $th\bar{\lambda}$ ,  $th\bar{i}t\bar{s}\bar{u}$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .

G:  $\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $l\bar{e}\bar{e}$ .  $\bar{s}\bar{e}p\bar{a}$   $q\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   
 $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}p\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ? " $\bar{s}\bar{o}oq\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $q\bar{h}\bar{a}t\bar{s}\bar{a}$ "  
 $s\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $r\bar{a}p\bar{\lambda}$   $t\bar{i}t\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ?

L:  $\bar{\lambda}n\bar{T}$ ,  $t\bar{i}$   $y\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ :  $q\bar{h}\bar{o}t\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   
 $q\bar{a}q\bar{e}$   $k\bar{\lambda}p$   $\bar{s}\bar{a}a\bar{p}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{s}\bar{a}m\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$   $\bar{s}\bar{i}p\bar{u}$   
 $chi$   $y\bar{o}n\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ?  $\bar{s}\bar{a}$   $t\bar{o}q\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $l\bar{u}\bar{u}$

Mm. First I'd like to go to  
eat some Indian food.

If you want to go to eat these  
Indian things, to which one do  
you want to go? Now, there are  
two or three different ones.  
If you go over there in  $r\bar{a}p\bar{s}\bar{a}$ ,  
there's a rather nice one. If  
you are thinking of a nicer one,  
there's one over there in  $r\bar{a}p\bar{s}\bar{a}$ .

What things do they have?

Mm, over there ... they have  
these things called " $\bar{p}\bar{a}r\bar{a}t\bar{h}\bar{a}$ ".  
Ah, then,  $h\bar{a}l\bar{w}\bar{a}$  and ... mm,  
 $p\bar{u}l\bar{a}w$ , they have these.

Oh, I see. Don't they have any-  
thing else? Something like what's  
called "spiced fried potatoes"?

And then, they have this: their  
steamed rice with meat and tur-  
meric added to it is a delicious

šààpʌ chi, tɪ ē šɪpū šetāa  
(y)ɔ̀ reè.

G: ǒǒ. qhācēē reè.

L: ǒǒ, tɪ yɔ̀ reè.

G: ǒǒ reè.

L: ānɪ, mm, tɛē Ǳǒǒ šààpʌ chi  
yɔ̀ reè. qhōtsǒǒ "phārēē  
rees" yɪɪnāā chi siqɪɪ.  
tɪ ē yɔ̀ reè.

G: ānɪ, tētssǒ qhǒǒ qhātsēē  
chiqɪɪ reè?

L: "phaalēē patāto" seyāā  
nūm qhi kɪɪ ɪʌ, t̄āā šààpʌ,  
tēē nɪ sāl̄sumtsʌ, tɪt̄ēē  
chiqɪɪ. ānɪ yāā šam̄t̄ēē  
cētāā siɪnā nɪ, qātēē chēē  
ɪʌ Ǳūsāā cūp̄št̄ cōōqā rʌpʌ  
tɪt̄ēē chiqɪɪ reè; chūqāā  
Ǳūsāā cūtsʌ, tɪt̄ēē chiqɪɪ  
reè.

thing, you know? A (dish) with  
big pieces of meat put in it,  
this, too, is very delicious.

Yes. That's Moslems' (food).

Yes, they have this.

That's right.

And then, mm, they have a (dish  
of) fried rice. They call it  
"fried rice" or something like  
that. They have this, too.

And then, how much do they  
charge for these things?

As for what's called "parāthā  
[flat] bread", which is fried  
in oil, for this they charge  
about three sāl̄. But then,  
on the other hand, if you  
buy steamed rice with meat and  
so forth, they charge on the  
order of fourteen or fifteen  
Ǳūsāā for a larger plate; for

G:  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{nT}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}!$

L: mm,  $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ .  $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$ ,  
 $\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{m}\bar{\text{A}}\text{q}\bar{\text{u}}$   $\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{k}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{qT}$   $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}!$

G: mm.  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{nT}$ ,  $\text{p}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{qT}$   $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{I}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ ,  
 $\text{q}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{k}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{t}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}?$

L:  $\text{p}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{qT}$   $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{I}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ ,  $\text{t}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}$  ...  $\text{q}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{-}}$   
 $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ ,  $\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{I}}\text{t}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{I}}\text{t}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\text{c}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$   
 $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ ,  
 $\text{t}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\text{c}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\text{m}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$ .  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{nT}$   
 $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{u}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{q}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ ,  $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{q}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{c}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$   
 $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ .  $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{q}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{n}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{u}}$   
 $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{u}}$   $\text{c}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ .  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{nT}$ ,  $\text{t}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{o}}$   
 $\text{t}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{A}}$   $\text{c}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ .  
 $\text{k}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{m}}$   $\text{k}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{p}}$ ,  $\text{t}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{s}}$   $\text{c}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$   $\text{c}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$   
 $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ .  $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{A}}$   
 $\text{cT}$   $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\text{s}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{m}}$   $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{o}}$   $\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ ,  $\text{p}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{q}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ .

a smaller one they charge some-  
 thing like ten  $\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ .

But that's cheap!

Mm, it's cheap. But as for the  
 meat, they don't put in very  
 much meat, you know!

Mm. And then, about how many  
 chairs do they have in that  
 (place) over there?

In that (place) over there, now  
 ... they may have about six sets  
 of about four chairs each. More-  
 over, the inner room up there is  
 a good place. There, too, in  
 the same way, they have six or  
 seven [sets of chairs]. And  
 then, they have a little place  
 for playing games. They have  
 a place where you can stay and  
 play carom, this sort of thing.  
 They have three different sorts

G: m<sup>l</sup>šT qhānpā qhōrā yaqlōō  
y<sub>2</sub>ò rēè?

L: qhānpā yaqō y<sub>2</sub>ò rēè.

G: l<sub>2</sub>ò cTtāā qhāāqā yōōp<sup>l</sup> tītēē  
yīp<sup>l</sup> nōō?

L: ōō, l<sub>2</sub>ò cētāā y<sub>2</sub>ò rēè.

G: āā l<sub>2</sub>ē. onā, nā cTq t<sub>2</sub>uqT  
yīī.

L: khērāā l<sup>l</sup> nēè r<sub>2</sub>ò cheqo  
mītūqāā? phāāšōō lāqāā  
tēē cēē.

G: ōō, tho che.

L: yāā phlqT nāā l<sup>l</sup> nēè nō  
šēpa tītēē yōō.

of places, that is, over there.

How good is the building itself,  
basically?

The building is good.

I wonder whether it's the sort  
that has everything, electricity  
and so forth?

Yes, it has electricity and so  
forth.

Oh, I see. Well now, I'd like  
to go there.

Shouldn't I help you? That is,  
on my way over there, show you  
the road.

Well, yes, thank you.

There are people I know in that  
(place) over there, too.

#### At the Indian Restaurant

W: ōō, khērāā sūūtsTī qharē  
chōōqaa?

Mm, what would you like to eat?

G: ɳa ...

W: ɳātsoō tēē yōōpa tēē, "hālōō  
saālāā" señēē rapa tītēē  
kaqaa qhi tītēē mātōō metāā!

G: ɳa ti chi saqT yīt, "hālūa" s.

W: ōō, lā reē. "hālōō" señēē  
thi chōōnā ...

G: ōō, "hālōō" señēē thi.

W: ti ɳēē ɳāā qo, lamsāā. ānT,  
sōōcā rapa tītēē chōōqo  
yōō, mēē?

G: cha ɳāāmō chi chēē, hālōō  
chi chēē, patāāa chi chēē  
... pūrT yōōpa nōō?

I ...

You know, in our place here we  
only have these sorts of Indian  
things, such as those called  
"halwá" and "saālāā" [a Nepalese  
dish of rice and currants].

I'd like to eat some of this,  
that is, "halwá".

Yes, certainly. If you'd like  
to eat this (thing) called  
"halwá" ...

Yes, this (thing) called  
"halwá".

I'll order this for you, right  
away. And then, would you like  
to order tea and the like, or  
not?

Some sweet tea [that is, with  
cream and sugar] and some halwá  
and some paráthás ... I wonder  
whether you have púrí?



W: pūūrTT lamsāā sōō chōōqT  
reè. maacēē qhu, phōpāā  
kaqāā ḡōō l 1 1 1p cee.

G: pūūrTT cTī taa šōōqōō qhātsā  
chl.

W: pūūrTT cee, šōōqōō qhātsā  
cee, phatātōō chee.

G: hālōō cee.

W: hālōō cee, 1nT sōōcā ḡāamō  
chl cee.

G: nā ōō.

W: lēs. onā, 1lēē tēēts1 tēē  
šutēē cā qōō. yāā pālṛuū  
1 1, sūūtsTī lamsāā, th1  
macēēnā, qōtsēē nāānā, m1ts1  
tēē, kēram kōqāā phēēnā,  
1lēē pālṛuū tēē, puū tēē  
yāā, kēram kōōsā yōō.

G: mm, tha, ḡa "kēram" s k11qT

We can make pūrī right away.

The cook having learned how  
over there in India.

Some pūrī and some spiced  
(fried) potatoes.

Pūrī and spiced (fried) pota-  
toes and parāthās.

And halwā.

And halwā, and then, some sweet  
tea.

Yes.

Fine. Well now, please sit down  
here a little while first. But,  
in the meantime, if the food  
isn't ready right away, if  
you play games, if you'll come  
down here a little way to play  
carom first in the meantime,  
there in the inner room we have  
a place to play carom, too.

Mm, now, I don't want to play

mēē. ɣa qālēē qhālqT̃.

W: lēs. ʌnT̃, ɣēē kuq̃ phālqēē  
ɣāa cēē t̃i chēē qo.

carom. I'm tired.

Certainly. And then, I'll place  
the order for you quickly over  
there [in the kitchen].

#### The Food is Served

G: āa lēē. hālōō yaqō tuù.

W: ōō, qhō qhēēpō šet̃aa yōō,  
maacēē t̃i.

Ah, here it is. The halwá is  
good.

Yes, this one of ours is very  
skillful, this cook.

#### After the Meal

G: tha, t̃lqēē tēē, mm, p̃l̃i ch̃i  
nāārōō naa! c̃ʌʌtsT̃i, chāā-  
tō th̃i.

W: lēs. tha, šēepāā, p̃ʌt̃ēēt̃ōō  
nT̃ ree ree, ɣūsāā š̃l̃i š̃i.  
āā, hālōō tēē, ɣūsāā t̃ūū t̃ʌ  
š̃oɣā ... sōōcā taa chēē, tha  
khōō qhācēē, ɣūsāā sūmcū  
sōōɣā taa, š̃ut̃ūū t̃ʌ ch̃i

Now, please give me, mm, a bill  
for these things! That is, the  
reckoning. [c̃ʌʌtsT̃i] chāātō =  
p̃l̃i]

Certainly. Now, as for the  
[flat] paráthá bread, it's  
four ɣūsāā apiece. Ah,  
for the halwá, seven ɣūsāā and  
five š̃o ... including the tea,  
now altogether, anyway, it

nēēnēē rA chI chIqTl̄.

G: ǒǒ, ǒǒ, onā tēē yǒǒ.

W: sūūtsTl̄ tōpō chunēē?

G: ǒǒtsee.

W: ʌnT yāā, ceemāā, chōōtōō  
raa chūūnʌ, tēē šarkāa  
phēē šu!

G: nō nas. onā, šutēē caà qco.

W: thūūkūū yǒǒ tsāā, onā, qhʌIT  
chūūkūū nāā qco.

G: lēs.

costs about thirty-five ŋūsāā  
and seven šo.

Ah, yes, well now, here it is.

Did the food taste good?

It was all right [fairly good,  
quite good--not as good as yaqō].

And then, if you should want  
to eat again later, come here  
straightaway!

Yes. Well now, goodbye.

Since you know (this place),  
well now, goodbye ("go slowly").

Certainly.

#### Merchant and Local Resident Meet Again

L: tshōpōō laa, šutēē caà yōpēē?

Merchant, how are you/are you  
staying here?

G: ǒǒ.

Fine/yes.

L: thʌrT ŋēē thōqō tītēē, tshō-  
pōō laa, khērāā ʌ phāā, ŋo-  
tōō chI šūū cētāā cheqo yǒǒ.

Today, merchant, I want to intro-  
duce some of my friends to you,  
and so forth. So, would you be

chɛ̀ tsāā, sū̄tsTì nāqāā  
saqāā cTì lA nātsō lhēkēē  
phēnā, thūū cō̄pA ā yōō.

G: ōō, cō̄pA yōō.

L: ōō, chɛnā, khērāā, sū̄tsTì,  
tāqōō, kaqāā qhì phāqēē  
phēyāā thì, tōpō tōō, qhā-  
tēē tōō? tì yāā tōpō yōōnā,  
thoqōō ē thaqāā phēnā? tì  
mēnā nT, ānT topāā, yāā  
kāmT saqāā tītēē yōō rēē.

G: tha tì ōōtsA rA chì tuū.  
tha yīīnēē yāā kāmT saqāā  
cTì lA qhāpōō rApA chɛ̀ cēē  
cTq tuqT yīī.

L: ōō rēē. onā, nātsō lhēkēē  
phēnā, nēē thoqō qhōtsōō  
māqēē, quū tōōpA yōō. lūpū  
qhì māqēē saqāā chì yōō.

free to ("I don't suppose you'd  
be free to") come with us to a  
restaurant to eat?

Yes, I believe I would be free.

Well, in that case, how about  
your visit to the Indian place  
over there last night? Did the  
food taste good, or how was it?  
If it tasted good, shall we go  
to the same place again tonight,  
too? If it didn't, then, there  
are also Chinese restaurants  
around here.

Now, it was sort of all right.

But now, on the other hand, I'd  
like to go to a Chinese restau-  
rant for a change of taste.

You are right. Well now, how  
about going together? I believe  
those friends of mine are waiting  
down there. We know a restaurant

tēetsa yaqa chi.

down there in lūpū. Quite a good one.

G: nō nas.

Yes.

L: tii nāā tēē phēēnā ... onā,  
lamsāā phēēqaa, qaamā cīṅṅī  
raṗa šuūqaa? qhāṭēē nāā tōo?

If we're going ("in") there ... well now, shall we go right away or shall we stay (here) a few minutes? How should we do it?

G: tha qaamā cīṅṅī tēē ni,  
qhēē yūqī marēē. tha lam-  
sāā thēē thu!

Now, there's no point in staying (here) for a few minutes. Now, let's go right away!

#### At the Chinese Restaurant

L: ātsi qōqō laa, šutēē caā!  
tharī tēē, āā, qhōō ɣēē  
t̥hoqō reē. ɣēēmaā, ɣātsō  
tshōō kaqāā tēetsa nāpōō  
tō nūū. qhām nee yaa phēē  
ni, thirī nīmā nī t̥uq(T  
y)ōō reē. qhēēsā yaa  
phēēpā reē.

Ah, ko-ko (Chinese for "older brother"), hello/be seated!  
Today, mm, I brought my friend here. Before, we went together for a little while to do trade. He's come up from Kham, and he's spending these couple of days [two days, including today] here. He came up yesterday.

W: āā lēē. lōō lēs.

L: khērāā qhī tēē, ṇātsō mī,  
kēēqū chī yōō. tī tōōsēē  
qūpkāā chī, qhāptsāā yōōpā  
chī thātī nāārōō naa!

W: nō nas. ānT yāā sūūtsTī  
yāā mētāā rāpā tītēē, qāṇāā  
nāāyāā ā yōō.

L: ōō, thā khērāā qhī tēē qharē  
qharē yōō rēē?

W: lā, sūūtsTī nāmēē nātsōō yōō.

L: thā cheenā, ālēē tshōpōō laa  
lā qātT chī šūūnā? thīrT  
tsōō rāpā thī tshōpōō qhōō  
tētēē šūū yōō tsāā, qhōō qhī  
thūūtūū lā yōōpā rā chī ṇālqT  
yīt. ōō, tshōpōō laa, sūū-  
tsTī qharē chūūntT tūūqT tōō?

G: mm, thā, qhālāā tī, tēē chī  
sāqT yīt.

Oh, I see. Fine.

We've eight or nine people here  
in your place. Please prepare  
a private place for us, with  
some chairs to sit on!

Yes. And then, I don't suppose  
there are any special dishes  
you'd like to order.

Well now, what things do you  
have in your place here?

We have a variety of foods.

Now, in that case, shall we  
first ask the merchant? Since  
I've brought the merchant as  
the guest of honor ("main" one)  
today, I'd like to order what  
he wishes to have. Mm, mer-  
chant, what food do you wish  
to eat?

Mm, now, as for this food, I'd  
like to eat some rice.

W: šēētēē chēē. ʌnT, tɪ n̄ʌpōō?

G: rūūtāā chɪ chēē, mōmōō chɪ  
chēē, t̄ēētsēē chɪ chēē, tuu-  
pūū chɪ chēē, tōmāathu ŋōōpʌ  
chɪ chēē, chašā t̄āāpʌ chēē,  
phāqšēē t̄īīruū chēē.

W: lēs.

L: onā, tha, qōqō laa, tɪqēē  
khērāā qhɪ ŋēē sōŋāā? ātā,  
tshōpōō laa qhɪ sūūyāā tɪqēē  
thɪ ŋēēnā, tɪqēē thɪ, tōpō  
yaqō chɪ ... t̄h̄t̄t̄ n̄āārōō  
naa! ŋātsō mɪ ...

G: ʌnT, qŋēē sūūrūū cɪ ē qōō.

L: tha qŋēē sūūrūū suqT yōō

Rice. And then, with it?

Broth from bones, and mōmōō  
(dumplings filled with meat),  
and fried peas with meat, and  
tou-fu (bean curd), and fried  
tomatoes, and roast chicken,  
and pork cheng-jou (steamed,  
diced pork, with potatoes and  
carrots).

Certainly.

Well now, ko-ko, you remember  
these things, don't you? Now,  
if you remember these things  
the merchant mentioned, please  
prepare them so that they'll  
... taste very good! We  
people ...

And then, I want some egg  
su-jou (meat balls dipped in  
egg batter and fried), too.

Now, do you make egg su-jou?

repēē? ... ōō, tho che.  
 onā, tha n̄l̄pōō, t̄l̄ n̄āārōō  
 naa! qhāāqālōō. tha  
 thir̄T, t̄ōpō yaqō chi s̄apsōō  
 chl, qōqō laa, khērāā qhi  
 phl̄qēē, maacēē laa l̄a yaqō  
 chi qāhāā n̄āārōō naa!

W: nō nas.

... mm, thank you. Well now,  
 please give us this, together  
 (with the other things). That  
 is, everything. Now, ko-ko,  
 please give the order well to  
 the cook over there to make  
 things carefully today, so  
 that they'll taste very good.

Yes.

### The Food is Ready

W: tha sūūtsT̄l̄ chōōcōō yīī.

Now we have the food ready to  
 eat.

L: lēs, tha ...

Fine, now ...

W: kāāqo nōō, tēētsa šaāqo nōō?

I wonder if I should serve it,  
 or if I should keep it for a  
 little while?

L: tha kāāp̄a n̄ānēē, t̄l̄qāā. tha  
 qātsō, yāā, t̄hewā tēētsa chi  
 yōō.

Now, if you serve it, too, it'll  
 be all right. Now, we're a  
 little busy today, too.

W: nō nas. tēē yōō.

Yes. Here it is.



L: tshōpōō laa, sū̄tsT̄, caaṭṭō  
ōōtsa m̄tūqēē?

G: ōōtsee, tha qōqpā tē̄tsa man  
ṭhaà šaa.

L: ōō reē. tha t̄l qōqpā tē̄tsa  
m̄qū k̄lqT reē, qhō̄tsōō.  
ṭhō qhūyāā qh̄i chēē thu  
rapa chēē ni. m̄šT sū̄tsT̄  
ṭhō rapa ōōtsa tōō, qh̄tēē  
tōō? khērāā.

G: ōō, tha m̄šT ōōtsee.

L: m̄šT thūqāā mēē. khērāā  
tshu, tha ... manēē maa tha  
... mēē ṇō la ... ša th̄i  
š̄lpū ch̄i chū̄q(T y)ṭō retāā?  
t̄tsū ša š̄lpū rāā mēēpēē so  
ra ch̄i s̄lqT yū̄kT reē.

Merchant, doesn't the food taste  
all right?

It's all right, but now, there's  
a little too much garlic.

Yes, that's so. Now, as for  
this, they put a little much  
garlic in, they do. They do it  
in order to bring out the fla-  
vor. Basically, does the food  
taste all right, or how is it?  
You (what do you think?).

Well now, basically it's all  
right.

Basically, I don't blame you  
(for not being more enthusias-  
tic). You, now ... down there,  
now ... in lower Tibet ... you  
eat a great deal of meat, don't  
you? You may feel ("see") that  
these (dishes) seem not to have  
really a great deal of meat.

G: tha<sub>qā</sub> rāā; caṅcāā reè.

Just so; they're flat.

L: t<sub>l</sub>qā. maṇēē ma pa chēē šā  
chōō cee šuuqT (y)ɔ̀b retāā?

That's right. I suppose you  
eat meat, for the most part,  
down there, don't you?

G: tha mopāā qhālāā š<sub>l</sub>pū yɔ̀b  
reè. tha kasēē tha kaqāā  
qhi seē ṇTcōō caṅcāā rā chi  
mētōō qhēē m<sub>l</sub>tūū ... šā mēē  
tsāā, cheēpā repāā? šēē,  
thɔ̀ɔ t<sub>l</sub> tā, ōōtsee; qōqT  
tshūptsūū rā chi tuū.

Now, down there the food tastes  
good. Now, Chinese food and  
Indian food are both just flat  
... it's because they lack meat,  
you know? Otherwise, as for  
the taste, it's all right, but  
the smell of garlic is quite  
overpowering.

L: ōō reè. tha šā thi š<sub>l</sub>pū  
rāā mēē tsāā.

Yes, that's right. Now, that's  
because they don't have really  
a great deal of meat.

#### After Dinner

L: tho che. qōqō laa, tha ṇātsō  
sūūtsT<sub>l</sub> thup su. sūūtsT<sub>l</sub>  
t<sub>l</sub>qēē tēē qhātsēē nēēqT tōō?  
cāātsT<sub>l</sub> chi nāā tha!

Thank you. Ko-ko, now we've  
finished dinner. How much do  
these dishes cost? Please give  
me a reckoning [orally]!

W: tha sūtsTī tīqēē tēē ŋōsāā  
ka tha ŋīšū tsēēŋā tsʌ chi  
nēē šaa.

L: lēs. ŋūsāā ka tha ŋīšū  
tsēēŋā laa?

W: ǝǝ. tītēē chi nēē šaa.

L: qharē rēē? nʌmkūū lēē qhēē  
rʌ chi chuŋaa? qōqō laa,  
khērāā qhī thʌrT ŋa ŋo šēē  
tsāā, tēētsʌ qhēē tāāpʌ  
maretāā?

W: tha, ŋātsǝǝ, cōcǝǝ qeē saqāā  
chi sim yǝǝ rēē. thīrT, sa-  
qāā thī cōcǝǝ qhī rēē. chēē  
tsāā qhēētāā rēē, thīrT.

L: āā lēē. ǝǝ yīpʌ rēē. šēē

Now, for those dishes it costs  
about a hundred and twenty-five  
ŋōsāā. [The use of tsʌ chi  
here is courteous.]

Certainly. A hundred and  
twenty-five ŋūsāā?

Yes. That's how much it costs.

What is it (what's the reason)?

It's cheaper than usual today,  
is that right? Ko-ko, you  
didn't make it a little cheaper  
today because you know me, did  
you?

Now, our older brother has estab-  
lished a restaurant. Today this  
restaurant is older brother's.  
So, today it's the opening of  
the business with its reduction  
in prices. [qhēētāā: Chinese  
k'ai-chang 'to open a business']

Oh, I see. I suppose that's it.

n<sup>am</sup>kūū tḕets<sup>l</sup> t<sup>i</sup> mhātsḕep<sup>l</sup>  
 r<sup>l</sup> chi ch<sup>i</sup>q<sup>T</sup> yṑō. lēs. tho  
 che. chēēnā, ch<sup>l</sup>ā<sup>l</sup>ηūū tḕē  
 yṑō.

W: tha na, tḕē tēēhēē mēē. chēē  
 tsāā, cōcō qh<sup>i</sup> s<sup>l</sup>m n<sup>i</sup>, ān<sup>T</sup>,  
 th<sup>l</sup>r<sup>T</sup> qhēē<sup>t</sup>āā taa, qh<sup>l</sup>tūū  
 kōp<sup>l</sup> reē.

L: ōō lēs.

W: t<sup>i</sup>l, ān<sup>T</sup>, khērāā l<sup>l</sup> yaa thūū  
 caaqōō qhēē chūū nāāp<sup>l</sup> reē.

L: ōō lēs. tha onā, tho che,  
 qōqō l<sup>l</sup>aa, š<sup>u</sup>tēē cāà q<sup>o</sup>.  
 ālēē nātsō c<sup>T</sup>l t<sup>u</sup>q<sup>T</sup> y<sup>l</sup>l.

W: sōōcā nāāmō caqāā chōō mēē  
 t<sup>o</sup>?

L: ōō, tha cha yāā phāts<sup>l</sup> tḕē  
 c<sup>T</sup>l thūūqāā t<sup>u</sup>q<sup>T</sup> y<sup>l</sup>l. nātsō  
 yāā, ālēē lēēqā tḕets<sup>l</sup> ch<sup>i</sup>  
 yṑō. t<sup>i</sup> chēē; yāā p<sup>l</sup>ā<sup>l</sup>rūū

Otherwise, I think it costs a  
 little more than this ordinarily.  
 Fine. Thank you. In that case,  
 here's the money.

Now, I won't be staying here.  
 So it (your visit) just coincided  
 with older brother's establishing  
 (his proprietorship) and the re-  
 sulting reduction in prices.

Oh, so that's it.

Because of this, then, you got  
 a lower price.

Oh, so that's it. Well now,  
 thank you, ko-ko, and goodbye.  
 We'll be going now.

You might (like to) drink a cup  
 of sweet tea?

Well now, as for tea, we'll be  
 going over there a bit to drink  
 some. First we have a little  
 work (to do). We'll do this;

cTì lA cha chi thūqāā tūqT  
yīī. cTq cheenā, tēē yūqT  
yīī, ātā šuqū tēē.

W: nō nas. ānT onā pTṇpāā kōō  
mēē tōo.

L: tha, pTṇpōō cētāā kaalōō mēē.  
thirT ṇātsō lēeqā šetāā yōō.  
tshōpōō laa qhi phātsa tēē,  
cha rāpa tītēē phāā tshūu,  
cāatsTì tēē nāā qoyāā rāpa  
tītēē tha tshūu chālāṇūū šēē  
qoyāā rāpa tītēē qhi, chāalēē  
tēētsa tūū. chēē tsāā, ṇātsō  
thirT, cTq cheenā ātā cha  
thūqāā yūqT yīī. ānT, onā,  
qōqō laa, šūtēē cāā qōo!

W: nō nas. tha tī qhālāā sōṇēē  
tī, sāapā yīī. šetāā qhēēpō  
yōō. sūūtsTì tḥōo chēē qhi  
suqT reē. ānT pē rA chi yōō  
reē, qhō nT.

and then we'll go to drink some  
tea for a break. Perhaps we'll  
come here a little later.

Yes. Well now, then, you might  
(like to) play pingpong?

Now, we don't have time to play  
pingpong and so forth. We have  
a lot of work (to do) today.

The merchant has a little work  
to do over there a bit like  
having to settle the business  
transactions for tea and the like  
and having to collect money and  
the like. So perhaps we will  
come now today to drink tea.

Well now, then, ko-ko, goodbye!

Yes. Now, this one, this one  
who's making the food, is new.  
He (this one of ours) is very  
skillful. He makes the food  
have a better ("bigger") taste.  
He's a model (cook), he is.

L: lès.

W: chɛ̀ tsāā, ʌnT chũ nāānā,  
pè thɪ nʌmkũũ lèè tʌp cTɪ  
qɦɪ yàà ru chTɪ yöö, qɦālāà.

L: ɔ̃ɔ, lès. tho che.

W: ʌnT mʌŋa, pöö chɛ̀, qɦɔ̃ɔ  
chũŋʌ, ʌnT soŋɛɛ yʌqa, caa-  
tɔ̃ɔ chɛ̀, qɦāāqā yɔ̃ɔ rɛ̀.

L: lès. tho che. qōqō laa.  
ʌnT ɔnā, ŋa qonpā šuqT yɪɪ.  
šutɛɛ caà qɔɔ.

W: nō nas.

Certainly.

So, then, if you come, I believe  
it'll have become completely  
one hundred percent better than  
usual, that is, the food.

Yes, certainly. Thank you.

And then, more, bigger portions,  
lower prices, and then, better  
cooks ("makers"), better  
("bigger") taste--it'll have  
everything.

Certainly. Thank you. Ko-ko.

Well now, then, I'll ask to be  
excused. Goodbye.

Yes.

nēetsāā

Inns

G: Guest (Mr. Nornang); L: Local resident (Mrs. Karsip); I: Inn-keeper (Mrs. Karsip)

G: ācāā laa, topāā, nēetsāā  
yāānēē yāb̄ repēē? ɲa  
ñimā sūmtsā chi topāā  
tōōnēē yīpēēnT, tōōsā  
chi qāb̄ yōō.

Older sister, is there someone  
around here who keeps an inn/  
rents rooms? I'm going to be  
staying around here for about  
three days and I need a place  
to stay.

L: nēetsāā yāānēē yāb̄ rēē.  
panāā šōō qhi yāqēē,  
"nēēmō nēēmō" señēē chi  
yāb̄ rēē.

Yes, there are those who rent  
rooms. Up there in panāā šōō  
[a small area in Lhasa of a few  
streets] there is one everybody  
calls "(woman) innkeeper".

G: m̄m̄.

Yes.

L: "t̄lqūū nēēmō" señēē ci, ti  
yāāqT rēē. tēē yāa t̄yūpā  
šl̄tāā phāp̄qT rēē. ānT yāā,  
qūšūū tōqōō t̄hT̄ tēē nēēmō  
chi yāb̄ rēē. nēetsāā yāāqT  
rēē.

The one they call "t̄lqūū [a  
valley east of Lhasa] (woman)  
innkeeper", she is considered  
the best ("better"). A great  
many travellers stop ("get down")  
down" there. And then, also,

G: th<sub>1</sub>ts<sub>2</sub>ō, āā, ñlm̄ ree ree  
 qhāā<sub>1</sub>lā t<sub>1</sub>ēē yāā tōpcēē sōsōō  
 sēē cētāā cheqo ree, yāā  
 qhāā<sub>1</sub>lā th<sub>1</sub> tōpcēē th<sub>1</sub> qhāāqā  
 qhōrāā tsōō tēē nī, ŋūū t<sub>1</sub>ēē  
 t<sub>1</sub>tēē ch<sub>1</sub>qT ree, qh<sub>1</sub>tēē  
 ch<sub>1</sub>qT reē?

L: tha tōqāā qhāāēē l<sub>1</sub> yaa ...  
 nēēlā t<sub>1</sub>ēē tō sōsōō saqo reē.  
 ānT, chTqāā lēē chTpts<sub>1</sub>  
 sōsōō sōrēē nāqo reē. nēē-  
 tsāā nēē, tsūqT reē mētō,  
 tēē cTtāā ch<sub>1</sub>qT marēē. yāā,  
 tōqāā qhāāēē nēē, tsā, mīl  
 tō, qhāāqā, tāā cēē, ānT,  
 tep l<sub>1</sub>, c<sub>1</sub>ātsT<sub>1</sub> šuqT reē.

near Apple Tree (Street) there's  
 a woman innkeeper. She rents  
 rooms.

For those, mm, do you have to  
 pay for the lodgings for each  
 day but eat your own food, and  
 so forth, or do they furnish  
 ("give") the lodgings and  
 food and everything, and you  
 pay money, or how do they do it?

Now, in some guest houses ...  
 you have to pay the room rent  
 and eat your own food. And  
 then, you have to give your  
 horses hay yourself, too. The  
 inn just sells it [the hay], it  
 doesn't give it (to the horses),  
 and so forth. On the other  
 hand, some guest houses provide  
 hay, the people's food, every-  
 thing, and, then, add it all  
 up together.



G: lōō lēs. chēēnā, qhāqT kTpa  
yōnaa. tēētsa na kTpsā cTl  
lā tūūqT yīt.

Fine. In that case, I wonder  
which would be the most ("more")  
pleasant. I'd like to stay in  
a little more pleasant place.

L: ōō, tha kTpsā tl, kēēqō tōō  
lā šuunā, kTpqT reē.

Well, now, as for the (most)  
pleasant place, if you stay at  
kēēqō tōō (Inn), it should be  
the most ("more") pleasant.

G: ōō, tho che, phātsa chi khē-  
rāā qhi kūyūū nāārōō nāa!

Well, thank you. Would you  
please direct me over that way  
a bit?

L: kēēqō tōō senā, ramō chēē  
qhi tēē yōtāā? ramō chēē  
khīqT yōpēē?

If you're talking about kēēqō  
tōō, it's there in the ramō  
chēē (Temple) area, is that  
right? Do you know ramō chēē?

G: ōō, šīqT yōō. chēēnā, raamō  
chē lā, nēēmāā nēē topāā  
to nūū.

Yes, I know it. In that case,  
I've gone to the raamō che  
area before.

L: ramō chēē qhi thTl thaqāā  
yōō reē.

It's right near ramō chēē.

G: ōō, lēs, raamō che qhi šāā

Yes, fine, is it there in the

ᠬᠠᠳᠤ ᠲᠣᠫᠠᠭᠠ ᠶ᠋ᠮᠤ ᠷᠡᠭᠡ, ᠳᠣᠰ ...

area east of raamō che, or,  
mm ... ?

L: ramō chēē qhī, ᠰ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠲᠡᠭᠡ  
ᠶ᠋ᠮᠤ ᠷᠡᠭᠡ.

It's there at the side of ramō  
chēē.

G: ᠰ᠋᠋᠋᠋.

The side.

L: ᠰ᠋᠋᠋᠋, ᠲᠤᠴᠣᠳᠤ ᠬᠠᠳᠤ ᠤ᠋᠋. ᠤ᠋᠋  
ᠬᠠᠳᠤ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠶ᠋ᠮᠤ ᠷᠡᠭᠡ.

The side, to this direction.

It's to the south.

G: ᠳᠣᠰ, ᠤ᠊ᠰ. ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠬᠠᠳᠤ ᠲᠡᠭᠡ ᠤ᠋᠋?

Yes, fine. There to the south?

L: ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠳᠣᠰ.

Yes.

G: ᠤ᠊ᠰ. ᠣ᠋᠋, ᠲᠤ᠋ ᠴᠡ. ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋,  
ᠬᠠ ᠲᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠫᠠ᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠴᠤ᠋  
ᠲᠠ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠲᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠶᠤ᠋᠋᠋.

Fine. Well now, thank you.

First I'll go over there from  
here to look for an inn.

#### At the Inn

G: ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋! ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋, ᠰᠤᠲᠡ᠋᠋  
ᠴᠠ᠋᠋.

Oh [you are here]! Innkeeper,  
how are you?

I: ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠶ᠋᠋᠋᠋.

Fine, thank you.

G: ᠬᠠ ᠲᠡᠭᠡ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠰᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠴᠤ᠋ ᠲᠣ᠋᠋᠋-  
᠋᠋᠋ ᠶᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋, ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠴᠤ᠋  
ᠶᠠ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋.

I'm going to stay here about  
three days; would you please  
rent me a room?

I: yīī tλ mēē. yaa chū nāā qoo!

By all means. Please come up!

G: ɲaa tēē tāṭēē cTq ṇṭī chi  
yōō. tītsū tōōsā chi chēē,  
ɲarā tλ mī cTq yīī. qhāṇpā  
chūcūū chi chūūnλ, tīqāā.

I have several horses here. A  
place for them to stay, and I  
myself am alone. If I can get  
a small room, it'll be all right.

I: chēṭṭēē šuusλ tλ, mī šuusλ  
qhāāqā yaqō yōō.

I have everything: good places  
to stay for horses and for  
people.

G: lēs, tho che. ōō, λnṭ, tēē  
qhāāla qhλtsēē nλqṭ yōnaa.

Fine, thank you. Mm, and then,  
I wonder how much you charge for  
lodgings here.

I: āā ... chTqpāā chTṭsλ tēē  
sūūtsṭī kāā qhāāqā chēēnā,  
ṇīmλ reē reē ɲōsāā ɲλpcū  
thāpā thāpā reē.

Ah ... if I do everything--give  
hay to the horses and serve  
food--it's fifty ɲōsāā a day.

G: ōō lēs. thā chēēnā, ɲa tēē  
tēēqṭ yīī. ɲa ṇīmλ sūmtsλ  
chi māṭōō tōōṇēē mēē.

Mm, fine. Now, in that case,  
I'll stay here. I'm only  
staying about three days.

I: λnṭ yāā, mm, chTqpλ sūm yōōnā  
yāā, chTqpλ reē reē, ɲōsāā  
ṇīšū thāpā thāpā ṭēēqo reē,

But then, also, mm, if you have  
three horses, for each horse  
you have to pay twenty ɲōsāā.

qōōtāā ree ree.

G: ōō, lēs. ānT tha, qōōtāā,  
 ɲa yāā topāā, qhālāā saqāā  
 ʈhosā ɾapa tītēē šetāā kūū  
 mēē. ānT, nēmō rāā qhī  
 sorōō naa!

I: nō nas.

G: tītū qhāāqāīōō, īātT  
 tūtT qhī repāā? qhāāla  
 tha cēēpa?

I: reē.

G: lēs. tho che.

I: ānT, qōōtāā qhī sūūtsTī qharē  
 chōōtōō yōnaa.

G: ōō, thoqōō ɲa, šamTēē chī saqo  
 mēē ʈōō, sāmQTī. šamTēē chī  
 sorōō naa!

that is, for each night.

Mm, fine. And then, now, as  
 for the evening, I don't know  
 very much about places to go  
 to eat around here, either.  
 And then, innkeeper, will you  
 please make it [that is, the  
 evening meal] yourself?

Yes.

That's all these things put to-  
 gether, pay (for servants) and  
 food, is it? Including the  
 payment for the lodgings?

Yes.

Fine. Thank you.

And then, I wonder what you'd  
 like to eat for dinner.

Well, I think I might like to  
 eat some steamed rice with meat  
 tonight. Would you please make  
 some steamed rice with meat?

I: lōō lēs. šamṭēē chī suqT  
yōō. ʾanT ātā sōōcā kaanēē  
taa šʾpct chī yaa tʾqT yīī.  
ʾanT, qhōō qharē qōōnēē "tī  
qōō" sūūrōō naa!

Certainly. I'm making some  
steamed rice with meat. And  
then, right now I'll send up  
someone who serves tea and a  
servant [who will, for example,  
get water]. And then, what-  
ever you need, please tell  
him, "I need this".

G: lēs. tho che.

Fine. Thank you.

#### The Day Before the Guest's Departure

G: nēēmō laa, ta ʾa sʾnT,  
yaa lōō tōnēē yīī, cheē  
tsāā, qhāālā taa, tsʾrT  
tha tītsū cʾʾtsTī šuqu  
yōpēēnT, nīm sūm qhī  
rīqāā, qhʾqʾtsʾ chī, phūū  
quqT yōnaa. tītsū, cʾʾtsTī  
chī nāārōō naa!

Innkeeper, since I'll be going  
back tomorrow I'd like to add  
up and pay for the lodgings  
and the cost of the hay and  
these things for three days;  
I wonder about how much I should  
give you. Would you please  
add these things up?

I: mm, tha nīm sūm ʾa yaa qōō-  
tāā ree ree, tā cTq taa mī  
cTī ʾa, tī reē: ʾōsāā ʾʾpct

Mm, now, for three days, for  
each night for one horse and  
one person it's this: fifty

thāpā thāpā chēè ní, ḡō-  
sāā ka tha ḡāpcū thāpā  
chēè; ānT, chTqpā nTT laa,  
qōōtāā ree ree šlpcū thāpā  
thāpā reè.

G: ōō, chēēnā, ka tha ...

I: ka tha ḡāpcū thāpā chēè,  
ānT, šlpcū thāpā thāpā  
sōō tsāā, "šlcTl cTq, šl-  
nTl kēè, šesom cūḡnTl" s  
chēè ní, ka tha nīšū thāpā  
chēè sōḡāā? nīkāl tūcū  
thāpā reè.

G: ōō, nīkāl tūcū thāpā reè.  
lēs. tho che. onā tha, ḡa  
sānTT tuqT yīī. chāāḡūū thī  
ātā phāā cāātsTl šeerōō naa!  
lēs. tēē kālōō nTT cēē,  
nīkāl ...

ḡōsāā, and so, (for three nights)  
a hundred and fifty ḡōsāā; and  
then, for two horses, for each  
night, it's forty (ḡōsāā).

Mm, in that case, a hundred and  
...

A hundred and fifty, and then,  
since it's forty (for each night  
for two horses), and since "four  
ones once, four twos (equal)  
eight, four threes (equal)  
twelve", it's a hundred and  
twenty, is that right? That  
is, it's two hundred and seventy  
(in all).

Yes, it's two hundred and seven-  
ty. Fine. Thank you. Well  
now, I'll be going tomorrow.  
As for this money, please take  
the total right now! Fine.  
Here are two hundred (sāā) notes,

I: tūcū thāpā.

G: tūcū thāpā retāā? ānT tēē,  
cū nīšū, sumcū, šīpcū, ḡāpcū,  
ṭhuqcū, tūcū thāpā, tāqtāa  
yōō.

I: ōō. āa lēē. ānT, tǎqōō  
chōcāā, ḡōsāā nīšū tsēēḡēē  
šēēpā tī, chālārītī thī sōrēē  
nāā ā yōō.

G: ōō reē. tha, chālārītī thī,  
šāpcT tēē phāa tēēkū mācūū.  
tī khērāā lā cāltsTī šūū  
šāanā, tīqT yōō yīpā reē.  
onā, chālārītī tī ē phāa šēē-  
rōō naa! tha, šāpā tsāqT  
tsTqT qhēē, cāltsTī šū  
qoyāā tēē māsōḡāā?

I: tha, yāpā tsāqT tsTqT qhēē

(that's) two hundred ...

Seventy.

It's seventy, is that right?

And then, here, I have it  
exactly: ten, twenty, thirty,  
forty, fifty, sixty, seventy.

Yes. Oh, I see. And then, I  
don't think you paid for the  
twenty-five ḡōsāā of [barley]  
wine you got last night.

That's right. Now, I haven't  
had a chance to pay the servant  
for the wine. I suppose it'll  
be all right if I add this and  
pay it to you. Well now, please  
accept the payment for the wine,  
too. Now, there aren't any  
other small, miscellaneous items  
remaining which should be added  
up and paid, are there?

Now, there aren't any other

c<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>l' šuyāā, t<sup>h</sup>ē māsōō,  
nā.

G: m<sup>h</sup>š<sup>h</sup> ātā thā sāāšōō t<sup>h</sup>hōēē  
y<sup>h</sup>l' tsāā, yāā lēēp<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>uunā,  
thoqōō tshūū, sūūroō naa!

I: nō nas.

G: ŋā sāāšōō ŋāpō nēē t<sup>h</sup>uq<sup>h</sup> y<sup>h</sup>l'.

I: ōō rēē. thā ŋā sāts<sup>h</sup> thēēnā,  
y<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup> rēē. ān<sup>h</sup>, chōō cēē  
nāāpēē?

G: ōō, chōōcēē l<sup>h</sup> thēē n<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>  
ch<sup>h</sup>l'p<sup>h</sup> y<sup>h</sup>l'.

I: ōō.

G: tsūqlāā qhāā lēē thēē n<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>  
ch<sup>h</sup>l'p<sup>h</sup> y<sup>h</sup>l'. ān<sup>h</sup> yopāā phōtāā  
lēē qhēēs<sup>h</sup> šōōqēē yāqō ch<sup>h</sup>

small, miscellaneous items re-  
maining to be added up and paid.

Basically, just now, now, since  
I'll be going tomorrow morning,  
if there is anything you forgot,  
please tell me tonight!

Yes.

I'll be going early tomorrow  
morning.

That's right. Now, if you go  
a little early, it'll be better.  
And then, did you visit (the  
statue of) the Lord (Buddha)?  
[Here the one near ramō chēē  
is meant.]

Yes, I visited the places of  
religion twice.

Yes.

I went to the tsūqlāā qhāā  
(cathedral) twice, too. And  
then, I had a nice time up



chũũ. chööcēē t̄tsū yaqō  
 šetāā chũũ.

I: ǒǒ.

G: ʌnT yāā sʌnTt̄ ɳa ɳapō thöönēē  
 yT̄t̄ tsāā, nēēmō laa, yāā šāā  
 mašāā cēē, mācēēpʌ raa chũũnʌ,  
 ʌnT, ceemāā cēē yōō. ʌnT thʌrT,  
 šutēē caā qo.

I: nō nas. ʌnT ceemāā phT̄t̄t̄ũũ  
 tsā nēē, "tsāṅsōm" señēē  
 t̄t̄t̄ēē š̄lqʌtse nēē thöōyāā  
 chi yōō rēpēē, nʌ?

G: ǒǒ, yōō rēē, š̄lqʌtse nēē  
 "sōpā lhamō" s.

I: ǒǒ, t̄t̄t̄ēē qhāšēē chi nām  
 phēerōō naa! š̄uqT yT̄t̄. ʌnT  
 ceemāā mā phT̄t̄t̄ũũ tsā nēē

there at the Potala yesterday  
 morning, too. Visiting those  
 places of religion was very  
 good.

Yes.

And then, too, since I'll be  
 setting out early tomorrow, inn-  
 keeper, as for whether you get up  
 or not, if I don't get a chance  
 to see you (tomorrow), then, I'll  
 see you later. And then, goodbye  
 for today.

Yes. And then, when you come  
 later, are there things of the  
 sort called "Tsang shoes" which  
 come from Shigatse?

Yes, there are, "sōpā lhamō"  
 from Shigatse.

Well, I'd like to ask you to  
 please bring me some of this  
 sort. And then, later, when

cAAtsTì šyū chōqa chi!

G: lēs.

I: yāā thopō mǎqū yōō nāānā  
nT, yūq šāā nāānā, yīcTì  
mīcTì nām phēē moqōō, nā.

G: ōō. lēs. qēē qhāā cōcōō  
chēē nī, khTT yōō qo. ānT  
thArT qā kTpū šetāā chūū.  
chēēnā, nēēmō laa, šutēē  
cāā qōō.

I: nō nas.

G: qā sAnTT qāpō tūqT yīī.

I: ānT, qhAlT chūkūū nāā qōō.  
phēēlām lā thūcāā yaqō  
nāā qōō.

G: lēs. tho che. thūyāā  
nāā moqo.

you come, permit me to add up  
the cost and pay you!

Certainly.

However, if you have many loads,  
don't bother, you don't have to  
bring them no matter what.

Yes. Certainly. I'll bring as  
much as I can for you. And  
then, for today, it's been very  
pleasant for me. And so, inn-  
keeper, goodbye.

Yes.

I'll be going early tomorrow.

And then, please go slowly. Be  
careful on the way.

Certainly. Thank you. You  
needn't worry.

## šatōm

## Meat Market

B: Buyer (Mrs. Karsip); S: Seller (Mr. Nornang)

B: ācāā pēētsōō laa, ŋaa šā  
ŋōsāā ŋāpcū thāpēē tsōō  
nāā tha!

Older sister pēētsōō, please  
sell me fifty ŋōsāā worth of  
meat!

S: ōō, lēs. thīrT sūūtūm,  
qhāā rāpā nīT yōō. kaqā  
sīlqaa, qhāṭtēē chi sīlqaa?

Yes, certainly. Today I have  
two different kinds of meat.  
Do you want to buy the fatter  
one, or what kind do you want  
to buy?

B: tshTīū mēēpā yaqā chi.

A better one without fat.

S: ōō lēs. maacēē laa, khērāā  
qhāstī, tēē phēēpēē qhūtūū,  
sūūtūm yaqō rāā chūū māsōō.  
thīrT tha, sūūtūm yaqō šetāā  
yōō.

Yes, certainly. Cook, the last  
time you came here, you didn't  
get exactly good meat. Today,  
now, I have very good meat.

B: thīrT ŋa ... sūūtsTī qāpō  
yaqō chi ŋuqT yīī. kaqpā  
mēēpā chi.

Today, I ... would like to buy  
some good lean meat. Not  
fatty.

S: ōō lēs. qāpō šetāā nāānēē,

Yes, certainly. Though if you

yāā "tōpō" s yōōtōō mēē,  
 tha k<sub>l</sub>q<sub>c</sub>ūū rēpaa r<sub>l</sub> chī  
 ...

B: tha "qāpō" s cheēnēē, qharē  
 seqo rēē, tshTlū mēēpee  
 t<sub>l</sub>nt<sub>l</sub> r<sub>l</sub> chī.

S: ōō lēs. ānT, ɲēē mēētT<sub>l</sub>  
 t<sub>l</sub>nēē phūūqaa?

B: ōō, yonāā. mēētT<sub>l</sub> t<sub>l</sub>nēē  
 tēēts<sub>l</sub> tsōōrōō naa!

S: lēs. tha, t<sub>l</sub> ɲarāā tshu,  
 n<sub>l</sub>mkūū nēē tshōnpā tshōōšāā  
 yT<sub>l</sub> tsāā, ɲēē, maacēē laa,  
 khērāā l<sub>l</sub> th<sub>l</sub>rT t<sub>l</sub>haqa chī  
 phūū chōō!

B: ōō. tho che.

buy it very lean, however, I  
 don't think it'll be what you'd  
 call really "tasty", now, fat  
 and lean in the right proportion  
 ...

Now, I said "lean", but what  
 should I say, a big piece of  
 meat with little bone and with-  
 out fat.

Yes, certainly. And then, shall  
 I give you some from the rump?

Yes, that will be all right.  
 Please sell me a little from  
 the rump!

Certainly. Now, since we are  
 usually regular seller and regu-  
 lar customer, permit me, cook,  
 to give you some better (quality  
 meat) today!

Yes. Thank you.

## After the Customer has Bought the Meat

S: mm, maacēē laa, sūūtūm  
yaqō chi phūū yōō, tha.

B: nō nas. ānT, qarāā tsōō  
tēē tshōōšāā šuqT yTī.

S: ōō, lēs. tshōōšāā nāānā,  
yaqō šetāā yonāā. ānT,  
sūūtūm, tha, tī mēpaa,  
topāā šlikū šeelōō rāpA  
tītēē sīqu yōō, mēè?

B: šlikū šeelōō ālēē nōqo mēè.  
ānT qarāā tsōō tēē, sūūtstī,  
tī ā yōō. mm ...

S: qōpšā lōō?

B: qōpšā.

S: ōō, lēs. qōpšā, khērāā lA

Mm, cook, I've given you some  
good meat, now.

Yes. And then, I'll be a  
regular customer of your ("our")  
place here.

Yes, certainly. If you're going  
to be a regular customer, that  
will be very good. And then,  
as for the meat, now, aside from  
this, do you want to buy intes-  
tines, lungs, and the like  
here, or not?

No, I don't want to buy intes-  
tines and lungs at present.

And then, I don't suppose you  
have this meat in your ("our")  
place here. Mm ...

Do you mean (dried) chest meat?

Yes, (dried) chest meat.

Yes, certainly. If you want

yāā, qə̀b̄ n̄l̄qT yōōnā, ʌnT  
 ɲɛ̀ɛ̀, ǎtā lamsāā, phomō phāā  
 l̄ɛqāā tāā qo. nāā ʌ qōpšā  
 yaqō t̄l̄t̄ɛ̄ ʃaà yō̄. ʃē̄,  
 n̄mkū̄ ȳl̄n̄, "qōpšā" sēn̄ɛ̄  
 thi, tawā ʃip̄ē̄ nāā ʌ mātō̄,  
 ɲ̄atsō̄ māt̄sō̄qaa cheqāā  
 chiqT rē. tawā ʃip̄ē̄ nāā  
 laa ʌnT, ʃā sō̄pā tsō̄  
 chōoqT marepāā? chē tsāā,  
 ɲ̄atsō̄, qōpšā thi tawā ʃip̄ē̄  
 nāā ʌ, tē̄tsa qhō̄ chē ʌ  
 chi raan̄ɛ̄ ʌ chi che yō̄.  
 ʌnT, ɲ̄atsō̄ n̄aa tō̄qāā chiqT  
 rē. ȳl̄n̄, maacē̄ laa,  
 ɲ̄arāā tshu ʃɛ̄ tshō̄ tsāā,  
 khērāā ... thūʃt̄ nāānā,  
 ʌnT ɲɛ̀ɛ̀ phomō phāā l̄ɛqāā  
 tāā qo. ʌnT, thaqa n̄l̄ʃt̄  
 cē qāpō ɛ̄ ph̄l̄qē̄ yō̄, qōpšā  
 tha.

B: ɔ̄. cē qāpō lō̄?

chest meat, however, then I'll  
 send my daughter off right away  
 to get it for you. I keep the  
 good chest meat at home. Other-  
 wise, ordinarily, as for this  
 (meat) called "chest meat",  
 except in the fourth month we  
 try not to sell it. In the  
 fourth month, then, one isn't  
 allowed to sell fresh meat, you  
 know? So, it seems we get a  
 little higher price for chest  
 meat in the fourth month. And  
 then, we try to keep it. How-  
 ever, cook, since we know each  
 other, if you ... want to buy  
 it, then I'll send my daughter  
 off to get it for you. And  
 then, similarly, I have dried  
 tongue over there, too, along  
 with the chest meat.

Yes. Did you say dried tongue?

S: ǒǒ. tshācū chɛɛ cɛɛ, yaqō  
 ʃetāā sǒǒ ʃaà yǒǒ.

B: ǒǒ, tha, cē qāpō tā līēē  
 ... ʃuqT mēē.

S: ānT, āā, onā, sūūtūm tī cɛɛ,  
 qōpšā yāā sānT nānT qǒǒ  
 ālqT tuunā, ānT qāqāā nāā!  
 yāā ātā lamsāā.

B: nāā nīqāā qǒǒ.

S: lēs. onā. nāā nīqāā, khērāā  
 tēē phēē! ānT, ɲɛɛ qōpšā  
 khTT yǒǒ qhu.

B: lǒǒ lēs.

S: qōpšā chTcūū qhāqātsa khTT  
 yǒqo rɛɛ? ɲɛɛ tsāā lā, qōpšā  
 ŋūsāā ʃhucūtsa chɛɛpɛɛ qōpšā  
 yaqō tītēē yǒǒ. yāā tīi ǒǒ  
 nɛɛ māa, ɲāpcūtsa rapa ʃlpcūtsa

Yes. I made it very good, by  
 putting it in brine.

Yes, now, as for dried tongue,  
 at present ... I don't want to  
 get any.

And then, mm, well now, here is  
 your meat; and if you'll need  
 the chest meat tomorrow or the  
 next day, then please order it!  
 But right away now.

I'll need it day after tomorrow.

Certainly. Well now. You come  
 here day after tomorrow! And  
 then, I'll bring the chest meat  
 for you.

Fine.

About what size (pieces of)  
 chest meat should I bring? At  
 my place I even have this sort  
 of good chest meat for about  
 sixty ŋūsāā. But under this I

cheèpλ, nāmēē nātsōō yōō.

B: tha ḡōsāā t̃huqcūt̃sλ cheèpēē,  
qōpšā yaqa, t̃inēē sūm, nāā  
ñīqāā pūūqλ šuqāā cλλqT γīī.

S: lēs. λnT onā, khērāā nāā  
ñīqāā phēērōō naa! sūūt̃ūm  
siipēē šōō λλ.

B: nō nas.

S: λnT ḡēē, qōpšā thi tshūu,  
khtT yōō qho.

B: nō nas.

S: tha thiṛT khērāā λλ sūūt̃ūm  
thi yaqō šetāā chūū su,  
maacēē laa.

B: λλ tho che. λnT onā ...

S: tha λlēē qhλIT chū nāā qōō.

B: nōhs. λlēē onā ācāā pēētsōō

have a variety, at around fifty  
or forty.

Now, I'll come day after to-  
morrow to buy three of the  
better (pieces of) chest meat  
at about sixty ḡōsāā.

Fine. Well now, then, please  
come day after tomorrow! When  
you're buying meat.

Yes.

And then, I'll bring the chest  
meat here for you.

Yes.

Now, today you got very good  
meat, cook.

Thank you. Well now, then ...

Now, for the present, goodbye  
("please go slowly").

Yes. Well now, for the present,



laa, qh<sup>h</sup>IT šuù! ānT, s<sup>h</sup>ānT  
 sūū<sup>h</sup>tūm ŋoqāā c<sup>h</sup>āqT yīī.  
 ānT, t<sup>h</sup>ēqāā šuqT yīī, t<sup>h</sup>īnēē.

older sister pēētsōō, goodbye.  
 And then, I'll come to buy meat  
 tomorrow. And then, I'll be a  
 regular customer from now on.

S: lēs. tho che.

Fine. Thank you.

B: qharē sego rēē? tshōōšāā.

What should I say? [t<sup>h</sup>ēqāā  
 (Mr. Nornang: t<sup>h</sup>Tqāā) was a  
 Hindi loan-word.] tshōōšāā/  
 regular customer.

S: ānT onā, tēē tshōōšāā nāārōō  
 naa! šāpēē tsāā l<sup>h</sup> mhāpēērōō  
 naa! ŋarāā tshu, tshōōšāā  
 nāā šuurōō naa!

Well now, then, please be a  
 regular customer here! Please  
 don't go to other people's  
 places! Please remain our  
 regular customer!

## chāāsā

## Weddings

P: Parent wishing to arrange a wedding in Lhasa (Mr. Nornang)

R: Resident of Lhasa (Mrs. Karsip)

P: ηεε pūqu thi chāāsā kaà qoo  
sām chunēēnT, lhēēsā ηoo  
la chāāsēē luqsūū ηaa kūū  
mēē. khērāā qhi, ηaa yaa  
qālōp nāārōō naa aa!

I was thinking I should hold my boy's wedding, but I don't know the wedding customs of the Lhasa area. Please give me some advice!

R: lēs.

Certainly.

P: chāāsāā tosōō qhΛqΛtsΛ tūq(T  
γ)ōō rēē?

About how much do the expenses for a wedding come to?

R: thūūsΛ, tosōō, ti, thūūsΛ,  
kēēlōō qhi thōō la tūqT  
retāā?

As for these wedding expenses, that depends on the degree of elaborateness of the wedding, is that right?

P: ōō, kēēpaa, qhΛqΛtsΛ tūqT  
rēē?

Well, for a fairly elaborate one, about how much would they come to?

R: oo, kēēpaa, totsēē tōṅtāā,  
thūqtūū, phēēcēē tūqT yūkt

Well, for a fairly elaborate one, they may, probably, come

reè.

P: cheēnā, ȳaa ȳūū tḷqḷtsa rāā  
mēè tee, ȳīīnēē, thā tḷȳa  
chi ȳūqT ȳūkT reè.

R: chaātōō chḷḷḷȳūū qhḷtsēē  
ȳōōpa nōō?

P: ātā tōḷtāā ḥTḥtsa chi mātōō  
mēè.

R: ōō, ta onā tḷȳaa ra chi thā,  
tḷ ȳūqT reè. thā tḷi thōō  
nēē, ḷnT ... sūūtsTḷ thā  
qhāāqā, tōqo repāā?

P: ōō reè, thā. ḷnT thā chāā-  
sēē cheqō rḷpa qharē qharē  
ȳōnaa.

R: chāāsēē nāqō, mm, thāqō  
nāmaa šēeyāā [better:

to six or seven thousand tōtsēē.

In that case, I don't have quite  
that much money, but now, a  
medium-size one might be  
possible.

I wonder how much money you have  
on hand?

Right now I only have about  
two thousand (tōtsēē).

Mm, well now, as for a medium-  
size one now, this would be  
possible. Now, from this  
(amount of money), then ...  
the food and everything have  
to come, is that right?

That's right, now. And then,  
now, I wonder what things must  
be done in connection with the  
wedding.

As for the things which must  
be done in connection with the

šeeñēē] qhī phomō chī

(y)ɔ̀ɔ̀ retāā?

P: ɔ̀ɔ̀.

R: tēē yaa, "kēēsū" s chēē nī,  
cTq tāā nāqo reē. kēcā  
chātsāā sīiqu reē. "qhūū-  
sū" s chēē nī, thuqlōō  
chātsāā.

P: ɔ̀ɔ̀.

R: ānT, šēēpēē nīmū tēē, ānT  
... phomōō thuqlōō tʌ kēcā  
rhTq thī, ānT, phūū nāā nēē  
tāā nāqo reē.

P: ɔ̀ɔ̀, qhāāqā phūū nāā nēē tāā  
quq(T y)ɔ̀ɔ̀ reē.

R: phūū nāā nēē tāqo reē. tīī

wedding, mm, first, there's a  
girl to be received as the nāmā  
(bride asked for by the bride-  
grooms' family), isn't there?

Yes.

To her, there's something called  
the "kēēsū" (a set of "welcoming  
ornaments") that has to be sent.  
You have to buy a set of orna-  
ments. (And) a set of clothes,  
called the "qhūūsū" ("welcoming  
clothes").

Yes.

And then, on the reception day  
[when they go to get the nāmā],  
then ... all of the girl's  
clothes and ornaments, then,  
must be sent by the boy's family.

Oh, everything must be sent by  
the boy's family.

Yes, the boy's family has to

min ɬa "kēēsū taa qhūūsū"

sepa reè.

P: ǝǝ, kēēsū, qhūūsū ... tɬ  
mēpēe cheqō qharē qharē yɔ̀  
reè?

R: ǝǝ, tɬ mēpēe nāqō, ʌnT, tɬ  
yɔ̀ reè ... ʌlēē, t̥hūūsʌ  
mākōō qōō ɬa yaa, lōōcāā  
tāā nāqo reè.

P: lōōcāā n̄ɬqaa tɬ ... phūū  
nāā qhɬ phāmā tshu ɬoqo reē,  
yāā qūtsʌp ɾʌp ɬɬēē chɬɬ  
nɬ, ɬɬq(T y)ɔ̀ reè?

R: lōōcāā qhɬ qhūtūū, phūū nāā  
qhɬ, phāmā n̄T chēē, phū  
chēē ... ǝǝ, qūtsʌp, cTq

send it. It's called the "wel-  
coming ornaments and welcoming  
clothes".

Mm, welcoming ornaments, wel-  
coming clothes ... Aside from  
this, what things have to be  
done?

Mm, as for the things that have  
to be done aside from this,  
then, there's this ... first,  
before holding the wedding, you  
have to give the engagement wine  
party.

On this day of the engagement  
wine party ... do the parents  
of the boy's family have to go,  
or is it all right if some sort  
of representative goes?

At the time of the engagement  
wine party, both parents of the  
boy's family, the boy, and ...

cheè, "qūtsāp" senēē, tha  
 qhēēkāā chī cheè, tīqēē  
 phēēqo reè.

P: phu tha qhāāqā, phomōō nāā  
 la to quq(T γ)ɔ̀ reè. repēē?

R: mm, phu tha qhāāqā, yōō ni,  
 cheñēē ɔ̀ reè. mayōōpa  
 cēē, "qūtsāp" s cTqōō chTī  
 ni, cheñēē ɔ̀ reè. qhāāqā  
 yōō ni, cheñēē, phomōō nāā  
 tēē yōō; ōō, tha yīcTī mīcTī  
 phu yōō serā tā qhēē ɔ̀  
 marēē. yōō ni, ānT ... tī  
 chīqT reè: phētsūū, ānT, lō  
 thūpa taa, tīqēē thi cheēpēē  
 yīqT chī cheè; tīi qūp la  
 yaa, phāma nTī qhi thēetsē  
 kap; ānT, tīi qhāā la yaa,  
 qhēēkāā, qhi, thēetsē kapqT  
 reè.

mm, a representative, or rather  
 ("even though I said 'representative'"), now, a witness,  
 these have to go.

The boy and everyone have to  
 go to the girl's home. Is  
 that right?

Mm, in some cases, the boy and  
 everyone come. In some cases,  
 they don't come; only a "representative" goes. If they all  
 come, they come to the girl's  
 home; but there's no (rule)  
 saying that the boy must be sure  
 to come. After they come, then  
 ... they do this: as soon as  
 they reach a mutual agreement,  
 they draw up a document with  
 these things in it; at the  
 bottom of this, both parents  
 affix their seals; and then, in  
 addition, the witness affixes  
 his seal.

P: ǒǒtsTl̄, qhēēkāā cētāā ē  
quqT̄ (y)ǒǒ yīpA reē.

R: qhēēkāā qǒǒ reē.

P: āā, tI tA tuqcāā šetāā reē,  
retāā? ... ɲa nT̄, yāā tIṭēē  
mēpA reē, sām chu.

R: qǒǒ reē. sō sōsō, chāāsā  
kaptūū, kuryāā mēpēē, mitsāā  
reē re nēē qhēēkāā reē re  
qǒǒ reē. phū ɲōō nēē cTl̄  
taa phomō ɲōō nēē cTl̄.

P: ǒǒ, cheenā, tI tēetsA tuqcāā  
reē, retāā?

R: tha, ɲāmōō loqsōō rA chI  
retāā? "tuqcāā" senēē.

P: ānT̄, lōōcāā qāā lA, qharē  
qharē cheqo reē? qhāāqā  
chTl̄ nI, qhēēkāā qhI theetsē  
tsūū; ānT̄, taqā yīpA reē.

Oh, my, it seems one needs a  
witness, and so forth, too.

Yes, you need a witness.

Ah, as for this, it's very bad,  
isn't it? ... I thought it was  
different from this.

Yes, you need one. So that  
there won't be any changes [in  
the agreement] when they get  
married, there has to be a  
witness from each household.  
One from the boy's side and  
one from the girl's side.

Mm, if that's so, it's rather  
bad, isn't it?

Now, it's an old custom, isn't  
it? Even if you say it's "bad".

And then, during the engagement  
wine party, what things have to  
be done? Everyone goes, and  
the witnesses affix seals, and

R: lōōcāā qhī nīmū tī, ānT,  
 sūūtsTī qhī tōsōō tīqēē  
 qhāāqā, phūū nāā nēē tāā  
 nāqo rēē. ānT, tīi nīmū  
 tī, ānT ... phomōō, pāpā,  
 āmā, qhāāqāā, ānT ... qū-  
 qēē phūū nāqo rēē. "qho-  
 cēē, t̥huutsT", señēē r̥ap̥a,  
 ānT, ŋūū th̥a cT̥tāā chēē,  
 ānT, tīi nīmū tī, ānT,  
 "phomō tshūū, lēpēē thi  
 yT̥T" s chēē, phomōō "nurT̥T"  
 señēē chi t̥ēē nāqo rēē.

P: "nurT̥T" señēē tī, qh̥aq̥ats̥a  
 phūūqu rēē?

R: "nurT̥T" señēē tī, th̥a nāmēē  
 nātsōō r̥a chi phūūnēē yōō  
 rēē. qh̥āšēē qhī nT̥ tōtsēē

then, I suppose, that's it.

On this day of the engagement  
 wine party, then, the boy's  
 family has to give all these  
 expenses for the food. And  
 then, on this day, then ...  
 they have to give a share ...  
 to the girl's father, mother,  
 everyone, then. The things  
 called "brocade and fine silk"  
 and then, money and so forth,  
 and then, on this day, then,  
 saying "This is for receiving  
 the girl", they have to pay a  
 thing called the girl's "milk  
 price".

As for this thing called the  
 "milk price", about how much  
 do they have to give?

As for this thing called the  
 "milk price", now, there are  
 differences in what they give.



chēqtōōtsa, nētōōtsa; qhā-  
šēē qhi nT, ḡāpcūtsa, katsa  
sūmkātsa.

P: ōō, tha kēēpēē tōḡtāā nTT sūm  
rāpā phūū quq(T y)ḡḡ rēē.  
nurTT thi tsōō, āmāā, phūū  
quq(T y)ḡḡ repēē?

R: nurTT tsōō, āmāā phūūqu rēē.

P: ōō, ānT, tḡqēē tshāā ni, tha,  
ḡūūšTT nḡqāā tḡ, ānT, qharē  
qharē cheqo rēē?

R: tḡūūsā ḡūūšTT nḡqāā tḡ, ānT  
... phomō lēqāā tōyāā qhi,  
ānT, thūūtsūū thi qhapāā  
khTTqT tōō? tāqo rēē. tshē-  
tāā tēē ni, ḡāmcTḡ tha cTtāā

Some (may give) about a thousand  
or two thousand tōtsēē; some  
about fifty, or a hundred, or  
three hundred.

Mm, now, (I've heard that) the  
grander ones have to give on  
the order of two or three thou-  
sand. As for this milk price,  
does it have to be given mainly  
to the mother?

Yes, the milk price has to be  
given mainly to the mother.

Mm, and then, when these things  
are finished, now, on the actual  
(wedding) day, what things do  
you have to do?

As for the actual wedding day,  
then ... you have to look up  
the time [with the aid of an  
astrologer], then, for going to  
get the girl. After you look

qhāāqā ... tīqēē tī qhāāqā  
 tēē, tshāā sona, ānT, phomō  
 maa sūqāā tōñēē qhī tāpā  
 qhāšēē tāā nāqo rēē. qūtsāp  
 chēē phūū nāā qhī, tī qhāā  
 lā yaa, ānT, māñēē, phomō  
 lēē cēē, ānT, tēē qhāā lā  
 kōō chēē, ānT, phūū nāā lā  
 yaa thTī phēēqo rēē.

up everything, the day, the time  
 (of day), and so forth ... after  
 you finish looking up all these  
 things, then, you have to send  
 some horsemen who go down to  
 welcome the girl. With a repre-  
 sentative in addition to these  
 (horsemen) of the boy's family,  
 then, they get the girl from down  
 there and, then, they put her on  
 the horse and, then, they have to  
 bring her to the boy's home.

P: tā tī, qōōmā, tTqT kTkū yōōpā  
 chī quq(T y)ōō mārēē?

Doesn't this horse have to be  
 a pregnant mare?

R: tā thī chūūnā, qōōmā tTqT  
 kTkū yōōpā chī; mācūūnā,  
 qōōmā chī. "thēē" sēñēē  
 thī khōñēē sōñēē yōō mārēē.

As for the horse, if you can get  
 it, a pregnant mare; if you can't  
 get it, (simply) a mare. As for  
 this (animal) called a "mule",  
 no-one ever rides it.

P: ānT, sūñēē yūūtūū, phūū nāā  
 lā thātTī rāpā tītēē cheqo  
 repēē? "phu" seqo rēē?

And then, (for) when the ones  
 who welcome (the bride) come,  
 does one have to make some sort

tha phom<sup>oo</sup> nãã lã.

of preparations in the boy's home? Should I say "boy"? Now, (I mean) in the girl's home.

R: ãã, sũñēē yũũtũũ, phom<sup>oo</sup> nãã lã, thãtTĩ cheqo reè.  
phom<sup>oo</sup> nãã lã sũñēē lēē ni,  
sũñēē tĩqēē thĩ phãqēē šũũ;  
tĩqēē lã thomã tēēsT tãã;  
sōōcã phũũ; ... ãnT, tĩnēē,  
thũũtsũũ tãqtãã cTq lã  
qhēē sona, ãnT sũñēē tĩqēē  
yaa lãã; tã lã kōō; ãnT  
thTĩ tũqT reè. ãnT tĩnēē  
chũũnã, lãqãã chēqãtsã cTĩ  
lã yaa, ãnT yãã phũũ nãã  
nēē, "sũcãã" s chēē ni cTq  
tãqo reè.

Yes, (for) when the ones who welcome (the bride) come, they have to make preparations in the girl's home. When the welcomers arrive at the girl's home, those welcomers sit down over there; they serve them (a dish of) yams with rice, sugar, and melted butter; they give them tea; ... and then, as soon as the exact time arrives, then those welcomers get up; they put (the bride) on the horse; and then they take her away. And then, if it is possible, at around the midpoint on the way, then the boy's family has to serve something called the "welcoming wine".

P: ǒǒ, ǒǒ, lǎqāā chēqātsa cTl  
 l ʌ yāā sūñēē cTq, sūñēē  
 nTTPāl chi.

R: sūñēē nTTPāl chi. qhāšēē  
 qeē "thāqō, nTTPāl, sūpāl" s  
 chēē ni ē yāō reē, slqTl.

P: ānT, tha, "qēlā" señēē chi  
 quūkū yāō marepēē? phomōō  
 nāā neē.

R: yāō reē.

P: manlōō quūqT reē?

R: tī mītsāā chTcūū qhī tuqT  
 reē. mītsāā chēpō yTīnāl  
 nT, šītāā quūqT reē. man-  
 šōō phomōō kēcāā tuqT reē.

P: mm.

Mm, yes, at about the midpoint  
 on the way, there's also a  
 welcomer, that is, a second  
 welcomer.

Yes, a second welcomer. I've  
 heard it said some even use  
 ones called "first, second, and  
 third".

And then, now, isn't there a  
 thing called a "share" [of  
 property to be given to the  
 daughter] to be sent? That is,  
 by the girl's family.

Yes, there is.

How much do they send?

It goes in accordance with the  
 size of the household. In the  
 case of a big household, they  
 send a great deal. Most goes  
 for the girl's ornaments.

Mm.

R: phom<sup>oo</sup> kēcaa phēecēē, totsēē  
chTqtT sim masTm nēēqT mēē  
tōō.

P: ōō.

R: ānT, tii qhāā la thuqlōō.

P: ānT, chāāsāā chēēnā, lēēqā  
cheyāā šipū qhēē mītūqā,  
chāāsēē nīqāā.

R: chāāsēē nīqāā ti, ānT, phomō  
maqēē lēē ni, qarōō cTī nēē,  
phom<sup>oo</sup> nāqmT yūqT rēē. pho-  
mōō nāqmT yōōnā, ānT, nāqmT  
tha, ānT, nāā qhi tiqēē qhāā-  
qāā, ānT, sūūtsTī nāqo rēē.

P: tha, thoōtō tāāyāā ti mātoō,

For the girl's ornaments it  
probably costs ten thousand  
totsēē, more or less.

Oh.

And then, on top of this, the  
clothes.

And then, for the wedding, in  
that case, there isn't any very  
great deal of work to be done,  
is there, that is, on the  
wedding day.

As for the wedding day, then,  
quite a while after the girl  
arrives, the members of the  
girl's family come. When the  
members of the girl's family  
come, then, the members of the  
family and, then, all these  
(people) of the family, then,  
must be given food.

Now, except for giving this

šēē qhēē yɔ̀ɔ̀ m̄arepāa?

R: thoōtō t̄āā n̄āyāa t̄l m̄ētōō,  
šāpēē cheyāa qhēē yɔ̀ɔ̀ m̄arēē.  
tha t̄l n̄ēē m̄aa phomō thāqō  
m̄aa yūūtūū tsā n̄ēē, m̄aqēē  
phēē sona, tshōmcēē rapa  
qhāpāa ȳl̄n̄ēē, šuūsā yāqā  
cT̄l̄ l̄a yaa šutēē yēē t̄ēē  
chēē, yōōt̄ēē chēē cT̄q kōō  
šāaqo rēē.

P: āā.

R: t̄l̄n̄ēē, ānT̄, t̄l̄l̄ qhāā l̄a yaa  
... šuqt̄ēē t̄āqo rēē.

P: ānT̄, "n̄ēēl̄ōō" sēn̄ēē t̄l̄,  
thūūtsūū qhōrā tēē t̄āā s̄erā  
qhēē yɔ̀ɔ̀ m̄arepēē?

party, otherwise there isn't  
anything, is that right?

No, except for giving this  
party, there isn't anything  
else to be done. Now, then,  
when the girl first comes down  
from there [that is, from up-  
stairs], as soon as she comes  
down there, in the living room  
or wherever it may be where  
there's the best ("better")  
place to sit, they must put  
down a row of cushions on the  
right side and a row on the  
left side.

Ah, yes.

Then they have to sit in a row  
... on these.

And then, as for this (party)  
called the "n̄ēēl̄ōō", isn't there  
any (rule) saying that this

R: "ñēēlō" señēē thi thūūtsūū  
 tēē tāā serΛ qhēē yōō marēē.  
 qhāšēē qhi lo cTq tsΛ lΛ  
 tāāñēē yōō reē. qhāšēē qhi  
 tawā ñTtsūm lΛ tāāñēē yōō  
 reē.

P: lo cTqtsΛ chīT ni, ānT yāā  
 ñēēlō tāā; "ñēēlō" señēē  
 thi, tha, phomōō nāā nēē tāqT  
 repēē? nāmaa tōñēē tii nāā  
 nēē.

R: "ñēēlō" señēē thi tāāpēē  
 qhāā lΛ, phomōō nāā nēē,  
 sūūtsTì phūūqu reē. ñimΛ

should be given at a certain  
 time?

No, as for this (party) called  
 the "ñēēlō", there isn't any  
 (rule) saying that this should  
 be given at a certain time.  
 There are some who give it after  
 about a year. There are some  
 who give it in two or three  
 months.

After about a year passes, then  
 they give the ñēēlō; as for  
 this (party) called the "ñēē-  
 lō", now, is it given by the  
 girl's family? That is, by the  
 family of the one who goes to  
 become a nāmā [that is, who is  
 asked for by the boy's family].

While they give this (party)  
 called the "ñēēlō", the girl's  
 family must give a feast.

t̥h̥u̯ù t̥u̯ũ k̥ɛ̀ ɾaɾa t̥i̯t̥ɛ̀  
ph̥u̯ũqu r̥ɛ̀.

P: s̥u̯ũts̥i̯ chi m̥at̥ɔ̯, ʃ̥ɛ̀  
ʃ̥ap̥ɛ̀ qh̥ɛ̀ chey̯aa qh̥ɛ̀ y̯ɔ̯  
m̥aret̥aa?

R: s̥u̯ũts̥i̯ chi m̥et̥ɔ̯ ʃ̥ɛ̀  
ʃ̥ap̥ɛ̀ chey̯aa qh̥ɛ̀ y̯ɔ̯ m̥ar̥ɛ̀.

P: ɲa n̥T̥ y̯aa ... y̯aa ph̥u̯ũ ph̥am̥a  
n̥ɛ̯ m̥aa s̥u̯ũ thi c̥ɛ̯t̥aa, ph̥u̯ũ  
quq(T̥ y̯)ɔ̯ r̥ɛ̀, s̥am̥ chu.  
c̥T̥q n̥ams̥a soy̯aa ɾaɾa t̥i̯t̥ɛ̀  
c̥ɛ̯t̥aa.

R: aa l̥ɛ̯. n̥ɛ̯l̥ɔ̯ qh̥aa l̥,  
o̯o r̥ɛ̀, ph̥aa ph̥u̯ũqu r̥ɛ̀,  
ph̥om̥o̯o n̥aa n̥ɛ̯ ph̥u̯ũ n̥aa qh̥i  
t̥l̥q̥ɛ̀ t̥ɛ̀.

P: o̯o ... th̥ɛ̯s̥aa ch̥ɛ̯n̥a, "ch̥aa̯-  
s̥a" s̥ɛ̯n̥ɛ̯ thi k̥ap̥ɛ̀ qut̥u̯ũ,

("food"). They have to give  
one for something on the order  
of six or seven or eight days.

Aside from the feast, there  
isn't anything else to be done,  
is there?

No, aside from the feast, there  
isn't anything else to be done.

I, however ... however, thought,  
from the boy's parents on down,  
and so forth, they had to give  
(something). Say, for instance,  
things (fabrics) for making  
clothes, and so forth.

Oh, I see. During the n̥ɛ̯l̥ɔ̯,  
yes, that's right, they have to  
give (something), that is, from  
the girl's family to those in  
the boy's family.

Yes ... these days, then they  
get "married", unless the



phāmaa phaa tshūu lōō ni  
mātōō, kaañēē yōō marēpa.

R: aa, phāmaa phaa tsōō lōō  
ni, kaañēē yōō reē, yāā.  
sōsō tōpā thūū ni, kaañēē  
yōō reē.

P: ōō, qhāqT māḡa yōnaa.

R: phēēcēē cTqpātṣa mēē tōō.

P: ōō ... onā, chāāsā tḡ mā-  
tsāa pātōō, khērāā qhḡ rōrām  
nāārōō naa!

R: lōō lās. yītḡ ta mēē.

P: thūūqēē thā māsōōnā, qhāāqā  
khērāā qhḡ šeerōō naa! ānT,  
tha, ḡāñTḡ tḡtḡTḡ nāqo yōō  
tsāā, tḡtsū, qōōcā tḡtsū ...  
mhātsāāpā mēēpā chḡ, yaqō

parents have asked each other,  
they don't get married, you  
know.

Ah, there are those who, after  
the parents ask each other, get  
married. There are also those  
who take a liking to each other  
and get married.

Mm, I wonder which is more  
common.

Probably they're about equally  
common ("the same").

Mm ... well now, until this  
wedding is over, will you please  
help me?

Certainly. By all means.

Will you please take all of the  
responsibility, as it were  
[responsibility which the father  
would normally assume]? And  
then, now, since we two will

chi, sapsāl nāārōō naa!

want to make preparations,  
these things, all the things  
that are needed ... please  
see them through to completion,  
in a good manner, and with  
care!

R: lōō lēs. tha qōōcā, ṇūūšT  
ñīqāā thi yāā chTqpāl cTtāā  
tīī mālTī chūūnāl nT, yāā.  
thīrT qhēēsāl mōtēē nāā lA  
tōñēē yōō reē.

Certainly. Now, as for the  
things that are needed, on  
the actual (wedding) day, it  
doesn't matter if you can  
arrange for the horses or not.  
These days there are those who  
go in automobiles.

P: āā.

Ah.

R: ānT tīnēē, thāqō tēē, chāl-  
ṇūū thūm kōō cēē, rākālA  
cTtāā yūqT reē. tītūū nāā-  
cōō nāqo reē.

And then, first, you wrap money  
in white-cloth packets, and the  
[low-caste] rākālA and so forth  
come. At this time you have to  
be ready to do whatever is  
necessary.

P: ōō, ōō. thāqō tēē rākālA

Yes, yes. First, I suppose,

tēyāā thī thā tīī quqT  
yɔ̀ɔ̀ yīpʌ reè. tīnēè?

R: thā, tīnēè "rākāpēè āmā,  
pēētōḡʌ" seḡēē thētsō qhāāqā  
pāā chēē yūqT reè. māā nāā-  
yāā thātī nāāpēē chūū nēē,  
thāqō rākāpāā nāqo reè.  
tītēè rʌ chēē pāā chēē yūqT  
reè.

one must prepare the things to  
be given to the rākāpʌ. And  
then?

Now, then, all those called the  
"rākāpʌ women and the pēētōḡʌ  
[another low-caste group]" come,  
one after another. Of the  
things prepared to be given  
("down"), first one has to give  
to the rākāpʌ. They come one  
after the other like this.



## 中 文 摘 要

這些材料是 1960 到 1963 年在美國西雅圖(華盛頓州立大學)搜集的。發音人都是生在拉薩。可是因為受教育，遷居等原因，也許說的話不是純粹拉薩(Lhasa)方言。其實，甚麼是拉薩方言，誰能代表拉薩方言這些問題都很難回答的。我們跟這兩位西藏朋友整整學了三年的藏語。我們發現語言實在是一種流動的東西。雖然他們知道某個詞應該怎麼說，可是實際上，他們的發音常常有前後不一致的地方。我們記音的時候儘量的標準化了。可是我們還故意的保留了一些不一致的地方。這些異讀也許是方音的混雜，也許是語音變化的徵兆或痕跡。

我們實在佩服這兩位西藏朋友，他們能夠討論西藏的文化社會政治經濟風俗習慣以及日常生活，他們的知識相當豐富。他們說的當然未必完全正確。不過我們目的是研究藏語。我們相信非語言學家會對於這些材料發生興趣的。

這一冊語料包括遊牧生活，教育制度，達賴啦嘛的宮殿，服飾，澡堂，飯店，旗店，肉市，婚姻。排列的次序完全是隨便的。



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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general

discussion of the problem of the

existence of solutions of the

boundary value problem for the

Dirichlet problem for the

equation of the Laplace type

in the case of a domain with

piecewise smooth boundary.

2. In the second part of the paper the

problem of the existence of solutions of the

Dirichlet problem for the

equation of the Laplace type

in the case of a domain with

piecewise smooth boundary is

considered in detail.

3. In the third part of the paper

the problem of the existence of solutions of the

Dirichlet problem for the

equation of the Laplace type

in the case of a domain with

piecewise smooth boundary is

considered in detail.