

CAREFUL VILLAGE AND OTHER KHASHAG FROM TIBET

Careful Village and Other Khashag from Tibet

The Amdo Comedies of Menla Jyab

Menla Jyab With translation and introduction by Timothy Thurston and Tsering Samdrup





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©2025 Menla Jyab
(author)
©2025 Timothy Thurston and Tsering Samdrup
(translation and notes)





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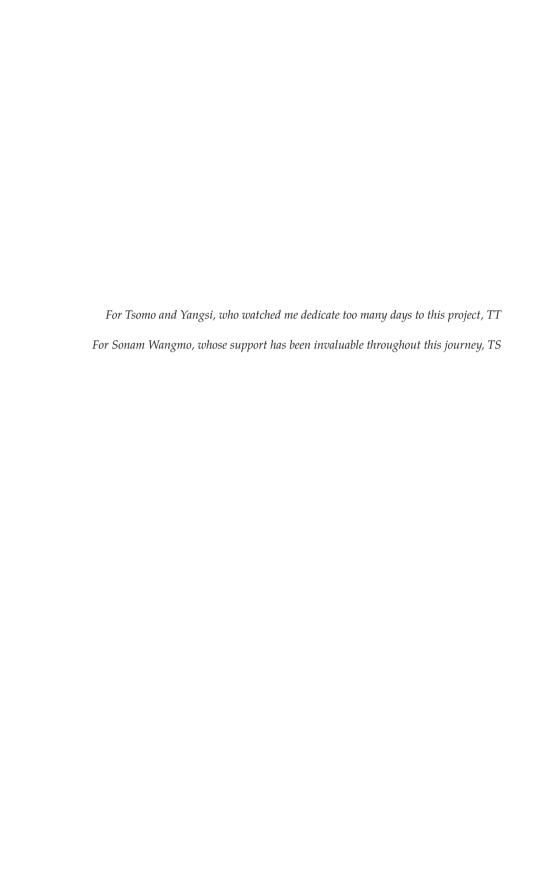


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Statement about Romanization and Languages

This book focuses on a series of popular comedic dialogues originally performed in the Amdo dialect of Tibetan, spoken in the Northeastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. The performances mix highly localized (and sometimes earthy) expressive practices, with oral traditions and eloquent turns of phrase, all sprinkled liberally with literary and honorific registers of Tibetan. Some performances present ungrammatical speech, and others insert Chinese language words and phrases within otherwise Tibetan speech. This has presented some difficulties for how we render non-Tibetan terms in Tibetan transcription, as well as how we have approached translation and transliteration. This note introduces some of the conventions we have used throughout this book.

Presentation of Amdo Dialect

The Tibetan versions are based on transcriptions made from recordings of the performances, rather than original scripts. Some readers may be aware that Menla Jyab (the comedian whose work is translated in this volume) recently published his collected works (Sman bla skyabs 2024), including a volume containing the eleven scripts presented here. Menla Jyab is aware of this project and has given permission for us to translate and publish these texts. He did not, however, provide us with his scripts when we began the project. As a result, we have chosen to transcribe the texts directly from the recordings we have accessed online. Our transcriptions differ from Menla Jyab's recent publication primarily in terms of

presentation and spelling of oral Amdo Tibetan (Sman bla skyabs 2024). Menla rendered many of the colloquial terms and grammatical syllables into literary Tibetan, aligning them with standard written forms, and often used his own distinctive spellings for certain colloquial expressions and words rarely seen in literary texts. In contrast, we transcribed them as they were spoken during the performances, aiming to reflect how an Amdo speaker would hear and write them.

We have tried to render the Tibetan of the Amdo dialect as we hear it. This is likely to be a controversial choice in Tibetan (and Tibetological) circles, where writing often follows strict conventions of spelling, grammar, and lexicon, and many Tibetans tend to resist attempts to write oral forms of Tibetan. In Amdo, attempts to write in "vernacular" (শ্ৰান্ত্ৰী) date back at least to the seventeenth-century songs of realization (ম্বুম্নু) by Shar Kalden Gyamtso (ব্ৰুম্বুর্ট্রাইনিট্র্ see Mog chung phur kho 2010). In these songs he sometimes used words like re ma (ইন্ট্রা) meaning "quickly," which are specific to the oral registers of Tibetan. More recently, many Amdo Tibetan authors of modern literature have written some words and particles of Amdo Tibetan speech in the dialogues of their characters, including, perhaps most famously, Dondrup Gyal (১৭০০) who is sometimes credited as one of the founders of modern Tibetan literature. Despite these fleeting attempts, writing in vernacular remains much closer to the literary Tibetan ideal than a true writing in dialect.

Suzuki and Zou (2024, p. 7), writing from the perspective of language preservation research, argue that it is important to present language as it is spoken. In an attempt to make language documentation materials more available to Tibetan communities, they have attempted to write oral folktales in Tibetan using literary Tibetan orthography as much as possible, but writing grammatical words and particles as pronounced. This stems from a novel sort of intervention in Tibetan language, built on collaborations between foreign and local scholars and based in a particular set of sociolinguistic discourses about entextualizing language and communication for documentation purposes.

Our project and its approach parallel that of Suzuki and Zou (though we were unaware of it until a reviewer brought it to our attention) in many ways. We are a collaboration of Tibetan and non-Tibetan scholars, working from a sociolinguistic perspective to study the languages and cultures of Amdo. Our solution, however, differs significantly from theirs. Because the

texts that we translate here emphasize and foreground verbal art and play—including rhyme, assonance, punning, and more—that only make sense in the Amdo dialect, our treatment thus privileges spelling conventions based in oral Amdo pronunciations. This practice is not without precedent, but is done in dialogue with (though not always in agreement with) the spelling practices employed by Amdo's authors and intellectuals.

Tibetan authors and intellectuals are also not in agreement about how best to render Amdo dialect in Tibetan script. For example, for the verb "to do," often written as 55, author Don grub rgyal writes ye ($\frac{1}{2}$) in his 1980 comedy script "Studying Tibetan" (র্নির্'র্মিন্'ম্বা), while the Amdo Oral Dictionary (ष्य अर्देते व अर्दे व अर्देन) uses yed (पेर्च) ('Brug rgyal mkhar 2007). In other instances, our choices were more straightforward. With the verb "to go," for example, most sources agree on jyo (৭খ্ৰী) instead of the literary *dro* (৭খ্ৰী). Pronouns provide another point of disagreement. Amdo Tibetans rarely use khyed or khyed rang for the second singular pronoun (and when they do it is often because they are attempting to speak more formally or interact with someone who might be from another region). Instead, Amdo Tibetans usually say something that sounds to English speakers like *cho* ($/c^ho/$ in the International Phonetic Alphabet). Authors often write this either as [5] or [55]. With the agentive, it is often pronounced *chee* and may be written as [34], and the genitive is written as [\$\text{R}], which Menla Jyab pronounced like choo. Even though each of these terms have standard literary Tibetan spellings, literary spellings obscure the way Tibetans in Amdo speak and understand their dialect.1

Lacking consensus, we have done what makes the most sense to us based on our understandings of the region and its languages. We do not follow the spellings used by any single author or textbook, but we consistently use conventions that Amdo Tibetan readers should understand when they hear it read aloud, and that are consistent with Tibetan understandings of their written and spoken language. Some spellings are relatively stable. One example is when authors write myi (\mathfrak{F}) to express the colloquial Amdo version of the word for "person," often written in literary Tibetan as mi (\mathfrak{F}). Even though this makes the

¹ Amdo dialect textbooks also provide interesting models for spelling Amdo Tibetan. See, for example, Dpal Idan bkra shis 2016, and Sung and Lha byams rgyal 2005.

Tibetan texts a little confusing for Tibetan readers less familiar with the Amdo dialect, we consider this approach an essential component of understanding the texts on their own terms and as originally performed. The following is a partial list comparing literary Tibetan terms with the spellings we have chosen for oral Amdo.

Literary Tibetan	Our Amdo Transcription	Translation
दर्गे	द्यें	to go (present)
91	^{થે} ન	do (present)
9 <u>~</u>	শ্বা	do (past)
ર્ચ	<u>8</u>	person/people
টিনা	हिं। हिं-५वे	you
টি ন'খী	<u> </u>	you + genitive marker
ন্ত্ৰ	8	easy
ঠ ্মশ	<u> </u>	eye
वैया ठेया	디크리	indefinite article
देन् रुष ८ स्ट्री देन् स्ट्रा	देन्।ष्य देःकी	we
受	<u></u>	plural marker
बेर	디ヨ	quotative marker
বেহাৰ	বেত্ৰীৰ	comparable
କ୍ରିୟମ	ৰ-লশ্ব	children
ট্রি≒'গ্রী∾	<u> </u>	you + ergative marker
[4.8]	चिर:क्री	they
રુ.તા.ત્ત્રીવા	ळे.चीवा	no
ষ্ট 'ব <u>্</u> ব[જ્ર-સ્ <u>ર્</u>	how
धे	<u></u> গূ	crying

প্রব	[5]	to be able to lift
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	that much
नी	নী	that
<u> नर्वोश</u>	न र्षे	to need/have to
વુડ.જો ડા	જા પ્યે	women/wife

This table may begin to make some of the features of Amdo Tibetan available to readers of Tibetan, but we have also preserved Amdo grammatical and pragmatic features, many of which differ significantly from literary Tibetan. Additionally, for many interjections, aspect and tense markers, and even some terminologies, there are no equivalents in literary Tibetan. In these instances, we are again guided by some of the options presented by Tibetan authors. Examples include the particle $no(\tilde{q})$ used to create relative clauses, as well as the particle $ni(\tilde{q})$ used in the formation of past aspect verb phrases. Beyond these, there are several words, interjections, and phrases specific to Amdo Tibetan speech like the noun laha (ལ་ད།) referring to a particular breed of sheep, tsaya (র্জ-াম্বা) meaning "good" or "impressive," as well as the phrase dokwo, meaning "the so-called" or "that thing which is," and which we have seen rendered as पर्वापी as well as पर्वा and पर्देवार्वे. Many of these have no commonly accepted standard spelling even within Amdo, and we have used our judgement with how to render it in text. The Introduction also describes many other features of the language used in performance in hopes of making these texts legible and comprehensible, without obscuring their embeddedness in the language practices of a particular place (Amdo) and time (the 1980s and 1990s).

Presentation of Chinese Words

Additionally, in performances in which Mandarin words are used, Tibetan transliteration of Chinese terms and phrases follows Tsering Samdrup's ear and approximation of the sounds. We had considered using the system in the Chinese-Tibetan Dictionary (汉藏字典), but decided that since the pronunciations are based on the Lhasa dialect of Tibetan, these spellings would obstruct the Tibetan reader's ability to

approach the text on Amdo Tibetan terms. We also include the Chinese character in parentheses at the first usage in both the Tibetan and in the English translation. In the English translations, we mark the Mandarin word in bold, and include the *pinyin* before the character. The following excerpt from "Boasting" may provide an example.

A: [scoffing] Heh, you really **don't understand** (bu liaojie 不了解) my **uncle's temper** (piqi 脾气). When he's in a bad **mood** (xinqing 心情), he comes, breaks all the **furniture** (jiaju 家具) in the home, and then leaves. Do you think it is okay to borrow from him?

B: [sighing] Huh, right. Right. It's a lot of **trouble** (*mafan* 麻烦) for a small **matter** (*shiqing* 事情). Yeah?

[प] री रेनी रेक्ट्रेक्क 事情.कट.र्टर.ब.खेब 麻烦.बाट.बी पूर्व हो.

Additionally, in some instances, the Chinese used places the predicate at the end of a phrase, in accordance with Tibetan (rather than Standard Mandarin) grammatical rules. In these cases, we have added an asterisk (*) in front of the Chinese characters in the Tibetan transcription (for example, *交道打), while using the structure of the Mandarin Chinese in the translation (打交道). In doing so, we aim to preserve readability while also letting readers recognize the language play in the original.

Presentation of Tibetan and Chinese Terms Transliterated in the English

Given that this is a translation, we have generally tried to keep transliterations of Tibetan words to a minimum. Nevertheless, translation of Tibetan terms has occasionally been unavoidable (particularly in the Introduction) and this translation presents yet another complication. There are several ways to transliterate Tibetan, none of them particularly suited for the Amdo dialect, and we have attempted an English transliteration based roughly on our own pronunciation of the words. Systems like the Extended Wylie Transliteration System are based on the Tibetan writing system. While this could ensure

intelligibility for people who read Tibetan, the unwieldy consonant clusters it renders are not exactly ideal for non-specialist readers. Nor does it seem especially suitable for such a thoroughly colloquial set of texts meant to be understood and read in Amdo Tibetan terms. We find other transliteration systems based solely on the Lhasa dialect (most widely studied and taught outside of China) similarly unsuitable.

As such, we have chosen to transliterate most Tibetan terms in the Introduction and in translations in a way that approximates Amdo Tibetan pronunciation. The one major exception is for names of public figures (authors, etc.) who may be best known by a transliteration in another system. For example, the name of author Dondrup Gyal might be pronounced as Dondrupjya in Amdo dialect, but we maintain the former spelling to ensure legibility for readers. In the Introduction, we accompany most transliterations with Tibetan script in parentheses. Within the comedies, transliterations are relatively few in the text and are limited primarily to names and interjections. For example, the names of the performers and characters like Menla Jyab, Phagmo, Phurwa, and Jyamtso, as well as common Amdo Tibetan interjections like aro, olé, ashirego, and ayoshe (for more, see the Introduction), and the interjection wei which may be from either Chinese (at the beginning of a sentence) or Tibetan (at the end of a sentence). Where necessary, we complement these with Tibetan script in parentheses to avoid potential misunderstandings.

Finally, though we have endeavoured to maintain uniformity throughout the text, some of these translations have been completed, edited, and re-organized over the course of several years. As such, some regrettable inconsistencies may remain and fault for this remains entirely our own.

Acknowledgements

The translators are grateful, in the first instance, to Menla Jyab for graciously allowing us to work on these transcripts. For Tim, these texts basically provided his primary source for studying the Amdo dialect of Tibetan, and very little of what has happened over the past fifteen years would have been possible without him/them.

We are grateful to our families for years of support as we have worked on this and other projects, sometimes apart from those we love. Tim Thurston is especially grateful to Tsomo and Yangsi who have patiently waited for him (for too long) to finish working with these comedies. Tsering Samdrup is extremely thankful for the unwavering support and encouragement provided by Sonam Wangmo throughout the many months of working on this project.

At the same time, we also wish to acknowledge and express our thanks to several people who have helped to make this publication possible. At the University of Leeds, we are grateful to project mentor Professor Thea Pitman, for offering guidance about this at different stages of the process. Tim also wishes to thank Ohio State's Mark Bender who—both with his words and his examples—has always encouraged translation and deep engagement with languages and cultures as a valuable component of the academic project. We are also grateful to the editors of Open Books Publishers and especially to Mark Turin, in his role as editor of the World Oral Literature Series, for his enthusiastic support of the project and willingness to work with bilingual publication. We are grateful for the comments of the peer reviewers whose work has improved our final publication.

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Finally, some English-only versions of two performances have previously been published elsewhere. An early translation of "Careful Village's Grassland Dispute" was published in full in *CHINOPERL: Journal of Chinese Oral and Performance Literature* (Thurston, 2013), and a translation of "The Dream" has previously appeared in volume 2 of *Yeshe: A Journal of Tibetan Arts Literature and Humanities* (Tsering Samdrup, 2022). Our thanks go to the reviewers of these journals for their constructive comments, as well as to the editors who have allowed us to republish these translations here.

Foreword

Mark Turin

In 2012, through a dynamic and collaborative partnership with Open Book Publishers, we launched the World Oral Literature Series to promote and preserve endangered and underrepresented forms of verbal art. Since then, the series has grown to include a wide range of unique texts that illuminate the diversity and creativity of spoken expression across the world. Each title in the series has presented new insights into what it means to speak, perform, remember, and create culture through language. It is with great pleasure and deep admiration that I welcome this new volume—*Careful Village and Other Khashag from Tibet: The Amdo Comedies of Menla Jyab*—into the growing collection of works that make up the World Oral Literature Series.

This volume is remarkable at many levels. First, it brings together a selection of comedic dialogues originally composed and performed in the Amdo dialect of Tibetan by the legendary artist Menla Jyab, and it makes these performances available to global readers for the first time through a richly annotated, bilingual edition. The work of translation and contextualization has been undertaken with extraordinary care by Timothy Thurston and Tsering Samdrup, two scholars whose combined linguistic fluency, cultural sensitivity, and ethnographic insights make them ideal stewards of this important material.

The genre at the heart of this book—*khashag*—may be unfamiliar to some readers. These fast-paced, witty dialogues are a cornerstone of modern Tibetan oral performance, blending satire, verbal artistry, parody, and pointed social commentary. While sometimes likened to Han Chinese *xiangsheng* (crosstalk), *khashag* is in fact a distinctively Tibetan form, rooted in local speech genres, performance traditions, and

cultural concerns. These performances reflect and refract contemporary life in Amdo, offering humorous yet incisive critiques of everything from marriage customs to administrative corruption. The texts are deeply embedded in Tibetan oral culture and yet engage fluidly with new media technologies, circulating online and on air, through radio broadcasts, cassette tapes, CDs, and now digital platforms.

And yet, for all their popularity among Tibetan audiences, these comedies have been largely overlooked in the scholarly literature on Tibet. In a field that has often prioritized classical texts, religious literature, and literary modernism, the colloquial, performative, and humorous dimensions of Tibetan cultural expression remained marginalized. This volume challenges that oversight head-on. It elevates *khashag* not only as a vital genre of Tibetan verbal art but also as a valuable source of historical, linguistic, and sociopolitical commentary. By rendering these scripts into English—and, crucially, by presenting the Tibetan original alongside for comparative analysis—the translators invite us to take *khashag* seriously as art and artifact.

The care with which this volume has been assembled is evident in every detail. The translators have transcribed the performances as they were spoken, preserving the distinctiveness of the Amdo dialect rather than smoothing and softening it into literary Tibetan. They have annotated the texts with linguistic and cultural notes that enhance accessibility without flattening the complexity of the source material. And they have introduced the volume with a deeply informed and engaging discussion of Menla Jyab's life, the history of the *khashag* genre, and the sociolinguistic environment in which these texts were created and are circulated.

Timothy Thurston and Tsering Samdrup have been collaborators for many years. Their partnership—marked by mutual respect, shared purpose, and an abiding commitment to community-engaged scholarship—shines through on every page. This is not translation from a distance. It is a form of sociocultural immersion and co-creation, and a manifestation of care. It is also, I believe, an exemplar of what collaborative scholarship in the twenty-first century can and should be.

That this work should focus on comedy is significant. In an era when Tibetan communities—like so many others—are navigating dramatic political, social, ecological, and technological transformations and

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challenges, humour becomes a vital mode of survival and critique. The comedies in this volume do not shy away from difficult topics. To the contrary, they speak of generational tensions, shifting gender roles, state intrusion, and changing pastoral economies. But they do so with wit, warmth, and a profound sense of the absurd. They invite laughter not to trivialize, but to illuminate and endure, restore and reclaim.

It is also worth noting that Careful Village and Other Khashag from Tibet arrives at a moment when orality and performance are enjoying renewed attention across disciplines. Scholars in anthropology, linguistics, literary studies, and performance studies are increasingly recognizing that spoken genres carry knowledge, memory, and social commentary in forms that are no less sophisticated than the written word. In this regard, the khashag comedies of Menla Jyab stand alongside other great oral traditions of the world: Nigerian stand-up satire, Indigenous Australian songlines, or Icelandic rímur poetry. They call out to be shared and celebrated, and uplifted through careful scholarly attention.

In the face of the erosion of minority languages, challenges to the established multilingual order (such as Donald Trump's executive order designating English as the sole official language of the United States on 1 March, 2025) and the flattening effects of algorithmic culture, works like *Careful Village and Other Khashag from Tibet* matter profoundly. They remind us that local speech communities are not passive victims of change but active producers of meaning. They show us how orality adapts, resists, and thrives, even under adverse conditions. And they encourage us to listen—really listen—to voices that might otherwise be dismissed as marginal or merely satirical.

This volume, like others in our fast-growing series, affirms our belief that oral genres are vital to cultural continuity and creative innovation and our commitment to their dissemination. This compelling text demonstrates that even within settings of profound constraint—censorship, surveillance, marginalization—humour can be a form of critique and community. And it confirms what many Tibetan listeners have known for decades: that Menla Jyab, affectionately known as "Uncle Menla", is not just a comedian, but a cultural visionary and documenter of the social fabric of Tibet.

As readers, we are indeed fortunate to now have these comedies available in this contemporary and thoughtful edition. And we are fortunate, too, to have translators and scholars who are willing to do the slow, painstaking work of listening, interpreting, and amplifying Tibetan voices. I commend this volume to you with enthusiasm and gratitude.

Dr Mark Turin Series Editor, World Oral Literature Series Vancouver, Canada July 2025

Translators' Introduction: Contextualizing Amdo Tibetan Comedy in Post-Mao China

Timothy Thurston and Tsering Samdrup

Two long-haired men stand across from each other on a stage. One is slight and always keeps his right hand tucked inside a pocket or the long sleeve of his robe to hide a childhood injury. He is Menla Jyab. The other, Phagmo Drashi, is slightly taller with a stronger build. They interact as friends, sometimes telling stories about fantastic experiences, sometimes imitating the language and behaviours of different types of people one might meet when travelling among Tibetan communities: pious elders, local government officials, and even foreign travellers. Throughout their conversation, they rhyme, pun, intentionally misconstrue each other's speech, and parody oral traditions in a contest of rhetorical skill, each trying to get one over on the other. Watching and listening to them, an audience hangs on every word, laughing and applauding at particularly humorous imitations or uniquely eloquent turns of phrase. In the future, a potential audience of thousands more do the same in rapt attention as they huddle around radio and cassette tape players across the Tibetan Plateau. Some still listen and appreciate these comedies at their leisure on CDs and smart phones.

This is a brief description of a khashag (ম্প্রাম): the genre featured in this volume. Between the early 1980s and 2015, khashag and their successor genre garchung (প্ৰ-ক্ত্ৰেন্) were arguably some of the most popular and widely known cultural texts on the Tibetan Plateau. Look at recent publications and news coverage of modern Tibetan culture and one could be forgiven for being unaware of these comedies. Indeed, dominant trends in Tibetan studies leave the impression that literature and film are the most popular and noteworthy forms of cultural production in Tibetan communities. This is not so much an inaccurate portrayal of major trends of Tibetan cultural production as an incomplete one. Authors and film directors have indeed shaped the Tibetan intellectual and cultural world and remain important figures in Tibetan society even (in some cases) after their passing. But to focus attention too exclusively on these media is to miss important trends within Tibetan society. Literature circulates within a fairly small circle in a society where illiteracy rates remained over 40% throughout the 1980s and 1990s when the comedies below were written and initially performed (Fischer 2009, p. 16). Film, meanwhile, is a relatively new introduction to the Tibetan cultural scene. But comedy, music, and traditional practices have been a central part of Tibetan everyday experience for decades (at least), and they have reached and shaped the experiences of many Tibetans both inside the People's Republic of China (PRC) and in the international diaspora community. As such, they are essential to our understanding of contemporary Tibetan life.

The comedies translated in this volume are deeply embedded in the language practices and lived experiences of communities in the northeastern part of the Tibetan Plateau that Tibetans call Amdo (see below), but they also play with, exaggerate, reimagine, and subvert lived experiences in nuanced ways that have gone on to shape the Tibetan world. For example, friends may use well-known lines from famous comedies to win a point in a conversation, and people both in Amdo and in the international exile community may call a companion "Zalejyal" if he marries or dates foreign women, as that character does in "Careful Village's Bride" (Chapter 9 of this volume). As such, we view *khashag* as valuable texts that act as both

mirror and as prism: reflecting the issues facing Tibetan society at the time of their writing, and refracting them with exaggeration and distortion so as to render these issues both humorous and visible for broader contemplation. Reaching audiences through emerging mass media, meanwhile, has circumvented issues of limited literacy on the one hand, and the spatial and temporal immediacy of live performance on the other.

Despite the popularity and importance of these texts, their linguistic and cultural complexity (particularly their use of local dialect, slang, and reference to local policies and fashion trends) provide significant obstacles to scholars, and precious few of these texts have been made available in English. Indeed, to date just two pieces have been translated into English (Thurston 2013 and Tsering Samdrup 2023). This volume seeks to fill some of this gap by providing the first ever bilingual edition of eleven such khashag from the genre's premier star: Menla Jyab (웕학급'취무지). Selected from Menla Jyab's broader corpus and translated with his consent,1 the texts are arranged chronologically, including his earliest comedy, "The Artist," and some of his final khashag, the four performances about a so-called "Careful Village," as well as a selection of several others. We have selected these eleven texts for their readability, for what they can tell us about both the khashag genre and the prevailing cultural trends of Amdo in the 1980s and 1990s.

Our contention in translating these scripts and transcripts is that they provide valuable ways of understanding Tibetan life at a moment of intense social and cultural changes, when Tibetans were considering what the future of Tibetan culture looks like after the upheavals of the Maoist period. In publishing them bilingually with Tibetan and English in parallel, we argue that there is both an ethical obligation to present these comedies in their original language of composition and performance, and an intellectual value to this exercise as well: this helps to recognize Tibetan conventions of verbal art and eloquence, and the interplay of these conventions

¹ In his collected works, Menla Jyab publishes a total of twenty-six *khashag* scripts (see Sman bla skyabs 2024).

can provide insights into oral and written Tibetan. To students of the Amdo Tibetan dialect, meanwhile, the highly colloquial idioms will likely provide insights into regional expressive practices beyond the sort of material frequently taught in textbooks. However, understanding these temporally and culturally unique comedies requires first understanding how Tibetans in Amdo apprehend their language, history, and contemporary experience within the PRC. This introduction attempts to provide some of this necessary background to help situate these comedies within the linguistic, cultural, and political contexts that have made them both humorous and deeply meaningful to Tibetan audiences.

Amdo: A (Comically) Brief Introduction

Amdo, sometimes called "Dohmal" (মূর্ন্), is one of the three major ethnolinguistic sub-regions of the Tibetan cultural area.² It makes up portions of the contemporary Chinese administrative areas of Qinghai,³ Kanlho (गुन् भ्री, Ch. Gannan 甘南) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in southern Gansu Province, and the northern part of Ngawa (ﷺ, Ch. Aba 阿坝) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan. It covers a space approximately the size of contemporary France that is home to roughly 7.5 million people. Of these, estimates of the number of Amdo dialect speakers ranges from 800,000 on the low end (Tournadre and Suzuki 2023, p. 529) to as many as 1.8 million (Reynolds 2012, p. 19). Within this region, the areas where Tibetans comprise the greatest percentage of the population are, in many cases, higher altitude and less densely populated pastoral regions. Lower altitude agricultural regions are, by contrast, more diverse, with Tibetan communities and villages often living in close proximity to if not intermingled with other ethnic groups including people now recognized as Han (汉) Chinese, Hui (回), Salar (撒拉尔), and Tu (土).

² Some people would write this as Domé, but we have used Dohmal to approximate how speakers of the Amdo dialect would pronounce this term.

³ With the exception of Yushu (৬৭), Ch. Yushu 玉树) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, which is part of the region Tibetans call Kham [직지지].

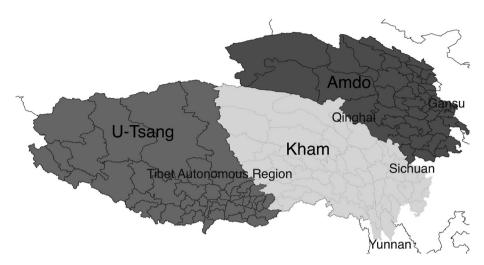


Fig. 1. A map roughly delineating the three cholkha: three regions of Tibet.

Map created by Timothy Thurston.

Amdo Tibetan speech bears many hallmarks of Tibetic languages more generally, including features of egophoricity, ergativity, and evidentiality (Tribur 2019). Unlike U-Tsang and Kham, however, Amdo's dialects also tend to be atonal and marked with complex consonant clusters that generally follow Tibetan spellings. Many grammatical and lexical features of Amdo Tibetan are also distinctive compared to other Tibetic languages due in no small part to Amdo's long history of interaction with other groups. Linguists sometimes use Amdo Sprachbund to discuss the linguistic relationships between the several languages on the easternmost edge of the Tibetan Plateau, of which Amdo Tibetan is a dominant language influencing and sometimes influenced by other non-Tibetic, even non-Sino-Tibetan, languages in the region (Sandman and Simon 2016, see also Janhunen 2004 and 2005).

There is also diversity in each region around specific pronunciations, regional terminologies, and colloquialisms. Indeed, the languages spoken in Amdo are popularly divided into "pastoral" (马河州川) and "farming" (千万州川) versions. Linguists in China further create an etic distinction between northern and southern varieties of each. Amdo Tibetan linguist Chamtshang Padma Lhundrup uses the term "innovative pastoral dialect" (马河州丁河山川) to describe the northern pastoral dialect spoken in Tsolho (南河州丁八山山), Malho (南河州), Malho (南河州), Malho (南河州)

Ch. Huangnan 黄南), Tsoshang (མཚ་བུང་།, Ch. Haibei 海北), and Tsonub (མཚ་བུང།, Ch. Haixi 海西) Prefectures, and Machen (མཚ་བུ།, Ch. Maqin 玛沁) County in Golok (མགོ་ལོ།, Ch. Guoluo 果洛), as well as parts of Kanlho Prefecture in Gansu Province. He contrasts this with "archaic pastoral dialect" (འབྲོག་སྐད་རྡོ་ས།) spoken in most of Golok Prefecture in Qinghai Province, Machu and Luchu Counties in Gansu Province's Kanlho Prefecture, as well as parts of Ngawa Prefecture and some pastoralists areas of Karmdze (དགང་མངོས།, Ch. Ganzi 甘孜) Prefecture in Sichuan Province (Cham thsang pad+ma lhun grub 2009).⁴ Despite this diversity, speakers from Amdo can generally understand each other regardless of where in Amdo they are from, though the dialect is unintelligible to Tibetans from Kham and U-Tsang.

Amdo maintains a strong Tibetan identity in spite of these linguistic distinctions. Many Tibetan communities in Amdo tell narratives tracing their origins to Central Tibet (Roche 2011, p. 92; Sangs rgyas rin chen 2010, p. 3; Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982 [1865], pp. 16–17). Strong monastic centres like Kumbum (취'직뒧자, Ch. Taersi 塔尔寺) and Labrang (司马气), Ch. Labuleng 拉卜楞) monasteries (to name only two) also speak to Amdo's ongoing religious connections to the rest of the Tibetan cultural world, while oral traditions like tamhwé (অনুম'ন্মা) "proverb," natam (অব্ৰ'অনুমা) "folktales," and shépa (অপুন্ 시) "speech-making" traditions demonstrate strong continuities within the Tibetan world both in terms of the poetic and linguistic conventions and their content (see, for example, Thurston 2012 and 2019 and Bendi Tso et al. 2023). The region's unique traditions, meanwhile, speak also to considerable exchange with neighbouring groups. For example, the Chinese deities Erlang shen (二郎神,རི་ལང་།) and Wenchang (文昌, སུལ་ 꾉) are venerated in both the Luroo (궤 국예) harvest festival in the villages of Rebgong (국덕역기, Ch. Tongren 同仁) County and the Drugpe lhatsé (독기'니다'광충기) festival which draws Han, Hui, and Tibetan devotees to Trika (宮河, Ch. Guide 贵德) County.⁵ Folksong traditions in Amdo also exemplify this complex history of interethnic communication. For example, Tibetans in the part of northeastern Amdo called Huaree

⁴ It should be noted, however, that Karmdze's pastoralist communities identify as Khampas rather than as Amdowas.

⁵ See, for example, Buffetrille 2002 for more on this phenomenon in Trika.

(万덕숙희) sing Chinese language Hua'er folksongs alongside singers of other ethnicities, while members of nearby groups may learn Tibetan language for religious purposes, or for certain song traditions (see Li and Roche 2017). The presence of Tibetan-speaking Muslim communities and Tibetan-speaking Mongolians in Henan (新美), Ch. Henan 河南) County also suggests histories of interethnic interaction with Hui, Salar, and Mongolian peoples. This location at the physical and cultural borders of Tibetan space has helped to make the regions simultaneously conservative (it is, for example, home to several large Gelukpa sect monasteries, and the heart of the Tibetan language purism movement), and a site of tremendous intercultural interaction that has spurred linguistic and cultural innovation.

The region is also notable for its important role in Tibet's cultural, religious and political history. Amdo's ethnic diversity, and its location on the cultural frontiers between Han-dominated lowland regions and the rest of the Tibetan Plateau, perhaps helped to make the region and its leaders important intermediaries between the Chinese and Tibetan worlds. Tuttle (2005), for example, recognizes that many religious figures from the region—including both ethnically Tibetan *lamas* and Tibetan Buddhist *lamas* from the region's other ethnicities—played an important role in representing Tibet and its interests to imperial and republican era Chinese leaders. This continues into the present, with some of Tibet's most significant religious and cultural figures hailing from the region, including the 10th Panchen Lama (1938–89) from contemporary Xunhua Salar Autonomous County, and the 14th Dalai Lama (b.1935) from what is now called Ping'an County.

Since at least the beginning of the twentieth century, Amdo has also been the centre for a remarkable boom in secular cultural production. Gendun Chophel (५०,५०,५०,०००), 1903–51), often considered one of the founders of modern Tibetan Literature, hails from Rebgong. Amdo's prominence in Tibetan cultural production has continued into the post-Mao period. A low degree of Tibetan language education continued throughout the Cultural Revolution, and when policies relaxed, a number of Tibetan language institutions opened in the early years of the post-Mao era, supported also by a cohort of clerics who took up key positions in universities and government (see Willock 2021). These developments ensured that Amdo's educated youth

Since the region's incorporation into the People's Republic of China in the 1950s, Amdo Tibetan communities have experienced incredible amounts of social change (as have almost all communities on the Tibetan Plateau and around the PRC). Collectivization in the 1960s and 1970s, followed by privatization in the 1980s, all reshaped the fabric of Amdo Tibetan life through material and political interventions in the structures of communities and management of traditional resources. In the twenty-first century, a campaign to "Open the West" (Ch. xibu da kaifa 西部大开发) and efforts to protect the health of the grassland ecosystem have seen efforts to settle pastoralists in newly built homes and apartment buildings on the edges of Tibet's growing urban communities (Ptackova 2020). Improving economic conditions in the post-Mao era have also seen a variety of new technologies enter the region, including media technologies like radio, television, and most recently mobile phones, computers, smart devices, etc. Not limited to media, mass automobile ownership, as well as new technologies for farming and pastoral management, have all changed everyday practices in the region. The technological and social developments of this period also coincide with the emergence of new forms of expressive cultural production, including a highly popular (but little studied) form of comic dialogue: khashag.

About Khashag

The comic scripts translated in this volume belong to a genre of performance that Tibetans in Amdo call *khashag*. They are fast-paced comic conversations (or, more rarely, monologues) that may be performed by anywhere between one and five or six people. They are usually scripted and performers either memorize them or read directly from the script. Although some of these comedies have appeared in print form (Sman bla skyabs 1985 and 2024, Phur ba 1993) in the 1980s and 1990s, these circulated primarily among Amdo Tibetan communities in the People's Republic of China in local stage performances, radio broadcasts, and audio cassettes.⁶ More recently, audiences and fans have also been able to listen to favourite performances online, both on platforms in China and on international platforms like YouTube.

The origins of *khashag* are a matter of some debate. One Tibetan language advocate, for example, argues that they are of natively Tibetan origin, dating back to the nineteenth-century instructional text "Gonpo Dorje's Tea Prayer" (內可之子童中 Mog chung phur kho 2013). Despite this argument, most comedians believe that they are performing Tibetan versions of the Han Chinese *xiangsheng* (相声) tradition. In the years after the 1949 establishment of the PRC, *xiangsheng* "crosstalk"—which also trace their origins to the eighteenth century—gained patronage from key figures of the Chinese political and literary world, including Mao Zedong and Lao She respectively (see Cai and Dunn 2020). With their support, *xiangsheng* were introduced across the country as a way of teaching the new policies and terminologies of the nascent PRC to people, including Tibetan communities.

Lhasa-based comedian Suoci (索次) describes the arrival of comedic dialogues in central Tibet prior to the Cultural Revolution as follows.

The Eastern Lhasa Propaganda Team's primary performer and director was Luosang duojie [Blo bzang rdo rje]. People all loved to call him Zang mu jiawu [Bzang mo rgyal po], which is the name of a role in the Tibetan opera Zhuo wa zang mu ['Gro ba bzang mo]. He was a teacher:

⁶ A smaller audience of Amdo-speaking Tibetans living in exile also exists.

he studied at the Central Nationalities Institute and later also became a teacher there. Making use of the Tibetan language's rich layers of meaning and the performance principles of traditional Tibetan Xie kai ba [५९५ 'देन्', "comedy"], he went on to study and make use of the artistic characteristics of crosstalks from Inner China. He began by translating the famous crosstalk performer Hou Baolin's [1917–93] crosstalk: "Drunk," adding into this crosstalk a few phenomena found in contemporary Tibetan life (Suoci 2003, pp. 14–15, cited in Thurston 2013, p. 158).

Xiangsheng and Amdo Tibetan khashag undoubtedly share many formal properties in the present. They are short, scripted performances, generally twenty minutes in length or shorter. Khashag are generally "spoken" (ব্রপ্রা) on a stage by two or more "speaking partners." The performers (frequently male) toss the conversation back and forth in a fast-paced encounter in which they may tell stories, sing songs, banter, imitate others, and break into traditional verbal art like wedding speeches. They may play with traditional forms or certain kinds of social events, coin new terms, and make reference to recent policies and events. Many performances begin and end with a reference to the act of writing, preparing, or performing a *khashag*, which Moser (1990) notes is common also in Han xiangsheng performances. In this volume, the entirety of "The Artist" (Chapter 1), for example, centres on the qualities a performer must possess; "Elders' Conversations" (Chapter 5) begins with an extended discussion of the qualities of a good khashag performer, and "Careful Village's Grassland Dispute" (Chapter 8) begins with Menla Jyab saying that he had gone to the village in hopes of finding material for a khashag script.

In addition to self-reflexivity as a framing technique, many performances also either engage in conversational storytelling or suggest a situation and then proceed to act it out. "Menla Kunzang" and the final four scripts of this volume about "Careful Village" stand out as notable examples of conversational storytelling, with one speaker telling a story while his partner asks questions, responds to the different statements, or provides other prompts to push the story forward. By contrast, "The Artist," "Elders' Conversations," and "The Telephone" (Chapter 7) all feature sections in which the two speakers describe a situation and then temporarily act out the speech of different sorts of characters. What these all share is a tendency to use quoted speech. Voicing the speech of a variety of Tibetans puts the performers' vocal talents on display and allows the speakers to characterize the thoughts and behaviours of people from a variety of Tibetan backgrounds: young and old, male and female, nomads and farmers, and even (more rarely) deities and great figures from Tibetan history (as in "The Dream," Chapter 3). Many of these features are also common to Chinese xiangsheng. Also, like Chinese-language xiangsheng, Tibetan khashag from Amdo seem to have greater leeway to engage in social critique than many other forms of cultural production. Although it must be done carefully, the comic scripts contain many veiled references to the ineffectiveness and corruption of officials, the misbehaviour of monks, and more, all discussed in greater detail below.

Despite these formal similarities, however, *khashag* from Amdo are also uniquely Tibetan. Performers entertain audiences by drawing on a range of uniquely Tibetan expressive practices including the extensive use of double negatives, oaths and curses (Thurston 2018), honorifics and humilifics (Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki 2019), the creative re-working of traditional forms like wedding speeches and *tamhwé* "proverbs," and more. Their social critique, meanwhile, takes aim at issues facing communities across the Tibetan plateau. In many cases, these critiques link to or mirror the Chinese government's own political goals, like promoting the elements of the government's marriage law or discussing the values of state education and an ambivalence to religion and tradition.

This should be unsurprising given the genre's tight links to government sponsorship. Lacking professional comedians, most of Amdo's comic dialogues were written and performed by people employed by government troupes and/or those able to get on state broadcast channels,

including performers like Phurwa (ধ্র্মানা), Gomé Dorje Rinchen (র্ন্ধান্টার্মার্ন্টার্মান্টার্মা), Phuntshogjyal (ধ্রনার্ভিনামান্টার্মা), Kangtsa Sherab (ক্রামান্টার্মা), Golok Dabhe (अर्षे विषात हो), and the late Jamyang Lodro (पहरा निर्मा [N]).7 Performance also took place overwhelmingly on state-sponsored stages (schools, broadcast stations, etc.) and there was little record of any privately sponsored performance before 2014.8 Such khashag scripts intended for performance in state-controlled media are also subject to government censorship and approval.9 But even state censorship does not completely stop comedians from embedding critiques of government in their comedies. Although direct critique of central government policy is out of the question, performers use the complexity and pace of their performance to articulate critiques that subtly resist government discourses by obliquely poking fun at the behaviour of government officials, and by modelling uniquely Tibetan approaches to modern life through implications that certain Tibetan attitudes and practices are backward and others are more appropriately modern. Few, if any, performers, were able to do this as successfully as "Uncle Menla."

⁸ We have seen and heard of some more private performances. Students sometimes perform comedies at school events, and I have heard anecdotally that some people would perform in village. However, in these cases, people re-performed familiar favourites rather than creating new ones for these occasions. The first private comedy-only show took place in Chungmchu County (写写题), Ch. 红原 Hongyuan) County in 2014 with sponsorship from two local businessmen.

⁹ In addition to official media, we have also heard anecdotally that Menla Jyab performed at schools in the 1980s and 1990s, and that local communities staged comedic performances during Losar (Tibetan New Year) gatherings. We have also seen students at schools and universities reproduce favorite comedic performances on school stages. However, these performances are infrequent, and less likely to have been the way enjoyed these comedies. Local performances, meanwhile, also frequently reproduce performances already approved for and aired on State media.

Uncle Menla

Menla Jyab was born in 1963 in a pastoralist community of Sumdo Township, Mangra (Ch. Guinan 贵南) County, Qinghai Province. Growing up during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76, Ch. wenhua da geming 文化大革命 रैण'णवर्ष'ण्यार्यर पहें केव रेपी) and reaching adulthood in the early years of the post-1978 period of "reform and opening up" (Ch. gaige kaifang 改革开放 བཚས་བསྱུར་སྐོ་བབྱིད།) undoubtedly influenced Menla Jyab. According to his own narrative, he initially attended schools in a tent on the grassland before eventually matriculating to the famous Tsolho Nationalities Normal School (Ch. 海南州民族师范学校 མཚོ་ལྡོ་མོ་ the age of seventeen, he received a job first in a song and dance troupe, before later moving to a dubbing office in Ziling which was his official affiliation for the remainder of his career. In 1985, at the age of twentytwo, he published his first khashag script, "The Artist" (휯뚱익띡, see Thurston 2018). Between 1992 and 1994, he attended a training program in Shanghai Theatre Academy (Ch. 上海戏剧学院), during which he wrote many other comedic dialogues.

The popularity of these comedic dialogues reached its peak in the mid-1990s, before tapering off in the early 2000s. Now very few comedians perform comedic dialogues. As television ownership grew on the Tibetan plateau, he also began performing a more visual and physical form of sketch comedy called *garchung* or *shadgar* (२०६२). Despite the different performance style, audiences initially called both sketches and dialogues by the single name of *khashag* perhaps

due to the continuity of the performers, or the similar subject matter. But comedians insist on using these other terms in recognition of the different skills these performances require. Where *khashag* focus on the performer's verbal skills, *garchung* take advantage of the affordances provided by the visual medium of television to require that a performer entertain not simply through their rhetorical skills, but also through posture, movement, as well as the use of stage space, props, and set design.

Menla Jyab made a seamless transition to these *garchung* and has become, if anything, more famous as a result. So familiar is he in many Amdo Tibetan communities that people often refer to him simply and affectionately as "Uncle Menla" (學習可知), a term of respect used not only for relatives but for any older male. It is not an exaggeration to say that at one point, Menla Jyab was probably among the most recognizable names and faces in Amdo. Phagmo Drashi—Menla Jyab's frequent partner in the *khashag* performances translated in this book—chose not to continue performing the more visual sketch comedies with Menla Jyab, pursuing other intellectual projects in the twenty-first century instead.¹⁰

Menla Jyab is also a controversial figure in some circles. His work brings him close to the Chinese state and his performances sometimes promote policy directions specific to society in the 1980s and 1990s. Additionally, he has, at times, participated in lively debates about the place of Tibetan traditions in modern life that are now dormant in the Amdo intellectual community (more on this below). These stances have led some like Lobsang Yongdan—who goes by the internet handle of "Donkey Herder" (To accuse him and others like him of being mouthpieces for Communist party ideology. Despite this, Menla Jyab remained a popular public figure in Amdo for nearly three decades

¹⁰ Most notably, Phagmo Drashi founded and edited the now defunct "New Youth" (ব্ৰ'ণ্ড্ৰিব'ণ্ড্ৰ'ণ্ড্) website, featuring news, literature, and essays from other intellectuals.

(1985 to 2015), due in no small part to his incredible capacity to combine social critique with humorous language play. 11

The Language of Menla Jyab

Menla Jyab's language in performance largely conforms to the "innovative pastoral speech" spoken in his home region, with heavy influences from literary forms that index his status as an urban intellectual. However, as a creative comedian (and the author of these dialogues), Menla Jyab employs unique methods of dealing with language. Menla Jyab is especially famous for using a wide range of Amdo Tibetan expressive practices to keep audiences on their toes from the opening lines of performances to the final moments of the dialogues. He overemphasizes specific language practices (for example, swearing oaths and cursing at a rate that far exceeds everyday speech). He makes extensive use of assonance, alliteration, and double negatives, all of which are common in Amdo speech. He uses a number of sayings and proverbs that take "black words" (ইল্'ব্ল্) of everyday speech, and raises them to a more artistic level (sometimes called gtam প্রচ্মা). He also invents new instances of traditional language forms, as with his novel oath "Picasso" in "Careful Village's Grassland Dispute" (for more, see Thurston 2013 and 2018). Additionally, as an intellectual voicing written texts, his speech does include some intentional and unintentional hypercorrections and literary Tibetan terms and phrases. He sometimes also uses certain words from other dialects of Tibetan for comedic purposes:

¹¹ While Menla Jyab's popularity in Amdo is without doubt, and the popular uptake of the name Zalejya (see Chapter 9) suggests that there is some audience in the Tibetan diaspora community, there is less data available to suggest how widely these texts were consumed in Kham or U-Tsang. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the audience for his comedies was limited, though the new publication of his collected works (Sman bla skyabs 2024) may present these texts to a broader audience.

A: (in normal voice) So then I also sincerely explained, "If I were a *lama*, then my monastery would be a distillery, my monks would not have perfected the study of the "perfection of wisdom" sutra, and they would have attained perfection only in smoking cigarettes. If there is a *lama* like this, let alone in the next life, would the government¹² even accept him?"

This brief excerpt illustrates some of these principles. For example, the use of the word *tha mag* "cigarette" is used primarily in Lhasa dialect. Menla Jyab, however, can employ it to create alliteration with the bolded phrase, which repeats the aspirated alveolar stop *tha*. The lines about the perfection of wisdom and the smoking of cigarettes, meanwhile, use similar grammar (only with the first negated) to create a particular rhythm and parallelism in delivery, and to invert a famous set of Buddhist teachings to make a novel joke. The effect with the audience is instant, and they laugh and clap heartily in response to this line.

This is just one example. Without going into further detail about the phonological or syntactic features of Amdo (discussed briefly in the note on romanization and transcription), the remainder of this section demonstrates how Menla Jyab uses this tremendous range of Tibetan expressive features for comedic purposes. These include the use of revolutionary-influenced neologisms, metaphors, *tamhwé* "proverbs" and "formulaic" idioms, Amdo-specific interjections and fillers, honorifics and humilifics, oaths and cursing, and code-switching. These are just a few of the noteworthy features of Amdo language used in Menla Jyab's performances. Although few of these features have received attention in linguistic studies of Amdo, 13 all of them appear in the performances below and therefore bear some comment.

¹² The Tibetan term *gongma tshang* (५६ अ.६६) is traditionally a way of referring to emperors and their officials. Here, however, it is used to refer to the government as it is sometimes used today.

¹³ Exceptions may include Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki 2020 on humilifics; Thurston 2018, Tournadre 2003, Kalsang Yeshe 2008, Haller 2004, Tsering Shakya 1994 and

Interjections, Fillers, and Discourse Markers

To understand the intricacies of Menla Jyab's language in his performances, it is important for us first to understand some special features of the language. Some of the most conspicuous and pervasive features are the Amdo-specific interjections and fillers that are used throughout the dialogues. The list that follows is representative rather than exhaustive. Examples include:

- $O(|\widetilde{\mathfrak{N}}|)$ is a response particle.
- *Olé* (ଔସ୍ଟା) is used to express confirmation or agreement with someone's statement.
- Eh, eh (জ'জা) is an interjection used for interrupting someone.
- *Aro* ((state) is used when speaking with someone of equal or lower social status. At the beginning of a sentence it tries to get attention from the listener. At the end of a sentence, it calls for attention to the preceding information.
- *Yaya* (ཡ་ཡ།) is used to confirm the previous sentence from the other speaker.
- Ashirégo (জ্বেন্স্নিন্ত্ৰ) expresses the meaning of regrets and remorse.
- Ahawo (জ'5'র্নি) is used to express regret and remorse.
- Ahawonahawo (জন্ত্রন্ত্রন্ত্র্ত্র্), similar to Ahawo, expresses regret and remorse.
- Wei (△) is a telephone greeting borrowed from the Chinese that is widely used in Tibetan nowadays.
- Alahohoye (ଓଷ୍ଟ୍ୟୁଟ୍ଟିଟ୍ରିଆ୍) is often used by women when disparaging or laughing at someone. 14

Dak Lhagyal 2019 on neologisms and code-switching; and Pirie 2009 and Sørenson and Erhard 2013a and 2013b on proverbs.

¹⁴ It can also be used as an opener or a reply during public verbal arguments at a wedding between the entourage accompanying the bride and groom to the wedding with the women from the side of the host family. These verbal arguments are exchanged over the issue of presenting a gift known as "bridal cloth" (덕덕'독제)

- "Karmically wicked one" (ལལ་ངན་བོ་/གོ) is used when speaking to someone close to the speaker. The usage is sometimes similar to "you poor thing" in English, but other times it is reflexive, expressing the speaker's own misfortune rather than that of the listener. Some speakers even use it as a verbal tic.
- Heh(5) and ha(5) are interjections used for expressing disgust or a dismissive attitude towards a statement or a situation.
- "How pitiful" (খ্ৰ্বিন্মাই) is a phrase expressing the speaker's strong sympathy towards something or someone.
- Ona (ব্ৰ্লা) is a discourse marker for inquiring the reasons for the preceding statement.
- Sha dena shade (ড্ৰ'দ্ব'ৰা ড্ৰ'দ্বী), literally, "that action;" this phrase expresses extreme surprise or astonishment about a situation.
- *Un* (খুবু) is used when someone is surprised, or sometimes for affirmation.

These interjections are highly context-dependent, and the same interjection can sometimes mean different things when spoken in a different way.

Pro-drop and Delayed Subject

An additional characteristic of Menla Jyab's language is the extensive use of "pro-drop" sentences, in which pronouns are either omitted or spoken at the end of the sentence. Historically, Tibetan sentences place pronouns at the beginning of the sentence, but both Menla Jyab and Phagmo Drashi tend to re-assert the subject or pronoun at the end of a sentence. This seems to be an emerging practice in Amdo. Here are two examples:

What can you gain from studying negative things? ("Boasting")

by the bride's entourage and "water scarf" $(5^5 5^4)$ by the groom's entourage to women of the host family at a wedding.

As well as

Whether I say it or not, she's on full display, their bride. ("Careful Village's Bride")

In both instances, the speaker re-asserts the subject of the sentence by adding the subject at the end (bolded in the Tibetan). While omitting subjects and pronouns is common to many Asian languages (including Tibetan), this re-assertion of the subject or pronoun at the end of a sentence is probably a new phenomenon in Amdo. From anecdotal data, it seems that educated people with a high degree of proficiency in other languages—particularly Chinese (Mandarin Chinese is known for being a pro-drop language)—are more likely to produce such utterances.

Oaths and Cursing

Oath-taking is common for Amdo pastoralists both in formal and informal settings. Someone may swear an oath to prove their innocence to an accusation (an accusation of stealing, for example), while individuals or villages may also swear oaths to end a conflict or to agree to collaborate. Additionally, two or more people may form a brotherhood through the swearing of oaths (called a *nachal* མནའ་བསད།, in which the term refers both to the act of becoming sworn brothers, and the status itself). Informally, people are also accustomed to swearing oaths in their speech to emphasize the truthfulness of what has been said or just as a habit. Oaths in Amdo primarily fall into two categories: religious and consanguineous. Religious oaths appearing in Menla Jyab's *khashag* include:

- By the Great Mother (খ্ৰম্) is a common Tibetan name used for the *Prajñāpāramitā* "the Perfection of Wisdom" sutra (used in multiple performances)
- By Kumbum [monastery] (শ্লু'বেবুঝা) ("The Dream")
- By Shachong [monastery] (5'[55']) ("The Dream")
- By the Kanjur (বিশ্ববিশ্বস্থান্) ("The Dream")
- By the Tenjur (বন্ধুব'বস্তুম্) ("The Dream")
- By all the pure virtues (বৃশ্বংর্ন'বৃশ্বা) ("The Dream")

- By the one and only Mani (ম'ক্ট'ম্ম্ম্ন্) ("The Dream")
- By the twelve volumes of yum (খুম'নুম'ন'নন্ত্'নাইমা) ("The Dream")
- By all the scriptures that have been written and chanted (ই্র্যান্ট্র্মা) ("The Dream")
- By the three jewels (১ৢশিব্র'ঝর্কিবা্বা্ধ্রুঝা) ("Careful Village's Thief")

Consanguineous oaths in Menla Jyab's khashag include:

- By the flesh of my parents (ধ্ৰামাশ্রীপাশ্রীম
- By the flesh of father (জড়ুন্স্) ("Careful Village's Grassland Dispute")
- By the flesh of mother (জ'ম্বীস্) ("Careful Village's Bride")
- By the flesh of [my] son (ବି.ସିସ.ମ) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- By the blood of [my] children (ল্'এম'র্ক্কনি'য়েল্) ("Careful Village's Thief")
- By all the ancestors (මුී දිද මු මූ කු ("Careful Village's Thief")

Menla Jyab's use of oaths in performances generally represents how people use them in their daily lives. More than merely imitating everyday pastoralist expressive practices, Menla Jyab also uses oaths to formulate particular social critiques. For example, in "The Dream" (Chapter 3) oath swearing is one of the practices used to exemplify and criticize Tibetan language practices. In the "Careful Village" series, oaths are sworn almost exclusively by villagers, with the lone exception of innovative oath "Picasso," swearing by the name of famous artist Pablo Picasso. In doing so, Menla Jyab links oath swearing to rural pastoralists and not to modern intellectuals.

Menla Jyab also uses a number of cursing phrases common in Amdo Tibetan speech, especially when imitating the speech of others. All of these cursing phrases are marked with the future tense marker followed by nominalisers $\tilde{\triangleleft}$ or $\tilde{\triangleleft}$. This suggests that the target of the curse is "one who should" do the action or one to whom the action "should happen." For example:

- "The one who should not have bright future" (5ੁ'ਕਕਾਕਾਕਾਕੇ 'ਕ੍ਰੈਂ ਡੂਪੈਂ) ("Careful Village's Grassland Dispute")
- "The one who should have a bright future" (চ্ৰামান মেন্ট্ৰাট্ট্ৰনি) plays on the previous curse; this sudden change in the middle of the sentence might be the speaker's attempt to make the curse less severe by eliminating the negation to make it a wish rather than a curse. ("Careful Village's Grassland Dispute")
- "The one who should embarrass oneself [in public]" (ঠ্টুবা্বা ধূব্যকুর্বি]) ("Careful Village's Thief")
- "The one who should have died in an untimely fashion" (ন্ত্ৰ' ন্যম্-ৰ্ন্) ("All-good Menla")¹⁵
- "The one who just does not die" (৭ই ইন্ট্রি) conveys the speaker's wish that someone die ("Careful Village's Bride")
- "The one who should grow wings on [their back]" (वर्षेवार्स्ट्रेश्चेश क्रु.पर्देवार्चे) ("Careful Village's Thief")
- Literally, one whose face should be turned back (চঁইব্ৰ্যান্ত্ৰট্ন); we translate this curse (sometimes pluralized as হঁইব্ৰ্যান্ত্ৰট্নেইব্ৰা) loosely in the following performances to capture the meaning in the specific context. ("All-good Menla," "Telephone," "Careful Village's Grassland Dispute," and "Careful Village's Bride")

Metaphors

Metaphors or figurative ways of speaking are common both in the literary and in Amdo Tibetan spoken language. Menla Jyab, who is well-versed in both traditional and modern literature of Tibetan, uses traditional metaphors both with literary and spoken origins. For example, the phrase "becoming like an empty sack" (মিলাইনি নিবারমা) in the "The Artist" (Chapter 1)—a metaphor of an empty sack for someone who is very thin—is commonly used in spoken Amdo. Similarly, "to poke

¹⁵ This term can also be used to refer to someone who has already died. In these cases, the phrase is not a curse but is used to avoid breaking the taboo against saying the name of the deceased.

somebody with needles and awls" in ্বিন্'ব্রিব্'ব্রেব্'ব্রেব্রিব্রিব্র ("Boasting") originates completely from the spoken words of Amdo pastoralists and refers to verbally ridiculing or critiquing others. These oral metaphors are traditional, in that they are commonly used in pastoralist communities, and therefore recognizable to audiences.

Other metaphors come more from the literary register. For example, in "The Artist," Menla Jyab uses the term pho nya (শ্ৰ'বা), meaning "messenger," which is limited primarily to the written register. These more literary metaphors often deploy the literary register in novel ways, often with hilarious consequences. For example, in "Boasting" (Chapter 2), Menla Jyab refers to Tibet as "an ocean of song and dance" (মু'ণ্-্'ণ্ ক্র্যান্ত্রি). In the literary tradition, calling something "an ocean" suggests tremendous breadth and depth. But using this metaphor to describe Tibet's varied song and dance traditions is a novel application. Later in the same performance, Menla Jyab describes Tibetan regions as "a Pureland of research" (वैपायहुणायी विपायस्था). This phrase, which was very likely coined by Menla Jyab himself, uses the religious metaphor of the "Pureland" to again describe the potential value and benefits to be gained from conducting research in the area. In still other instances, he uses entirely traditional metaphors in new contexts. For example, in "The Artist" (Chapter 1), Menla Jyab uses the honorific phrase "go to the Pureland" (প্রি-েন্ট্রমা), which usually refers to lamas who have passed away, to describe how a landlord's lackey might threaten to kill a poor person in order to extort payments from him. These metaphors are part of why audiences find Menla Jyab's performances so engaging, though we have not always translated them literally in the texts that follow. Some examples of metaphors in these performances include:

- "The messenger of old age" (ব্ৰি.ম) মুণ্ডা), which is more literary than colloquial since র্মণ্ডা "messenger" is not exactly a spoken word. ("The Artist")
- "The ocean of songs and dance" (রু'বাম্মনী'রু'মার্ক্রা) is to say that a group of people or a region is known for having many types of music and dance. ("Boasting")
- "A Pureland of research" (নিস'ন্চ্বা'নী নিস্মেমা) is a phrase very likely coined by Menla Jyab himself, with its literary Tibetan nature. ("Boasting")

- "Becoming like an empty sack" (ছিল্ ফুর্ম্ন ন্ম্রিন্ম্রিন্ম); the *empty sack* is a metaphor used in spoken Amdo for someone who is very thin. ("The Artist")
- "Too thin to the point it becomes hard" (প্লুম'ব্ম'র্ড্রাইন্) is a way of saying that someone is becoming extremely thin in Amdo. ("The Artist")
- "To poke someone with needles and awls" ([ম্ম্ নার্ডবা নেনিবা বার্ডবা নির্মাণ নির্ম
- "Explodes one's heart" (খ্ব্ৰীন্স্বান্ত্ৰ) describes someone who is extremely frightened. ("The Artist")
- "Head got damaged" (মর্ন) রূমা) describes being discombobulated. ("The Dream")
- "Dropped like a shooting star" (প্লম্ম্ব্র্র্ম্ব্র্র্ম্বর্দ্ধর jaraphor for a speedy movement. ("All-good Menla")
- "To close one's eyes" (খ্রীশা্মর্ক্সা) means to die. ("Elder's Conversations")
- "To cook porridge" (খ্রু র স্মৃত্যু) means talking nonsense. ("Allgood Menla")
- "Nine mountain passes away" (ধাইনি মোনুলা) refers to something that is highly unlikely to be done, or an impossible task. ("Elders' Conversations")
- "Something that has been dead for a long time/ something from way, way back" (প্রথমেরীশানী প্রথমেরী মুঝামা). ("Boasting") is a phrase to describe something from the distant past—something that is no longer useful or relevant.
- "To go to the Pureland" (ন্বি:ম্বিমা) is an honorific phrase usually used for *lamas* who have passed away. ("The Artist")
- "A valley-full of something" (প্রেন্স্ন্র্র্) suggests that there is a large amount of something. ("Careful Village's Grassland Disputes," "The Dream")

- "A wheel of gossip" (ঝাবে বাঁ বোঁৰ মার্না) describes a person who constantly gossips about other people. The turning of the wheel spreads the gossip, similar to how the spinning of prayer wheels spreads the merits of the scriptures inside. ("Boasting")
- "Setting sun on top of the mountain" (আ্বেট্রেরা) is an expression used for describing someone as being old and past their prime. ("Careful Village's Grassland Dispute")
- "Making an ugly scene" (ঠ্ট্রিল্'নইন্) is usually used for someone who did something that is unfavourable to oneself. ("Careful Village's Bride")
- "Until eyes had holes" (ষ্ট্রীবার্শ্রামনার্শি) describes someone who is desperately hoping for something to happen or waiting for someone to come. ("Careful Village's Thief")
- "Destiny" (র্নি ন্মেনি), literally "the words on one's forehead," describes a predestined situation. ("Careful Village's Bride")
- "Thumb-index finger-span length body" (মন্ত্রাক্রাইন্নিনা) is probably Menla's purposeful humorous play on the common Amdo expression of one's "arm-span length body" মন্ত্রাক্রাম্বানা, likely suggesting that he is describing a very short person in the performance. ("The Artist")
- "Make someone faint" (५७६-५६) suggests that a person's good performance has impressed someone. The phrase is, sometimes, used like the English expression "killed it." ("The Artist")
- Literally, "dog-speech" ([3.4]54]) is a figurative phrase for false or nonsensical utterances. ("The Artist," "Please, Dear Leader," "The Dream")

• "Wild yaks walking single file" (৭ইনিম্পুন্) figuratively describes someone having lice on their head. ("Boasting")

Tamhwé, literally meaning "exemplary speech" and often translated simply as "proverbs," are used to emphasize a speaker's point and eloquently insert poetic language into everyday speech. For example, in "Careful Village's Grassland Dispute," the village leader states:

The disputes of men are like boulders र्ष कुँ न पर्ने द्वी वार्ष के दा कि स्वार्थ के प्राप्त के प्

The disputes of women are like juniper that doesn't rot.

This *tamhwé* is commonly used during conflict mediation sessions when the speaker wishes to describe a conflict as severe and needing to be resolved, lest it escalate into a long-term feud.

As with metaphors, Menla Jyab sometimes uses proverbs in unconventional ways, by changing the context and words of existing proverbs, sometimes even coming up with new proverb-like phrases to confuse people and to make them laugh. For example,

[Why don't I], the forest crow become a garuda and grassland skunk a tiger?

In this example, Menla Jyab phrases an existing proverb as a rhetorical question. The proverb is generally used to disparage someone who acts more important than they are. But in "The Artist," Menla Jyab uses it for himself, saying that he will make himself seem more important.

Other proverbs from throughout this volume include:

- "People these days, and the colour of yellow amber" (ইন্সেন্ট্রি মুন্মেন্ট্রিমের্ন্ত্র) compares people to yellow amber. Amber can change colour over time as it oxidizes, and people are changing these days as well. ("Elders' Conversations")
- "A man shouldn't be called old at thirty" (র্থা-অ্রান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্রিন্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র্র-জ্বান্ত-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত্র-জ্বান্ত-জ্বান্ত-জ্বান্ত-জ্বান্ত-জ্বান্ত-জ্বান্ত-জ্বান্ত-জ্ব
- "The axe that destroys what's without and the hatchet that
 destroys what's within" (ট্রি'নিনিন্নান্ত্র্ন্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্ন্ন্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্ন্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান্ত্র্নান

- "Making plans like chess on a square board, having discussions that are circular like a drum" (বিশাইপান্ত্রানের বিশ্বনির বিশ্ব
- "When I open my mouth, I talk about the origins of the universe. When I shut my eyes, I know the creation and destruction of the universe" (বিনেইল্লাব্রেল্রাইল্রের্ডির্ন্রের্ন্নের্ন্রের্ন্নের্ন্রের্ন্নের্ন্রের্ন্নের্ন্রের্ন্নের্ন্নের্ন্নের্ন্রের্ন্ন্নের্ন্ন্নের্ন্নে
- "When I am unhappy, I bind the sun and moon under oath. When I am angry, I topple Shinjé Chojya from his throne" (১৯ বিষয়ের নির্বাদীর বিষয়ের বিষয

This list is representative rather than exhaustive, but with these selected explanations, we hope that readers will be able to make better sense of other *tamhwé* appearing in the performances that follow.

In Amdo, *khahwé* are often different from *tamhwé*, based on the context, though the two terms can sometimes be used interchangeably. Unlike

tamhwé, which are usually known by many across regions, *khahwé* are locally known expressions that may derive from popular narratives. The examples here do not have related narratives.

- "Came as the groom and left as a bandit" (অস্থ্য-সম্প্রত্ব অন্তর্গার্থী দ্বাল্য বিশ্ব ব
- "There is a certain order for birth, but not for death" (স্থ্রীপানাস্থা বাৰুবার্নান্ত্রীনাস্থাবাৰুবার্নান্ত্রী) recognizes the unpredictability of someone's death and is used especially for a young person's untimely death. ("Careful Village's Thief")
- "From now on, everything is great" (देर ध्वेन भेना देवे सुन भेना) is a stock phrase people use when they agree to resolve a problem. ("Careful Village's Bride")

Formulaic Epithets

Formulaic epithets are one of the poetic features that distinguish oral literature from plain everyday language. These are usually stable, trisyllabic noun phrases that help the artist fulfil the metrical requirements of seven- and eight-syllabled lines common in Amdo oral literature. The three syllables may follow a number of grammatical patterns. Some, for example, use a noun-adjective structure, as in $sa\ dogmo\ (\ref{sample})$, which is used to describe the earth. Others use an adjective-noun structure, as with $shang\ khushuk\ (\ref{sample})$ "northern cuckoo." Still others combine two nouns like $dudtsi\ chang\ (\ref{sample})$ "morthern cuckoo." Still others combine two nouns like $dudtsi\ chang\ (\ref{sample})$ "by the literally combines the words "nectar/ambrosia" and $chang\ (a\ type\ of\ liquor)$ to create a three-syllable epithet for liquor.

Traditionally, these formulaic epithets may be linked to certain genres of secular oratory and singing traditions (see, for example, Thurston

2012 and 2019). Some epithets are specific to individual genres, while others are common across multiple genres. "Southern turquoise dragon" (ইল্ডিল্ডি) and "northern cuckoo" (ইল্ডিল্ডি), for example, are common in a variety of versified traditions including tamhwé, speeches, and folksongs (ব্যাব্যালা). The list below includes some of the other formulaic epithets used throughout Menla Jyab's performances. Translations may be different in the texts presented in this volume to take context into account:

- Horse (কু'নের্ব্'না) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- Mule (শ্লুবা'ক্ত্^ন'ব্রিঝা) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- Donkey (র্নি-্মুন্মি) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- China (মুণ্ট্ৰুণ্ক্) ("Careful Village's Wedding," "Careful Village's Thief")
- Uncles (প্রাম্ব) ("Careful Village's Wedding") referring to men of an older generation
- Aunts (অ'মু'র্মা) ("Careful Village's Wedding") referring to women of an older generation
- Ngari (ঈুঁস্'অন্ত:ইন্স্]) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- U-Tsang (ব্ম'বৃত্ত্ব') ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- Dokham (শ্লুস্'ম্ব্রুম্মা) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- Tibet (শুরুঅ'র্নিন্ম) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- Silk and lambskin robes (শ্ৰিম'ৰ্ক'ম্ব্ৰ) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- Enemy (ব্যাব্যার্শি) ("Careful Village's Wedding")
- India (ঈ্ব্ৰিস্ব্ৰ) ("Careful Village's Thief")

Honorifics and Humilifics

Honorifics and humilifics are another intriguing component of Menla Jyab's performances, for how they both help to create realistic dialogue and support his cultural critique. Tibetan speakers in Amdo use the honorific register less frequently than speakers of Lhasa dialects. In Amdo, the register is often reserved for religious figures, honoured

guests at weddings, and sometimes for leaders. This practice is reflected also in Menla Jyab's comedies. When characters believe that are speaking to a religious figure or an important leader, they will suddenly switch to honorific. By way of example, in "Please, Dear Leader" (Chapter 6), Menla Jyab initially treats a person coldly until he learns that that speaker works in the government, at which point he switches to honorifics:

In this sentence, the second person pronoun and the verb "to speak" (both in bold) are honorifics. Given how infrequently honorifics are used in Amdo, the exaggerated use of honorifics for officials in this instance pokes fun at people who place officials on a par with religious leaders.

Additionally, some of Menla Jyab's comedies also make use of "humilifics," which are morphological constructions that speakers use to refer to themselves and their belongings in a negative or belittling fashion. For example, in "The Dream," Menla Jyab uses several humilifics in quick succession $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}$

When Menla Jyab uses honorifics and humilifics, he often does so to make specific points about the characters he voices and about Tibetan language practices in Amdo. In "The Dream" (Chapter 3), for example, he uses humilifics alongside cursing and what he calls "filthy speech" to criticize these language practices. In the "Careful Village" series, the villagers use honorifics when speaking to Menla Jyab, which is simultaneously appropriate given that they believe him to be a *lama*, while also indexing their misplaced faith.

Ways of Speaking/Imitating Different People

Menla Jyab often voices the speech of people with different social roles and regional accents in his performances which leads to the presentation of various ways of speaking, from elderly pastoralist men (a common character for him) and women to civil servants and principals. In most instance, this involves changing his pitch (higher for a female speaker), or adding some forceful laughs (for the village leader) in the "Careful Village" series. In some cases, this also involves making intentional grammatical mistakes. For instance, in "The Telephone" (Chapter 7), he portrays a cadre making a phone call:

A: Your hometown is Jentsa.	ग हिं.ची.त्त.ले.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.चं.
B: Wouldn't I know that?	ष दै'धैव'र्वे'द्रश्यक्षे'वेष'वै'खे'सेद्
A: Wei! I'm also from Jentsa. Would you know?	ण से ८:र:पाठव:ळ:ची:रेन र्हि:ची:वेष:ह्रु: षो:रेन
B: I don't, but tell me and I would. Who are you?	ૹ.તુવી ત્વ નુંત્રઃફ્રે.ત.કુંત્રઃકુંટ.ટ.નુંત્રઃફ્રેંક્ટી ફ્રિં.
A: Ah, I is a cadre Is a cadre from Jentsa.	या ह्या ८.जयाचुरातात्रेची विश्वयःक्षःबी.जयाचुरा व
B: As if there aren't any cadres from Jentsa! Wei, do you have something to say to me?	ाच या चत्र क्षंत्र त्या व्याप्त हो न्या क्षेत्र त्या व्याप्त क्षेत्र त्या व्याप्त क्षेत्र त्या व्याप्त क्षेत्र

Here the cadre does not speak Tibetan fluently. In addition to the cadre's humorous lack of fluency, Menla Jyab's performance also highlights the cadre's condescending tone and emphasis on the importance of his civil servant job.

Similarly, in "Careful Village's Bride," a foreign woman's linguistic incompetence is highlighted through her misuse of evidential markers:

The auxiliaries thal and red are both more appropriate for the third person. A grammatical sentence would instead use the egophoric auxiliaries song and yin (५.५५ १५८) धुर.५.५५५ भूजी). The woman's mistakes are a source of great amusement for Tibetan audiences, and have made this into one of the most commonly quoted lines from Menla's body of comedic work.

Loanwords

In the twenty-first century, communities in Amdo have taken part in a widespread purism movement, discouraging the mixing of Tibetan and Chinese, focusing particularly on the use of loanwords (See Thurston 2018c, Tsering Samdrup and Hiroyuki Suzuki 2022, Lhagyal Dak 2019). When Menla Jyab performed these *khashags* in the 1980s and 90s, this purism movement had not yet begun. At that time, Menla Jyab was among the first group of intellectuals critiquing the excessive use of Chinese loanwords in the speech of Tibetans as exemplified by characters in "The Telephone" (Chapter 7) and "Boasting" (Chapter 2).

Importantly, at this time Menla Jyab was not against all loanwords. In many of his performances he uses loanwords as natural parts of language. Throughout the sketches he uses loanwords for new technologies and objects, like "car" (闰车), "billiards" (闰亩中 台球), and "motorcycle" 氧 (摩托). Instead of critiquing the entire practice, Menla Jyab's critique focuses on the excessive use of loanwords. In these instances, he and Phagmo Drashi frequently make this explicit with direct comments on the practice, as in "Boasting," where Menla Jyab and Phagmo Drashi role-play two characters who use excessive Chinese loanwords (too many to list here) in their speech and, as Menla comments, "gradually it became Chinese."

Additionally, Menla Jyab also occasionally uses English loanwords in the speech of his characters. One female character in "The Telephone" uses, "Okay" and "Byebye," which is followed by a comment from Phagmo Drashi that "although she says 'ok' with her mouth, she has no ka and kha in her chest," with ka and kha being the first two consonants of the Tibetan syllabary, and standing in for the entirety of the Tibetan language. Across the entire corpus, then, the critique against excessive use of loanwords is clear.

Revolutionary-influenced Neologisms

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and in the wake of Amdo's incorporation into the new country in the 1950s, many new terms were introduced to the Tibetan language to communicate the new government policies and ideologies. As a

performer on state-sponsored media in post-Mao China, Menla Jyab cannot avoid using some politically tinged neologisms in his work. In some cases, this is likely a product of the times in which he was writing and performing them. For example, throughout the performances, he references Cultural Revolution-era slogans and reform era policies. Earlier performances also sometimes use the word "comrade" (黃河原山, translating the Chinese word tongzhi 同志) to address others. Before long, the term disappears from Menla's comedies, mirroring how the term ceases to be used in China more generally. Sometimes he uses loanwords that have become an inextricable part of Tibetan language in China. For example, the Chinese Shuji 书记"party secretary" ("The Telephone") is quite common among Tibetan speakers, and it would be impossible to create dialogues on certain topics without using it. Finally, some neologisms are entirely of Menla Jyab's own creation. Examples of the neologisms in Menla Jyab's include:

- Film (র্মুবা নার্ন্রবা 电影) ("The Elders' Conversations")
- Comrade (র্ন্ন অধুবা 同志) ("The Artist")
- Processing factory (এম খুর্ এর আরম্ভার আর্মান) used as metaphor for brain ("The Elders' Conversations")
- Import Company (व्राय्त्रेव गुर बे) 进口公司) ("The Elders' Conversations")
- Export Company (資子可方子切写) 出口公司) ("The Elders' Conversations")
- Culture and arts gala (氧可诺如丙氧乙烯可利 文艺晚会) ("Please, Dear Leader")
- Serve the People (রী'ব্যব্যাব্রবাষান্ত্র 为人民服务) ("Please, Dear Leader")
- Colluding of dogs and wolves (ট্রাম্ব্রান্থ্র 狼狈为奸) ("Careful Village's Thief")

¹⁶ A neologism here means a term with a recent origin, especially the ones that came into the Tibetan language after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

¹⁷ Though some written works use the literary Tibetan translation ⟨⟨5, □ ₺⟩⟨, it has never won favour among writers in Amdo, let alone the broader population.

- United as one (ই্রিন্ম:প্রুল্মান্ট্র্লান্ট্র্রিণা 团结一心) ("Careful Village's Thief")
- Capitalism (অস্কর্মন্ত্র্যাক্ষা 资本主义) ("Careful Village's Thief")
- Proletariat (৭র্ন্তিমামিনার মিলামির মিল
- Manual labourers (পুমানুল্মান্মার্কিমানা 体力劳动者) ("Careful Village's Thief")
- Mental worker/intellectuals (মুন্ধুল্মন্ 脑力劳动者) ("Careful Village's Thief")

Sarcastic Toponyms and Names

Menla Jyab often subtly points to social problems he sees facing Tibetan communities in Amdo with creative but sarcastic names for the characters and communities in his performances.

For instance:

- "Careful Village" (অম্মান্ত্র্ ন্ট্রান্), the name is used in the series of performances, probably one of his most famous pieces. The message in this title is that Tibetans are timid or too careful when dealing with their surroundings and that that is a source of many of the problems that Tibetans are facing.
- "Old-Brain Village" (মুন্ইন্ট্'ন্) ("Elders' Conversations"), Menla Jyab uses this name probably to criticise the conservative stands people may take.
- "Headless-Tailless Village" (মর্প্-মৌন্-আনুগ্রন্থ-মূন্) ("The Dream"), suggesting that it is a disorderly and leaderless village.

- "Primitive Village" (অ'র্ন্স্বান্ট্র্'না্) ("The Dream") suggests the community's backwardness.
- "Black-Nose Black-Tongue Village" (খ্লু'বৃশ্'খ্লু'বৃশ্'খ্ল্'না) ("The Dream") suggests inauspiciousness.

In addition to such sarcastic placenames, Menla Jyab sometimes comes up with creative names for fictional characters.

- "Uncle complaint mouth" (জ'ড়ে'ষুণাস্ত্রী'মি)
- "Fake" (ম্র্রেঅ): in "Careful Village's Thief," this is the name of a *lama*. But the name is composed of the components used to spell the word "fake."
- Granny Lugujyi (જા'પો'સુ'નુ'ૠ૾ૢૢીઽૄા)
- Zalejya (র'ন্'রূঝ্)

Reading Uncle Menla's Cultural Critique

Menla Jyab's language play and ability to voice believable characters alone, however, is not enough to account for his tremendous popularity and staying power. Instead, Tibetan fans of Menla Jyab's comedies praise his work primarily because each performance engages in a form of cultural critique targeting a range of "social ills." Menla Jyab's expansive and biting critique is evident across the translations in this volume.

The volume opens with "The Artist," Menla Jyab's first khashag script. In this comedy, Menla Jyab references the ways that an artist must learn to perform. Probably relying on his own experience dubbing popular television and radio shows into Tibetan, he references a number of different character types that would be recognizable to audiences at the time. For example, he imitates the laughter of a hero who has just subdued his enemy, and the laughter of the enemy begging for his life. He imitates the laughter of revolutionary enemies like a landlord and his lackey discussing how to oppress the masses, and more. Later in the performance he also sings songs that play on revolutionary lyrics. A tremendous display of his talent at voicing different types of characters

and their speech styles, this comedy announces Menla Jyab's presence in the world of Tibetan cultural production.

The second performance, "Boasting" begins with the intriguing premise that there is value in researching negative things about Tibetan society, even the practice of competitive "boasting" (역자 기계). Such boasting is not normally considered worthy of academic study, but Menla asks the audience to consider it form a different perspective. He proceeds to compete with his partner with increasingly outlandish boasts. Menla Jyab and Phagmo Drashi sometimes make claims about their own academic prowess and sometimes denigrate their partner's bad habits or imitate their hygiene habits. In the end, they move from boasting to the language practices in their villages. This final point is ultimately the target of Menla Jyab's satirical critique, as the performers mix Chinese and Tibetan and ultimately leave the audience feeling that they should not mix language in this fashion. This remains a key theme throughout Menla Jyab's career.

Language practices again take centre stage in the next comedy, "The Dream," in which Menla Jyab imagines how the great kings and ministers of Tibet's past might respond if they saw Tibetan society today. Through putative conversations with the minister Gar Tongtsen (칙칙자) and others, Menla Jyab concludes that they would not be impressed, particularly with the language practices of many Tibetans. Later, he comes to understand their point when he visits several villages where people swear, curse, or denigrate their own belongings using humilific language. These are then taken to illustrate the assertions of the luminaries from Tibet's history: the Tibetan people and the Tibetan language are not as great as they once were, and things must change.

In "All-good Menla," Menla Jyab continues with his unique brand of highly imaginative and fantastic storytelling, with a narrative in which—after a fight with his wife—he first ascended to the heavens and then into hell, and even took a trip to America. It all begins with Menla Jyab insisting that he be called "Menla Kunzang," which literally means "the all-good Menla" after his wife derisively called him this while quarrelling. The patently ridiculous story stretches the audience's suspension of disbelief near to breaking, in a fashion that would seem more similar to the American tall tale than to any traditionally Tibetan form of expression. ¹⁸ At the same

¹⁸ For more on the American tall tale genre, see Mullen 1978, pp. 130–48.

time, no matter how far he pushes the boundaries, Menla Jyab's work is also simultaneously deeply embedded in Tibetan cosmologies and everyday experience as demonstrated through references to everything ranging from intimate partner violence common in Tibetan communities (Rajan 2018), to fashions of the day, and to Shinjé Chojya (可可可证的): the Lord of Death in Tibetan Buddhist cosmologies.

This deep attention to the details and the changes experienced in Tibetan life is equally evident in the next script, "Elders' Conversations." Beginning with a long statement about how a *khashag* performer must be a skilled observer of the human condition, the performers then put this to the test by acting out the how elders converse with their peers and with members of the younger generation. In doing so, he illustrates the massive changes rocking Tibetan society in post-Mao Amdo, particularly in terms of changing generational attitudes and social relations.

The sixth contribution in the volume, "Please, Dear Leader," is a three-person *khashag* performed with his usual partner Phagmo Drashi and the well-known emcee, Phurwa. Menla Jyab initially treats the two other speakers with contempt until he learns that they are leaders, upon which he turns obsequious and fawning to the point where he lets them call him names. Here, rather than telling stories or placing a specific traditional language practice on display, Menla satirizes the behaviour of officials, but more importantly the treatment officials often receive from ordinary people.

Next, "The Telephone" uses the eponymous technology to show how new technologies are shaping Tibetan language and culture in new ways. In the 1980s and 1990s, telephones were still relatively new to Tibetan communities and many villages might have only one landline for the entire village. As a result, many Tibetans were, at the time, unaccustomed to using telephones. Again, acting out the dialogues of different types of people—patients in hospital, officials, and young women trying to call off work—the rupture created by the telephone provided a tremendous opportunity to creatively imagine and model language practices in the modern moment.

The volume closes with four comedies from the celebrated "Careful Village" series, in which the comedian describes his travels to a fictional pastoral community that believes him to be a holy man. He accepts their mistake and then takes it upon himself to help the village solve their

problems. In the first performance, he assigns each villager a "karmic enemy" (역동자이)—a person that someone is destined to defeat—to suggest that each villager may only fight one specific target. By "coincidence," each villager is a close relative to the "karmic enemy" selected for them. Grassland wars were common in Amdo at this time (see, for example, Yeh 2003), but in helping the villagers to realize their kinship ties as Tibetans, he urges them to rethink the fight. At the same time, in relying on him, a fake *lama*, to solve the problem, he satirizes the village's misplaced faith. In place of religion, he proposes education.

In "Careful Village's Bride," a stubborn young man's desire to marry a foreign woman causes an uproar in the village. The villagers describe how the young man Zalejyal and the foreign woman initially meet over a language exchange and then describe the woman's brazen behaviour—public displays of affection and directly describing her affections for the man. They can't understand why no Tibetan woman is good enough. Again, their trusted "lama," Menla Jyab, helps them resolve the issue by siding with the boy and his family in a strong defence of free choice marriage.

In "Careful Village's Wedding," Menla Jyab orates a wedding speech. Although superficially similar to a traditional wedding speech, Menla Jyab has added a number of changes to its content in order to modernize it, in the name of intelligibility and closeness to real life. In the process, he discusses modern technologies, the behaviour of monks and officials, and the quality of Tibetan education (among many other topics).

"Careful Village's Thief" is the final performance of the series and of this volume. In this performance, the village again asks the comedian's help, this time to fend off a rash of thievery besetting the village. The village had previously asked another "lama" named Ra dzu na ma for help, but his religious remedy had been both expensive and ineffective. Menla Jyab, however, does his best to help by convincing most of the villagers to confess their own prior misdeeds (some hilarious for how minor they are and how embarrassed the villagers seem). In the end, the audience learns that the previous lama, whose name literally spells out the Tibetan word for "fake" (rdzun ma ﷺ), had stolen money from the village (and presumably others) and had been arrested.

Reading across these performances, one may notice that pastoralists and religious clerics are regular targets of Menla's satirical critique at this time. Menla Jyab's portrayal of intergenerational encounters between pastoralists and educated young intellectuals put tradition, religion, and

language practices on display and on trial. Education (modern and secular education, that is) and free-choice marriage are favourite topics as well. In this way, Menla Jyab's satirical critiques generally promote a modernity based in a pointed critique of many traditional attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs (Thurston 2018). This work generally aligns with the approaches of the "New Thought" (བསམ་བྲོལ་ས་ང་།) movement—a movement with which Menla Jyab and speaking partner Phagmo Drashi were both aligned in the late 1990s and early 2000s—that were beginning to spread in Amdo's intellectual circles around this time (see Hartley 2002, Wu Qi 2012, and Peacock 2020). Many of these social critiques—including free choice marriage, technological advancement, secular education, and a mistrust of religion—also parallel discourses of modernity promoted by the State.

Nevertheless, there are also important places in which Menla Jyab's critique distinguishes his own voice from the State's, particularly in the realm of language practice. The reference to Tibetan kings and ministers in "The Dream" (Chapter 3) for example, harkens back to key figures within the Tibetan historical imagination to understand perceived Tibetan backwardness in the present. Other performances, like "Boasting," focus on a specific linguistic practice, but use this to point the finger both at some forms of Tibetan oral tradition, but more importantly (towards the end) to changing Tibetan verbal practices in the present, specifically the tendency to mix Tibetan and Chinese languages. Similarly, "The Telephone" also critiques the language practices of Tibetans as they navigate modern life. Focusing on the linguistic breaks brought on by the arrival of new technologies, he pokes fun at both urban Tibetans and pastoralists, specifically around their language practices. Doing so, through the medium of Tibetan, moreover, creates a more complicated critique based on ensuring space for Tibetan language in the present and for the future, but also in promoting specific language practices while satirizing others (including certain traditional expressive practices).¹⁹ Taken together, the khashag scripts and translations presented in this volume model a new, and uniquely Tibetan, way of being modern in contemporary China based especially in new language practices whilst also poking fun at the ignorance and anti-modern behaviours of certain segments of Tibetan society (Thurston 2018). This introduction

¹⁹ For the purposes of space, we have abbreviated this discussion of Menla Jyab's complex and dynamic social criticism. For a fuller discussion of this critique and these ideas, see Thurston 2018 and Thurston 2025.

has highlighted some of the key issues, but it should be noted that each performance is filled with intricate discussions that poke fun at still other practices in ways far more nuanced than this short introduction can adequately introduce. We encourage readers to seek these critiques further as they engage with this volume.

About the Translations

We understand that a translation of a comedic text should ideally be humorous in the target language as well as the source language. And yet, as described above, Menla Jyab's humour rests in no small part on his unparalleled ability to create dialogues that are both realistic and ridiculous. He creates and voices a variety of different male and female characters that people might recognize from their own communities and places them in situations that seem to be exaggerated versions of situations people might face in their own lives. In reacting to these situations, Menla's characters deploy the range of expressive practices in Tibetan language: sometimes playing with words, sometimes parodying traditional expressive forms, sometimes making up his own unique phrases, and sometimes applying traditional forms in new contexts.

Foreign readers are not Menla's target audience, and it is difficult to convey in text the hilarity of hearing Menla Jyab imitating different types of speech. Similarly, English readers will likely have difficulty replicating the novelty of what were, to Tibetan communities at the time, unfamiliar situations like using a telephone or meeting an American. We have, however, done our best. We narrow or widen the gap with the original at different moments in ways that we believe best represent the aesthetic qualities of the texts and the unique talents of their performers. In some situations, we have even tried to replicate alliteration and assonance used throughout. When honorifics are used, we have employed archaic English language to indicate this change. For example, Amdo's formal second person pronoun [\$5] is translated as "thee" or "thou," and the honorific form of the verb "to speak" () is translated as "speakest" or a related archaic form. In some cases, characters speak ungrammatically—either inappropriately using honorifics, or using the wrong evidential markers and we have indicated these with disfluencies in the English translation as well as footnotes (where we deem it necessary). We have also added stage notes in parentheses to indicate the different characters Menla is voicing on a turn-by-turn basis.

Where stuck, however, we believe that conveying the content and the linguistic nuance of the performances takes priority over English-language humour and have therefore opted in most situations to prioritize these. Where we feel that the language is particularly noteworthy or engages heavily with Tibetan and Chinese concepts with which readers may be unfamiliar, we have provided annotations in the form of footnotes at the bottom of the pages to clarify. We hope that together these create a highly approachable and engaging text.

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1. The Artist স্ত্রুস্থানা

A: *Aro*, Jyamtso! What is up with the wrinkles of your forehead reaching the top of your pate?

B: Oh, why wouldn't I? That is called being trapped by aging wrinkles following the arrival of the messenger of old age, *aro*. But looking at you, you are becoming like an empty sack. Is your wife not feeding you or are you worried you won't be able to feed your dependents?

A: [scoffing] Ha, I am not you. Even though I am thin, I have thrown my thumb-length body into the culture and arts.²

- श्रभ्यः क्षेत्रां जुट्टे व्या भार्ची ट्रेंट्रं जानचर प्रेता वी किया श्रूरं वित्ता क्षेट्रं वी ज्या चित्रा क्षेत्रं ची क्ष्यं क्ष्यं चित्रा क्षेत्रं ची जुट्टे वी जुट्टे वी क्षेत्रं ची क्
- य हो प्याप्तियान्य स्टास्त्रियः स्टास्त्रिय

¹ In this performance, A is performed by Menla Jyab, B (identified in the script as "Jyamtso") is voiced by Phagmo Drashi.

² This is probably a play on the common expression "body of one's arm-length" (মন্ত্র্পেশ্রেইঅ'শ্রিশ্রে). Here Menla Jyab takes it to an extreme to indicate that he is small in stature.

B: [interrupting] Hey! Hey! Let me ask you: If you've become like empty intestines for the sake of culture and arts, then you must be good at culture and arts, right?

A: Oh, though I am not a performing artist, when I buck I have more than enough strength to knock you out.

B: You're pathetic. Do not rush to boast. Well then, perform something for me here.

A: Oh, if I relax my body, and put lyrics into a tune, it is usually easy for me to sing songs and perform dances. But *ashirego*, I am a bit busy today.

B: [agreeing] Yaya, if you are truly busy, then I will not ask you about difficult things like art and culture, performance and performance styles, the many types of characters to voice, and theory. But I have one or two questions. You will answer my questions, right?

A: Ah, ask away.

B: Ya, Well then, when performing plays and films, or any other kind of playful thing, it is common to laugh like ha ha ho ho, ... ok then, do a laugh!

- टर.क्वे. इटे.ली लुच.टेश.फ्वें. इ.चे.चोचेश.क्वें.क्वे.ल.ज.टे.डुचो. ब्वें.क्वेल.चो.ट्रेच.चे.रट.जिश.क्वें.क्वेंट.चो.ज्यां.चु. च खा.खो टश.फ्वें.डुचो.उट्टी क्विं.इचो.चेंचेश.र.
- क्र्यः स्ट.म् श्रीट.पचुवो.पच्.ल्ट.चु.वोश्वेशःवो.शु.क्ट. २ट.म्रि.पत्ते.वो.चचीच.पश्च.प्यः स्ट.च्र.चोर्टेट. ब्रो ट.पचिच.र्हेच.वो.श्री.क्षा.क्षा.प्याचचवो.शुच.
- य ब्रिंग्रेट य है। यन कुन कुर स्वाप्त के प्राप्त कि कि कि स्वाप्त कि कि स्वाप्त कि कि स्वाप्त कि स्वाप्त कि स
- દ. દુ. કુના મૂંશ વ્યું જીવ. હો. ભી શૂ. જૈ. શૂ. તુવ. વું તું હૈય. કુને . દી જાણે કુને શૂનો ત્યાન તું દ. દુવેદ્યા દ. દું દેવા તત્તર ત્યાન ત્યા ત્યાં કૂને . ત્યાન ત્યાન તું કુને . તાત્વર ત્યાન ત્યા
- यु.स्ट्र.ला चन्नुचा.पट्टे.क्टि.लूट् वि.स् । व्हिंब.स्.लय.पट्टेचक. ची.तम्.स्का.क्ट्रें भू.ट्टी स्.कूचा.चीड्चा.चीट्टेब. चीचेर.लीचोब.भूर.ची.देयोव.कूचा.चीट्टेब. क्रेंटबी पवित.चनेट्.भु.क्टें.सूचीबा.शस्.स्. सूचा.चोयंबर-स्ब्री.क्ट्रबी पवित.कूंचे.स्.पवित. च ल.ला ट्रि.ह्.श.व्याच्य.ची.शुट्टेब.स्.पिवित.
- ग षा हिं निष्यत्तरी वी र र्हेन
- चन्नवा, इ.च. च्हुंच, चन्न्य, चन्नवा, इ.च. चन्नवा, इ.च. चन्नच, चन

1. The Artist 49

A: [scoffing] Ha, there are many types of laughter. You tell me what sort of person is having what sort of conversation in what sort of situation, and I'll do a laugh for each.

B: *Ha*, that's fine. Let me tell you, if a brave young man caught a cowardly enemy after tracking him down, how would he laugh?

A: Oh, for that: "Hahaha, Jyamtso, my archenemy, I will take your head and make it my chamberpot!"

B: What....what did you say to me?

A: I was telling you how I'd laugh. *Ya*, you ask.

B: What about when this enemy pleads for forgiveness?

A: H-hero, please spare my life once. Hehe, don't kill me...hehe, I will give you whatever you want. He would say like this.

B: What about when a person shares an exciting secret with someone?

A: For that: "Aro, Jyamtso! It's said that no one knew we stole a chicken, I have also heard that..... hehe."

B: You lie! When did I steal a chicken?

A: Heh, I was just telling how one would laugh.

- बोधुका बोधुका लोट त्या ट्रिट्टी ट्रेट्टि इस प्याप्ते होना चित्र के स्ट्री स्ट्रिटी होना बाहु वा क्षेत्र के क्रांचित्र चित्र के स्ट्रिटी क्रांचिका स्रोत्य के क्रांचित्र चित्र के स्ट्रिटी क्रिकाट स्रोत्य के क्रांचित्र चित्र के स्ट्रिटी क्रांचित्र के स्ट्रीटी क्रांचित्र के स्ट्रिटी क्रांचित्र के स्ट
- चन्नुवाच दुःकुःलकः ट्वूटःकुः स्ट्री बी.ट्वां.ट्यं.चन्नुवां.चट्यं.लकः खेटःबुट्यं.बुंकुः ब्यं.वी.वोब्यः सूट्यं.चन्नेवां.बुवः कुटः क्यं. वि शे.टुं.कूवां.बुं टकां.बुं.चन्नेटी टेनयः झ्याः
- ण र्ष्म दे:द:५५५५। दय:मद:मु:बर्ळी दय:ब्रिंदै: अर्मे:मु:बुद्धरःष:क्य:क्रें:ब्रेट्-मु:बेर:में
- पि ब्रिंग...ब्रिंग.ट.कु.चड्री
- य रम्माई। नुर्वेन र्खेल नश्न न्वेन व्यामे अपन् हिं न्वेन रम्माई। नुर्वेन र्खेल नश्न न्याने अपने हिं
- क्ष.य. इ.य.
- योथ्यःलब्रान्यस्य कुर्यः वीर्याः वीर्यः व
- चन्नवानर्भेयःयेषा वि हिंतुः द्विः विषयः नाम्यः । च्याः विषयः विष्टः ।
- ग है। दशः हिं दर्वेदः र्खेलः चर्नद र्ने वर्षः चर्ने व

B: [scoffing] Ha, then what if you have understood something?

A: Oh. One would say, "hehe, Jyamtso, you are such a thief after all. Ya, well, well!"

B: If someone saw something funny?

A: "Hahahaha, aro, Jyamtso! Get over here quick, those two marmots fighting over there are really funny. Come quickly. Hahahaha." That's what they would say.

B: Then what about when a landlord's lackey tries to give the landlord a suggestion?

A: "En, hehe, my lord, hehe, this time when we are collecting taxes..." Then he would whisper something in the master's ear.

B: And if the landlord was very pleased with the suggestion?

A: He would say, "Enen, hehe, haha, impressive, Heh, impressive."

B: *Ya*, that's correct. And what if that lackey looted and plundered, and did all sorts of terrible things to a guttersnipe, and the guttersnipe became desperate?

- ष्टिन्द्रन्द्रन्द्रन्द्रम्पः प्रचेषः क्षेत्रः कष्टे क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः कष्टे क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः कष्टे कष्टे क्षेत्रः कष्टे कष्टे क्षेत्रः कष्टे क्षेत्र कष्टे क्षेत्रः कष्टे कष्टे क्षेत्रः कष्टे क्षेत्र कष्टे क्षेत्रः कष्टे क्षेत्रः कष्टे
- या क्ल्री हे.ही कु.जर्ळ:[हुं.दी.ज्ञॅ.सी.वी.टवी.वी टी.चुन्रकी. स्टी.तच्चे.सी ली टिवी.बी.टिवी.वी टी.चुन्रकी. स्टी।
- ह्म न्यां प्यान्त हु स्वां प्यान्त हु स्वां प्यान्त हु स्वां प्यान्त स्वां प्यान्य स्वां प्यान्य स्वां प्राप्त स्वां प्यान्य स्वां प्राप्त स्वां प्राप्त स्वां स्
- षुटःचटेबा.बा.चटका.चचुबा.खं.टेब्र्.कें.बी बि ली जु.बे.खुटःचटेबा.बु.केंबेबरा.बु.चचुबा.बुका.
- र्र्टा चर्चा.बी.झ्.बी.बेट.ट.चि.स्चा.बा.चर्चरःक्टी. च्र्चाश्चर्झे.ब्रॉ.टेश्च...। ड्रेस्ट्र्यर्स्टरं ख्रीट. च्रा छोबा ठ्रेड्रे....भ्री.ट्रा ठ्रेड्रे....। ट.ह्राटश्चरः
- योचुन्न, व्याप्त स्तर्म स्त्री स्त्रा स्त्री स्त्र
- ળ શ્રુવ શ્રુવ ઃ···ઃ કે કે ···ઃ ક ક ક ક ક ક કે ના કી દર વઃરેદ્દા કે 'કેર ફ્રું રેદ્દા
- शूर-क्वै.यी चन्नुचा,चकूश,चयेर,टश,ट्येज,चू,ट्रे.ये.ब्रैच, चन्नूचा,चयू,चन्नुचा,च्ये,चकूश,श्रश,चयू, दश,ट्येज,चू,चन्नुचा,च्ये,जच,चश्र,चलूंचा,क्वैरू, च लो ट्रे.इटे.ट्रे.इटी लट.क्वैच्य,व्रि.ट्रे.शूर.

A: For that, he would say, "hehehe! You man-eating beast! Kill me, kill me, kill me, kill me.... hehe" and come at the lackey.

B: And then the lackey?

A: Uh, the lackey would point to those behind him with guns on their shoulders, "Hehe, hit me, if you want to die.³ Hehe, hit me, hehe!" That's what he'll say.

B: Well then, how would a comrade laugh while watching a play in the theatre and seeing one hilarious action after another?

A: For that, they would say, "hahaha..." and would laugh until they cried.

B: If they get exhausted from all the laughing?

A: They would say "hahaha... Ayoshe!"

B: Well then, if a drunkard is laughing to himself while stumbling along?

A: I'm not drunk, hehe, I'm not drunk, hehe... I'll fight you. I'll fight... urk [retching sound]!

B: [dismissively] Heh, that's enough.

51

- पि देश.व.कैवाय.वि.देश
- हो है, बुर्स के स्ट्री ट.लुचल च.पर्ट्र च.क्रींच.ल.हे, डे...क्रींच. ज्रू.हे. विस्तर्याचा चड़ेच चला हे, डे। क्रिं. चेनु व्हेट बा क्षा क्रिंचल क्रिंड नेला क्रिंच चित्र चे व्हेट
- कु.लब.र्युट्संड्रे.स्टी क्षेटब्र.चाडुची.टार्ड्स्.चाडुची.येर्ट्स्य.ट्रे. यब.कुट्स्य.पु.चक्षे.यू.र्ट्य्स्ट्स्य्य्रेट्स्य.यूट्स्य वि. ख्री.यू.यं.यू.श्रधेय.चडुची.युब्स्य्य्र्यंबर्ध्स
- ग नै:ना ५:५:५:.....चने:नचीपाख:र्षेटःस्वाबः र्गे:न:नर्गेनचुःसेन:बा
- ष चन्द्रचन्द्रख्याः व्यक्तः चन्द्रच
- ण ५.२५. १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १
- लक्ष.पविस्.इ.पविस्यः इ.पवि.व्यक्तिः वी |व| लुव.व| क्रट.पविट.पचुवी.वीक्ष.व्रस्.रेवूरि.
- चेट. दुश. लुटे. ख. स्टेट. दुश. लु. ... खडी च ट. चच्च. थुटी हे. हे। ट. चच्च. खेटे. खा हे। ट्य.
- ाग है। ५:क्रिंग:वी

ण दै:पि देंद्रह्णालाहेंस्क्रियालाहेंस्यालेंद्र अहीं हिंगानाहेंस्क्रियालाहेंस्यालेंद्राच्येत्रच्येत्रच्य

³ The lackey literally says "if you want to go to a Pureland," suggesting he will die and reincarnate.

A: What's up?

B: Well then, what if someone needs to quickly change a word when they realize they've misspoken.

A: This person would say "A ha ha! I was kidding just now. My wife..." and then he would change topics.

B: Oh, that's it! That's it! *Aro*, speaking of that, how do women laugh?

A: Uh, tell me what they do when laughing, and I'll tell you.

B: If two women were tickling each other.

A: *Alahohoye*! Heh, that's enough, that's enough. Heh, that's enough. *Un*, *un*.

B: Aro, what was wrong with her?

A: Oh, she was saying she was in pain.

B: Oh, she wants to cry then. Today if your wife and children were here, they would fear that you have a heart problem and have heart attacks.

A: If they fear, it's probably because they were amazed that I had such acting skill.

ग थाके रेट्र

क्रिया शूर:ब्र्.पेश.लय.मुभ.क्रुवे.पु.चक्रैंग.रे.स् जि. पू.वे.क्री.मञ्जवे.ब्रथ.क्रुवे.पु.चक्र्ये.

|प| र्लॅ'दे'रेद'दे'देद| ख'र्स्'दे'पञ्चे'न्छा'भे'पर्झे'

च। ष्यःभःगविषःगीःवह्यःरेषःभेदःर्गःक्तुःव।

ण ष्यत्यर्त्रे र्त्रे भे हे ५ व्हें वा वी ५ व्हें वा वी हे ५ व्हें वा वी ५ पुत्र खुत्र।

य षार्से ट्रेसळे.पत्रमायावेष.घत्र

ग र्षे| झे:वीशःखःसॅ:वर्ङेशःचनृदःझयःचेरःर्षे: दे:बीदःवया

ब्रीट.वर्-वीट.वर्नट.चचुवी.वर्र्ट्र.ख्य.क्षेट. इंट-क्षित्.वर्-क्षेट.चरेट.चचुवी.वर्र्ट्र.खय.क्षेट. ब्राट्-क्षेत्.वर्-वर्न्न्यव्यावर्ट्र्न्य्यक्.क्ष्र्र. ब्राट्-क्षेत्.वर्न्न्यवय.वर्ट्न्य्यं.व्री.इंट्-ख्या हे.

1. The Artist 53

B: Well, I don't know if you have skills, but it's certain that you are unhinged.

A: You don't know. Appearing unhinged is the inherent characteristic of an artist.

B: Oh, that's possible. What artist can't lift a satchel?⁴

A: Though I'm not a pundit of performing arts, when compared with you why wouldn't I, a crow of the forest become a *garuda*, and a skunk on the grassland become a tiger.⁵

B: Yayaya. I'm not arguing with you. Let's say that you are an artist. I still have a question for you: since you're an artist, aren't you fluent with folk music, modern music, and dancing?

A: Of course I am.

B: Well then, you'll sing, right?

- चि न्द्रता चर्नु न्त्री क्रिन्ते वना सेन्। वि न्द्रता चर्नु न्त्री क्रिन्ते वना सेन्।
- य दे.र.ष्ट्रिंश अधिश वे.र.र.ला इ.चक्रुवाश. कर.वे.पत्रुवा वा.र.वा.व्.रीचिर क्रुं.इल.ल.ची. विट.क्रुंश अधिश वे.र.री
- ભૂર.લો શ્રેશ્.શ્રુ.લિયા.વયા.શ્રેશે.શ્રુ.લા.ન.નકુતો.નક્.લ્). તિ ભૂષિ દુ.નક્.લુવા.વે.વ.ન.સદ.નૂષ્ણિ.લર્ને.લર્ટેવુ.
- क्षेता.वा.कुट.ज्रा वि.टे.विट.वा.ज्या.वा.क्षट.झट.ट्याट.कुट.ज्या दट.ब्रिट.का.ज्या.वक.चज्ञ.ट.ट.व्यवक.क्रीड्र्ट. या ट.द्या.क्षक.क.विट.ब्रुट्य.क्या.क्य्ट.च्या.क्या.
- শ হীহ'র্প্রবাঝ'রঝা
- षि र्दे.व.र्ष्ट्रिश.स.लेव.वे.से८.ली

⁴ This appears to be playing on the similar pronunciations of the first syllable in the words "artist" (খ্রুস্থানা pronounced *jyutselpa*) and "sack" (খ্রুস্থানা pronounced *jyemo* and translated here as "satchel").

⁵ This plays on a sort of proverbial phrase, comparing the speaker first to the less auspicious animals "crow" and "skunk," and then to greater animals in the same category (bird and mammal respectively) of garuda and tiger. Thus the speaker becomes great in comparison to his partner. Traditionally, it is used to sarcastically scold someone who tries to make themselves seem more important around inferiors.

A: Aha,⁶ both the turquoise dragon of the south and I, and the northern cuckoo too, who told you that we three keep silent?

B: Ok, ok! Enough, enough. Then sing a song.

A: Singing songs is easy. You listen and I'll sing for you. [clearing throat] *Un*, *un*.

I am not giving you breakfast, I am not giving you lunch, I am not giving you dinner without having food and drink. you starve to death!

It's your fault. *Soyalaso*. It's all your fault.

B: [scoffing] Heh! What was that? I've never heard a "song" like that before!

A: [dismissively] *Aha*! Not only don't you know how to sing, you also don't know how to listen. Ok, I'll sing you another. Listen.

B: Ok.

A: If I kill Jyamtso it must be tonight.8

चत्र,श्रिश्यःच्चिन्तः वि.चैत्रा-रःट्टे-विश्वंशःस्, वि.स्व.वि.यःदेवा.वी. या व्यःशि ब्रुं-विश्वःयद्विवा-रःट्टे-विधेश्वःयो चैटः

प्रिट्यायञ्चवाःसूरयाःम्। व लाला राष्ट्रवाःबीःकूवाःबी तूरवाःब्रियःश्चीः

- च है। ब्रिंदे-दे-पर्झ-के-पत्तेना-धेत-तथा ८४-दे-झें-सु-पत्तुट्य-पत्तिना-झें-पी-र-अ-ब्रिंद-पी
- ગ હ્યુ.કો ફિંજા.સંતુવ.સંકુ.કો. કુંજા.કો.ત્રી ત્રાત્મ સંત્યાં ત્રુંથા ફિંજા.કુંવ.કું ત્રુંથા કુંજા.કુંવ.કું

지 씨

ग कुः अर्ळे: वार्रेन: व.ने: नर्वोदः यः नर्सुव: नर्वे

⁶ Aha is used here to make a strong assertion, meaning something along the lines of, "of course."

⁷ Soyalaso is a commonly used set of vocables in Tibetan songs. It is also frequently used to index Tibetanness in Chinese language songs.

⁸ This plays with the lyrics of a Revolutionary song, "Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman" (ক্ৰু'অর্ক্স্ক্র'ন্'ব্র'ন্ন্'ব্র'ন্'ব্রম্ব্র'ন্'ব্রম্ব্র'ন্'ব্রম্বর্রান্ত, where the character's name Jyamtso literally translates as "seas."

B: Ok! Enough. enough. Don't you have anything else to tell and sing about beyond me dying and killing me?

A: You have a lot to say. Whatever, I will sing one more song. I am a soldier, fully armed. If the enemy approaches, I'll dislocate his cheek.⁹

B: [interrupting] Ok, enough. I don't know what that was. How about you sing me something easy to understand in everyday life instead.

A: Tell me what kind of song you'd like.

B: Uh, you'd know how to sing a lullaby, right?

A: Oh, the song to make children stop crying and sleep, that one?

B: Olé olé, I mean that.

- लेब क्रुं पत्रेचा केंद्र विक्रों से प्राप्त केंद्र केंद्र प्रियों केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र केंद्र प्राप्त केंद्र केंद्र
- रवाङ्कमःचःचन्द्रन्वःच्युक्षःचःक्ष्म्य्यः चत्र्वेषाःभ्येष्य। द्वाःक्ष्यःश्च्र्यःच्यः नःद्वःचित्रःच्येषःभ्येषःच्यःक्ष्यःच्यः नःक्षःच्येषाःभ्येषःच्यःच्यःच्यःच्यः न्येष्ट्वःच्येष्यःच्यःच्यःच्यःच्यःच्यः न्येष्ट्वःच्येष्यःच्यःच्यःच्यःच्यःच्यःच्यः
- न्ते तर में में प्रेरिय के प्रमान में कि प्रमान में प्
- ग र्ष्ट्रि:सु:के:र्क्रे:पर्नेन,प्रें:पर्ने:स्र्
- વિ જ્યાં લે.ત્યન ત્રશ્રેતા. શું. રેંગ. ત્યું. ક્યાં ક્યાં હો. ત્યું ત્યાં ક્યાં ક્યા ક્યાં ક્યા
- चधुर-ज.टचीचोःश्चिर-ज्यु.सृ.लुखी ज्यू खे.लब्ग-श्चर्य-चरेट-खे.सीच-सैरकारक.
- प र्छा भे र्छा भे दि प्रचे व्य

https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%A4%A7%E6%B5%B7%E8%88%AA%E8%A1%8C%E9%9D%A0%E8%88%B5%E6%89%8B/4423362

⁹ Again, he is playing with a revolutionary song, very likely this one: https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%88%91%E6%98%AF%E4%B8%80%E4%B8%AA%E5%8 5%B5/4644

A: Oh, when children cry, you can sing like this and then they will fall asleep.

Ah Ah! Don't cry, dear, go to sleep. Go to sleep and I'll give you a horse.

And I'll give you a saddle atop the horse.

And I'll give you reins covered with silk

Baby, don't cry, go to sleep When the daughter-in-law comes, I'll give you a conch shell¹⁰ Give you a conch shell with silk decorations

When the merchant comes, I'll give you a *mdzo*.¹¹

Give you a *mdzo* with a load on its back.

Baby, protected by heaven Don't cry and sleep quickly Oh, baby, don't cry and sleep! I'll butcher a mottled billy goat and give it to you.

And give you its kidneys rolled in fat

Catch stars in sky and give them to you

Pluck flowers on the ground and give them to you

If you still cry, then I'll punch you

I'll twist your neck if you cry more This karma of mine!¹² You still want to cry? Cry more, cry more...... ग र्षे। दै-द्राव प्रश्न विश्व क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

ઌ૽ૼઌ૽ૼ૱ઽૢઌ૽૽ૢ૽ૺઽઌૹ૾ૄૼઽ বারীবাথা র্ট্রবারার বারীবা र्ल.ज्.घ.टं.वाधेटं.ज.हूंट พรานๆาผาพัราสารรานส์ๆาผู้รา **८५८ व्याप्त स्थापन स्यापन स्थापन स्यापन स्थापन स्** लट.क्ट्रट.च.ल्ट.घ.षर्ह्.चचुवा.क्रेरा लट.भर्ड्.ज.विज.चचुवा.पवुज.ज.कुरा **लट.ज्.ज्.व्यवश्चीय.श्वट.**क्चेत्र् ર્ક્રિ'અ'દ્દ'રેઅ'અ'વાદ્યેદ'ભ'ર્કેદ્રઆ क्षे.ज्.ज्.ज्.य.ध्याध्या र.व्रॅट.वि.रुज.चवव.ज.क्रेर। આવતા.બ્રા.જૂતા.વીજા.વીજ્વાજા.વી.કોંમા गवयागे भ्रम्यादहें वावा थेरा रा'वी'से'र्नेवा'यर्नेवा'वा'र्ह्हेरा ८.९.पत्रमाष्ट्रियश.र.भर.र.पि.र्स्र.पी ८.२८.२४.२.भ्रे.५२.वश्च दवै[.]लब्ग:दनदःवदैं'दा दःष्ट्रिं'दुःकुःवे। र्ष्ट्रिं દુના ફિ.ટના ફિ

¹⁰ Wagma বিশ্ব আ usually is used for a bride but may also be used by parents-in-law to refer to their daughter-in-law. This seems to be sung from the perspective of a child's grandparents, saying that when the child's mother comes, she will give these things to the child.

¹¹ A yak-cow hybrid.

¹² This is a common way of sighing and complaining in Amdo.

B: [as if in pain] Ow! My head can't take that much hitting, *aro*.

A: [as if suddenly realizing] Oh, but you are not the child.

A and B: Ha ha ha

प्र क्षा दी.स.चन्नुचा.चन्नु.स.चनु.चनु.कार्यू.ची.स.

ग र्षे:र्ष्ट्रि:ब्र:प्परा:पीव:वि:स:रेट्:वी

2. Boasting অন'ক্রুম্বা'না¹

A: Since this snowy land of Tibet is not only an ocean of songs and dance, but also a Pureland of research, if you live here you should research both the positive and the negative things. And in particular, we must research about the negative things.

B: I haven't heard that before, aro.

A: There are many benefits to researching negative things.

B: I don't buy it.

A: You can gain a lot from studying negative things.

B: What can you gain from studying negative things?

A: That is, when we truthfully tell the negative behaviours, even a fool's brain can turn on. या चूर्यत्वरस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्यान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्यान्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्यान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्यान्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्य स्यान्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्थान्त्रस्य स्यान्य स्यान्य स्यान्य स्थान

प म्.र.भ.श्रीर। क्ष.र्

म दवःसरःविदःयह्रमःस्यावःसवःस्यःसःवेः रेटा

पि क्र्यःश्चार्वीःमी

य रव.त.खुन.पहंबी.लय.वे.बीच.परंचय.हूच. वु.रूटी

ह्न्य.वु.ऱ्ट्री ह्यि। वि रवे.स.धुंच.यर्देवी.लब्ध.वीच.यर्चब्र.कु.चच्ची.

य देन्। प्रवासित स्थान स्थान

¹ In the recordings, A is performed by Menla Jyab.

B: Oh, now I understand. You are going to make fun of the ones who lie and boast.

A: Olé, it goes without saying. My goal is to poke boasters and liars with needles and awls, and to make people who are guilty of it jump at every word I say.

B: Okay, that's right. That's right. Well then, I agree to boasting and lying.

A: Okay, if you agree then let's begin.

B: Huh? Wh..who should begin?

A: You should start.

B: Really? Shall we boast first or lie first?

A: It's one and the same. Boast and we will be lying anyways.

B: That's right. That's right. Um, I will boast then.

A: Do it, do it!

B: Um, I, um, I.....

A: Well, be quick!

B: Umm, I-, I'm not boasting, boy, but I.....

त्र्रीक्चि.पुर्या वर्षिश्व.विश्व.वू.यु.पु.पु.पु.पु.पु.पु.पु.पु. वर्ष्ण ट.टथ.वू.घला व्हिश्व.लच.चक्चैच.घश.

ग्रु.पर्ड्स्यं.चडुं.क्षी यक्ष्यं.चडुंट.लूट्.चुं.तयोव:ऱ्र.चोवेश:शःहुंट. यक्ष्यं.चडुंच.लुट्:क्वैंत्.बूंट्र-ऱ्री क्रुवं.ऱ्र-ऱ्र. भैजःवार्ष्ट्र:भैज:ऱ्रुवं.चं.विनःविक्यं.तचुंचं. य ब्लू.जुं कु.चवेट.क्वैं। टचुं.ट्शुवोश:लैज:जच.

पि है। है। दै:देन्। दै:देन्। दै:व्यन्। दःरःखनः पक्षुवःपश्यामूर्विचःषाहृशःक्कुर्देःव्यवदःसःधीवा

यो ली ब्रिं जबरे.त.लुचे.च.रे.क्र्यां.ची रे.जब्र्.

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ष्ण्री ब्रूच.च.लच.क्विवा.क्वै.ची वार्च्च.वाघेश.क्वी

योर्चुन.बोरेश.अश्व.चर्चनी.लूर.यु.सुरी यो चाङुवी.स.बोङुवी.सुरी जनःभ्रीवी.बु.बूर्स.स

ष १.५८। १.५८। खे....२.जन.कैवाक्के.म्

ग रे'र्चेश रे'र्चेश

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ग षान् रेयाषा

ਸ਼ ਲੀਬੀ ਟ.l ਟਅ.ਯਹ.ਹਾਂਥੈਹ.ਬੂ.ਬ੍ਰਰ.ਟੀ ਫੁ.

A: What do you mean "not boasting"? I told you to boast!

B: Uh. [with self-reproach] Heh. I have never boasted before, so I don't know how to boast.

A: Boast! Boast! Don't be polite. I know you are excellent at boasting.

B: Yep, that's true, but I'm no match for you. You are famous for boasting.

A: How can I compete with you? You are a box of boasts, and a bag of lies.

B: I can't compete with you. You are one who was scolded by people up there and cursed by people down there.

A: Even so, how could I compete with you? You are a rumour mill, and a driver of feuds.

B: I can't compete with you, you are an axe that destroys what's without and a hatchet that destroys what's within.²

A: I can't compete with you. You are an evil spirit to your village, and a disaster-causing demon to your family.

यो जयःचक्वियःवे,श्रुवःचर्त्वा,ब्र् हि.जयःक्वेतः

ट्य.जयःकु.लयःक्वीयःर्य्युद्धःकुंग्रेश्वेयःख्री विष्णी हो २.ट्य.ज.चक्वीयःयःकुर्यःवुः।्वृत्युःबी

य्यानुवानुः स्त्री क्षुःयानः चन्नुनः चवानुः यावानुः यावान् यावा

ल्ट.सू.इट.सू। जन.चक्चित.चन्न.श्चीट.ट.कीबोन्न.बोन्न.चन्नट. ल्लाची ट्रे.चट्रेब.टी क्चिं.ज्जैब.बु.न्न.इटे.ली क्चिं

क्टर.। वार्चुटा.बी.मीलाचाऱ्युटी यो टार्झि.कु.पवीचाचचाऱ्यी क्षि.क्षे.लया.बी.क्षेत्रा.

 $\omega(\mathcal{L})$ થર. છે. ટ્યૂરે. અપૂ. કુરી $\omega(\mathcal{L})$ હે. છે. તમ. છે. છે. તમ. છે. છે. છે. તમ. છે. છે. તમે છે. તમ

યાત્વત.મું.ત્યું સ્ત્રું મુંદ્રનું મુંદ્રનું સું ત્વેલ કે કર્યા છું કૃં. ત્વી તે ત્વેલ તે કે કર્યા છું કૃં. ત્યુ

बर त्यधीया मुझेदा सेटाओं वर त्यधीया मुझेदा सेटाओं

बार्ट्स त्वीदा वीता कर वीत विद्याल कार्र्स की व्यक्त कार्य की विद्याल कार्य की विद्याल की विद्याल

^{2 &}quot;Without" means "external to the community," and "within" refers to one's family and the community.

B: Even so, I'm still no match for you, *aro*! You are a burden to the country and a yoke on the people.

A: How can I compete with you? You are your family's leader, and a hero to your mother.³

B: [dismissively] Hehe. I'm not competing with you, *aro*. You are the only one with learning, you even know how to write your own name! You do!

A: How can I compete with you? As far as letters you completely... you've got the Tibetan alphabet down pat.

B: I can't compete with you. You write and write and add extras to the thirty letters.

A: Huh! How can I compete with you though. When you write the letter ka (\P) you write it with four legs!⁴

B: I'm not competing with you, *aro*! When you write Tibetan, you don't even need a *tseg* (')!⁵

- क्षेत्रांचनः बी.िक्टर.स्.म् अ.ट्शर्टश्रां ब्री.बीट्र्स चीत्रांचनः बी.िक्टर.स्.म् अ.ट्शर्टश्रां बी.बीट्र्स चि. ट्री.लीव.व.म् र.ब्रि.श्रांच्वीयं बी.ब्रा.स्. ब्रि.ह्रां
- ग ८:ब्रिंके'व्युव'च्चे'स् ब्रिंखे'ब्रिअक्ट्वे' र्चेव'र्चे'स् षणस्रवेस्स्र्वे'चे'न्यवर्चेस्न्
- ત્રિયાનો મુશ્ચિત્રા ક્રિયાનો સ્ત્રિયાનો મુશ્ચિત્રા મુ
- ची ड्रि.इं.ची.च.श्रेभ.ड्र.चू.झ्चेय.क्रे.जूट.चूी ची ट्रि.इं.जीव.चड़.र्री लु.ची.चचेटे.व.टे.चच.
- श्रभः श्र.पञ्चः क्षेत्राचा स्टि-त्य्ह्वा सूर्या चि ट.प्रिं भुः त्वीच .ची प्रिं क्षेत्रं स्वेशः ची स्वीशः ची ग्या चि
- मटन्द्राकु न्वज्ञ क्ष्ट्रत्त्री म्यान्यकु न्वज्ञ क्ष्ट्रत्त्री
- चि र हिं श्रे त्युव वी का री हिंश हे से र् जीवा विकास स्थापन

³ This is probably a sarcastic statement suggesting that "B" abuses his family.

⁴ The syllable *ka* has three vertical lines. Adding a fourth suggests that the speaker's writing is poor.

⁵ This is the dot that separates syllables. The implication is that he cannot even write multisyllable words.

A: How can I compete with you? You can cut the leg off of da (5) and put it under tha (3).

B: I am not competing with you, *aro*! You can write *zha* (෧) backwards.

A: How can I compete with you? You can turn *nya* (3) on its end and make it lie down.⁷

B: Hehe, *ala*, I can't compete with you, *aro*. You know that two plus one is three.

A: How can I compete with you? You know that one take away zero is zero!

B: I'm no match for you. You know zero times zero makes two!

A: How can I compete with you? You know that five divided by two is four.

B: I'm no match for you, you are the bravest one out there.

A: Haha, if we're discussing bravery, how can I compete with you? You are the one who drops his gun when you see an enemy.

- यन्द्र-त्यक्षाः स्तान्त्वे त्यन्त्रः त्याः स्तान्त्रः स्तान्त्रः स्तान्त्रः स्तान्त्रः स्तान्त्रः स्तान्त्रः स
- त्रभूर-रकःग्रेगःवःक्र्वाःम्। प्रभूर-रकःग्रेगःवःक्र्वाःम्। विराधिकाःवान्त्रःवः
- य र.प्र्सूर.रज्ञव.तज्ञ.राष्ट्रिय.क्रंत.व्री य र.प्र्सूर.रज्ञव.तज्ञ.राष्ट्रिय.क्रं.वे.व्री.व.वीर.
- યૂં.સેશ.તું.શૂં ક્રે.ત્રીકૃતા.તું.પિ.તાધુશ.તક્રેય.વે.તાજીજા.તુવ. હિ ફે) ફે) જા.ના ટ.ાફ્રે.જુ.તન્દીવે.તું.જા.નું ફ્રિંજ.
- य टार्डि, कु. त्यीव. तच्चे. त्री स्थित ही. त्रीत्र वी. त्री वत्र ही जा तही व. तच्चे ता जी व. त्रीत्र वी. त्री
- चर्मुस्र च.चर्णु-इन्नेस.चूं-चेस.ची-क्र्रॉ म ट.च्रिं-क्र-दचीच-तज्ञे-त्र च्रिंस.च्रे-क्रं-चर्णुस.ल.
- ल.स्.इटी व ट.ष्ट्रिश.पवीव.बी ब्रि.झॅ.टेनप.स्.ल्टे.ज.श्रटे.
- ण जो जो देततः र्खेल स्वीतः क्यांत स्वीतः क्यांत स्वीतः क्यांत्रः स्वीतः क्यांत्रः स्वीतः क्यांत्रः स्वीतः क्या स्वाःस्य स्वित्यः स्वीतः स स्वाः स्

The Tibetan da (\P) has a long line trailing down the right of side of the glyph. That (\P), the syllable that immediately precedes it in the Tibetan syllabary, by contrast does has no such "leg." The speaker is thus suggesting his partner's illiteracy by being unable even to write these two basic glyphs correctly.

⁷ Here the speaker plays on the similar pronunciations of the consonant nya (\mathfrak{I}) and the verb nyal (\mathfrak{I}) "to lie down" or "to sleep."

B: I'm also not brave like you, *aro*! You are the one who cries for his mommy when he sees a nanny [goat].

A: How can I compete with you? You are the one who brings your pops when you go for a poo.

B: Huh? I can't compete with you. You know where your dad keeps his tobacco bag and where your mother keeps her money.⁸

A: I can't compete with you *aro*. You cannot be stopped by the walls and locks of your neighbors.

B: I'm no match for you, *aro*. You see the money in someone's pocket before you even see their face.

A: How can I compete with you? Your hands arrive before your body does.⁹

B: Uh, I can't compete with you; you are the most beautiful person.

A: How can I compete with you? You are the cleanest person.

B: I can't compete with you; you are the one who wears a flower-patterned shirt.

- मः सः मेवा व ब्लाग्ना वर्षे निवस्ति । सः सः मेवा व ब्लाग्ना वर्षे निवस्ति । सः सः मेवा व ब्लाग्ना वर्षे ।
- भ्रातक्वता.सूर्री वित्य.सिटी.श्राप्ताचे ला.भाषु.सूर्य.सूर्य.सिटी.श्राप्ता वित्राप्ति.भ्राप्ताचेत्राची द्विश्य.मु.स्राप्ताचतु.दिटी.
- बीट म्य ह्यां प्राची न्या ने बीच म्या हिंग्से हिंग्य अस्त्र भी
- $\tilde{\mathbf{M}} = \sum_{i=1}^{N} \tilde{\mathbf{M}}_{i} = \sum_{i=1$
- य र हिं. कु. प्रचीव. तची तची त हुं कुं कुंद्र जीया था. म
- ष्ट्री द:ह्यें से त्यान्य के विश्वेष्ट विष्ट्री के स्वाप्त किया के कि की दार्चित के कि कि कि कि कि कि कि कि कि
- $_{\rm d}$ र [र्हें कु:त्वीब नज्ञ:म [र्हें खें ब्रह्म: अंदें.
- प्त र हिं भे त्याव नी हिं में क्ट्रेंन के भे हेंना कव से वाव के स्टार्स

⁸ This suggests that "A" steals from his parents.

⁹ Suggesting that "B" is always asking for or stealing money.

A: How can I compete with you? You are the one who wears bell-bottoms.

B: I can't compete with you; you are the one who wears flat caps. 10

A: How can I compete with you? You are one who wears pointy red shoes.¹¹

B: I can't compete with you, *aro*; you are the owner of stinky feet and companion with the smell of alcohol.

A: How can I compete with you? You are sworn-brothers with pigs and bedfellows with lice.

B: [with husky laughter] Hehe. I can't compete with you. When you're at home, you're a fool, and when you go out, you're a bandit.

A: How can I compete with you? From the outside, you look like a foreign woman, and on the inside, you are a goat of your own country.¹²

B: I can't compete with you. You, uh, you... Wait. Wait. You and I. What were you saying about me, that from the outside I look like a foreign woman and from the inside I am a local goat?

- कुर्य. ति. सूर्य. सूर स्टार्श्य य ट. सूरे. कु. त्यीय. तम्र स्टार्श्य
- वयानक्रेटालूट्यू। व टार्बि.शु.प्रचीच.वी ब्रियाक्री.खी.सी.परीट. जूचे.
- य टार्डि.कु.दबीय.सजु.यी हि.झं.क्षेत्र.रेश्चर.
- $\frac{-1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1$
- यब्द्रम् वृषाचानुनुस्य हिं श्वेष्यत्रेत्त्वान्त्रो
- त. इंट. श्रूष् लूट. टेंब. ब्रुंख. इं. टा बट. ट. वंट. च टेंट. च टेंट. च च चें। यें। ट. ब्रिंड शु. तबीच. वी. ब्रिंड झे. लेंब. चेंट.चेंट.
- य न्हीं कु त्यीव प्रज्ञात्री ही ही ही क्षाय प्रस्ता व म्हीं कु त्यीव प्रज्ञाता क्षाय व म्हां के त्यीव प्रज्ञाता ही ही ही ही क्षाय हो का
- र.ज.चड़ा चूं। ट्रीह्रिंबरटड़, चड़ा बबा तवींबाड्यू:चा बट बबाचड़ेबर बरटचेंबरड़ी ड्रिंबरटेटी ड्रिड्यूड़ी बबाचड़ेबर बर्टेड्यूडी ड्रिट्यू विटाइंड्यूडियाडी ड्रिड्यूडी ब्रिड्यूडी ड्रिट्यूडी

¹⁰ This style of hat, like a Yorkshire flat cap, was fashionable in Amdo in the 1980s and 1990s.

¹¹ These hats and shoes were popular with Tibetans at this time. The pointy red shoes with heels were worn by both men and women at this time.

¹² Meaning that the person only appears modern.

A: Oh, I will tell you. That is, in the past, you looked like it when you wore the hat tilted, dangling a cigarette from your mouth, swaggering, boasting, lying, tricking, robbing, drinking, and stealing.

B: Um, that's... That's a dead issue.

A: Hehe. That's right. That's right. We were boasting and forgot to lie.

B: We wouldn't forget. Now boast on. Now lie on.

A: Who's first?

B: Let's start with you this time.

A: Start with me?

B: Uh-huh.

A: Ok. What's difficult about boasting and lying? When I open my mouth, I talk about the origins of the universe. When I shut my eyes, I know the creation and destruction of the universe. Do you think it would be difficult for me to boast and lie?

B: [dismissively] Huh, you're nothing special compared to me.

A: Ah?

- मूं.रेश.टी ट्रिं.ट्रं.युं.युंची सुंट्रंट्यं चुं.दुं.ली क्रैं.टब्र्चो.चीशी कट.उद्घट.ट्री भेंश.लश.उच्चें. यशी वोर्च्च.चीटेश.शशी शम्,चील्चा.चीशी वीश.वीड्य.ची.पूंच.चेशी ट्रं.वहीट.ची.पहेंची. ट्रिंश.वी.डींट्यंची.चुंच.चेशी ट्रं.टहेंट्यंची.पहेंची. ब्रीं ट्रं.टं.टश.ड्रिं.यचेटी ट्रं.टी बोचेंट.ट्रंट्यो
- चि ह्या दे.यज्ञा दे.यज्ञा वायवः यज्ञानायाः वि
- य है। है। दे.स्टा दे.स्टा ख्रा ख.चाहेच.चाह्य. चक्विचलच.चक्चैच.चब.चाहेच.चाह्य.खंडू. च है। है। दे.स्टा दे.स्टा ख्रा ख.चाहेब्य.चाह्य.लच.
- बाध्या ब चहुर.बु.श.इरी र.जन.क्वैब र.बार्चुन.
- ग शुःवयायर्गःईयाद्धी
- पि निर्मात्रात्रीं निर्मासम्बद्धिया
- ग ८:वर्षःसर्वे ईसःभी
- দ জুবা

वि शिक्तिः सः स्टब्या प्रदेशः व स्वाप्ता

শ্য জ্যা

B: When I am unhappy, I bind the
sun and moon under oath. When I
am angry, I topple Yama from his
throne.

A: It's as if you're not human.

B: If you boast, you have to do it like that.

A: Yep! Boast like that yourself!

B: *Olé*. If you tell me run to the paths of the death, I would. If you tell me to hit my father's head, I would. ¹³

A: *Aro, aro*! There's no boast like that. *Wei*!

B: If there isn't, I'll boast again: there's no one so learned as me.

A: How so?

B: I'm fluent in the Sum, Htag, and Dag. 14

A: You can't compete with me!

B: Yeah?

A: I am not only fluent in them, I am fluent in poetry, history, and debate.

जयातस्याचा पर्नुवायाचा श्वीवायास्यान्यन्यः वानुवास्याः च द्याचययात्रान्यन्त्राची हुः स्वान्यायाः

ग र्ष्ट्रि:श्रु:पञ्चेषा:श्रेव:रू:र्षेट्:ष

व वनक्षिवाव दे प्रमास्त्र केवा दर्श वे रे द

ग या या सर वी दे या स्वर वि वी

क्रीयाचा टाक्नीयाचा क्रीयाच्चराचारलालायाचुरात्राच्चीरा विक्राणी टाक्नीयाञ्चराचायाचीवाहुवायस्टरा

य लार्से लार्से देश्यात्मन न्याने नार स्प्रेट् है ले रेटी हो

त्य. तर्राय्य. क्यं. क्यं. चत्र चार्यं चार्यं चार्यं वार्यं चार्यं चार्

ग के र्रो भेवा

व ट.श्रुअ:म्ब्रब्य:नवा.वाश्रुअ:सं.स्व्ववाय:क्रुं:श्रेन्

ग ८.श.प्रशीय.ग्र्

য আ

क्षिश्रःचर्न्नेश्वःचीःचिश्वेशःस्,स्चवशःक्षैःशुटी च ट.ट्रे.चिश्वशःस्,ट्.क्र.स्चवशःम श्रेष्टारचाःस्,

¹³ This plays with a well-known *tamhwé* and suggests that the speaker is obedient.

¹⁴ This refers to three major grammatical treatises for the Tibetan language: the sumchupa ($\S^{a_1}\S^{a_1})$, the htagjug ($\S^{a_1}\S^{a_1}$) and the dagyig ($\S^{a_1}\S^{a_1})$. These three are often said together.

B: Right. I am fluent in the five greater and lesser sciences. 15 Between us, I'm better.

A: I'm better! Not only am I perfect at all of Tibetan culture, but I have also mastered Chinese script.

B: Maybe so, but I'm stronger. Not only do I have perfect Chinese, I've mastered foreign scripts, too.

A: I am stronger. I, uh, what country's script do you know?

B: I know Indian script.

A: You can't compete with me. I know Burma's script. Ya, you tormalike one!¹⁶

B: Hey, you can't compete with me! I know French script. Ah! *Lutor* like one.¹⁷

A: You aren't competing with me. I know English script. How's that, boy?

B: *Hoya*! I know it even without studying it.

- य ८.८४.चु ८.सूर् ची.सूबी.बाबका.लूर.क्र्र.सूर भ
- वयाश्चास्य विज्ञानाम् स्वापास्य स्वापास्य स्वापास्य स्वापास्य स्वापास्य स्वापास्य स्वापास्य स्वापास्य स्वापास्य
- यो.चेश्रा य ट.टर.ची ट. बिह्य क्वियाचित्राचीट.ची.सी.
- वि दशःभीःवीरःवीःलुःवीःवेश
- पर्ट.मूर्। बी.लु.बो.चेश्वराली ली ब्याचीट्रेस.अ.चड्डबी.पर्टे. बी.लु.बो.चेश्वराली ली ब्याचीट्रेस.अ.चड्डबी.पर्टे.
- हेशाली ला.प्री.बोट्ट्रमाचुब्यायन्यस्य स्त्रीला.वी.
- व र्रे.लो रब.ट्र.वर्ज्ञ.च.यंयव.व.र.घेब.बी.ली

¹⁵ In Tibetan tradition, there are five greater and five lesser sciences. Five greater sciences are craftsmanship (Tib. བརྡོ་རྡོ་བ།་པ།), logic (Tib. གདན་ཚོགས་རྲིག་པ།), grammar (Tib. སྡོ་རྲིག་པ།), medicine (Tib. གསོ་བ་རྲིག་པ།), Dharma or "inner science" (Tib. ནང་དན་
རུག་པ།), and five lesser sciences are synonyms (Tib. མརྡོན་བརྡོད།), mathematics and astrology (Tib. སྐརུ་རྡིས།), drama (Tib. རྡོན་གར།), poetry (Tib. སྡན་ངག།), composition (Tib. སྡོབ་སྡོན་།).

¹⁶ A torma is a cake, usually made of barley flour and used in rituals. Here the speaker rhymes Burma and torma.

¹⁷ Lutor is a type of torma specifically offered to the nagas.

- A: Is that even possible?
- B: And then, I started university at fifteen!
- A: [dismissively] Heh, I graduated from university at fifteen!
- B: By the age of ten I had gone to school overseas!
- A: I graduated from all schools at age five, and perfected all scripts.
- B: I served the people and made contributions to the country at the age of three.
- A: My hair became grey as soon as I was born.
- B: That's not possible. I am not only great at learning, I'm also excellent at sports!
- A: I'm excellent in that too!
- B: I can run 400 to 500 kilometers in one hour.
- A: I can run 1000 kilometers in half an hour!
- B: You can't compete with me! I can get out of the country in five minutes.
- A: You don't compare to me! I can run around the earth in a single minute!

- ग दिः स्थान्य विष्याः स्पूर्वि । स्थान्य
- शूर-विवाधावाला वि ट्रे.बी ट.जू.पर्ड्-र्जिट्र.बूचावधार्थूच.वी.कुवे.
- म्रायधरः द्वेयं सूरः रः। भीष्यः पञ्चः संपुः सूर्यः वयः रः पञ्चः सूर्यः यो क्षयः
- म्रिट.ट.सूट.सूट.टाली व ट.जू.चर्थ.चश्च.चय.च्यूच.चथ.कु.कु.क्य.ज.सूच.
- चीट.ट.क्रीच.ब्र्यट.ट.। श्रव्यम.क्षीव.वथा सुवा.सुवाय.सूट.सूट.ब्र्य. या ट.सू.मि.ब्री.ब्र्याचेय.सूच.सूच.सूट.सूट.ब्र्य.
- यु.ला यःश्चीयःचन्नां क्वीजः।वयःयःचीकःह्रमःचर्णनाः वि रयःजुःबाशीभःबुः।ह्र्वाःवयःभःभःनेशरभःयःचीः
- या टःश्चेश्वास्त्रचानुःसर्वे प्राचीसःस्त्राचीस्तरः म
- प्तः दें विद्यालें दें के स्वार्ट्सिट वी र्स्ते विद्या स्वार्ट्स स्टार्ट्से विद्यालें दें से स्वार्ट्सिट वी र्स्ते विद्या विद्या स्टार्ट्स
- ग दै:८:र:८र।
- चर्षु-चर्ची,र्ज,चर्ची,चड्डवी,वी.क्रैंबीकार्डीच.ची वि ट.र्टेकाङ्क्ट्र,वाङ्ग्वी,वी.वेट.ट.। क.जु.र्टचर.
- म् ट.र्टेश.क्ट्र्ट.ते.क्.चड्डवी.वी.वेट.ट.थ.जु.चर.
- वियाची सुर्यार त्यीर द्वीयाची वि हि.स.भ्रायचीय ची स.भीर भारतिची चेरार क्वीया
- यह्त्राञ्चीटाटाङ्गीरा-टाङ्मीयाञ्चीयाचा य हिं.टाञ्चायचीयाची द्याःश्चीराञ्चायाचीयहरू

B: I don't believe you.

A: I'm boasting.

B: Uh, I can carry 500 pounds of grain.

A: You can't beat me. I can lift 600 pounds of gold with one hand.

B: You can't compete with me. I can carry 1 pound of wool on my back and walk.

A: Oh, by the *Yum* if you can't do that.¹⁸

B: Uh, ala.

A: In my area, it's ok if I don't wash my clothes for three years. How's that?

B: That's nothing. In my area, it's ok if we don't wash our faces for three months.

A: That's nothing. In my area, we don't wear clothes except for at weddings, and we don't wash our faces except at New Year.

B: In my area, having lice is considered an omen that you'll get rich.

पि दर्वः इरः शेः तर्शेः वी

ग ८४.जय.क्वीवा.ब्र्.ब्रे

|च| ह्य| ट्य.पर्टी.मृब्यश.की.घ.सं.चकी.विवा.वा.ल|

जवालकाची.विवा.वा.ला जो व्हि.ट.भु.पवीच.वु टकावाशुर.ची.भारीवा.चची

रक्ष.वर्कु.बैय.य.ली वि ब्रि.ट.कु.वर्किय.वु टक्ष.यज्ञ क्षे.क्ष.वीट.बिर.

ળ ર્જા <u>દે.ર.</u>લેંજાજી.કીંચ.નુ.થી.થી

ব জীজনা

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य.वीक्षेत्रात्रा.वि.जवी.त्रा.चर्यीया.व.कूवी वि चु.तर्जु.कटात्रा.चुटी चु.तर्जुचु.या.क.चु.वया.च्री

या दे.पर्झे हरास्य स्त्री हे.पर्झेटी साम्य स्त्रीया स्रामीय स्त्री प्रामीय स्त्रीया स्त्रीय स्त्रीया स्त्री प्रामीया

बुर.स प्यट.च.क्रै.अर्गु.जवीर-क्रैकु.धुब.जवुज.सुर. वि चैर-बु.इ.चबूकु.ज.क.टु.चन्ना चुबा.चयेच.

¹⁸ The "Yum" is short for *yumdumpa* and refers to the *prajnaparamita* "perfection of wisdom." In Amdo, the text is mentioned as an oath. By negating the oath, the speaker is affirming the previous statement.

A: Well then, in my area, they say it's
a sign of your merit if you're oily.19

B: Oh, well, in my area, some comrades have wild yaks walking single file on their heads.²⁰

A: Well then, in my area, some comrades shine.

B: Huh? What's wrong with that?

A: Oh, that is, their clothes are oily, the golden sun shines on it, and it radiates a conch-coloured light.

B: [dismissive] Heh. Yes. Yes. My place has people like that, too.

A: Uh. In my area, people speak a mix of Tibetan and Chinese.

B: We also speak like that in my area.

A: How do people in your area speak?

B: Uh, how should I say it?

A: I have an idea.

B: Yeah?

म र्वे.व.ट्र.पर्वेदे.श.क.ट्र.वशा क्र.क्याश.पर्ट. वा पर्श्वट्रवश्रश.लूट् वेद्य.शक्र्य.ध्याश.पर्ट. वर्ष.

षर्या,य.पस्ट्राचीचरःत्री,यःस्टी व प्र्यं,प्राप्त्रम्यंत्राक्ष्यं सर्वे यात्राप्ते

य र्.च.ट्.मर्चुट्र.य.क.चया ट्व्रायद्वेव त्यायटे.

वि हो दे.कु.चन्नवि.भ.धेव.चली

या श्ली दे.सी जै.बी.सूच.चा.कु.कवाश.वाशा कु.बी. सूच.वा.वाश्वर.शर्सूच.वा.कु.श.वर्सूश.लश.देस. शर्सूचा.बा.चु.सूच.वा.कु.कवाश.वाशा कु.बी.

ष है। रेन्। रेन्। रेन्वर्जेवैःषःकःवःरःनैःर्सःर्सेन्।

य खेबी इ.सब्र्यु.श.क.बंश.क्वे.श्नेट्र्से.सेट्र

पि नै.इ.पर्जेव.४.क.थ४.४.इ.त्र.ल४.पर्वे.ला

ग र्षि:नर्बेदे:बाळाव्याळे:प्ययान्व्राय

व ख्वा ५.कु.लब.चवर.रबा

শ ८:र्ह्ने:पञ्चेष:र्षेद:बी

[씩

¹⁹ Referring to skin and hair that is dirty and oily, and that this gets on your clothes as well.

²⁰ Here the "wild yaks" are lice, and they walk in a line like yaks climbing a narrow mountain path.

A: Uh, let's say two old acquaintances have just met up, one from my area and one from your area.

B: That's fine.

A: They have met now.

B: Sure.

A: Yeah, come on.

B: Ah! Ok! I haven't seen you for ages **bei**²¹, *wei*!

A: Don't talk **nonsense** (hu 胡). I only **contact with** (dajiaodao 打交道) and deal with my **side hustle** (gaofuye 搞副业) these days. Who says I can find the **time** (shijian 时间) to just stand there?²²

B: Really? If you say so *aro*, now that you are running a **side hustle**, are you becoming the father of **renminbi** (人民币)?²³

A: Take pity on me, getting **reminbi** is not **easy** (*jiandan* 简单).

B: Really? What's up?

षि दे.क्र्या.ची

ग ५:बुग:चन्द्र-वे:रेद-वें

12 J.Đ

ग पार्वेग

ति ह्या लाला हिं. लेर. यचुवा. वा. रूवा हैं. श्रेट. वी.

प्त हो नै'सन्ने'व'ल'र्से न'सर्चेल'र्स्नेत्'लेल' प्रेन्चें'नुष्य रैव'सेव'सेष'(人民币)चे'ल' प्रक्तिचेंचें'सेव'से

ग ५'घब'र डेप'यो रेतु सेतु सेर पेर पेतृ कुर्वे र डेतु प्री क्षेत्र सेर प्री क्षेत्र सेर प्रा

ष शकें रेंदा

²¹ Bei is a feature of the dialect of Chinese spoken in Qinghai.

²² Readers of both Chinese and Tibetan will notice that the verbs *da* and *gao* in the borrowed phrases "*dajiaodao*" and "*gaofuye*" respectively have been placed at the end to fit with conventions of Tibetan grammar.

²³ *Renminbi* (literally "people's money") is one commonly used term for the Chinese currency. Becoming the "father" of *renminbi* would suggest that he is becoming wealthy.

A: This morning, uh, my **tractor** (*shou fu* 手扶) **broke** (*huai* 坏) down and in the afternoon I went to have it **welded** (*han* 焊).

B: Your **tractor**'s faults (*maobing* 毛病) really aren't **small** (*buxiao*不小), huh?

A: **Small faults** (*xiao maobing* 小毛病) are ok.

B: Yup.

A: If **big faults** (*da maobing* 大毛病) **occur** (*chu* 出), what **solution** (*banfa* 办法) do you have other than just lying down.

B: Truly, if a **big fault occurred**, your **income** (*shouru* 收入) would really be **interrupted** (*danwu* 耽误), *aro*!

A: That broken **tractor** of mine needs **major repairs** (*daxiu* 大修), but now I don't have the **means** (*tiaojian* 条件).

B: [dismissively] *Ayaya*, your **maternal uncle** (jiujiu舅舅) is like a **landlord** (*dizhu* 地主). [He] is a **box** (*xiangzi* 箱子) of **renminbi**. Why don't you borrow some?

- पत्रेन्। खी हैन क्वेंत्र (手扶) प्रिंप् प्रिंप प्रि
- |P (後さらず) (手扶) さている。 では、首、(毛病不小) 心は、これにより、がいる。
- ग र्वेर्: येव पर्वे दि र प्रामुख्य रे रे प्रवे व

য জুবা

- ण ५ व्यंत्रेव (大毛病) प्रवेग विंतु (出) प्ययः प्रमृद्ध क्षेत्र व्याप्त क्षाप्त व्याप्त व्यापत व
- प्त र्ले.ट्रंस्था हिर्से (大毛病) प्रचेष विदु:(出) अवायहरास्या हिंदे हेपासेटुः(收入) वीर्वेषायार्टे अवाहते वेदुः(耽误) अवाहते विदेशे
- 可 ちゅうでは、
- ष्य ष्य प्याप्प हिन्गी केषा केषा (舅舅) हैय र्गेदु (地主) वर्नु स्य संस्ट्रिसी केसेषा भेषा की बहु के (箱子) स्ट्रिसी केसेषा पश्चेषा पहुंचा केसेषा

A: [scoffing] Heh, you really **don't understand** (bu liaojie 不了解) my **uncle's temper** (piqi 脾气). When he's in a bad **mood** (xinqing 心情), he comes, breaks all the **furniture** (jiaju 家具) in the home, and then leaves. Do you think it is okay to borrow from him?

B: [sighing] Huh, right. right. It's a lot of **trouble** (*mafan* 麻烦) for a small **matter** (*shiqing* 事情). Yeah?

A: Ah, karmically wicked one, **all of society** (*zhengge shehui*整个社会) is like that.

B: Uh...

A: Our family relations (jiating guanxi 家庭关系), uh... uh... are really difficult to talk about (hennanshuo 很难说).

B: That's the **truth** (shihua实话)!

A: The longer we went on the more Chinese it became.

B: Olé, truly.

A: Oh, that is understandable. I don't have any objections.

B: Then, to what do you have objections?

ची.क.ह्ये.(家首) क.चू.स.ह्ये.से.शे.श्य.के.लु.जु.स् ची.क.ह्ये.(水倡)शु.चे.र्य.स.ह्ये.त्यं.प्य.र्या.विश. ची.क.ह्ये.(家首) क.चू.स.ह्ये.त्यं.प्य.र्या.विश. ची.विश.ट्रं.योचु.ह्यं.त्यं.र्य.यं.व्यं.त्यं.

[전] 국기 국기 출:율리(事情).윤도·중도·점·

ग ष्ण ययः दवः र्गे ग्रीवः गीः देः दृषः (整个社 会) दः र्येषः भीवः द्वा

দ জুবা

ण सु:पर्वेदेःरु:घेवःपणवःविशः(家庭关系) पदेःम्। खुवा खुवा ठेवःववःर्रेः(很难说) धा

四 多污滅 (实话哦)

पि ह्यामान्त्री

ग र्षे ५ दे.र.कु.विवाःकी २.चळप्रातकरः दे. र.जुटी

व दे.वी ब्रिं.कु.चचुवा.वा.चश्रश्रातकर.लूट्.वश्रा

A: These days, some intellectuals
who claim to be serving the people,
doing the work for the ethnicity,
who are the role models for future
generations

B: [agreeing] Uh-huh.

A: ...they throw the affairs of the nationality into the bottom of a sombre well, and communicate unnecessary things in unintelligible speech. I not only get angry but want to bite them.

B: Hehe, how do they speak, aro?

A: Alas, it is like this.

B: Yes.

A: [hiccup sounds]

B: What was that?

A: Isn't it me coming to your home drunk again?

B: Oh, right. right.

A: [hiccups] *Ayo'e*, you didn't open the door quickly. What **terrible thing** (*duibuqi* gi *shiqing* 对不起可事情) did I do to you?

B: What?

A: What?

B: Oh, it's you.

चन्नवाचीयःः चन्नवाचीयःः चन्नव्यत्वे स्वे अस्ययः विवायः स्वे स्व स्विययः स्वे स्वे अस्ययः विवायः स्वे स्व स्विययः स्वे स्वियः स्वे स्वयः स्व स्विययः स्वे स्वयः स्व स्विययः स्विययः स्वियः स्व स्वियः स्विययः स्वियः स्व स्वियः स्वियः स्वियः स्वियः स्वियः स्वियः स्व स्वियः स्वयः स्वयः

দ্ৰ জুবা

या ब्रेन्द्रियास्य विश्वस्थात् व्यवस्थात् विश्वस्थात् विश्वस्य विश्वस्य विश्वस्यस्य विश्यस्यस्य विश्वस्यस्य विश्यस्यस्य विश्यस्यस्य विश्वस्यस्य विश्वस्यस्य विश्य

ष है। है। दैंकै: धरान्य न्या वै: देन । षार्से

ग ५'व्यार-कैयाची'वर्दी क्रीं चर्त्रीया रेदा था

14 W

ग श्रु.दी श्रुचा.ची

प दे.कु.चञ्चवा.लुव.वया

ष्ट्रिं देन देन

ण खुरु। ष्यःप्रं ष्ये। व्हिंशः दः रेग्धः यः र्श्वें ये। युं र्वे। दयः व्हिं प्रमृत्यः पेंदुः क्रेयः नी दृः क्रेवः (对不起 中事情) केः प्रवेगः प्रयोगः प्रकारम्

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শ্ব জ

ષ ર્ષે ફિંપીવ વયા

A: What?

B: I'm really **sorry** (*duibuqi* 对不起)! Come in, come in!

A: [agreeing] Uh-huh.

B: Come in and drink some tea. Ah, karmically wicked one, you came here after **setting off** (*za* 炸) a **grenade** (*shouliudan* 手榴弹), ²⁴ *ba*?²⁵

A: If I have "cash" (qian 钱) money, why not drink the nectar liquor,²⁶ eh little brother (laodi 老弟)?

B: [inquiringly] Huh?

A: Tonight, we two bottles of people threw back one liquor.

B: What did you say?

A: Oh no, I am saying I single handedly drank two bottles of **grain alcohol** (*liangshi baijiu* 粮食白酒).²⁷

B: [surprised] Ah, ah! Wow! Is your **alcohol tolerance** (*jiuliang*酒量) skyhigh these days?

শ্ব জা

वि दें स्वाप्त क्रियां (对不起) ण ण वर पर्वेच वर पर्वेच

শ গ্রুবা

तत्रुवा.ता (主楓強)चत्रुवा.वर्ड्चा.वर्ड्चा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्रुवा.व्

य्वर्(钱) र्बेर र्से र्पेर्च व्या कर प्रहिर हैं है।

্ব জ্যো

या नु.सर्बूट.सी ट.क्वी.सू.ब्री.कट.क्वी.श.चाङ्चता. या नु.सर्बूट.सी ट.क्वी.सू.ब्री.कट.क्वी.श.चाङ्चता.

교 용고기

ग र्षे.श.रूटी ट.क्री.विश्वताचीयालीट.ट्रे.त्र.श्ची. (將每日渥).च्री.व्रीच्यीयाचीयालीट.ट्रे.त्र.श्ची.

²⁴ A euphemism for finishing an entire bottle of liquor.

²⁵ *Ba* is a particle appended at the end of sentences, and is believed by many to have been borrowed from Chinese.

²⁶ Here, he uses the alliteration and rhyme for the Chinese *qian* "cash" and the Tibetan *chang* "liquor."

²⁷ Baijiu is the clear, distilled liquor frequently drunk throughout China.

A: It is not bad. But It's **nothing** (*cha de yuan le* 差得远了) **compared** (*bi*比) with Drakpa's.²⁸

B: Ok, fair enough.

A: [dismissively] Huh, Drakpa is also nothing **special** (嚼头).²⁹

B: [confirming] *Uh-huh*.

A: He cooks a pound of noodles right after throwing back a pound of liquor.

B: *Aro aro*, what is the **meaning** (*yisi* 意思) of "cooking a pound of noodles"?

A: [sighing dismissively] Aiya, fool, you are **truly** a fool, I'm saying that when he's drunk, he throws it back up.

B: Oh that's right. That's right.

A: Well, "little brother."

B: Yes?

A: Um, if you have liquor, put it in front of me. Be quick!

ण कैन्।केन्।सहंदःनी रेन्।न्ना मानायःपःधेयः (比) प्रज्ञेन्।स्ययःन्।न्नःने स्र्वेन्।य (差得 远了)|

ष भा दै.चत्रे.म

ण र्वा चार्यायायाः र र विषाः (嚼头) दैः र यो दः या

ম জ্যুব:জ্যু

य कटःमै.ज.चटःचलिता हु.स हि.म्.ज.चटः व

要.चनुषा.वा.लुश.थु (宴留) .去री वि ब्याऱ्री ब्याऱ्यी व्यिक्चे.घ्य.वार.धूर्या.लथ.चनु.बूर्.

ण ष्यःण र्सेषु:प्-देःदुः(实话) र्सेषु:रेन्-ण कटःवश्चदःवःपवेःणयःपश्चेषाःपठटःर्वेःपवेः वैःण

ष्ट र्बेर-देन देन देन विकास

ण पार्थे:नैषा (老弟)

য আ

ग श्रा कर पञ्चेषा स्पित्व हुव व विषये हो रेस रा

²⁸ This may refer to a specific person, but it also may be used to create assonance in the phrase here.

²⁹ 嚼头 literally means, "something that can be chewed for a long time without losing taste." With the negation 没 in front, it metaphorically refers to something not worth considering. Thus, Menla Jyab suggests that Drakpa's tolerance is not great.

B: [sighing] *Aiya*. Unfortunately, by your flesh if I even know what liquor looks like.³⁰

A: Hehe, **forget it** (suanleba 算了吧). You, you're an **alcohol** (jiu 酒) drinker yourself. I don't believe you can endure not drinking it. [hiccups]

B: Aiya, if there's even a **whiff** (weidao 味道) of **liquor** in my house, then you can say I didn't want to pour you some.

A: Well then, don't **play** (*kai wanxiao* 开玩笑), bring some quick.

B: Huh, [I] truly don't have any, otherwise I would offer you some. Um, let me tell you.

A: Yeah?

B: Don't drink any more tonight.

A: [agreeing] Uh-huh.

B: Go get some sleep.

A: [hiccup]

B: You have to go to **work** (*shang ban* 上班) again tomorrow.

व व्रिट्टिन्स व अ.ली टे.श.प्ट्यीय कर.पञ्चया.यी.ट्र.र.जेश.

त्रीर.ट.चर्यथ्यच्यात्रीयीवियःचःख्यी श्रीच च्रीयःकुर्या(短) त्रीट:पुर्ट्-टी ब्रियःट.ख्या च्री थ्री ब्रि.चयव्यःसि.सि.(黄之后) ब्रिल्टिन्ट.

वया 時項).तत्रुबी.च्रु.ची.(短).वत्रुबी.ची.चु.चुर्य.ट्री. (国 ला.ली ट्रेटी.वु.कुबी.(短).वत्रुबी.वी.चु.च्रु.च्री.

ण भःना र्रेः अःनवःर्ले ।वे (*玩笑开) अःभेनः

वि श्वी स्थाष्ट्रियन्। वि ही हे.स.स्रेन.वया लून.व.न.सु.सैन.वया.ह्र.

ग पा

ष ५.५.२ब्र्राट्यायश्रदी

শ জ্ঞৰ

प श्र्ट.ट.ध्रुजी

ग श्रुमा:सु

वि. वट्यान.लट.ब्रि.चेट.तव.(下班)व.ट्यु.

³⁰ The speaker is suggesting that he has no liquor at home.

A: [unhappily] Do you **care** (*guanxin* 关心) about my **work**?³¹ If you want to pour me some then do it. If you don't, then **I'll be off** (*zou la* 走啦)!

B: Hey! Don't be angry.

A: Cut the bullshit (shao feihua 少废话), you!

B: Hey, [in frustration] honestly!

A: Forget about it (suanla算啦).

B: Well then, then, beat it (gun 滚).

A: [no longer pretending to be drunk] So is this good behaviour? Is the speech pleasant? Does anyone understand it?

B: Olé, if it continues like this, won't our Tibetan language become a **hybrid language** (zazhong hua 杂种话) in the end.

A: [Catching B in his hypocrisy] Ohoho! You weren't careful and you spoke it too.

B: Hey! aro, aro, we forgot to boast.

A: Oh, true. True. True. Now let's boast. Let's boast. Let's boast. I'm a tall person.

B: I'm also tall.

पि ली ट.ट्र.भ.ध्रॅ.चच्ची.भ.जट्यी

ጣ 竞级的(少废话) 图

四 四 5 5 (实话)

게 디지적'원(算啦)

四 देशवर् देशवर् पर्मेव(滚)

ग ५:५)हुँ५:७:५५गःवी भ५:७:७)भूवःवी स्टः ८:डेवावी:७)वींवी

ष्ट्रिक्तिया क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

यर्थर.ज.चड्डा चर्चर.ज.चड्डा चर्चर.च.चड्डा

वि श्री ल.स् ल.स् जनःक्विवःक्ट्रिंप्यह्टे स्वर्ण

ज्ञवा न्याः क्षेत्र न्याः क्षेत् न्याः क्षिः न्यने व्यवे न्यने न्याः क्षेत्र न्याः कष्टि न्याः विष्यः विष्यः

व ८.४.वाञ्चवाय.४८.लुवा

³¹ Literally, in my getting on and getting off work (*shang ban* and *xia ban*).

A: My body is	three armspans tall.
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B: My body is six armspans. I'm the taller of us.

A: I'm taller. My body is nine armspans.

B: I'm taller. My body is twenty armspans.

A: I'm taller. My body is fifty armspans.

B: I'm taller. My body is one hundred armspans.

A: I'm taller. My body is incalculable with armspans. My head is above the clouds.

B: Hmph, even so I'm taller.

A: Really?

B: My head is among the stars.

A: I'm taller. The earth is turning under my feet.³²

B: Um, I am taller.

A: Really?

B: My head reaches the sky and feet on the earth. The sun and moon are under my armpits, how is that, *aro*? ग द्वःग्राचुग्रयः वः दर्देशः धः ग्रासुर्यः र्षेद्

प्राप्तः इट.ची वि चतुः विश्ववातान्त्रः वर्षे अ.स.चीवा.लूटी वे.चाधुकः

ग ८.इ८.ची ८५.चाञ्चवारा व.पर्ट्यासान्ची.लूरी

लूर.ला व र.इंट.बी टवु.बार्श्चिबकाचे.वर्ट्शतास.धु.सी.

म प्रस्तिनी प्रति मञ्जून स्वर्गास्य प्रस्ति । स्वर्गास्य प्रम्

व ट.इट.ची टतु.ची बीचायाच तर्रेयान न की जूरी

यह्न प्रति । स्राप्ति ।

प शुवा देशव ररारारेटावी

শ খা

व दवे अर्वे न्नर अवे विशेद व र्षेट्र

यो ट.इट.ची श्रयु.सू.ल.चर्च्च.ट्यु.मेट.जूबी.चे.

वि श्री ट.र्रट.वी

ग था

ह्म द्वे सर्वे म्ववस्य स्वाप्त म्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्

³² Here he is suggesting he is so huge that the earth is like a ball under his feet.

A: I	ग 51
B: I'm the taller of us.	ाय
A: I'm bigger.	ग ८.कु.ची
B: Really?	ات الله
A: I	ग 51
B: Yes?	ष था
A: I	ग 57
B: Yes?	ات سا
A: I'm bigger.	ग ८:ळे:बी
B: Ok.	ات سا
A: My upper lip reached sky, lower lip touches the earth, and teeth are in the middle. I am bigger, am I not? Hehe!	ૹ઼.વુ.ૹ.૨.ૹૄ.૬૮ી કે.કો લૈવા.નૂ૮ી ટેટ.ક્.ક્રીજા.ક્ર.ન૨.વ.નૂ૮ી ટે.૨. પ્ર ૨૬ુ.જા.વ.નાવજા.જાલૈવા.નૂ૮ી જા.વ.જ૨.
B: Then where is your face, karmically wicked one?	ભૂર. વેજાણી વિ જા.નજા. દવે. નૃષ્ટી કુજા. વે. ફિંવુ. મૂ. વેટ. વગ્નુ વો. વે.
A: Huh? [dismissively] Heh, we boasters and liars don't need face at all.	यो.वैंट.वी.ट्र.शु.टेब्र् यो ह्या हे। हु.चर्च्च.लच.भैं.वर्ष्ट्च.भी.शोवध.हुवा.
B: You don't need face? If you don't need face, then what do you need?	पि ट्रिंश-नर्वे ट्रिंश-नर्वे न्त्रिंक्:न्वेन-नर्वे न्त्र्या
A: I need alcohol! Hiccup!	ग कर: नर्वे: च खुव चेंब
B: Oh, haha!	P 8 55

3. The Dream ફોવચાૃ¹

A: Dear members of the audience! Firstly, look at my face.

B: You're not that beautiful.

A: In particular, look at my eyes.

B: [as if suddenly realizing] Oh, your eyes are probably different sizes.

A: Then, *aro*, please lookest at my ears!

B: Oh, your nose is very long, indeed.

A: What nose? Ear! Ear! Ear! I said ear!² Only people with congested noses care about noses.

B: Oh! There is nothing special about your eyes and ears. What is there to look at?

य अह्तः अश्वः तृते हेन् स्वाक्षेत्र क्षेत्रः स्वाक्षेत्र क्षेत्रः स्वाक्षेत्र क्षेत्रः स्वाक्षेत्र क्षेत्रः स्

पि लवा.चर्ट.क्रि.जु.जु.च

ग क्ष्वा.तर.२.श्रीवा.वा.वाञ्चा.सूर्या

व.घट.चू व लट.। श्रीचा.चाधुश.चाऱ.कु.क्यट.चञ्चचा.लूर्ट.

ग देवे वर्षे र दाकारी का निवासी विषय र्मे प्राथमिक स्वासी का स्वासी का स्वासी का स्वासी स्वासी स्वासी स्वासी स्वासी स्वासी स्वासी स्वासी स्वासी स्व

व र्खा झ-५-देश-देश-ईवा-६८-वी-पा

ष्टर:लग:पक्ट:प्ट्रेश-ट्राञ्च वी:स्वाचान्यं स्वरः पक्ट:या:पक्ट:पट्टेश-ट्राञ्च:वी:स्वाचान्यं स्वरः या श्च:पट्टेवाची स्व:स्वाचान्यं स्वरः

मी चन्नवा.श.स्ट.श्री ट्रेस.चन्ने.क्वे.कु.चन्नवा.लूट. वि ब्ली ब्लिट.कीया.स.सं.चीधेश.मो.बिट.तस.च.

¹ A is performed by Menla Jyab and B is performed by Phagmo Drashi. This performance makes extensive use of humilific and honorific registers. To see these marked explicitly, see https://yeshe.org/the-dream/

² Ear and Nose are homophones in the dialect spoken by Phagmo Drashi (B), hence the misunderstanding.

A: [disagreeing] *Hang! hang!* Why would the Three Ancestral [Dharma] Kings of Tibet award me a Nobel Prize if my eyes and ears are not unique?³

B: Hey, you karmically wicked one! When did you meet the Three Ancestral Kings of Tibet?

A: Um, the night that I flew into the sky.

B: The night you flew into the sky?

A: *Olé,* the night I requested some time off and flew into the sky.

B: Which night was that?

A: [pityingly] Ah, you don't understand anything, do you? On the auspicious New Year's Eve night, I went sightseeing in the sky after asking permission to drink the nectar-liquor from the strict chief of the household, Namtsokyi.⁴

B: I do not understand what you are saying.

- क्रै.लु.सूटी वीश्वभावी,बू.जनुर.वी.चै.ट्वोजु.ध्वायात्राःह्रेस. नम्प्यानमुब्याःश्रुच.चं.चूट्.ग्रीःश्रुयाःटेचूच.ध्यः यो चेट.चेटा, टजु.क्रीवा.स.झ.जर्मूचा.वाधुयायाःविटा.
- चिश्वमःत्र्वं त्याः विद्वत्ताः स्वा विद्वाः व
- ग । ष्यद्रा वावयाः यः तसुरः वीः दर्वोदः र्खे।
- वि वि.वावयायायस्य स्वीर्विरासी
- ग र्षेरचे। नावरः नः लुषः नावसः यः तसुरः नीः नर्षेरः से।
- ष देवयानी दर्नेट र्थे से द्व
- योषपुःरिवृट्यःयय्यःक्षेरःसूरःसूरःरःला चरीरङ्गः तश्चरः वाचयः यश्चरः व्यव्यः चर्वाः सूर्यः व्यव्यः स्वाय्यः स्वस्तः सूर्यः स्वयः स्वायः स्वयः स्वयः व्यव्यः स्वयः स
- प दशःर्चितैःदेतैःदःशःर्वेःवी

³ The three ancestral kings of Tibet are Songtsen Gampo (র্জুন্মর্কার্মা), Tri Songdetsen (খ্রিজুর্মুন্র্কা), and Tri Tsukdetsen (খ্রিজুর্মুন্র্কা). They are credited as the three kings who brought Buddhism to Tibet.

⁴ Here Menla Jyab imitates traditional oratory, opening each line with a set of three syllable formulae.

A: Oh, If I tell you clearly, on New Year's Eve night last year, I drank some alcohol and spilt a bowl of noodles after my wife fed me a bowl of noodles.

B: Ew, you vomited?

A: At the time, the earth and sky were spinning in my eyes, and after a while, I flew into the sky, *aro*.

B: Oh? How did you fly?

A: Uh, I was curled up in bed caring for my son, and suddenly, wings grew on me, and I was flown out.⁵

B: Hahaha, that's amazing!

A: Uh, chased by the wind, slashed by the rain, dust swirling, hit with the heat, I suffered tremendously before reaching the sky.

B: [sarcastically] Sure, um, if you say so.

पि है। पश्चिम्ययानहरःवया

पर्सर.चेला ळा.र्जु। पर्मुर.मू.मु.र.कुट.भ.पर्मुर.र.मेषेभ.भ. भ्राचळ.ट्रेर.ट्यु.र्नुब्रीमालभ.च.र.मोषेभ.भ.

य र्ख्रो क्र.चो.पर्सेन्.घजी

योय.पर्लर-र्याः स्टिट्स्या। चर्न्नट्राजूट्र-ट्री ट्रम्मुं.क्रीया.या.योतूचा.स.मूच्या. क्टर्ट्यच्चा.त्यांत्रया.येट्या.यम्ब्रीया.यम्ब्राया. यो त्यो वेजायातु.येट्यया.र्येषा.यो.वु.कुरायात्राया

ष ५.२.२। ट्रे.ल.अक्ष्य.र्रेट.ली

चरेट.ट.र् वेश श्रावतःब्र्च-रचीशःच्री-टेरशःकृतीःटेवी वेश श्रावतःब्र्च-त्रेट्वेश क्र.चश्रःच्रीशः च्रावाद्मेंट्वेट-व्रीशःचेरित्वेरी क्ररःच्रीशःचिरुरः च

पि नै:न:श्रेव:वयाना खेवा न:श्रेव:कुर्व:सेना

⁵ There is unusual grammar here, with the phrase $wud\ ta\ (\Im \lceil \Im \rceil)$ usually reserved for third-person phrases. When used for oneself it gives the sense that someone is not in control of the action.

A: In any case, ever since I was a child who did not know how to eat tsampa I have thought of viewing the mat of the eight-petaled-lotus-earth from the eight-spoked-wheel-sky.6

B: Is that believable?

A: I didn't want to abandon my wife and son, but since I have already grown wings, flown into the sky, and overcome all those suffering, I should take a look at the external container world, right?⁷

B: Hmph, utter bullshit! Oh, what shape is this world?

A: Uh, have you ever been to Tsongonpo Lake?8

B: Yes, I have.

A: Well, it is like that.

B: Really?

श्रींट.ट.। त.त.क्ष्म.जूबो.च.भु.चेबा.टेबा.चुं.टेब. बटिब.क्षेट.ट.केट् जू.बोडुबो.चक्षे.क्रिंट्र.ट्बा. ग्री.बोचेबा.चूबो.वेबा.तम्हें.वटेटा.चक्चेट्.ग्री. ब्री.चंचित्र.लट.। बोबेबा.तर्जूच्य.जुं.क्षुचन्ना.चक्चेट्.

पि क्र-पर्वी.वी.पञ्जवा.को.मुरी

चक्षे.ट्रेब्र्.ची पक्षे.ट्रेब्र्.ची, प्रथम, प्रवेश्व, स्क्षेट्रेब्र्स, प्रवेश, प्रवेश

त्र पुत्र। विश्वशायदेवि:कवाशादिवित्वशःक्षेःक्रांचन्नेवा: सेदा। हृद्यं:वाह्यांक्रांक्रांची क्ष्री यहेवाहेव:

ग ला व्रि.अक्.र्जूच.त्र.श्र्रःश्रट.ला.श्रुटः।

ष श्रुट.ट.

ग र्छा दे:र्ज्ञ.चञ्चवा:रेटा

শ আ

⁶ These are two epithets for the earth and sky in Tibetan oral literature, eight-spoked-wheel-sky (শ্ব্যাব্দির্বার্দ্রির্বার্

⁸ Tsongonpo, is the Tibetan name for Koknor (in Mongolian) or Qinghai Lake (青海湖) in Chinese, one of the highest salt lakes in the world, and a major geographic feature of Amdo.

A: As the Tsonyang Mahadeva's head protrudes from Tsongonpo Lake.⁹

लूट्.यो.तन्त्री श्रेट.अ.टे.ट्.स.शक्.तत्र्य.परीट.रयातर्हट. यो लो शक्र्.कृंय व्रित्र्य.क्षेत्राश्चर्यंपरीट.य.शक्र्.

B: [dissatisfied] Heh.

ार है।

A: Mount Sumeru is also erected in the middle of the ocean like a millrind.¹⁰

य देव:ब्रह्म-प्रेंद्र:स्प:स्कु:ब्रह्कं:ब्रह्म-प्रेंत: प्रत्याव:स्ट:व्यवा:बी:ब्रे:च:ब्रु:ब्रह्म-प्रेंट: प्रत्याव:स्ट:ब्रह्म-ब्रह्म:ब्रह्म:ब्रह्म-ब्रह्म:ब्रह्म-व्यः

B: [unimpressed] Heh, Such an ugly metaphor.¹¹

प है। दै:श्रॅ.रिये:वर्ह्वाःश्ले:स्

A: [scoffing] Heh, do not look down on Mount Sumeru, boy!

B: You shut up. Why would I look down on Mount Sumeru?

प ने दें। के प्रमान के प्

A: Then I looked carefully and saw, in the east of Mount Sumeru, the continent of Pūrvavideha, with its two minor continents, shaped like a scythe.

य देनवान्यान्त्रीत् स्वान्त्री चित्रप्रस्यान्त्रीत् स्वान्त्रीत्र स्वान्त्रीत्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र स्वान्त्र चित्रप्रस्य स्वान्त्र स

B: Scythe? Say it's the shape of a crescent.

व ब्रूर.त.तर्नुबा.ब्रू रिव्वैतशःश्च.बोश्च.से.वी.चड्डा.स्

⁹ Tsonyang Mahadewa (ঝৰ্চ্চ'ষ্ট্ৰীহ'ম'হূ'ই'শ্ব|) is an island in the heart of Tsongonpo Lake.

¹⁰ Unlike the commonly found four-armed iron support, Tibetans use a wooden peg in the centre of the bed-stone of the hand mill, which is usually known as the te $(\frac{3}{8}]$ "navel."

Here and in ensuing turns of speech, Menla Jyab begins with descriptions of Tibetan cosmology that will be familiar across the region because of their inclusion in secular oratory, but ends with hyperlocal metaphors. When Phagmo Drashi corrects him, he suggests the conventional simile for Tibetan poetry.

A: Um, It's okay. In the south, the continent of Jambudvīpa, with its two minor continents, is shaped like the teeth of a *wakshel*.¹²

B: Say it's the shape of the teeth of a saw.

A: In the west, the continent of Aparagodānīya, with its two minor continents, round like the bread cooked in ash. 13

B: [dismissively] Heh!

A: In the north, the continent of Uttarakuru, with its two minor continents, is square-shaped like a napkin.

B: Hey! Enough, enough. You are going to ruin it with all these metaphors. How about you give us an account of our snowy Tibetan regions instead.

A: [as if beginning an oration] Oh, white stupa-like snow mountains surround this snowy Tibetan Pureland of ours; it is a place where the rivers with eight qualities run melodiously;¹⁴ a place where the silk-like grasslands glitter; a place where the three types of livestock—white, black, and multicoloured—prosper speedily.¹⁵

- यञ्चवा,वी,वि,स्वा,वव श्चीर-श्चिर-त्रव,ववेष्ठ्रक,यर-प्रवक्ष,त्र-प्रवची,विर, बा कूवा,वुरा क्ष्रिं,श्चेत्रवक्ष,व्यःक्ष्रं,वर्ष्ट्रकायी.
- ष शूबो.जु.वि.कै.यी.चड्रा.सू
- य वितःर्सुवायःवःवुतःनःयः स्वः वित्रेयः वितःस्वः स्वः वित्रेयः नदः प्रस्यः स्वः वित्रः वितः स्वयः य वितःर्सुवायः वः वुतः नः यो सः वितः स्वयः
- ार हो।
- तर्नाम्ब्रमान्त्री स्वामिक्षान्त्राच्छकायाः मुन्निस्क्षेत्रीकायन्त्र म्यामिक्षान्त्राच्छकायाः मुन्निस्क्षेत्राचित्राच्छात्राच्छात्राच्छात्राच्छात्राच्छात्राच्छात्राच्छात्राच्छात्र
- $$\begin{split} & \hat{\xi} = \hat{q}_{1} \cdot \hat{q}_{1} \cdot \hat{q}_{2} \cdot \hat{q}_{3} \cdot \hat{q}_{3}$$
- यवासि.वार्थेश.बी.वजुजाव.शर्क्चीवशःश शूचु.जूट्-शर्टटश.बोशजःशी सैंवोश.टेगोर. बी.पवीर-शिवोश.क्षेच.शो सिट.बूश.कुच.कूँच. चक्ष्र्य.चो कि.वोश्टट.शू.लचे.जवो.चक्चेट.सूच. टी दु.वोटश.टेगोर.अष्ट्रटे.धुच.बी.र.चश. बो खूर्व रट.इ.चूट्-वि.च.वे.खे.बी.खेट्-विशशजःवट्न.

¹² A wooden tool with teeth used for softening sheepskin in Amdo.

¹³ This is a type of bread, common in Amdo. The bread is thin and circular in shape and cooked in smouldering ash. The ash and burned parts are scraped off before consuming.

¹⁴ The eight qualities of water are sweet, cool, pleasant, light, clear, pure, not harmful to the throat, and beneficial for the stomach.

¹⁵ Herders in Amdo often use this phrase in oral literature to refer to all of their livestock.

B: So you are going to do a thorough praise.

A: Olé. It is a place where all the people are strongly religious; a place where even lice receive life-release practices;16 a place where both young and the old are with great endurance; a place where even if you jumped over their heads, they would have no complaints; a place where even a one-year-old is compassionate; a place where there are many honorifics in the speech... Oh, it should be said that our snowy Tibetan land is where archaic terms are not changed in the written texts; old black yak hair tents over our heads are not changed; the primitive old traditions are not changed; where the syllable Om are not changed in our minds.17

B: *Lakso! Lakso!* This is what probably should be said.

A: While I was fascinated by the beautiful mountains and rivers and lovely folk cultures, suddenly a robust swirling wind came, and I was turned like a spindle wheel, *aro*!

- वि विश्वत्वी वर्षेत्र पा वर्येत्र पा वर्ये
- लूट्यू.टी रट.इ.चूट्.कि.च.ठच.इट.चुर.की श.टकीरो थुभथ.चूच्.ची.खू.लू.ची.च्य.टकीर.र. खूर्या.ची.झूं.चुट.अ.टकीरो ल.चूचा.ची.खूंल.कुट. ब्या चिटु.चीशेट.चोटेश.चट.च.खु.कुचा.भट.बा ब्या चिट्य.चीशुचा.लुच.शेट.वेट.शुभथ.लेच. बा क्ट.जू.चोशुचा.लुच.शेट.चेट.शुभथ.लेच. बा चुच.चांचूच.चोशुभा.चांच्ट्रच्य.चुं.कु.या चा चुचा.चूं.भट.लुच.रट.कु.चर.चांचूट.या बा चुचा.चूं.भट.लुच.रट.कु.चर.चांचूट.या बा चुचा.चूं.भट.लुच.रट.कु.चर.चांचूट.या

- प्त जनायार्था जनायार्था न.ट्र.च्चर.ट्व्.च्चे.क्ये.
- या चूर्-म्यान्त्रस्य म्ब्रीस्य त्यार्ट्स्य क्रास्त्रम्य क्रास्त्रस्य क्रास्त्रम्य क्रास्त्रम्य

¹⁶ Tsétar (훈덕지), translated here as "life-release" refers to the practice of freeing animals to gain merit. Pastoralists, for example, will promise not to kill certain livestock from their herds. Menla Jyab uses providing life-release for lice sarcastically, as an absurdly extreme version of the practice.

¹⁷ This whole turn is a critique of how pious, patient, but also cowed he believes Tibetans to be.

¹⁸ This is a common affirmation phrase that the orator receives from the audience while delivering a speech in Amdo.

B: Then you fell back to the ground, didn't you?

A: At some point, everything disappeared from my sight, and there was something on my head. I touched it, and it was something velvety. It might have been a cloud or a *khatak*, and probably was my blanket. I was utterly baffled, *aro*.

B: You were probably lost.

A: I gave it some thought, and things were really bad. If I had left my wife, lost my son, and wandered off, I'd be finished.

B: Well, then what should you do?

A: At that point, suddenly, a star fell in front of me.

B: A star?

A: Uh, not a star. It might have been the kettle from our home or your household's white tent.

B: You are going to tell lies again.

A: Oh, it was a UFO, so he came to pick me up.

B: Who?

A: Uncle Tongtsen.

पि नै'व्यान्'ध्रीमम्बद्धाल्लाक्षुद्रार्सेदावे'साम्

र.चच.बी.अर्बा.ब्रेंब.चव.का.स् वि.चचेबा.स्ची.ब्रैंब.चचुबो.लुच.चचुबो.बो.स.स्ची व्.चचुबो.स्ची.क्ची.लुच.चु.उर्च.उर्चे। लट.ट. क्चा.लूट.ब्री कुबो.कीटश.ट.स.उचउ.चु.उर्च्चा. क्चा.गू.ट.क्च.ब्री.लज.चवा अर्बा.चचुबा.च. क्च.ब्री.लूट.क्ट.ब्री.लज.चवा अर्बा.चचुबा.च.

व र अर्वे तर्वर र्रूर पत्रीवा व

क्षरःश्र्राट चडुवी. मू मूरः चर्यरः टथा। रटः बी. जूँशःश्र्यरः वी. चैटः बी. श्रुरः प्रविदः श्रुरः चश्चिरः चरः प्रविदः वी. या वर्यरः चडुवी. चश्चितः चरः यचः बी. वर्ष्णीवी. बी.

प्रिंग् निक्तिः चित्रेषाः भेनः दे।

यञ्चवाःक्षेटःस्यःचेटःचल। यो भ्रेपयःट्रेसःट्रेब्स्युंचीयाःवाःस्यःधून्यःभ्रसःयः

La 볼도.와.건글al

या स्वी स्वीरः स्वान्त्रीयः स्वान्त्री हिन् विद्यास्यः म्यान्त्रीयः स्वीतः स्वान्त्रीयः स्वान्त्

व लट.वर्जूच.वान्यःक्र.रूट.जा

य र्षे UFO चन्नेवा से प्राप्त है 'बेब' वी ह्वेब चन्द्र प्राप्त चन्नेवा से प्राप्त है 'बेब' वी ह्वेब

la Ø

শ জাম্ভি:ঈুঁদ:ঘর্হবা

B: Who is "Uncle Tongtsen"?

A: You do not know Gar Tongtsen, the chief minister of the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo?

B: You are going to lie again.

A: [accidentally agreeing] *Olé...* [realizing his mistake] No! King Songtsen Gampo was very fond of him since Gar Tongtsen went to receive the ladies of China and Nepal and escorted sacred statues in the past. So, he was sent to collect me today.¹⁹

B: Really? What quoth he?

A: He immediately recognized me and said, *aro*, "Hello, buddy!"

B: "Buddy"?

A: It would take too long to talk in detail about how about the sorts of things Gar Tongtsen and I discussed, Tibetan ancestors welcomed me, how the Three Ancestral Kings offered me beer and all the things I heard and saw on this trip. So if were to speak briefly about the things I heard and saw.

- व षाष्ट्राङ्गेदःचर्चन्वर्चेवार्चे
- યા નૂર્ટ, યુ.કૈલ. ત્ર્વ જી.કીલ. વેલ... ફિંલો અને મુર્ટ, યુ.કૈલ. ત્ર્વ જી.કીલ. વેલ. કુંવ. કુવ.
- व लट.ब्रिंग.वर्ष्ट्रिय.वर्षेच.वर्ष
- यो क्ष.जो या. इंट. जूं यान्य क्षेत्र प्रस्ता या प्रमाण प्रदेश के प्रमाण क्षेत्र प्रमाण क्षेत्र प्रमाण क्षेत्र क्षेत्
- प र्ख्ना क्रिंट.चीस.क्र.चीसेट.ची
- ग ८र.पडिनाचहुरान्ते.र.मेरावया छार्से। Hello श्वनःज्ञानेरानी
- प्त श्रुव:त्रु:पर्न्वाःर्वे
- द्यान्यम् स्वतः व्या स्वतः स

B: [scoffing] Hmph, again you're going to tell a bunch of lies.

A: People like us are sleeping here, but our Tibetan ancestors are already in a world of science, *aro*!

B: How do you know that?

A: They have computers, and the internet is widely available.

B: [disbelieving] Huh?

A: Motorcycles are their rides; they live in skyscrapers, gates are electric and automatic, doors have electric doorbells, and they watch electric television and listen to symphonies. And for the home goods, there are electric beds, electric food storage, electric stoves, electric pots, and electric food.

B: You... What did you say? Electric food?

A: No, no, no! Except for food, everything is electric.

B: [disapprovingly] *Ang ang*, you are telling some funny lies.

वि ब्यटः। लटःवर्ष्ट्रियः अटःच वटः श्रुवः श्रुरः त

चन्न्द्र-र्जन्ते काऱ्। व्यन्त्र-र्जन्ते काऱ्या व्यन्त्र-र्जन्त्र-व्यन्त्र-त्य-प्रवेश-प्यवेश-प्रवेश-प्य-प्रवेश-प्य

ष दे.कु.लब.चेब.मु

य र्बेच हिना है सन्तर्वेदः स्प्रेन गी शेस ळव ५५ कु स्रम्

ব গো

| विष्ण हिंकाकु:पड्डेग'पड्डो क्लिंग'की:ब:बा

या अर्देन्। अर्देन्। अर्देन्। चर्अवीव्यक्तर्नः ऑट्यार्ह्स्वायायार्ज्ञ्जायोह्यः क्वान्त्रवादेनः

वि श्वरःश्वरः। वर्षियःचञ्चवाःवाःश्चेदःसः हवाः हवाः वि A: Uh, then the Three Ancestral Kings threw a banquet for me. All the Tibetan ancestors danced, Thonmi Sambotha performed a poetry recitation,²⁰ Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyeltsen played the piano,²¹ and Uncle Thangdong Gyalpo performed a **disco** dance.²²

B: Um, if you say so...

A: The *derkha*²³ in front of me was also fabulous.

B: The derkha?

A: Olé.

B: What was there to be eaten?

A: Um, there was meat, butter, and cakes. There was churned tea and sweet tea. There was barley liquor and wine. There was modern beer, candies, and **sunflower seeds** (*guazi* 瓜子).

B: [dismissive] Huh! Those are just things that you like.

चक्रीयः चयाः ला चयः क्रूटः चीयः त्र्यः चच्चः Disco विचयः चुं च्ययः क्रूं क्ष्येटः क्र्यः चीयः क्ष्यः च्याः च्याः व्याः व्यः व्याः व्यः व्याः व्यः व्य

य ष्या ५'भेव'क्कुर्दे'रे५।

ग ८:ईव.वी.झेर.वि.र.८र.वी

ष ब्रेस्पा

ग र्छेप्यो

ष क्र.चञ्चवा.ञ.क्र.लूट.ग्री

ण ष्या श्रःसरः श्रदः नाशुक्षः प्येदः मी द्यानायः हः स्रदरः हः प्येदः मी व्रषः क्षदः मी नाः रः गाः क्षेदः मी देदः रचव्यः श्रुः कदः प्येदः मी गाः रः गाः क्षेदः (ऽऽ ₹) प्येदः गा

ष शृष्टिं निषय वे निषानिषा से निष्

²⁰ Tibetans credit Thonmi Sambhota with creating the Tibetan script during the seventh-century reign of Songtsen Gampo.

²¹ Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyeltsen (1182–1251) is a famous Buddhist scholar known for his writings on philosophy, music, and poetry.

²² Thangdong Gyalpo is a fourteenth-century architect and artist known for founding Tibetan opera performances and iron suspension bridges.

²³ Derkha is food such as meat, fruits, candies, bread, sunflower seeds, and peanuts in display put into plates and bowels during the festivals such as New Year and weddings in Amdo.

A: This time I found that our ancestors are not only great but are probably boasters as well, *aro*!

B: Really?

A: They all told me about how they ruled Tibet, how they learned from the good qualities of others, how they built temples for subduing the border and further borders, ²⁴ how they invited foreign translators, how they translated countless texts into Tibetan, and how they edited and finalized them, how they established the legal code, and many more.

B: [unimpressed] *Hang*, read the historical records! That is true!

A: It is not that. They only talked about those things to give me a hard time. They say we haven't surpassed what they have done, and we have been left behind in the current era.

B: Hmmm, those are also words of concern.

A: Uh, the Seven Wise Men also told me an entire valley of things, *aro*.²⁵

पत्रमा काऱ्यं रूट.टी जयःभिजःभ्यःभ्यःमुखःयुःतटः भ्रयःमुभ्यःतःमञ्जूःभ्यःभःभ्यःभ्यःभ्यःम् च ट्रिह्म्यःदःस्यामञ्जूषान्त्रभःसःखःसञ्जूतः

[씩

- ग्री ट्रियः स्तथः ब्रीःहः (युःषः व्रयः वे स्तर्भः व्रीः स्या व्रोधे प्रत्यः व्रीः व्रीः स्तरः व्राचितः व्रीः व्रीः स्व व्रोधे प्रत्यः व्रीः स्तरः स्वाः व्रीः स्वितः व्रीः स्व व्राधे प्रतः स्वाः व्रीः स्वाः स्वाः स्वाः स्वाः स्वाः स्व
- पि श्रिट्री ट्री.स.च.क्.चत्र.क्रूबी.स्ट्रे.श्र्र्
- जीर.च.चार.चर्चर.चरेर.चरा ब्रा.स् ब्री सूर्य.मी.मह्त्य.मु.मु.चर्चय.मुब्र.स.स.

²⁴ Tibetan mythology describes the land of Tibetan as a giant demoness. In order to subdue the demoness and make Tibet a Buddhist land, the King Songtsan Gampo had 108 temples built at key points of the Tibetan region.

^{25 &}quot;The Seven Wise Men" (ঝাইন্মানী নিন্তুরা) were a group of Tibetan sages credited with significant technological contributions to Tibetan culture during the Tibetan Imperial period (618–842AD).

B: What did they say?

A: They said the gold, silver, copper, and iron they found are still rusting away in our time.

B: They are correct.

A: They said the wooden ploughs from their time are still being dragged by the yaks in our time.

B: Isn't it correct?

A: Uh, they said that in their time they made nomadic lives sedentary, but people are climbing back up the mountains in our time.²⁶

B: Of course, they are right.

A: *Aro*, Songtsen Gampo alone had more than three hundred ministers. Pity my ears if I let them all say whatever they want.

B: [disagreeing] *Ang*, when someone points out our shortcomings, if what they said is true, then we should acknowledge it.

ष कु.चुर.वी

क्रवाय:वंश-व्हेंन् क्षेत्र:वी चट्य:ख्रुवाय:हिं क्षेत्र:केन् क्षेत्र:वेन्द्रः म न्'वित्र:क्षेत्र:केन्द्रेन् क्षेत्र:वेन्द्रः

प परेव मी र्शे

म्। विरुक्तिः देरः वीःविरः वर्षियः विं क्रिंदे देरः दरः व प्राचिरः क्रिंदे देरः वीःविरः वर्षियः विं क्रिंदे देरः दरः व

ष रेट्र्ऑ

यो.चुर। स्टार्स्टि.क्ट्र्यु.इट.ट.वुंचा.झे.सॅट.झे.बी.चिट्ट. यो.चूरी

ष नै:५:श्रेव:व्रष:५।

म कार्से तदे भ्यान्यत्र स्टिन् यात्रवर्षे में चल्या नहर व्यक्षेर नहित्य स्टिन् में स्टिन संस्त्रें व्यक्षिण मास्त्री स्टिन् में स्टिन् म कार्से वदे भ्यानित्र स्टिन्

व.तर्रव.मु.चुन्र-रम्.चु.चु.न्र्री ष लट्टा ट्रेब्स्च्रिच.च.सर्ह्च.ची.तर्श्चेबश.च.तर्रच.

²⁶ In critiquing those who "climb back up the mountains," Menla Jyab appears to stand in support of policies aimed at resettling pastoralists.

A: Uh, they spoke about how nowadays, both the peaceful and wrathful internal conflicts are serious for Tibetans; for the peaceful, how anger and envy are making them less united; for the wrathful, how they have internal killings due to conflicts over caterpillar fungus and winter pastures.²⁷ After saying so many things, they conveyed that they were disturbed, *aro*.

ત્ત્વન છે. શુંના હિ. તેનુ ક્વાને ત્વન્ વર્ષે જો સું ત્રિક્ટ, મ. તરી વી. તુંના જીવા કી. તરી તક્કા ટીમ સ્ત્રે. મ. તેની વે. શ. તક્કા તજા વેમ કી. ત્રી. વેમ કે શુંના હિ. મ. હિ. શ્રેમ સ્ત્રો તો દેવો. તો સ્ત્રા કે શુંના હિ. મ. હિ. શ્રેમ મ. સ્ત્રી ફેવા શ.

ष्ण ८ र्चे८ त्याबे ८ या यहिषा यी वट त्या या

B: What did they say?

A: They said, "there are many old minds, and new concepts are few. There are many Lamas and leaders and those passionate about Tibet are few. Many wear yellow and red robes, but genuine monks are few. Moton Phakgo is rich and superstitious people are poor.²⁸ You guys degraded the true dharma we have brought by superstitiously believing in it."

B: [agreeing] Ang, how true!

A: However, the Three Ancestral Kings praised me so much, *aro*.

B: Oh? How didst they speak it?

पि कु.पच्ची जुर वी

ष षर् केंग्र मदेवा

- ग रे८.टी च्र्रि.ची.श्रेश.ट्र्च्य.क्श.चीश. ट.चर्च्च.चीश.ची.चर्ष्ट्र.त.जेट.ची.ची.क्श.चीश.
- पि र्ख्रो क्रै.चो.चाशुट.ची

²⁷ Note that for Menla Jyab, "internal killings" is not only meant to include violence within families or communities but extends to the entire Tibetan population more generally.

²⁸ Moton Phakgo is a well-known folktale character who pretends to be a fortune-teller and comes up with prophecies by using a pig head as the prop, hence the name "pig-head fortune-teller" (র্কি প্রত্বাধ্যা অর্থা).

A: [as one of the kings] *Ya*, noble son, your right eye sees the good; your left eye sees the bad; your right ear hears the good; your left ear hears the bad. In addition, your mouth is perfect for performing *khashag*, pay attention with your left on the way back and you will get some benefit from it. *ndendendendenden*²⁹

B: What did they give you?

A: Ha, the Nobel Prize.

B: Bullshit. What did the Nobel Prize look like?

A: Uh, there was an eight-spoked wheel on the rim, eight-auspicious symbols in the middle, and eight-petaled lotus at the bottom.

B: It was probably a porcelain bowl.

A: Uh, in it, the nectar...

B: Huh?

A: Uh, no, no, no. There was nothing inside it; there was nothing inside it.

B: You don't even know how to lie properly.

वि कु.चञ्चवा.क्षेर.वी

ग 5 वें त्वेर मु: ५ वि १ वि १ वि १ वि १ वि १ वि १ वि

ष्ट्राची क्षाची के क्षाची क भाषाची क्षाची क्षाची

म् व्याप्तियः त्र्वेदः स्तिः मी व स्याप्तियः ह्यायः स्वीतः स्तिः मी व्ययः वः य स्यापियः स्वीवः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वीतः स्वाप्तः स्वीतः स्

व नगर र्षेवा न नगर र

ण ष्ण वरःवःचरुरुःही

ण ष्यः अरेन् अरेन् अरेन्। वन्वः उन् अन् गी वनः वः उन् अरेन्। यो वनः वः उन् अन् गी

वि वर्षियः र विष्यः श्रेष्ट्रीयः गी स्

²⁹ Said once, the syllable *nde* (৭৭) would be perceived as terse or an order. Spoken many times (as done here), it suggests that they are giving or handing him something.

A: Uh, then the Three Ancestral Kings sent a message to the young Tibetan boys and girls in the form of a *dunglen* song.³⁰

B: Then sing it!

A: *Ye*, the lady with the feminine body and boy's hair:

When you go away, it is unattractive, and

When you come back, you upset people.

I feel relieved when you are gone.

Ye, the young man with a liquor bottle in his hands:

When you go away, it is shameful, and

When you come back, you instigate fights.

It is a relief for the neighbours when you are gone.³¹

B: That is something believable.

ज्ञत्मी,ज्यन्यस्य,श्चर्यन्त्रम्यःम्य ज्र्न्ने,ग्वे,ज्यन्यस्य,ज्ञ्चरःम्यःम्यः ज्ञा न्वे,ज्यन्यस्य,ज्ञ्चरःम्यःम्यः ज्ञा न्वे,ज्यन्यस्य न्वे,ज्यन्यस्य न्वे,ज्यन्यस्य न्वे,ज्यन्यस्य न्वे,ज्या

ব লা ট্রিথ.গুবা.গুহথা

ग भे भ्रव तुः र्वे र्वे तुरु र्वे रवे रवे

षरःश्रॅटःवःश्चेषाःषाःश्चषाःश्चरःरेता

र्द्धरार्षेटावाक्यार्हेणावाश्वरारेता

र्ष्ट्रिः भेदः वः बोधवान्यः वयः दयोः यः देदा

भी श्रृषा:वर:र:यगावा:व:कर:यर:रुवा

धरःश्र्रावाञ्चेषाःषाःश्रृवाञ्चरानेता

क्र्रःर्लेट.व.क्रुंट.वि.वार्वेवा.क्रुंट.रुटी

ર્ફિં એન્ વાદ્યું અપ્રસંધાનથી વારેના

प दै.पर्झ. इ.र. पर्की. वै.पर्श्वण. रेटी

³⁰ Dunglen is a popular form of music in Amdo since the 1980s accompanied either by mandolin or Tibetan lute known as Dranyen (মুখুবা).

³¹ The tune follows an older version of the Amdo *dunglen* song known as Akhu Padma (জাড়ামুর্না) popularized by Palgon, a *dunglen* singer from Machu in Amdo. Menla Jyab changes the lyrics in order to critique the behaviours of young men and women.

A: Then I took the prophecy of the Three Ancestral Kings in mind and paid attention to the bad on the way back and.....

B: Did you get anything out of it?

A: Oh, I got a lot out of it. I went from the Headless and Tailless Village to the Tell-Everything Village and heard some stunning things.

B: Ya, what did you hear?

A: When they speak, my stomach aches; when they swear, my ears burn; when they scold, my legs tremble.

B: So, you are saying that it's all frightening words?

A: Olé, firstly if I talk about how they give me a stomach-ache when they speak: the words from their mouths are dirty.

B: Ya, how do they speak?

A: For example, when I arrived at the Headless-Tailless Village and went to Uncle Complaint-mouth's home, this old man's speech disgusted me.

B: *Ya*, what did this Uncle Complaintmouth say?

- य दे.चय.ट.ट्य.जुय.चुट्ट्य.च्य.च्य.ची.क्र्य.च स्ट.चम्रेच.लुट्य.चच्चट.ट्य.ट्य.ची.क्र्य.च. यवेय.ट.ट्य.जुय.चुट्ट्य.च्य.च्य.ची.क्र्य.च्य.च
- व जनाः र्जर नच्चनाः छोः र्जर न
- या ह्या दिस्तर्भाता व्यक्तियान्त्रम् स्वायः स्व स्वायः स्वयः स्वयः
- व था भ्रद्राक्तःकी प्रचीवा र्वो की
- क्रीट.त.पटटर.मी चक्षीयः य.झ.पट्टीम.क्.मी चक्रमीयः चरेटः य. मा व्याप्तः चीम्यायः वर्षाम्यः मार्चितः मी अययः
- वि र्ल्स सिन्द्र-व्यहेषायः में हिषा हैवा हैन विहे
- ष्ट्री.ची ब्रूज.चर्च्च.चीङ्चत.चचेट.चे.चि.चट.ची.श्रेट.क. ब्रूज,जी टे.टेट.स्.चि.चीचाब.चे.चूचत.चे.बा.च्रुउ.
- व ला कु.वाय.चचर.ग्री
- व ला ला.धि.र्ज्ञेचा.श्चे.वि.यर्र्चा.य्र्य.कु.चुर.वी

A: Uh, there was not one good word from his mouth, *aro*. He said, "*Aro*! *Ya*, karmically wicked one, you came. Let's go inside our tent and drink some tea.³² The unlucky one, when did you come? Hey, demon dog, ghost dog, sorcery dog, one whose head should be tied to the ground. *Wei*, bad dog, your mouth should be directed to your father and mother, consuming all the dead and longdead. I guess the dog saw all those who had died and disappeared."

षा विवरत्रभूत्कः भवायः यज्ञेवाययः वीः

B: What was that?

A: Wasn't it him scolding their family dog for barking at me, *aro*?

B: *Pee!*³³ Truly, he just speaks disgusting words.

A: *Aro*, that is a wealthy family, and possessions are decent too. But the names are all "torn" and "broken."

B: Oh, what does that mean?

A: Uh, talking about containers and things, they are broken cabinet, broken cauldron, broken pot, broken porcelain bowl, bad bowl, broken ladle, bad ladle, torn mat, bad mat, ripped stove, and bad stove.

- ष दै:कै:पर्वेग:रेट्रा
- या विरःक्टः वी: द्वि: क्वावः रतेः त्यावरः द्विरः वे:
- त्यस्या वि क्षया ट्र.भ.स.स.स.स.सीचायार्ड्याया.ध्या.ध्या
- ष र्षे दे.कु.चन्नव.चन्न.चु.दे.
- च्या स्वाध्या स्वाध्य स्वाध्या स्वाध्य स्वाध्

³² In this, Menla Jyab uses humilific forms of "come," 'tent," "drink," and "tea," the speaker lowering himself in relation to the speaker.

³³ This interjection suggests that the speaker is dismissing a phenomenon or thing when the speaker is disgusted by it.

B: So, everything was broken and torn?

A: Of course not! It was their local speech. And when speaking ornamental language, *aro*: things which should be attached to a corpse, things which should be laid on the road, something which should hit one's heart with, things which should be used for a dog bowl, funeral bowl, items should be thrown in the *gto*,³⁴ there are so many.

B: Pee! Lalala,35

A: For clothing: ripped coat, torn pants, ripped lambskin robe, torn sheepskin robe, bad hat, torn sash, torn shoes, *gto* clothing, and dog clothing. For food and cuisine: corpse-food, *gto* food, dog-food, ghost-food. One would not dare to eat when hearing these names, *aro!*

B: That's really filthy speech, aro.

A: Then I arrived at the Horse-Herder Village. People were cursing the horses, and it was terrifying too.

B: Gosh.

- वृत्ता वि लूटश.हूचील.क्ष्या.चीय.झेटे.लय.चर्न्नटे.लूटे.
- चित्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र ट्रिस्स क्षेत्र व्हेर्स क्षेत्र क्षेत
- বি ধীঝা ঝাঝাঝা
- यहाँ से अहु वी जिटका कु स्वेच में हुन का स्वी स्वा में में कि में कि से कि स्वा में कि कि से कि से
- व ५.५.भ.भ.५.क.श्चे.च्.चर्चा.च्.५८.म् ब्य.स्
- ग नै'क्ष'न'कृष्टे'चे'चर्स्यक्ष्यायाम् र्वा'ची'स'स्पर्'डेवा'व्यहेवायाम्

ם מובין

³⁴ A ritual of ransom.

³⁵ *Lalala* is an expression of surprise or awe.

A: The one that should be skinned, the one that should be made into a corpse, the one that should be driven away by bandits, the one that should be made into an inflatable raft, the one whose tail should be cut, the one whose mane should be sheared. the one that should carry corpses (which I didn't even understand)! When I arrived at the Yak-Herder Village, they were cursing the yaks, don-yaks,36 ghost-yaks, sorcery-yak, disappearing-yaks, the one that should contract rinderpest, the one that should die from sakyon disease,37 the one who should no longer leave footprints. There were so many.

म ५ डिवाह में नियशुकुर्वे हर्स भेर कुर्वे हवा चुर्ने हेवाय प्याची कुर्वे हर्स भेर कुर्वे हवा चुर्ने हेवाय प्रचिवाकुर्वे हर्में प्रचार केवा कुर्वे हेवाय प्रचिवाकुर्वे हर्मे प्रचार केवा च्या स्थाप केवाय केवा कुर्वे हर्मे प्रचार केवा च्या स्थाप केवाय केवा किवाय केवा स्थाप केवाय केवा स्थाप केवाय केवा स्थाप केवाय केवाय स्थाप केवाय स

B: Most likely they were hurt by the milk and yoghurt that they drank.³⁸

eep ⁷ we

ष निर्देश्वित्वहुर्द्वात्रायबरावे भवेषुर्वे सेन्

A: When I arrived at Goat and Sheep Herder Village, there were even more. Ones that should contract *za* disease,³⁹ the ones that should contract head-worms, ones that should have diarrhoea, ones that we should sweep up after,⁴⁰ ones that should be handed to a butcher.

जवा,ज.जहूवाक्रैजू लूट.क्वैजू विज.क्वेट.श्रश्रक्षीयाक्वेजू विष्टातपु. चू वाचव.खेक्चेजू श्रम्,जवी.वटी.वट्टेटाक्वेजू केट. च र.श.जवाह्युक्तं चर्त्रक्षीय व.र.लट.शट.

B: They were the butchers themselves!

पि विवासाम् क्र्यस्य मेर्

³⁶ A type of harmful spirit.

³⁷ This disease occurs in yaks and cattle; once contacted, the animal would die in less than a few hours after groaning loudly.

³⁸ This sarcastically suggests that the yaks didn't do enough by giving their milk.

³⁹ This is a common disease occurring in sheep where the contacted animal would have balance issues.

⁴⁰ Meaning that they are sold and the ground should be swept to leave no trace of their existence.

A: Then I arrived at Primitive Village, people swore some strange oaths.

B: How did they swear?

A: By generations of ancestors! By all the scriptures that have been written and chanted! By the one and only Mani! By the twelve volumes of the Yum!⁴¹ By all the pure virtues! By Kumbum!⁴² By Shachong!⁴³ By Kanjur and Tenjur!⁴⁴

म ष्या पार्चेवा हो त्यर र्वेत् त्व र र अत्य त्य चीवा वा पार्आक्षत्र प्रवाहित स्वीता वी

वि कु.वोद्याःश्चेषाःवी.लूट्.ग्री

चक्रेय.तज्ञैर। टेब्रे.च। श्रें.तदीश वि.ब्वैरः। चर्याय.तज्जैरा ।बर.स्र्। लेश.टेश.त.चर्थ.बोधेश टियोर.स्. य टे.ब्री.इट.ब्री.ब्वैटी वृश.त.चर्षेय.तो श.ष्ट्र.

B: Oh my, oh my!

A: By all the dharma on this earth, then followed by, by having nine bites at my father's raw liver! ם מובימובין

ण व्यापःव्यर्धेषायीः क्रिया दीः त्रव्यः अरः पेटः त्रः तेः । व्यापःव्यर्धेषायीः क्रिया दीः त्रव्यः अरः पेटः त्रः तेः

B: Lalala.

A: By having nine gulps of my mother's blood after killing her! By spreading my son's bones to nine different places after smashing them! It was endless, *aro*.

व यायाया

B: Oh my goodness! That's utterly terrible.

A: Don't fret; there are even worse things yet to come.

B: There's even worse than that?

to come.

ग ५ हिं अञ्चेषा-सन्देव-सन्दर्शनार्वा-देवे-वाबुवा वर्ण्य-वेस-पा

ष देवे पर्स्या र र्षे द विरा

⁴¹ Name used in Amdo for the twelve volumes of the "Perfection of Wisdom Sutra" texts, and a popular oath.

⁴² One of the largest monasteries in Amdo.

⁴³ An important monastery (and also the name of a mountain deity) in Amdo.

The foundational texts of Buddhism, the Kanjur is the sayings of the Buddha, and the Tenjur is collected commentaries from great teachers.

A: Of course, from Black-Nose Black-Tongue Village to the Tell-Everything Village it was all about cursing people.

B: Ya, how do they curse people?

A: Uh, at first, they will express their wish that everything goes wrong for you.

B: Gosh.

A: The one whose endeavours should go wrong, the one whose works should be carried away by the Guchu river,⁴⁵ the one who should never have any prosperity, the one whose merits should be tied to a dog's neck, the one who should never see happiness, the one whose mouth should be smeared with ash, the one whose head should be put in a bag, she who should be widowed for nine times, there's enough to fill a whole valley.

B: Oh my goodness.

A: Uh, then they will pray for you to have an unhealthy body. 46

B: Geez.

ब्रीम:ब्रीनाश्च्याम् स्वाप्तः व्याप्तः व्यापतः वयापतः वयापतः

ष विश्व कि. ज्या की मान

योलट.चडुवी.खुंदु.ट्रेंब.चै.शु.पवींच.बुंदु.la.

TA (8/5.)

ם מובישבישבין

T (NT)

⁴⁵ This is the name of the main river in Rebgong, a tributary of the Yellow River (歌 気).

⁴⁶ Interestingly, the word used here for "body" is an honorific term.

A: The one who should get a goitre, the one who should become mute, the one who should get lockjaw, the one who should go blind, the ones whose tongue should fall out, at the same time, they use things like voracious, big-belly, ever-hungry at their convenience. *Aro*, you know that, right?

B: Pee! Pee! What a terrible thing.

A: After that, they will tell you to leave this human world.

B: Oh?

A: Uh, the one whose face should never be seen, the one whose speech should never be heard, the one whose name should never be called, the one whose happiness should be diminished abruptly, the one whose life should follow the setting sun. Uh, after that, the one whose head should be buried under a rock, the one who should be dumped into a well, and the one over whose head dirt should be shovelled. *Ayoshe*, I can't finish listing them here, *aro*.

B: Goodness, who wants to listen to those?

A: Ah, they will pray like: All the dead people from your family! All the dead people from the past and now! Your father and your mother! The corpse of your father and mother! The heads of your father and mother! Nine freshly dead corpses still warm! *Aro*, are you disgusted?

व देश.तृश कुरु.घव.कंश.चच्चा.रूटी

ग देवै:वर्धेर:दृष्ट्वि:वहेषाहेव:बी:खुव:वदी:वर्षः दृष्टु-(वर्धेर:दृष्ट्वि:वहेषाहेव:बी:खुव:वदी:वर्षः

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ष ष्पराष्परा। ५.६व.व.५र्रे२.४०.छ).स्र्र

B: *Lalala*, those are truly disgusting words. They really need to be changed.

A: Uh, I had never heard this type of speech before. I bet this is the benefit the three ancestral kings said I would get out of it, *aro*!

B: Yeah, probably!

A: They said those are not [the gains in the prophecy].

B: Who said that?

A: Some herders came and said I misunderstood them, and they did not have such ways of swearing oaths and cursing.

B: What did you say?

A: I told them, "I am saying all this for your own good, You have them! By your flesh if you don't." They said, "we don't." I said, "you do!" And they said, "We don't!" Aro, my blood was boiling and I pushed one of them, and there was a "bang" sound.

B: What was it?

A: My son had been sleeping with me and I had kicked and pushed him to the ground.

ट्ट.अ.चेडुचा चक्रैस्टर्स्य च च ज.ज.जा टे.ट्ट.अ.भैट.क ड्री.च्.्रेच.धेचा ट्रे.ट.

य ब्या देश होत्या क्षेत्र व्यवस्था स्था क्षेत्र क्

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ष शुरुषास्त्रेराचेराषी

र्श्वेया-स्थ्रीय-स्थ्रीय-स्थ्

ष्ट्रिय.क्र.पत्रे

प्र क्र.पच्चेय

म देश.वी.खे.लु.र.भट.तथ.वीकुवी.वर्षीय.वय. वट.ज.वी.खे.लु.र.भट.तथ.वीकुवी.वर्षीय.वय. B: After all that, it was all just your dream. Oh, your son was all right, right? What did he say?

A: He said, "Father and Mother! By all the dharma on the earth! Who threw me to the ground?"

A and B: Hahaha.

- तत्रवे.युं.की.लुवी टुं.चुन्दःली यो कान्यःकाश्रो करीवःकाष्ट्रची.ची.कूथी ट.घटःजः
- 四 5.2.2

4. All-good Menla ฐสาสาทูสา กลรา¹

게 씨 때 [8.환호.취

A: Ya, Uncle Menla!

B: Call me Kunzang! प्राृत प्रवास

A: Ya, Uncle Kunzang! শ্ৰ আ আড়েশ্যুব্দের্ম

B: Menla! Menla! 및 최적 및 최적 및

A: Ya, Uncle Menla, you... শ্ৰ আ আন্ত শ্লব ন্মা ট্ৰি

B: No, no! Kunzang. प्र अप्टेन् गुन्न ना

A: Ya, so, are you actually Menla or শ্ৰা আ দু দুৰ্দিৰ দিন্দাৰ দ্বি ক্লান্ত স্থান ক্লিক্লান্ত স্থান ক্লিক্লান্ত স্থান কলিকল Kunzang?

B: Menla Kunzang ৃষ্ণ শ্লুব'নু'শ্যব'নর্ন'

In this performances, Phagmo Drashi is in the "A" position, while Menla Jyab voices "B."

² Here Phagmo Drashi takes the name literally: Menla being the name of the medicine Buddha and *kunzang* literally meaning "all good," and suggests that such a name is inappropriate for him.

B: That's what they call me, even if it's not fitting.

A: Oh, I hadn't heard that.

B: Truly, you wouldn't believe how much I have suffered since being called Menla Kunzang!

A: If I wouldn't believe it then you must be lying.

B: No way no way. I am telling the truth. There isn't even a lie the size of a louse's leg.

A: Then you tell me.

B: [with unwilling laughter] Ahihi, I am not going to tell you. You are not going to believe me.

A: If I don't believe, then I don't believe you! Just tell me.

B: Are you going to believe me? How about you tell me that.

A: [surprised] *Ala*, how would I know if I believe you or not if you don't tell me.

B: Isn't it me signing a contract before telling you? So when you don't believe me after I've finished, either you don't have ears, or you have them but you're deaf, or you're an utter fool. Otherwise, what do you do with those ears?

वि भ्राः अह्तः त्राः स्ट्रिव्ययः स्ट्रिंदा वर्षे द्राः प्रचिवा वर्षाः प्रचिवा

ग छें। ८४१अ में

चर्नवायः वायाः व्यवस्य व्यवस्य

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ग र्तेवार्डिशाम्बेन्या

क्रि.अ.उ.री । त्थ.चंतराचु.लं हिंदु.धर.पर्कु. । प्राचितराचे प्राचितराचे प्राचितराचे प्राचितराचे । प्राचितराचे प्राचितराचे । प्राचितराचे प्राचितराचे । प्राच

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विष्टुंदुः बर्रायकुं किंतु। ल.र.र्टु. यञ्च.रा

मे खत्वा इत्त्र्युं हुं त्वे हिंबा सन्तर्भना स्व

વિ. જા.મ.અ.નમી- મુંદિ-દ...વીવ-થે.લકૂં તાં મુંદ્ર જ્યું. વું... તું. વું... તું. તું... તું. A: Oh, though I may not believe, I still need to fix my attention and listen to it as though I'm listening to folktales.

B: Oh, when you believe me, my story is as different from an ordinary folktale as the earth is from the sky, *aro*.

A: What's important is that I would listen closely if you were to tell it.

B: If I tell it, it's going to take too long.

A: Well then then tell a short version.

B: Uh, if it's short no one will like it.

A: Then tell a version that's neither short nor long.

B: If I tell it neither short nor long, then I'm not an elder who tells folktales, not a scholar who can tell modern stories, not a *lama* who knows the next life, not a leader who doesn't need an inside man.

A: Oh, now it has turned into a wedding speech. Say, "first, it's difficult for my snow-white mind to manifest it," *aro*!³

B: First, it's easy for my snow-white mind to manifest it.

- यो ह्या ट.क्र.चु.पुरी वाष्ट्रतः वाध्याः भवतः विकारम् वाष्ट्रतः व्यक्तिः भवतः व्यक्तिः विकार्षः विकार्णः विकार्षः विकार्यः विकार्
- य.ची.विट.तनः लूट.क्विंतुः स्ट.चू.ख.स् ची.चोषेतः चोधेशः चच्चची.ची.चर्श्वेरः वे.टे.चोषेशः चि. खूर्ये टे.ब्रूं र.चेर्ये.खूट.र्थ्यः विट.खूर.
- या वार्ड्स् र्सिश डेवा चन्नि प्यानिस क्रुं व र तथ
- ष ५:न.१५:व:भ५:क:२८:वर्गु:वी
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- प षा घुर:व:घर्राश्र-राधे:प्वाद:वी
- ग रै'व'र'धुर'कु'रैर'कु'बेर'वै'पवैणर्वेता
- प्राप्ते स्टा अष्टिवः ची: ची: यान्यः स्टी वटः अः श्रेः नुर्धः नुर्धे न यान्यः यान्यः यान्यः यो यान्यः स्टी धी: अः यान्यः यान्यः यान्यः यो यान्यः श्रेः अः स्टी नः यान्यः यो न्याः यो विष्यः श्रेः अः स्टी नः यान्यः यो न्याः यो विष्यः श्रेः अः स्टी नः यान्यः यो न्याः यो विष्यः श्रेः अः स्टी न्यः अः स्टी न्यः यो विष्यः यो
- योटश्र-योच्नुश्रश्चात्रात्रक्यः देयोदः वीः छाः ह्ये यो छ्यः ने ह्र्वेच न्यं विन्तु वीः व्यवाधिया विन्तु स्ति स्
- ङ्गःब्री वि ट्रेट.सू.टवु.बोट्य.टेग्रोट.युश्यय.श.वक्टर.

³ In the previous turn, speaker B has riffed on a formula common to Tibetan speeches, and speaker A extends that here. The speech style continues through to the next page.

A: Oh?

B: It is easy to loosen the knots of the silky tongue. It is easy to speak from between the 30 teeth of my mouth. It is easy for you to listen to it from boxy-machines. ⁴ These days my *khashag* and advice are cheap.

A: *Lalala*. Nothing is difficult for this guy!

B: I, the one with a cheap straw hat, bear this difficulty only out of concern for the snow-white goddess.⁵ This time I wrote this play causing all sorts of laughter because I need cash.⁶

A: Oh, then it's certain that it won't be worth listening to.

B: I'll say, "Bearded uncles above, don't say they're bad omens and meaningless chatter. Young ones in the middle with pens don't say it's glib and easy to listen to. Powerless women below don't say 'ha ha ho ho' it's a lie!'"

A: There's no need! There's no need.

B: [disbelievingly] "No need?" Wei!

ग छें।

વિ:સેવાયા:जाजाव:यटाट्रे.स्टाट्स्ट्रेस्च पर्सेजा:श्रेश:बी.चबुट्य:बटाचया:धेच.ऋबी टट्य: यू.शेश:चश्चेट्य:चरा:बया:चचेट्रेस्ची ब्रिंग: क्रि.टेर:श्रप्य:श्रेट्टि:ता:चर्य्या:ऋबी विद्य:टेट.

या व्यःत्यःत्या वर्दीरः द्यावः क्रें चन्नेवा चनः वी स्रेट्

હ્યું. ત્રું ત્યું કર્વ ન્વું અને ત્યું હતું ત્વનું ન્યું સ્વ ક્યું ક્રું ત્યું સ્વયમ સમાસિ ક્યું ત્યું ત્યું ન આ ક્યું સ્વયમ સમાસિ ક્યું ત્યું ત્યું ત્યું ત્યું ન આ ક્યું સ્વયું કર્વ ના માસિ ક્યું ત્યું ત્યુ

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⁴ In the context of Amdo in the 1980s and 1990s, this refers specifically to radios.

^{5 &}quot;Snow white goddess" appears to be a reference to Tibet and likely draws its imagery from a poem by Jangbu that was popular around this time. See https://www.tibetcm.com/contemporary/pfv/2014-12-11/4007.html

⁶ In this line "B" repeats the syllable "mo" several times in a form of traditional language play.

⁷ A laugh that women in Amdo use to express disbelief or derision.

A: You replaced difficult with easy, so I replaced *lakso* with "no need."

B: You can't say there's no need. If you say there's no need, then I'll have nothing more to say.

A: And you can't say, you won't speak. If you don't speak, then I'll have nothing more to listen to.

B: Ah, I'll speak if you'll have me speak. Speaking truthfully, there's really not that much to say. It was last year after I was named Menla Kunzang.

A: Ya, then get on with it.

B: One day, my wife blew up, saying "Menla Kunzang! Just writing your khashag, don't you have to fill your mouth? Go collect some firewood."

A: Then go collect firewood!

B: Hmph, though I am a good person, it's not ok for the wife to be giving me orders. I was very angry and ran and grabbed the ground...

A: You didn't pick up a big rock, did you?

B: ... I picked up an axe and brought it [with me]...

A: Ala. you can't hit with an axe!

- य्र. वृ.क्टा-टाञ्च, ट्यूं. लुवी यो ट्विं. ट्योज. वृ.वृ.कटा-टाञ्चे. वृ. म्ट्री टालवीयः
- ट.श्र.अर्धेट.टे.चचेट.क्वे.श्रट्चा या.स्यू.चच्च.चच्च.
- यन्तर्वासुम्बर्गास्त्रम् वर्षास्त्रम् वर्षास्त्रम् वर्षास्त्रम् वर्षास्त्रम् वर्षास्त्रम् वर्षास्त्रम् वर्षास्
- द्रत्रा श्रव.यं.योय.चवर.स्वाक.य्यु.चार्खेता.चवृत्र. चत्रर.चयेर.क्र.स.क्र्य्यंत्र.चां.चव्यं या य.युर. वि. क्ष.र.चत्रर.वं.चत्रीरी ट्र.क्ष.चत्रर.वं.र.
- इस.ची.चड्ड.थथाली वस्टस्क्रीचा.चु.स्चू.यथी क.चा.वर्घ.ची.सूस्ट. चडर्टा किचेचाथा.चुश्चयन्नस्ट.चयेरस्टर्याव. चि.चु.च्चे.चु.स्ट्राचचु.चेव.चू.चूं.ज्वर्यःस्थ. वि. चुचे.कुचोबा.सुर्टाचितु.चेव.चूं.चूं.जर्यःस्थ.
- ग कःसात्रश्चुःचीःर्सेटः
- घट.ट.जवा.ब्रॅट्य-य-चच्चवा.लथ.ला चच्चवा.लट्य.ट.र.च्चैव्यय.च्चट्य.वाञ्चवा.ब्यय चयाय.चचय.चय.चय.चच्च्.च्.य.च.च्च.च्चा.ब्यां.वा वि ट्रेची ट.टेट.ब्र्.चच्चे.लुच.उट.च्येच.ब्र्य.ब्यांथ.
- ग र्रेनिव पत्रीव त्रित्राप्त प्रति स्थाप
- प क्षे.मु.धैरकारकाष्ट्रिम.पूराह्री

B: ... I put the axe through my sash and dashed out.

A: [scornfully] Heh, I thought you were going to beat your wife.

B: By the *Yum*! It is difficult to go collect the firewood, let alone on foot. So I secretly rode the old horse that was so thin it was about to fall over.

A: So even that had to be ridden secretly?⁸

B: I rode and rode, and at some point, I paid some attention and realized that the old horse was just bouncing up and down in one spot as if it was dancing.

A: [dismissively] Oh, oh, that must be your Dudu Disco.⁹

B: I bent over from atop the horse and looked, and something was wrong, *aro*.

A: What had happened?

B: Uh, the axe tucked in my sash had fallen out and had broken one of the horse's legs.

A: As if it was made of red clay.10

- चरेट.ट.। वि क्षे.द्र.भैवी.वी.चैटका.चरेट.टकारीट.कु.चरेट.
- ग है। दशःब्रिंशःमवःर्थेरःवारुरःक्टुःरेट्रवर्देट्रःय।
- र्स्यां यां वृष्यं यं यं तीटी सूर्या । स्वायः सम्भान्ते त्यां यां यां प्रत्ये । स्वायः सम्भान्ते त्यां यां यां यां ये । स्वायः सम्भान्ते । सम्भान्ते
- ग दे:र:वेष:वी:य:प्रविषायार्वेव:दर्वे:वै:छो:रेदा
- यञ्जवातम् स्वातास्य स्वात
- ण र्षे र्षे दे दिन्दी के त्रिक्ष के स्थान के स्
- चै.जम.भ.सूट.मुट.बु.ख.सू वि.जम.भ.सूट.मुट.बु.ख.सू वि. हे.बूट्-बंब.भर.र.चर्सैर.रच.कुवी.चर्छेब.र.
- ग कै:पर्वेग'पर्यंपर्टित्वेग
- यञ्चव म्य.वी.श्वेबा.वे.बोङ्ग्यानकवा.वाश.वेट.चवेट. व्यञ्जा रत्तु.श्लेबा.वो.क्षेत्र.प्रकवा.वाश.वेट.चवेट.
- ग यान्यमानीयाययानीयीनायार्थिनान्।

⁸ This implies that B's wife is very strict and controls what he can and cannot do.

⁹ Dudu would be the sound people make when feeding horses.

¹⁰ Red clay (ম'ন্টামন) is used in Amdo to make animal sculptures and tsha tsha moulded images used as offerings.

B: So what could I do? It's certain that a horse with three legs can't take me anywhere.

A: If it could then you should ride a tripod.¹¹

B: I was left with no choice, so I cut a tree branch and implanted it as the horse's leg and set off and I tell you that my horse was faster than before!

A: Oh, I hope it was like that.

B: At some point, the horse was not moving again.

A: It must have been tired.

B: I turned back and looked and my gosh.....

A: Something else was wrong?

B: That tree branch had grown into the sky and my horse and I were like toys at the foot of the tree.

A: They're probably your wife's toys. 12

- या दे:हीयः व.ट.२२२.र.माटः वाशुकाः व्यर्वेवः वर्षः ।
- द्याःमा हम्बद्यान्यस्य मी देवे स्यक्षेत्र्यस्य स्टान्स्य चत्रे सुवान्यस्य मी देवे स्यक्ष्यस्य स्टान्स्य चत्रे सुवान्यस्य मी देवे स्यक्ष्यस्य स्वान्ति स्वान्यस्य विस्तरम्
- **૫ હ્યું.૨**.૧નું.૨ની
- ष्रट.ची व सर.सञ्जया.ना.लट.धे.योथ.ये.प्रगील.की.र.
- ग ५:७५:५५५:वै:धेव:क्टूर्व:देन
- ट्टे.ची चे.ट्टी वि वि.क्षेट्र-प्रत्येष्ट्र-प्रथ.कुवी-चक्षेश-प्री त्य.चे.
- ગ ખદ-દુ:બઅ:અ:બઅ:ત્રષ:ર્સેંદ:એંદ્ર:ગ
- ण नै:ब्रिन्षी:क्वार्यक्षेत्रेच्चिनःभवनः कुर्वे:सेन्।

¹¹ This is likely a reference to tripods that government survey teams placed on mountains in the 1980s and 1990s.

¹² Here A continues to suggest that B is under his wife's thumb.

B: Uh, *ya* so I thought I must go into the sky and have a look around. There wouldn't be anything wrong with that. So I climbed up the tree.

A: [scoffing] Ang, so climb then!

B: After, eighty-one days, I finally reached sky. The sky was absolutely delightful, *aro*.

A: What was it like?

B: It is utterly blue.

A: So being blue is delightful?

B: It was so delightful that I completely forgot to collect firewood.

A: Of course, you had seen all the blue.

B: After wandering around for some time and when the afternoon sun was setting, I was so hungry my insides hurt.

A: Your insides were probably stuck together.

B: I thought about going home for a meal and looked down and ahawonahawo...

A: Now what had happened?

B: The tree I climbed was nowhere to be seen.

त्यसः हृदः स्तुः हृताः ग्रीवः वः त्वृत्यः स्तुः स् पक्षः पूर्वः त्वृतः स्तुः स्तुः

ग लटा ट.प्स्रांशाली

ला ला.स् वेषा.शोवयः चर्टूची.मूं.टे.श्चेटेन्त्.चर्टूची.मूं.इटे. टे.कु.चे.कु.चे.वेष.चचिटेर्-छे.ची.चेड्ची.चल्म्र्रःस्थ. वि धु.षा.टेची.टेची.चचिटेर्-छे.ची.चड्ची.पर्मुरःस्थ.

ग कै:र्बें प्रज्ञेष:रेट्रा

प र्वेव र्ये र्वेव र्ये प्रवेष रेप

ग कै।वनाः ह्या क्वें वर्षः रेनाः वर्षः रेनः वर्षाः

ग ८क्.म.५५४.४५८वे.लुव्स्रेर्ररे

કુવાનક્ષેશ-રીયો જા.સે.સૂ.યે.સે.સૂ! તિ ભીળ.તા.કુવા.તક્ષેટ.વી.તવૂી.તર્નુર.તાય.જામ:મ.

लूट.की वि लस.स.लूट.बैट.ब्रुड्ड्ट.चू.बोट.बे.कुवी. A: It didn't fall down did it?

B: My horse dragged it to somewhere else, after all it was his prosthetic leg.

A: Then, sit there blissfully in the utterly blue place!

B: I gave a thought and remembered people saying that there are gods and goddesses in the sky. I thought "Ya, I should look for them." I went on and on and finally arrived in front of a temple.

A: Was it the Mani Temple in your village?

B: I looked inside from door gap for a bit. Yep! I tell you they were all sitting in the sun picking each other's lice.

A: Were they the elders from your village?

B: Of course not! Gods and goddesses! I prostrated eighty-one times 'til my forehead was numb from it, aro.

A: That's probably because your forehead has not received the training yet.

- ग र्वेज:र्वेट:वे:श्रेव:वा
- ला कु.विवा हो कि.वी.वीट.मट.इट.श्री वि हे.सेव.वीश.हूट.स्.वीट.लब.वीट.ब्र्ट्टवी
- ૫ ટ્રાફ્રિંટનોય.ફૂંચ.સ્.ફૂંચ.સ્.વય.ક્ર્યેટ.સ્.ક્રેટ. સ.ફ્રિંટનોય.ફૂંચ.સ્.ફૂંચ.સ્.વય.ક્ર્યેટ.સ્.ક્રેટ.
- य डिन.क.स्पु.इं.सपु.श्र.५८,४५,६,४५८,४५। भूष.च
- चर्षता लूर्य चुन्य चुन्न चुन्न स्वास्त्र स्वा
- ग ष्रिुं कःर्नेतेः श्रेः नतेः र्लेः र्लेवः कः भैवः वैः श्रेवः व्य
- ૫ ફિંવેઃર્કેન્પઃન્ઃક્લ ક્રુનઃચર્કેનઃએનઃવેઃબેવઃ ક્રુવેઃરેના

B: I said, "Om mani padme hum. Gracious ones, people say that food and clothing are self-arising in heaven, but none have arisen for me, please quickly put something selfarisen in my stomach. Quickly!"¹³

A: What did they say?

B: [disappointedly] Ha! I tell you they didn't even look at me.

A: Maybe you are too ugly to look at.

B: One of them told me the truth.

A: What did he say?

B: He said, "Ah, karmically wicked one, as you can see we are just skin and bones. Few people prostrate these days, and those who make offerings are especially few. We don't have anything to eat ourselves. What should we give you?" ¹⁴

A: What did you say?

B: I said, "Ah, don't lie to me! I heard in the human world that you guys have some things that we don't have." म्राप्त स्थान्य स्थान

ग कै'पर्नेषा'नेर'षी

७४.म्.च.च्या १४.म्.च्या.स.च्या.स.च्या.म्या.च्या.स्या.

ग देखेर्राचने प्रमुखें वा से दिन के ती से कि के ती से कि के ती से कि के ती से कि कि के ती से कि कि के ती से कि

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ग के नेर वी

क्षेर-क्रिकटनीला स्टानीर वाक्किश्चेर क्षेत्र स्टानीलिक्किस्टानील स्टानीर वाक्किश्चेर स्टानीलिक्किस्टानीलिक्किस्टानीलिक्सिस्

ग र्विशक्तिःचन्नेगःचन्नेःषा

द्र-दि-चड्ड-म भ्र-देर्च स्थाक्ष-अन्त्र-क्षे-प्रवाप्त्र-क् म्र-देर्च स्थाक्ष-अन्त्र-क्षे-प्रवाप्त्र-क् म्र-दर्भ स्थाक्ष-अन्त्र-क्षे-प्रवाप्त्र-क्ष-क्ष-म्र-प्रवाप्त्र-म्र-स्थान

^{13 &}quot;Self-arising" (རང་བྱང་།) is a term commonly used in religious language to suggest something that appears without effort. We maintain the religious register that Menla Jyab uses here.

¹⁴ In traditional Tibetan religious practice, burnt offerings are thought to provide sustenance to those in the heaven realms.

A: And what did he say to that?

B: "Ah, do we have merit like the human world? These days, people don't believe in gods. People have faith in people. In the human world, how great are the offerings received when people chant, even those who don't know the dharma! We have nothing."

A: And then?

B: Then I looked carefully and they were also so hungry they were barely breathing, *aro*! ...

A: Oh!

B: ...I cannot bear hunger like them. I didn't know that the happiness of heaven was like that. Now I've seen the other side of the mountain, and learned that that the wild yak's head was bare.¹⁵

A: Used up the only proverb you know?

B: Lamenting I went to look for a way down and I found one!

A: Was the horse dragging the tree back?

ग दै'प्रजे'क्'के'नेर'षी

ષ્ટ્રી સે. સુલ વે નવર્શન વ્યવસ્થ ને સંખ્યું ન વૃષ્ણ ન નવન ને નું સુલ ને નું સેન્સ સેન્સ ક્ષેત્ર ને નું સેન્સ સેન્સ ક્ષેત્ર ને નું સેન્સ સેન્સ ક્ષેત્ર ને નું સેન્સ ને ક્ષેત્ર ને નું સેન્સ ને ક્ષેત્ર ને નું સેન્સ ને નું સેન્

ग 5ै:व्रष्

प्ति - दे.वेश.टे.टश.बुच.ये.कुच.च्यं.यं.चुचथ.चुच. च्यं.र.बुं.वेश.चेथ्ट.टश.ट्यं.य.टेचीयश.चुची. प्रथ.च्यं.बुं.ट्यं.वुच.ये.कुची.चक्रेश.र.व्यं.क.

ग छें।

ण जानुकान्धेनिकः स्राप्तः स्वर्हेजा भेन् नानुका कुषा

त्त्रीय.चेला वयश.बी.लभ.यमुबी.पश्ला.लश.लूट.बूर. व र्हेबा.ब्री.यमुबी.यभूषे.यभेट.टश.भ४.४.४.व्री व

या इ.स्व.स्व.स्य.स् यहत्त्वे.स.स्

¹⁵ This seems similar to the English phrase "the grass isn't always greener on the other side."

B: No! Among those with bad karma mine is better, out of nowhere a pillar of ice appeared hanging straight down from the sky. Hugging it, I slid down.

A: So have you arrived on the earth?

B: Who knew that the pillar did not touch the ground. I almost lost the pillar in my hand and made a scene. I couldn't climb up or go down, and so I just stayed there holding tight.

A: Oh, so you just hung there like a spider?¹⁶

B: I thought for a bit, and it seemed ok.

A: You mean dropping down?

B: Of course not. It was autumn then, so grabbing the stalks blown from the threshing ground by the wind, I twisted them into a rope, tied it to the pillar and slid down.

A: [disbelieving] Hm... That's quite a rope! There's no way that would break.

- अर.र.सेर्ट.चरेर.रा ची वश्रःश्वाचतालूट.ची ट्रेर.वश्वश्वश्वशः चो वश्रःश्वाचतःवशःश्वरःस.र.ट्र.श्लूःश्वशः शःचश्वशःश्वरःदरःचीःगीःचःचञ्चवोःक्ववशः वि अ.र्ट्रदी ट.वट्टे.लशःटवे.वट.चीःलशःक्रुवी
- ग रार्वेगागार्वेव पहरावया
- पर्चिरःस्यःद्वस्त्रेद्वःस्त्री पर्चेःअःश्वेतःअरःअरःरःजूदःअःश्वेत्। याःतः वेयःत्रो द्ववाःश्चेतःअरःरःजूदःअय। यरःयरःरः वियःप्वाःचत्रेवाःश्चेरःद्वे। वियःप्वाःचत्रेवाःश्चेरःद्वे। वियःप्वाःचत्रेवाःविवःश्चेरःवेशःश्चेरःद्वे।
- य ह्या ट्रिडेट्रेट्रवीखास्य वस्तरकाविक्यावीक्षा
- व पर्टर.चन्नुबा.चक्कैच.च.र.रेबा.क्कैप्.रेबा.ब्री
- ग सर र हैर प्र प्र त भेवा
- धट्टान्त्रः । चन्नद्रः त्यान्यः यद्द्रः चन्नद्रः द्याः चन्न्यः यद्द्रः विष्यः यद्द्रः विषयः यद्द्रः विष्यः यद्दे विषयः यद्दे
- यञ्चयाः कुः स्ट्री यो श्रुवी २.घवाः तः यर्चूवाः र्युः स्ट्री क्टाः कु

¹⁶ Literally "the old lady with a spindle," this refers to a spider in Amdo that hangs from a single strand of web. We have been unable to identify its Latin name.

B: Unfortunately, while sliding along well, a huge gust of wind blew up, and cut the straw rope, and I plummeted like a shooting star.

A: Ohoho! That's a good simile!

B: As soon as I thought about it would take to reach the ground, with a *zzzz* sound I not only hit the ground but burrowed underneath. Fortunately, my head was above the ground.

A: You were probably stopped by your nose.

B: I moved a little and everything seemed ok.

A: Could you get out of the ground?

B: When I had almost gotten out, an earthquake sent me tumbling back in up to my eyes.

A: Oh, this time even your nose was underground.

B: I looked around at ground level, and yep! a drunk, black thing was stumbling closer and closer.

A: Who was it?

B: It was a crippled ant.

- बू.से.स.घटच.केंट.केंट.लय.चेटट.ट.रा रश.झे.घवो.चक्टे.लय.चेट.च्टेट.बू.ट.चड्र. बू.टेय.^{प्}टेट.कुचे.चड्डवो.वीलीवाय.वाय.पिंट. वि चल.र.कुवो.वी जुच.कुचे.चड्डवा.चेंटे.लय.लूट.
- ण र्षे:र्ने:र्ने ५धे:वर्हेना:वर्ने:धनाःनी
- यो.श्रम्, स्री.श्राचाया, स्री.श्री स्था वि.श्राच्या यो.श्री स्था यो.पर्ह्या यो.पर्ह्या यो.पर्ह्या यो.श्री स्था यो.श्री स्थी यो.श्री स्
- ग १:ब्रिंदे:श्रु:दर्बेष्यःवे:धेव:क्रुर्दे:रेऽ|
- वि श्रेवा.यत्तवाद्याचा.र.रेवा.वी.व्
- । ४.७र.५२८.४५.व
- य क्री ट.बुट्य.ट.झॅ.र.य.वूच.च.चर्डेय.चेट्ट.
- प्रस्ति स्टायम् स्
- ण शुःरेऽ।
- वि र्श्वेताः अर्श्वेतः त्राचीताः रेता

A: Heh, I thought he was a real drunkard.

B: Yes, I tell you the bastard was completely drunk.

A: I bet.

B: The ant said "Alala. Your blanket is so thick! Hehe, are you covering your head with it? Ya! Get up and drink." Pulling me by several of my hairs, he got me out up to my throat.

A: Now you'll really drink.

B: The moron stumbled and stepped on my head, and I was pushed completely back underground.

A: Oh, if an ant could flatten you, just thrash about.¹⁷

B: I thrashed, and things got worse. I completely slid away.

A: Where did you slide to?

B: Perhaps it was the next life, and I landed with a thump.

A: Oh, so you'll see eighteen levels of hell.

- य. तुर्रेट.ला व.तर्र्ट.ला
- वि देन् व्राप्यस्त्रीत्वः प्यस्तर्वह्नः प्रिनः तीः
- ण ५'भेव'कुर्दे'रेऽ।
- चर्षवा.चर्टर.चजा बी.शक्शश्च.प्रचा.बूो.लप्ट.य.वट..लैट.ट्य. श्ची.केवा.क.कुवा.बुाय.उद्घेच.चर्टट.ब्र्.ब्रीट.चवा. प्रचा.प्ट.क्ट.उद्घेट.लुच.च.कुवा.चुन्टा ट्य. प्रचा.जा.च्हेट.ट्य.चर्चन.लूट.चथा ल.लर. वि. व्य.ज.जा.ब्रिंपु.वेज.ब्र्य.शबीवा.वा हे.हे। शर्चा.
- ग ५ मधियाची तश्चर कुरे रे पा
- व.नइटश.लवा.वा.नइटश.नधट.चूं। अर्चुन्द.कुव.र्जूश.नधट.चूं। ट.कुन्द.न्द.श.ट्व. वि ट्र.कूवश.क्रैय्.नविज.लथ.विन्द.यूट.टश.ट्व.
- य रुत्वायःमः र्श्वेयः याः विद्यायः विद्य
- ला चच.बी.सैट.जग्राचूर.चज.रा वि चनवाग्र.र.जग्राचुर.रग्र.च.वा.बी.बी.कु.र्रट.
- या याट.ट.धूर.घला
- क्षेट्र.मु.क्षेट्र.घला व ट.क्.क्षे.भःचर्ट्यं.मू.लुव.चया.ची ट.कुवा.च.
- यो क्ल्री ट.ट्रिजन,विश्वयः चक्ट्र-तम्बन्द्र्यः वर्षे

¹⁷ This is an unusual turn of phrase and only works in the context of Menla's fantastic comedy. The implication is that if he is so weak that an ant can flattened him, then he is on his own.

B: Well, I don't know whether it was eighteen or nineteen, but I decided to go see if Shinjé Chojya was home.¹⁸

लूट्.ची.चक्षे.ची.शूट.ट.। जी.चप्त्रेय झ्ळू.चे.ब.च.च्.चा.चू.ले.ब.च.झ. चट्ट्वा.चू.लुच.चथ.च.च.च.च्या.चे.ल.च.ख. व ट.चक्ट्.चक्चेट.चट्ट्वा.चू.लुच.चथ.चथ.चळ.ट्वा.

A: Was he?

ग छो:र्षे5:वी

B: He wasn't, but his wife was.

A: [disbelievingly] Ang.

ग ७४८।

B: The wife of this so-called Shinjé Chojya just doesn't watch the dog.¹⁹ ट्याययाची द्विरायकी प्रायु स्वाप्त स्व स्वाप्त स्वाप्

A: Hehe. As if she's "Mrs. ne'er-dowell" from your village.

त्रव.य.जूर्-वी-मी भूषे-थ.जूर्-वी-मी

B: I stared down the old dog and went in the house. The she got up half-heartedly and greeted me.

ट्याम्यापान्नेवाय्येन्यो प्रचेन्त्रेचे प्राप्ता प्रमुद्धाराम्याचे के व्यक्षेत्रं व्याप्यस्य प्रमुख्य प्रमुक्षित्रं विकास प्रमुख्य

A: Oh, she's worse than "Mrs. Ne'er-do-well"

ण र्षे १-८-८० ज.मु.म. १

B: "Aro, where'd your husband go?" That's what I said.

वि अर्से ब्रिन्वीम्बर्धियार्रम् निर्वेस

A: Where did she say he'd gone off to?

ग ग्राटारासुर् ख्या बेराची

B: She said, "Who knows? He's been out visiting people since yesterday, and he probably got drunk again." ¹⁸ *Tshad ke* (ざらず) gives a sense that someone is doing something purposefully, particularly for the purposes of making a joke. Shinjé Chojya is the Lord of Death in Tibetan Buddhist cosmologies.

When guests arrive in Amdo, it is custom for someone to mind the watchdog to ensure the guest's safety. The fact that she fails to do this suggests that she is lazy.

A: As if he's your village's "Mr. Never at home."

B: I suffered through the one bowl of tea I drank at their home.

A: Ya, was it too strong?

B: What a messy woman. The sash around her waist wipes everything except her feet.

A: [with surprise] Ah?

B: She wiped a glob of snot the size of a dog's corpse, folded the sash over and then wiped the butter lamp bowl and put it up high. She wiped the bowls and put them low. She picked up the pot with it and moved it over there, folded some cash and knotted it in it, then she said, "our home has nothing," and wiped her tears with it.²⁰

A: Oh, that sash is really useful!

B: When I was heading off, she ripped off a piece of her sash and said, "tie things with this!"

A: Is all that true?

B: And then I went to the neighbour's house, and the so-called Shinjé Chojya was in their home!

- य.लूर.री ब.लूर.री
- वि न्दी-पान्नश्रहान्। वि न्दी-पान्नश्रहान्।
- ग पा हायवे'सर
- ही.यु.पर्वच्याः श्रेट.वी वी.मुन्.र्यायः नेयः नः भरः पः श्रुयः वयः नी श्रः वि क्रि.पर्वः पर्वेदः खः यो.श्रुवार्ड्यायः पर्वाची श्रीवाः
- শা জ
- म र्षे। प्रदेशमेन्यम् वर्षे प्रदेशमेन्यम् वर्षे
- ग ५.५.५५.चच्चेग.चर्चे.छे.चर्नेव.वी
- प्र-मी प्रविवाहेते:क्रिंशः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्व विवाह्मः स्वाह्मः स्व

²⁰ At this point, he is describing (in somewhat grotesque detail) that she does not adhere to Tibetan standards of spiritual purity and bodily hygiene.

A: What was he doing?

B: He said he was hung over and looking foolish with nine layers of sleep in his eyes, putting both feet into the stove's ash catcher, and letting ash collect on his feet.

A: Oh, an image of a dirty old man has appeared before my eyes.

B: It was disappointing. I don't know whether he was Uncle Chojya or Uncle Drinker but I said, "Having arrived here, am I dead?"

A: What did he say?

B: He said, "No way, no way. Among all those who come before me, you are the only one who is not handsome. Go back!"

A: He gave it to you straight!

B: And I spoke directly too.

A: Ya.

B: *Olé*. I said, "It would give me tons of trouble if you sent me into my next life before I found a wife."

A: Didn't he say, "Rest easy. Even if you go back you won't find a wife?"

B: And he spoke straight, too.

ग कै'मञ्जेषा'भेर'र्षो'की

टक्ष स्वयः क्रूँचा नाका दास्तरः स्तूर न्यू स्वया स्वयः रूटः वटः टः मिटः चः चावेषा मा 'इटः स्वयः द्रुष्यः सः द्रचा स्वयः वाषा स्त्रुष्यः स्टः च स्वयः वि स्वयः चार्षे देः चिरुष्टः स्वयः चर्रेचा स्वाः चर्ने स्वयः वि

य <u>ब्</u>र्ण ट.क्रीय.तकाःस्य-त्र्यःश्चे.स्यन्नयःसरः

चड़े.स्। चा.सूच.च्या.चड्रं-सूच.चूं-सूच्युं-सूच-सूच्य

ग के'बेर'वी

ग हे:वीष:5्रःक्रॅर:चव्र5:वह्:वया

ष दशःर:५८:र्बेर:प्यक्:प्रकः।

ग था

वि र् कें त्ये द्वे त्यवा वा क्व कें का क्यें दे कें कें वि अस् केंद्र वी पञ्च वा प्रतः पुरुष प्रतः केंद्र प्रतः वे दे दे प्रतः वो व्यव वा प्रतः प्रतः वि स्व केंद्र वि केंद्र वे प्रतः वे प्रतः वि वि केंद्र वि केंद्र

n શુभयानां ભૂદાવું આ ફુટા રાસુરા વ્યા ભૂતાના નાંભુદાવું આ ફુટા ક્ષા કુટા નાં

व वि.रेबोश.र.रेट.शुर.यथर.यथर.वथरा

A: What did he say?

B: He said, "You are the uglier of us, but you are more appreciated among people than I am. Nowadays it seems you are more famous than me. So go back and keep it up!"

A: [dismissively] Hmph, you are a fluent boaster. What do you have to keep doing?

B: He said, "If making people happy is the [practice of the] dharma, you make them happy by being funny. There's no one who is as dirty and funny as you. Go back and make everyone laugh."

A: That should be true.

B: And that I went on and on, and in a valley, and as soon as I got out of the valley, I had arrived, *aro*.

A: Where had you arrived?

B: I had arrived in America and the old horse was waiting for me.

A: There's no doubt that wooden legged horse of yours could have reached America.

ग के:बेर:वी

म्र्रेश.चं.स्म क्री.वि.पचच्चा.पुरी क्षेत्र.प्र.श्रूट.प्र.मु.प्र.पच्चा. व.प्रि.पुरी ट.प्र.प्र.प्रतेश.व.प्रि.हु.च.ची.व. व.प्र.मुश्या.क्ष्य.ची.प्रट्र.क्ष्य.म्र्र्स.प्र.मु.स् व.प्र.पवेश्य.प्र.ची.प्र.ची.स्मु.स्म

य ख़ुद्या ५'त्यन'चर्न्जार्चे'तर्ख्यचराङ्कु'चड्डेच' अंद'ची क्षे'डेर-चर्डेचार्चे'तर्ख्यचराङ्कु'चड्डेच'

ण ५:धेव:कुर्दःरेऽ।

ल.स् ब्रह्म व्याप्त विस्तुन क्रिंग्स क्षेत्र क्रिंग्स्य व्याप्त विस्तुन क्रिंग्स्य विस्तुन विस्तुन क्रिंग्स्य विस्तुन क्रिंग्स क्रिंग्स विस्तुन क्

ग ग्रद:द:र्बेब:घ५द:घ३ेग

त्र स्थान वार्याच्यात्र स्थान स् विकास स्थान स्

य हिंदेनेटम्पट्टैर्ज्ञालाने से विस्ताले हिंद्

B: It wasn't a problem that it has a wooden leg, but the old horse had given birth and it gave me tons of trouble.²¹

A: Believing you is killing me.

B: Riding the old horse and leading the foal, I was heavy and broke its back, I left the old horse, and rode the foal and it was like flying.

A: Probably! It was born from the peg-legged one.

B: And at some point the foal wouldn't move.

A: It had probably broken a leg again.

B: It hadn't broken its leg, but bubbles were coming from its mouth.

A: Oh, so it must be the old peg-leg horse's foaming foal.

B: It was thirsty from all the running. So I put its mouth in the Gulf and made it drink, and it was never quenched. I turned back and looked. Of course!

A: Ya?

B: I tell you they were fighting a war there.

पि भैटःम्रदःश्वेवःवेंःश्चेवःश्चेदःवीःस्। हःम्वःश्चेदः पहरःदशःदःश्चेवःश्वदःवीःस। हःम्वःश्चेदः

ग ८.४४.५व्यु.ल.चु.५व्यु.चु.ब्र.स्

वे.चड्डवा.वा.इवा.व चे.ट.ट्य.हे.खे.ब्व.चेट.ट.र.जस्र.चेट. चे.ट.ट्य.हे.खे.ब्व.चे.चेट.ट.र.जस्र.चेट. ट.ह्येट.वे.वो.र.हे.चेव.वो.स्र.च्यंव.चश्चेर. चे.चेव.ब्व.वं.चेव.चे.चेव.चो.स्र.च्यंव.च्यं

ण - ५:भेव कुर्तः रेन्। वैहः महः गैथः क्षेत्रः वै: रेन् ऑ

पि चरःचत्रुवाःवाःलरःहेतुःवर्गुःकुःरःग्रेनःवी

पर्लैस्-स्था-चर्नस्पूर्यःबी प्रि-मिर-सःसञ्चा-श्रेरःबी-साव-येर-ये-सिःचचुर्याः

म र्ष्ट्रो प्रमुक्तिन्नियः मिर्मिन्द्रेतः स्त्री चर्नेषाः मिर्मिन्द्रेतः स्त्रीमिर्मिन्द्रीयः

होर.स.पोक्र.स्य.कुवासम्बद्धारम् क्रीमवासा चर्टर.स.स.वचरयाकु चन्नेवाद्गे अपेरस्या वि. अक्र्.सिवायाचायाहेरीयाज्यर्थेता च क्रिवायाद्गे वी.स.भूजाचहराचन्राचाया

ण था

^च दे.ब.र्थाया.पर्वियाःकीयाःम्,ख.प्रु.र्रटाल.पत्रज्ञी

²¹ This likely suggests that he then had to take care of or carry the foal.

A: Ok.

B: A passing rocket had broken off my old horse's hindquarters.²²

A: Oh, it must have been a "thief" brand rocket.

B: I rode the front half of the horse to look for the hindquarters, but weren't the hindquarters eating grass in a desert, *aro*?

A: So let it eat!

B: [to the horse] How can you be eating grass? Picking some wild onion, I joined both upper and lower halves and sewed them together with it. It became a handsome foal, but its blood pressure was a bit low. So I peed in its mouth and rode it, and it made a whoosh-ing sound.

A: I bet. You'd peed in its mouth!

B: Running over the water and crossing the ocean, kicking up a cloud of white and red dust behind us. Without knowing it, we'd arrived in Shanghai.

শ গ্রবা

- ची.प्र्वा.श्चर.तकर.लकात्त्रेर.क्रूट.चच्चवी.स वि पर्लर.कर्चप.पर्की.म्.चच्चवी.बीकारपटु.धे.बीची
- यो ह्या रामीयः अपेशः स्ट्री वर्षेत्राच्याः स्वीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः स्ट्रीयः
- र्कः व्रुकः यद्मेरः अरः अरः न कः मूं। स्या क्रिंगः क्षेत्रः अरः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः स्या क्षित्रः क्षेत्रः क्षित्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्षेत्रः विका क्ष
- ग ५:ब:मी:कुण्या
- या नःस्रोब वे सेना वि वि स्टाह्म स्वाप्त स्वा
- त्रेयःचलःम्। पह्तांची नेटःदेःचच्च कुःचीयःच्चं चेयःमःसः च्-रेशमःच्-तच्चतःचच्-तद्गैमःम्यन्-तन्ननः चोरेनां न्येरःमःम्-तच्चतःच्च्-तद्गैमःम्यन्-तन्ननः वि क्षुप्रःचिःशक्क्तुःचिरःचयःचिरःलयःखःच्चैवीयः

²² In discussing the gulf and the war there, he is talking about the Gulf War (1990–91). Also, there is a logic error here. Menla seems to have misused the term "old horse" when he was now riding the foal.

A: That's understandable! The ocean's dust had probably made you foolish.²³

B: So I couldn't go home emptyhanded, right?

A: [agreeing] Un.

B: There were some stray yaks at the Shanghai Theatre Academy, I drove them and I had a fun trip.

A: Oh, having yaks to drive from Shanghai must be fun.

B: Just driving a couple of yaks is nothing. There are many barefooted people back home,²⁴ so I loaded them with forty- to fifty-thousand pairs of Black-Yak-Lip shoes,²⁵ went through the Loess Plateau, Stoneless Valley, putting one pouch-full of stones in the pouch of my tight shirt and hitting on the horns of polled yaks, which was enjoyable.²⁶

A: It probably would be enjoyable to think ridiculous thoughts.

- यो कु.lवती.की की.अकू.वी.देल.वील.धूं.दे.वी.
- पि ट.जबी.ब्रूट.ट.लेज.ज.शूट.चुर.क्वी.शुट.बु.र्
- শ গুৰা
- वि क्रिक्ते क्रिंग्या स्थितः स्यातः स्थिते स्याते स्थिते स्थिते
- या ब्ल्स २.२८-छे.च.बूर-ड्रेस-स्टा
- लक्षाल्ट्राट्स, चेन्नी सक्षानी स्वाप्त स्वीर मिल्या स्वाप्त स्वीर स्वाप्त स्वीर स्वाप्त स्वीर स्वाप्त स्वाप्
- ૾૾ૢ૿ૢ૽૽ૼૼ૽ૼઽૺૢૺ ૹ૾ૣ૽ૢ૽ૣૼ૽ૼઽૺૢ

²³ He's foolish because he didn't realize he'd arrived in Shanghai.

²⁴ The Tibetan word *pha yul* (४ ৠ씨), literally "fatherland" and translated here as "home" could refer to one's own community or to a much larger region. The numbers given afterward seem to speak to general poverty of the Tibetan region in the early years of the post-Mao era.

²⁵ This refers to a style of black shoes with a layer of cotton or wool between two pieces of cloth that was popular in the early 1980s and 1990s, mostly for wearing in winter.

²⁶ This statement is intentionally ridiculous. There is no pouch in a tight shirt, and polled yaks have no horns.

B: My wife was also waiting for me...

A: *Ah? Aro aro*, hold up, *aro*! Didn't you not have a wife?

B: Who told you I didn't have a wife?

A: *Ona*, when you met Shinjé Chojya you told him you didn't have a wife.

B: *Ona*, I told you earlier that my wife sent me to collect firewood.

A: Olé, you did say that.

B: I also said that as well.27

A: Ona, in reality, which is true?

B: The truth, well, what my wife said was the truth.

A: Ya?

B: Uh, after I got home, and had three pots of noodles and that took the edge off my hunger and had a chat, and my wife said.....

A: What did she say?

व र.मेव.शूथ.र.पश्चैवा.वोथायद्वर.लूर.वु

ये श्रीव वश्री हिं हूं न खार्से हिं स्वाव क्रांचेन स्वाव क्रांचेन स्वाव क्रांचेन स्वाव क्रांचेन स्वाव क्रांचेन

ष र्ष्ट्रिं सेट् की नेर कें शुरें

या त्र्यं नाहिंग्यानेना हेत्रे क्रिया कुता हुवा पुरायाना ऑस्ट्रेस मिन्स

त्र अत्मेशना स्त्रेत्र स्व न्य स्त्रेत्र स्व स्त्रेत्र स्व स्त्र स्व स्त्र स्व स्त्र स्व स्त्र स्व स्त्र स्व स

ग र्छे'भे। दे'मञ्जे'क्षा

ष रशःरःदैःचन्नेःवश

ण र्दें वर्देवर्दे अः ण्रान्यदेव वर्षः छीं।

प्ति चनेत्रकृतिः निर्मात्ते स्वतः स्रायः स्वतः वि

শ্ব আ

भूश-तथर-मु.तज्ञ-वश्यःला चरेट-टश्नाव-चर्-तज्ज्ञवी-लश्चर-टी स्वे पर्वेट-चरेट-टश-क्रुंबीश-श्रम्,कुवी-श्रवेद वि ब्यो लिज-धूर्व-वश्न-स्वीयो-स-ज्ञटश-ट-वशिशः

ग कै'बेर'वी

²⁷ Agreeing with "A" that he had told the Shinjé Chojya that he had no wife.

B: ... It's better to listen to nonsense from you and Hwala Kunzang²⁸ than to listen to the mumblings of a confused person holding a meeting. But I have a complaint about you.

A: What was it?

B: She said, "Hwala Kunzang lies endlessly, and you eat endlessly."

A: Oh!

- लट.ट.च्रिंचश्वरातक्षर.चन्नुचाल्च.ची चीत्रवाताचीत्रचन्न्य.चीत्रचीत्रची.ची टेनपराता.चीच.चन्नट.लीच.चेबाच.ची.ट.चिट. चे.चन्न.क्षे.दे.चभ्रूषा.चू.धेच.ट्याबा.ची.टी च क्षे.दं.दं.दंर.चु.चन्चा.चीबा.क्यूचोबा.पटी.चर्न्नेबा.
- ग कै'पञ्जेषा'धेव'व्याया
- क्. बुर.सी बयातबिट: तपेट: देश:रः खेटाय: तबुवा: गुर. प्रेट: देश:खेटाय: तबुवा: गुर्-यो: राष्ट्रिं: त वि रेत्तर: याः गुर्वे: प्रवेदा: प्रोवेदा: यां गुर्वे:
- ग छें।

²⁸ Hwala Kunzang seems to be a fictional name, and likely is used to parallel the name Menla Kunzang.

5. Elders' Conversations ਕੇਂ ਕੇਂਕ ಹੇਂਕੇ 'ਧਾਸ਼ਤ੍ਹੀ

A: *Ya*, comrade Phagmo! According to some people, we perform these *khashag* trying to be eloquent. But what's your take on this?

B: In my opinion, well I don't know about you, but I think it's true that I am eloquent.²

A: I think if one says we are eloquent, that's no different from scolding us.

B: Ya? Why's that?

A: It's a sign that they do not recognize *khashag* arts.

B: Ya?

क्षे. तच्चेमा लूट. मी मी. तपट. मी. चेर. मी. पट्टी. सट. तप्ता क्षे. में स्थाप मी. स्थापट. मी. चेर. मी. पट्टी. सट. तप्ता क्षे. में स्थाप मी. स्थापट. मी. चेर. मी. स्थापट. स्थापट. मी. स्थापट. मी. स्थापट. स्थापट. स्थापट. स्थापट. मी. स्थापट. स्थापट. स्थापट. स्थापट. स्थापट. स्थापट. स्थापट.

वि दश्यन्त्रेशन्त्र-तृष्टिं नर्जे कै में स्ति स्ति। स्ति।

ष्टि-.तरःष्ठान्.ग्री चित्रसःग्रीम्.ज्यानचुन्नचिन.चरेट.चु.स. चित्रसःग्रीमःजुन्नची,चचुन्चन्नचिन.चर्चे.स.

वि ली ट्री.कु.चञ्चवी.वी

य। दे, विज्ञवायः श्रुः इत्यावयः यः त्रुद्धः हवायः स्ट्रा

17 WI

¹ Menla Jyab is "A" and Phagmo Drashi is "B."

² *Khabde* ([٩'५५], literally "good mouth") is translated here as "eloquent," though it can also mean quick-witted. The implication here is that there are many who meet these criteria.

A: Think about it. If this new form of *khashags*, this *khashag* art form, is so simple that anyone with a mouth, anyone who is eloquent, can speak them, then would we get the chance?

B: *Olé*! It would fall into the hands of the leaders first.

A: Based on this, it's not right to say that the kings of *khashag* are eloquent.

B: *Ona*, what is it ok to say we're good at?

A: First, our meaningful watchers are good.

B: "Meaningful watchers"?

A: I'm saying our eyes are good!

B: Who, not having good eyes in their head, would throw them into the trash heap?

A: If a *khashag* is to become like a mirror of life at that time, then first you have to examine life with the meaningful watcher.

B: First, you have to look for the materials for the composition.

A: And next, our producing happiness when heard is good.

- य.पड्र. लूट.क्टे.ट्र-ला क्र.श्र.पड्डयो.लुच.क्टे.च.टी वे.चोधेश.पोवु.लयो. तृश्री वि.चट्रे.चट्र-पूश.पचिट.श्रेय.चश्र.ट्र.श्र्. यश्रम.ची वि.चेबाश.क्टें.क्र.पट्टी.वि.लूट.लूट. यो क्ट्रिश.वटेट.क्ट्रेच.ची वि.चेबाश.बु.क्र.त.
- चूर.त्युं.क्यू.रूटी वि ख्र.ज़ी क्र.च.लब.ट्यूचे.तू.क.चूतु.जवी.वी.
- पि.सर्.मी.स.चं.स्याया.मी.मी.स.स्या.या.
- व र्त्.व.कु.चच्चवी.चर्न.वी.चच्च.व.पंग्रीवी.वी
- ग र्वेज् अर अर्वेट पर्देव र्षेट पदी जी
- ष अर्वेद:च:र्नेव:र्षेद:चर्नेवाःर्वे
- ग श्रेषा:पर्दे:षी:पञ्चे:बै:षा
- ची.व्रिभ.सैवास.वर्ट.ट.चिलीवास.चर्चत.लूट.ची वि श्री.चच्चताची.तूर.ल.चूट्ची.क्रीचा.स.चट्टे.स.सीची.
- यट.त.बुटा.कै.लुट.ट्यू.बु ह्या.कर.अह्यट.च.ट्र्य.लूट.वुक.एक्.चयु. पक्ट.चयु.कु.जूट.के.चे.चड्या.थेय.ट्यू.यी प्रचित्रकाय.क्ष्यक्षय.क्यू.चच्च्या.स्रचय.ट्यू.
- व. मूरी व मूर्या अम्. पश्च अथा कूथा वी कुळा पश्या पूर्या
- ग देवे वर्षे न वें अन्य न न न से हिंदि न ने

B: Producing happiness once heard? Are there many people hiding in your body? *Aro*, they're all personal names!³

A: I'm saying it's not enough to have good eyes. You also need to have good ears.

B: Who, not having good ears on the sides of their head, would stitch them to the soles of their boots.

A: If a *khashag* is to become like a record of major issues, the producing happiness once heard must eavesdrop on real life to assist the meaningful watcher.

B: If you need to look for the material for the composition, you must have broad hearing range, and you must have an expansive field of vision.

A: And next our processing factories must be good.

B: Processing factory? Oh, there are also the names of companies.

A: Uh, seeing and hearing is not enough. I'm saying you also need a good brain.

- क्षे:क्षेट-रबारब लु-रानचुबानम्भेट-वन्नन-लून-बु-भाना ब्ल-स् वि चूब्य-च-रबाव-भ्रेन्।क्षित्व-क्षेन्व-बु-भाना
- य। श्चिमान्यने वर्षः श्चेःक्वामी क्वः सःयने पुर्वामी सञ्ज्ञेन्द्रीया
- च श्री.पञ्चता.बी.स्.अर्थी.ची.स्.पचता.लूट.बी भ्रा.पञ्चता.बी.स्.अर्थी.ची.स्.पा.भ्रा.पटी भीट.
- भूच, ७४. लट्टिचीय. ली ज. म्याय. पट्टिचीय. लश्च, पट्टिच, लूटे. ची ब्र्य. म. ट्वीय. भ्रीट. ची. अब्रूट. म. ट्र्ये. लूटे. चूच. कुच. ची. मृत्य. भूची. भूचय. ट्र्ये. लूटे. ची. चि.चेचीय. मञ्चयय. कुय. मञ्जूचा. भूचया. देवे.
- ट्यू असूट मैं.लटक.ट्यू.वु.इट्री वि चक्ष्मक.कूक.वी.क्रै.क.चरूक.वी सूकमी.कु.
- ग देवै:वर्धे:दा यशः ब्रेंब:वर्जे:व्यु:वर्दे:द्वीं:वी
- लूट.चरेट.चन.चूं। व जय.ब्रूच.चचू.ची क्र्.ट.जय.किट्य.ची.क्रीट.र.

³ Joy when heard (র্ম্বর্গনোর্শার) is the childhood name of the famed ascetic Milarepa. "Producing happiness" (বৃশার শ্লীর্দা), also features in one of Menla Jyab's pennames: "Pleasure producing snow child" (শ্বিমার্শ্বর্ণার শ্লীর্দা).

B: Who, not having a good brain on top, would go around carrying it on their back?

A: If you want to artistically portray a *khashag* composition that has been found in real life, you must use your brain to compose it out of what you've seen and heard.

B: I would have known that even if you hadn't said it.

A: Uh, there are some that don't know this and say that the mouth that can't do anything other than being the food importing company and the breath exporting company also think that it is the production site for *khashag*, and so say that we're eloquent.

B: Um, and so, it's worse than scolding, it's an accusation.

A: Ah, even accusing and scolding, some people call us eloquent, I say that the thing that cannot be silenced is our *khashag*.

B: It goes without saying.4

A: And then, in this short *khashag*, how about if we imitate elders who are like the setting sun in the land of snows?

- रट.बी.क्रीय.च.बिर.र.थ.वर्की.ब्रा.ब्री वि श्री.चच्चवा.ब्रीका.ज्रू.बीई.बा.ब्री.बी.सीट.स.घा.चट्रे.
- चालम् क्रूचः प्येन् प्रचीता प्रवास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्
- ष *५.२.*व्हिंबायाचन्यन्यःस्वेबावीःसे५.२।
- य ब्रि दे.श्रे.वेश-दे.ल्र्न-त्यश्च-वर्तेव-याद-ची विक्त-त्यश्चिर-वर्त्न-वी-वर्च-इस-संव-स-रे-दर्न-त्यश-द्व-वि-वर्च-दे-रे-ट-प्य
- ह्य स्त्रा नगर्ज्या स्थानक्ष्य स्त्राचनक्ष्य है स्त्रा विश्व स्त्राची स्त्
- र्ट्टतःत्वच्ची प्टियोश्च,थेषःब्र्ची खे.योधुकःगोषुः।वःचेवोकः वित्र-वीकांवित्यचे,त्यपेवोकाःश्वरः। विःर्ट्रवोत्वाः यो त्वां चर्याष्ट्रज्याःत्वकांवित्रक्ष्याःत्यक्षियःश्वरः। विः
- ₽ <u>\$</u>.442.∰
- जर्म् स्वचुचालक्षयः कु.लूरं.ग्री विद्युः धु.का.क्षे.युंदुः ज्युंच्युं क्युंदुः विः सर्वदुः विः चीद्युंक्यः चीला चूर्यः चीटका क्ष्यः लिजा चीला ची चुंद्रयः यी विः चिचाला श्वीरः श्वीरः चूर्यं दृष्यं विरः विशा

⁴ Here Menla (A) adopts an oratorical style, prompting Phagmo (B) to provide the appropriate response required of audiences in this genre: "of course" or "it goes without saying" (ਛੈਂ "ସମ୍ବର୍ଣ୍ଡା).

B: Of course.

A: Uh, in that case, our capacity for examining and eavesdropping on life will be revealed.

B: Of course.

A: Say something instead of just repeating "of course."

B: Heh, in my opinion, elders have nothing to discuss other than holding their young ones and assembling at the door of the Manikhang to chant some mani. So what should I say?

A: Ah, karmically wicked one. As for whether or not they have conversations, let's mimic their conversation, and then you'll know. *Ya*, let's begin!

B: *Ya*.

A: *cough* *cough*

B: What was that, aro?

A: Heh, don't elders have to cough?

B: Heh, I thought that a gnat had gotten in your throat.

A: Must a gnat have gotten into my throat?

B: Ok, ok, Now begin, begin.

A: Ok. Begin.

la g..α42.∰

ળ જી દે.જીવ.વ.રી ત્ર્જ્ઞ.વડાંફ્રિટ.ર્યું ૠૂંતા.ધેવ.ત્ય.સંતુ.જે.જ્ર.જ્ર.ક્યું.ત્વકુતા.જીય. વી ક્ષેટ.ર.લેવ.લે.

لة £442. ها

ण कै:चन्नदाङ्काःसः नाहेषः गषः विद्यासः दान्हेषाः र्वेतः दान

찍 씩

শ প্রান্থী প্রান্থী """

ष दे.के.चञ्चेषा.लब्स.चेरेट.बे.चुरी ब्य.चूर

૫ કે| વેં'વેંવ'વ'લું'કું'વ્યદ્રષ'વકદ વૈ'ઐવ'વૃષ

चन्नुचात्पर्देशःसूरः,धुःचःतर्टूटः,जा वि हे। दशःब्र्वृदुःक्वीट्यचाःचटःटःपर्वटः,घलः

य रते:श्रेन्'व्यान्दरर्भेते'र्भेत्रन्। वयायर्द्धर्भन्तेंन्द्वे'से'सेन्।

प्रणाप्त प्रणाप्त

ग पा सर्वे ईसा

A: *cough* <i>Ya</i> , Uncle Phagmo! You're not in pain? ⁵	જો.ટ્રી તા હ્ય.ધિ.ત	ાવા.જ્ઞાં ફિં.ક૮.જા.ફ્રિલી
B: If I was, would I be able to come here?	विंतुःर्वी व्यविरः	ર્બેંદ ક્ષુવ તે જો રેડ્
A: Uh, <i>ye</i> , where are you going today?	। ह्या थी ट्रेस्टरवा	र.ट.वर्चु.चू
B: I'm not going anywhere.	इट.ट.र.श्र.पर्गु	
A: Well then, will you stay here?	नेषानायनीन्वया	<i>1</i> 2वा.क्व.बया
B: I'll stay. That's for sure.	पर्याःकी प्रि.घग	ଦ୍ଧିବା
A: Uh, what will you do here?	<i>ଭ୍ର</i> ପକ୍ଷିଠ୍ର.ଜଣ.କ୍ଷ	.चच्चेषा.लूट.क्की
B: Why do you ask?	कै'भे5'स'मझे'व्	र्ष हिं।
A: [scoffing] Heh, is there an elder like this? Can't carry a conversation at all.	ि है। है:र्के:र्के:र्केक्ट नहःभेदःराक्षेःत्रहे	र्मे.ची.स इवा.ख्र.लूट.ला चच.ची.वि.
B: What!? I don't look like an elder?	के:रेट्या वें:वेंब्र:प	∄षा'षा'क्षे'र्रेषा'षा
A: You do! You look like a young man who is constantly looking for trouble.	न्यायी वासेवा त्य् वास्य स्वापी वासेवा त्य्	ૺૺૺૺૢઌ૱ૠૢ૾ૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺ
B: [scoffing] Heh, I didn't know the chats of elders were unique. So what should we do now?	/ 1 1 1	विश्वा प्रक्षेयां प्रविश्वा चित्रप्रमुख्याः स्थान

Asking (in the negative) if someone is not sick, or not in pain, or (in the positive) has eaten is a common form of greeting in Amdo.

A: Uh, elders' conversations are full of information about social life in their time. When you know how to listen, you will know their take on that place's situation, that village's affairs, that family's members, and that character's mental state. Now you should know how to voice them.

B: I don't know how to voice them. Would a young man like me know what thoughts elders hold in their hearts.

A: I put this to you: I'll be an elder, and you be a young one, and we'll chat, that ok?

B: Oh, that's fine.

A: Uh, I'll be a mother-in-law and you be her daughter-in-law.

B: Heh, are we being two women again?

A: Let's begin!

B: Go ahead.

A: Daughter-in-law!

B: Yes?

A: For Tibetan daughters in law, being hard working is not enough.

B: Ona?

A: We have to respect our husbands as if they are *lamas*.

हिंश-त्त्विर-वेश-र्स्य-देन्नेश-द्व-दे-देन्न्य-देन्नेश-र्स्य-विभाक्त-देवे-वाव्य-द्व-वाक्ष-देव-वे-देन्न्य-र्स-वा श्व-क-देवे-वाव्यश्च-द्व-वाक्ष-देव-देन्न्य-र्स-वा श्व-क-देवे-वाव्य-द्व-वाक्ष-देव-देन्न्य-देव-देव-द्व-प्

नेयावया कु.पञ्चता-चेब.बू.वु.ट.चोश्चर.चे.पञ्चता.वीश. वि ट्यायचेट.कु.चेश्च.वी ज्यूच्य.पञ्चा.वी.

लुटी ट्रे.ट्रक्ट्वाचा कटःकटःचन्नुचाःच्रुशा विःचाधेशःचाशाःचटः च टशःब्रिःचर्चटी टःज्ञ्च्याःच्याःनटःला ब्रिः

प र्षे। दै.र.क्र्या.ची.ला

ग ह्या ८ ह्या वे भेटी हिं सबत सार्टेश

व है। लट.का.ला.चीवेश.लुव.वी.का.रूट

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দ্ৰ জ্বৰা

या विरायः मार्थः स्थानः स्

पि र्ज्.व।

य रट.वी.स्.भ्रेल.यं.म.वी.हे.लल.चर्यर.टेर्च् वी.नु.री B: There's no way.

A: We mustn't speak first in public. It's especially bad to go on blah, blah, blah when the men are chatting.

B: What would happen?

A: [emphatically] *Un un*, wouldn't it echo in mountains and valleys?⁶ Next, you mustn't visit others in the camp too much.

B: [disapprovingly, as himself] *Un*, so they won't let her go out.

A: I'm not saying that you're like that, but you must always be careful about things like this. Do you hear, daughter-in-law?

B: [as the daughter-in-law] I hear you, *Ane*. I'll have a difficult time in your house.

A: Just look at the bride in the family over there.

B: Which family?

ष यावीयारेत्।

र्थ.ट.चै.तम्बा.का.ब्रा.बूट.चु.स्ट्री कु.ब्रू.चु.कि.चर्चतु.चेट.ट.स.स.स.स.कुवी.सचीट. वी.क्रू.चु.क्र.चेट.चेब्रा.कर्ज्याचेची क्षेत्री.सस.चै.खु.

वि कै.पञ्चवा.लब.पड्चा.चै.रूटी

विश्वा ८.धू.र.प्र्यु.वी.प्र्यंवाक्री.अ.रा

यता अवतःश्रा भू.यनुःकुतःन्दःशक्षेत्रःननःतह्त्वान्न्त्र् छे.स् भ रक्षःष्ट्रिःनुःश्रान्त्र्यान्नःन्त्रः व्हेत्वान्न्त्र् छे.स्

व मू.ह्या ल.वी २.हिर.व.वय.रेगायः क्रि.रूरी

ग र विंश मव न कर मी अवतः अ वेंश र

प शु.च.क्ट.ची

⁶ Suggesting that people will gossip about her.

⁷ Ane means "mother-in-law" here.

A: That one over there. She has no limits. Every day she wolfs down a big helping of *tsampa*, bullshitting, whoever she meets she just *chagchagchag. Phe*! There's no daughter-in-law like that.⁸

B: *Ona*, how must a daughter-in-law be, mother-in-law?

A: When I was young and came to this house, I didn't even dare to make a peep. I was even embarrassed to pee in a place where my father-inlaw might see.

B: You must have found it difficult to pee then.

A: In truth, this is what's meant by "time and eras have changed." A daughter-in-law from my time would be so rare these days.

In those days when I was sent as a bride, I couldn't say things like the girls these days these days say, like, "I'll go to this family, I won't go to that family."

"All braided ladies go out as brides." 10

- लूट व्या बचा हो अवयः अन्यञ्चना नाट्टी जून चुना चीत्रमः तानकीयः चना श्रमः स्वाच्याः क्याः बचाः स्वाच्याम् ताम्याः व्याच्याः चित्राः चित्राः चित्रः व्याः व्याः चाव्याः व्याच्याः व्याचः व्याच्याः व्याचः व्
- व द्राव स्वतः स्वतः स्वतं क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रं चन्ने पा स्वतः स्वतं स्वतं स्वतं स्वतं स्वतं स्वतं स्वतं स्वतं स्व
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- व अर्बेट्ट्र्य्य्वार्मिः वैः धेवः कुर्वेः रेट्र
- या र्ट्.श्र.चस्ट्रेन्द्रेन् ट्रेंग्यूच्युच्याची स्थान्यस्य स्थान्ने स्थान्यस्य स्थान्यस्य स्थान्यस्य स्थान्यस्य स्थाने स्थान्यस्य स्थानित्यस्य स्यानित्यस्य स्थानित्यस्य स्थानित्यस्य स्यानित्यस्य स्थानित्यस्य स्यानित्यस्य स्यानित्यस्य स्यानित्यस्य स्यानित्यस्य स्यानित्यस्य स

यधेटक्षिं,यञ्चयं,लूट् यथा क्ट.ट.प्रमुक्षि यट्ट.य.क्ट.ट.कु.पर्मु.यञ्च. यट.मु.धु.क्र.स्पु.से.लबा कुर्यायाय-य ट्ट.रब्य.ट्ट.यञ्च.वायबालाचुर्य-यन्टट.यो ट्ट.

थ.श्रृ.घूच.भ.र.चेष्य.पर्की.भी

⁸ Chagchagchag, is the sound of running her mouth, and phe is a vocable that is meant to be dismissive and suggest disapproval.

⁹ Tibetans prefer patrilocal marriage, and the phrase "sent as a bride" (প্ৰ্যাপে ট্ৰিব্ৰা) suggests that a woman moves (literally, "is given") to the groom's home.

¹⁰ Nearly every Tibetan woman braids her hair, and so this short proverb is meant to suggest that every woman gets married into another family.

If one doesn't listen to their parents, who will they listen to?

B: Mother-in-law, that's an old, traditional way of thinking. I don't accept it.

A: It's good if in real life a daughterin-law can speak to her mother-inlaw like that.

B: [speaking as himself] Do I look like a daughter-in-law?

A: You do. But, it isn't particularly clear from your speech whether you are a daughter-in-law beneath her mother-in-law or her son who is in the university.

B: Heh, you're saying that I don't look like the daughter-in-law.

A: Our primary topic is the conversations of elders. It's ok if you don't look like a daughter-in-law as long as I look like a mother-in-law. Come on, let's keep chatting.

B: *Ya*, mother-in-law! Your daughter-in-law is listening.

A: *Ayoshe*, this is me here stepping into the next life.

B: I do not see it, but it must be true.

त.षायु.वि.शु.जुव.व.श्रीयु.वि.जुव.की

यत्र हिंच हैं व ट.रे.चू.र। य पक्ट् पद्यं वट चूं अवतः अवतः अवतः वर्षः हे . यथः

पि ट.भवतःभाराञ्चवाःबाःकोःर्रवाःबी

लव.वु.व.लाइ.चडुवाशुंच्याचीली च.क्ट.वी.शूंच.वी.क्वेय.श्रुच.लूट.वूंचु.खी.तु. च.क्ट.वी.शूंच.वी.कवंच्याचीलंट वूंचु.खी.तु. च.क्ट.वी.शूंच.वी.कवंच्याचीलंट वूंचु.खी.तु.

[] \$\] \(\frac{1}{2} \] \(\text{A} \] \(\frac{1}{2} \) \(\frac{1}{2} \] \(\frac{1}{2} \) \(\frac{1} \) \(\frac{1} \) \(\frac{1}{2} \) \(\frac{1}{2

चह-जी-बाई-स्याप्त क्षान्यस्य स्वाप्त स्वाप्त

व ला बा.ची अवयः अब.धेव.वबानर्ह्नरे.सूरी

य कार्ल्यम् दर्शन्तक्ष्यम् क्ष्यं कार्याम्यम् व्यक्षित्तक्षयम् व्यक्ष्यम् व्यक्ष्यम् व्यक्ष्यम् व्यक्षयम् व्यक्षयम्

पि दश्रभीरिषाकीरा दाधीवरकुर्देरेदा

A: In general, I shouldn't worry about anything other than chanting Mani, but our youngest daughter, with nothing better to do, went to school in inner China,¹¹ and I am not going to see her again even when I die.

B: I'm here even if you do not see her, mother-in-law!

A: Ah, daughter-in-law, when a person gets old, what I say to that girl is like farting in the water. At the time, I tried to stop her from going but couldn't.

B: You deserve it!

A: I say, it wouldn't have been like this if her father were still alive.

B: If father-in-law hadn't died, he'd have been more strict.

A: In the old society, ¹² we had a musket and he carried it to go bandit. He suffered a lot in order to feed me and my children. Back then, I didn't even have a full butter lamp to offer after the deceased passed. ¹³ [crying] *Hu hu*.

- या श्री र.ची.का.हे.क.रे.पर्ट्व कुर्त् स्रोव व्याक्षः स्रायार प्रके.ट्रिकामबेचा पार्ट्र र.घ्रुवाकुः या स्रायार प्रके.ट्रिकामबेचा पार्ट्र र.घ्रुवा चुः क्ष प्रकार प्रके.ट्रिकामबेचा पार्ट्र र.घ्रुवा चुः क्ष र.घ.चा.चा.का.हे.क.रे.पर्ट्व कुर्त् स्रोव व्याक्षः स्टाया
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- पि चिवाराःशःरेता
- या र्के.रचोदी:सःस्वरायहेवाहेव:छःह्वाबावःस् क्वाव:रचे.रुच्चेव:क्वावेव:छःह्वाबावःस्
- पक्ष.अ.लूर.च ष.ज़ेश.यर्र्च.य्.च्.लट.चु.ज्रर.क्रै.व.कुच.
- श्चेट्र.स.बाट.बे.लूट्रिझी २.२ म ट.ट्रे.स्य.अकूट्रे.जु.भूट.स्य.बोट.टर्ड्ब. स.य.टेबे.चडुबो.बेया दयाचे.स्ट्रेड्ड्स.बेस. टट्उ.य.चे.क.स्ट्रांबिस.स्याहबो.ब्रेड्ड्ब.बी टे.टी कु. चडुबो.लूट्ड्ड्रेड्ड.चट्उ.स्ट.स्ट.ब्रेड्ड्ड्

¹¹ Tibetans often refer to Han dominated lowlands outside of the Tibetan plateau as "Inner China" (ক্যুবিব) or ক্যুব্দা).

¹² The "old society" refers to Tibetan life before 1958.

¹³ When a Tibetan dies, it is common to offer butter lamps, and sometimes much more. Not being able to offer a full butter lamp suggests extreme poverty. Additionally, Tibetans consider it taboo to say the name of a deceased person (with some exceptions for famous historical personages).

B: [crying sound] *Uh*, *uh*.

A: [as himself] *Aro aro*, what's she doing?

B: [as himself] The daughter-in-law is sad.

A: Heh, I tell you what: you're not acting like a daughter-in-law, *aro*.

B: You were doing the easier role of the mother-in-law, and gave me daughter-in-law who is not allowed to speak up. I can't stay here putting up with your bullying, *aro*.

A: Ya, ya, if the mother-in-law is easier, I'll give it to you, and I will be an old man, and I'll come by to talk to you. Now see if it's easy!

B: Oh, I love it. I've learned exactly what the old mother-in-law is like.

A: Ya, let's begin!

B: Let's begin!

A: Ya, Ane Phagko, you're home?

B: Yes, yes. I can't get anywhere, so what can my bag of bones do other than stay at home.

A: Are you doing better after the recent illness I heard about?

B: Uh, it's still there a bit, but death just won't have me. *Ya*, let's go inside, let's go inside.

ব প্রি.প্রে....

ग ष्यः र्रे षः र्रे दे के नविषः प्ययः निर्देशनवि

वि अवयः अयुः ग्रेअयः ह्युः गुन्न न्तुः ग्रेवः वया

य है। निर्द्धितेने अवतः अन्तर्वेषा अस्ति। विर्द्धितेने अवतः अन्तर्वेषा अस्ति।

वीर्षेत्राक्षित्रःस्यायरीवी.शु:सीयःवी.खाःस् व.शु:कूवा.सूरु:अवयःश्वःसःनुवेयःवया स्यः वि क्ष्रिःशु:खा.वे.मुि:लयःस्यि-स्या विःचावायः

य ली ली ब्याचु-क्रियां सामित्र में स्थान स्थान

ग था अर्वे ईं अ र्वे

प अर्गेईस।

૫ ા જા.વે.તવા.ધ્રિ.ભૈળ.વ.નર્જન.ભૂન.ળી

ત્રોય.હ્યું કુદ.દ.જુ.સૂચ.વી ત્રિ ભૂટી દુવું સૂચ્યું સુ.ટે.જીન.વેય.જુ.જર્ટીનો.

ૹ.ઌ૽૾ૣૢૼૣૢૺ ઌ.ઌ૽૽ૢૢ૱ ઌ.ઌ૽૽ૢૢ૱ઌૢઌૺૺઌ૽ૺ૽૽ઌ૱ઌ૽ૢ૽ૺ૽ૺૹૢ૽ૺૹ ૡ૽ૹ૽ૺૺૹૺૺ૽ઌૺઌઌઌઌઌઌઌ૽ૺ A: [as himself] *Ya*, *ya*, the mother-in-law this time is done well, *aro*.

B: I said it was easier, but you didn't believe me.

A: *Ya*, old lady, tell me, are your son and daughter-in-law on good terms?

B: At the moment they are, but...

A: Ok.

B: It's said "People these days, and the colour of yellow amber..." Right?¹⁴

A: Indeed.

B: So there's no trusting it.15

A: That's true, unfortunate lady! What these of the younger generation think in their hearts changes like the weather. My rotten daughter-in-law does all her chores with utmost efficiency, but you never see a smile on her face.

B: She must be full of resentment.

A: *Un un*, you say she's full of resentment, even a bowlful of tea given by her is really telling, *aro*.

ग था था ५ वेट्र अ. ख. वे. ५ अहं व. वी. वें अ. र्रे

पि द्वि.यी.पत्रच.य.व्रिंदु.ये.शु.पर्ग्ये.य

ण प्रामुवःर्के:दी:पञ्चे:स्। सु:स्रव्यःस्यानिक्यःम्। पञ्चीमा:केंद्रियःची:

पि ५.इ.प्रज्ञीया.ब्र्.शु.धेव.त्री.रा

শ জ্ব

 $m = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$

ण दैःसेदःश्री

ष ८.८.वर्ज्ञ.ध्याक्र.कट.लूट.वु.म.र्रटी

या हूं अप्तर्था का जाया हो है। हूं या की या प्रमाण की विकास की त्या क

प इंट.चर्चि.कु.च

म् अन्। खेना हिंगः झरः चरिनाके ना रुवः में में अना खेना हिंगः झरः चरिनाके ना रुवः में च

¹⁴ This is an abbreviated version of a proverb, suggesting that people these days are unreliable (an observation), and the metaphor that amber changes colour over time.

¹⁵ This refers to the relationship between the boy and his wife, which is good for the moment but can't be trusted.

B: Oh, well I've been constantly pressuring my daughter-in-law, and there's no sign of disobedience for now.

A: The main thing is that your son is good, old lady. My good for nothing son can't wait to kick us out.

B: Daughters-in-law are outsiders, we don't know them. If our own sons don't take care of us before our bones turn to dust, then who will?

A: My son would beat us to death before he would take care of us. 16

B: *Ala*, why don't you give him a mouthful of pee?¹⁷

A: I couldn't, he would pee at me before I could pee at him.

B: [pityingly] Ah, ah!

A: He isn't ashamed of beating his own mother. Old age has vanquished me, and I am not strong enough to stand up to him.

- श्रम्,त्मर.प्र.ट्स्मीयाक्ट्रीयाक्ट्रीयाक्ट्रीयाः भववःभववःव व.चन्नर्यः च्रीःस र क्रांच्यः र व क्रां-रेट्रीवयुः भवेषः भावव्यः स्वाच्यः
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- स्ट.वी.सेश.स्ट.वी.शु.वाश्.शीयःवाश्.शी वु.भ.स्टी स्थ.घ्.क.म्.थ.पद्युभःस्वीयःव्र् वि ट.भथेत.भ.चर्च्.वाषेषे श्री.स्टी प्रेश.श्री.लूट्.
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- चर्थर-दग्न-चर्चनाश्च-वर्ड्चा.च वि का.जा हि्यानुदीवान्दर-सम्पन्तान
- य भ्रे.ब्रॅट्याची-दी लर-र-वार्ट्रट-र-वार्याची-ब्रे.ची र्द्धर-र-वार्ट्रट-क्व-र-र-वार्
- দ আজা
- य क्षात्राम्बरमञ्जूर्देर्द्वित्रेक्षान्ते दार्वे त्रयात्रास्याः विदार्वेदान्ते सेना सेनास्यान्यान्त्रास्यान्या

¹⁶ The Tibetan শেইট্র'ঝ'ব্যু, literally "nine mountain passes away" is a common expression in Amdo suggesting that something being far from reality or extremely unlikely to happen.

¹⁷ With this phrase, B figuratively suggests that A should beat his son.

B: *Olé*, *Olé*. If we don't close our eyes soon, it is difficult to say what these children will do, right?

A: You can say that again, karmically wicked lady. *Aro*, by the way, did you hear that yesterday a girl and a boy committed suicide in "Old brain" Village?¹⁸

B: *Atsi*, *Atsi*¹⁹ something is wrong with "Old Brain" Village, as well?

A: You said it. Every year, someone is taken by ghosts. This time, perhaps something even worse has taken them.

B: Oh.

A: Oh, they tied their necks together with a rope and were hanging from either side of a branch like saddle bags.

B: Ah, *Jetsunma*!²⁰ Oh what happened to those two?

A: It's said it was nothing big, they wanted to get married, but their families didn't agree, that was the trigger.

- ची लुच.च। च.लब.प्यट्टे.क.चूब.कु.चच्चची.लुट.क्रै.कु.चुब. च लू.जु। लू.जु। इंश.क.कु.चच्चची.लुट.क्रै.कु.चुब. च
- वृ.खं.वृ.चन्त्रेयः क्षेत्रयः चन्द्रः चन्त्रेयः वित्रः वित
- प अ.झी अ.झी यीटी क्षेटा क्षेत्र सम्बन्धिया क्षा क्षी अ.झी यीटी क्षेत्र स्थापन
- य हिंबर्-देनव्रेस् देन्स्वर्खेनुद्दा द्वेस्य-दिन्य यो-पत्तुर-पत्तुर-प्रिय-प्रीय-प्रिय-प्र-हिंबर्य-दिन्दे स्क्षिप्र-दे-प्रवेश-प्रिय-प्र-हिंबर्य-प्र-हिंवर्य-प्र-हिंबर्य-प्र-हिंबर्य-प्र-हिंबर्य-प्र-हिंव्य-प्र-हिंवर्य-प्र-हिंवर्य-प्र-हिंवर्य-प्र-हिंव्य-प्र-हिंवर्य-प्र-हिंव्य-प्र-ह
- দ জ্বী
- ય જ્યાં ફિલ્મેન નિક્સ ક્યાં ક્યા ત્યાં ક્યાં કાલે ક્યાં ક્યા
- त्र क्षा हे पर्श्वयः या क्रिस दे, योधेयः गाःकः प्रज्ञयः। यः भवः वुः या क्रिस दे, योधेयः गाःकः प्रज्ञयः।
- पहूर्यायः लग्नः यञ्जेषाः ला क्रि.कथः मू.चज्ञे। ट्रेम्.लीलः शःयघटः मू. विव्यः म रूपे: रच्यः मी.कृष्टः श्रेटः ची.ज्ञे। यज्ञवः क्ष्यः लेटः

¹⁸ हैं प्रजे व प्रेव प्राचित will is commonly used to start a conversation or change the topic.

¹⁹ Atsi is an interjection Tibetans use to express surprise.

²⁰ This common injection refers to the Boddhisattva Jetsun Drolma (ইণ্ড্র্ব্ ব্র্রাপ্রামা), and functions similarly to the English "Oh my God!"

B: Oh, right, right. Then it was probably karmic retribution for not listening to their parents.

A: They say that the boy was the one who tried to be eloquent, telling us not to fight when we fought over the grassland a little while ago.

B: *Ya*, he was the one that everyone called a coward.

A: *Ang*, that's too bad. That's who it was.

B: These kids won't give us peace of mind.

A: Kids these days don't respect their beloved parents. They don't chant *mani* or the refuge prayer. The degenerate age when people only live ten years is probably here.

B: Hehe, olé.

A: There is nothing to be laughed about, unfortunate lady, I am telling the truth. If it was in the old society, when a boy is around fifteen or eighteen, he would be able to go be a bandit with the other men even though he wouldn't be able to race horses alone. Who would think of committing suicide?

B: Yeah, yeah. People in the past were real heroes.

- बूतुःक्यःश्चैयःलिक्रःवुःश्चयःवयःन। जिल्लो है:स्ना है:स्ना प्रस्तानस्य विकास
- प्रतिम्यात्रीयाः स्टिन्त्रीयः स्टिन्त्रयः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्यः स्टिन्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्यः स्टिन्त्यः स्टिन्यः स्टिन
- ष्ट्र-इन्द्र्या व भी वाय-क्र-चूर्य-भ्रीवाह्य-तच्चवा-इन्-चुन-सू
- ग ष्परा रक्षेरस्य हेरा र रेरेर ने पा
- क्रि.श.सूरी वि टे.खे.लथ.उट्टे.क.सूथ.शुश्रथ.चट्टे.बु.उद्देबी.
- म्, अ.लूर्-बी.म् ची टे-ट्यं-टचे.कु.जू.चळी.च.चर्चेबी.म्.स.सूचे. त्य.भाभानपीर.ची भाष्टी.भैनयत्व्यां.भु.पर्चेच. पे.ट्रेट-ब्यट.ची.खे.लब.पट्टी.क.चूबी ट्वेच.कुचे.
- प हैं है। कें लो
- कुंचलक्कुंत्र्चां क्षेप्टलं चुंचल कुंचलकुंत्र्चां कुंचल कुं

A: *Un un*, your deceased husband and I were best bandit-buddies. He should have been re-born in a Pureland. He was a real marksman.

B: That's what they say.

A: One day, we drove some of Drongtsa's horses.²¹ We arrived at the *labtse* pass when the sun was about to set,²² and the posse wasn't far behind.

B: Un, un, un.

A: Even then, those from Drongtsa had a contingent of strong young men, and the strong lads were riding a team of equally strong horses. May the three jewels bless me, they were after us like shooting arrows.

B: Hawo hawo, now what?

A: The deceased one was not an unfit person.

B: Un, un.

A: I didn't know how he jumped off the horse, but by the time I saw, he had already set up the rifle's bipod before I could even dismount.

B: Un.

- चर्ट्चाच्र्.ट.ट्र.लुव.ली इटी ट्वा.सपु:खुट.चय.कुवा.क्षेया च्रंट.क्रुं. चध्रिया.क्या.लट.ह्वाऱ्चाय.लूट.य.झट.या.स्. बाह्या खेवा ब्रिंद.स्.क्षेय.च्याय.स्.स्ट्र.
- ष बेर:षी:र्श्रा
- પ્ર ફેર.જ.સૂંતુ.તમ..વ.મ..સ્ટ.તમ્રુવો.જી.ની. ટ્રાજન ક્રુ.યેવો.la.સૂંવે.સ.ની ટે.મ.જીટેલ.મ. ત્રું.જ્.સૂં.ટું.વે.જો ધુે.જો.તદજ.જો.laટે.તમું.જો કુવે.જ્રુ.વો.જાના ટિ.વોધુજો.પોજાતસૂંન.જ્.નુો.જો
- দ জুৰাজুৰাজুৰা
- म दे.स्थ.सञ्जयात्रीत्रहेंद्र.क्.चाव्रक.स्ट्राच्यया द्या.मूच.क्रक्या.याष्ट्रेया द्राचाद्रेया.स्ट्राचा द्या.मूच.क्रक्या.याष्ट्रया.स्ट्राचाद्रया.स्ट्राचा स.स्टर्ट.क्रया.स्ट्राच्या.स्ट्राच्या.स्ट्राच्या स.स्टर्ट.क्रया.स्ट्राच्या.स्ट्र
- ष ५ में ५ में ५ के पन्नेष थे ५ की
- ग ५:न्नु:प्परार्गे;ब्री:पर्ने:ब्रें:ब्रीव:वे:ब्राःसे५:५्षा
- দ জ্বৰ জ্বৰ
- म हं र्वेट व्यवस्था के स्वरं के स्वरं व्यवस्था म्या के स्वरं के स्वरं के स्वरं के स्वरं के स्वरं के स्वरं के स स्वरं प्रक्रिया स्वरं के स्वरं
- দ জুবা

²¹ Drongtsa is the name of a fictional pastoral community from which they have taken the horses.

²² Labtse (এবার্ডা) are traditionally found atop mountains, cairns filled with large wooden arrows that are the weapons of local protector deities.

A: "Aro, look at the one riding the white horse at the front," as soon as he had said this, there was a tsag,²³ and Om mani padme hum didn't he make both horse and rider collapse in a cloud of dust.

B: Ah, ah, Jowo Rinpoche!

A: It was just like killing the mother of the wolf pack. Of course it would be like that.

B: Un.

A: With a cry of either a *ki* or a *hi*, they rushed toward us,²⁴ and we didn't know who to shoot at. A mother's son riding a black horse raced towards us.²⁵

B: *Un un*, it would have been better to flee.

A: He was completely calm and said "Ya aro! That one riding a black horse is yours." My goodness. Ah, unfortunate lady.

B: Un.

A: I was still young then.

B: Un, un.

या. व्याप्त स्था क्षेत्र मान्त्र प्राप्त स्था क्षेत्र प्राप्त स्था क्षेत्र स्था क्र स्था क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत्

प षाषा ई.स्.स्व.स्.क्रा

या नः भीवावारः विषयः भीवान्। नः स्वायाः विषयः विषय स्वायाः विषयः विषयः

দ জুৰা

ष्यवा श्वा ५.२५.४.इंब.वब.स्ब.२.ववा

चि.यदी लाजग्रस्य स्रो जना.मी.सं.चग्रस्य स्रो स्रो चि.यदी.यी ला.सी के बना.बना.ब्रेच स्राम्य स्रो स्रो चि.यदी.यी चो इते.ब्रेच जनस्य स्रोत्य स्रोत्य स्रोत्य स्रोति

ম জ্যুব

ग ८.५.४४.ज्.४.छ८.व.५८.२

দ প্ৰব:প্ৰবা

²³ Onomatopoeia for the crack of a musket firing.

²⁴ Ki is a sound that might be made as a part of spurring people on in a fight, hi suggests a loud wail.

^{25 &}quot;Mother's son" (জামাই'ম্বা) is an exclamation of praise used for a hero.

A: I messed it up. My hand was shaking like a prayer flag, as people do when they're nervous. There was no way I could light the fuse. As I watched, the black horse and rider closed in.

B: Ahawo, my goodness, what to do?

A: At that moment, he fired, kag!

B: Again one fell over.

A: Of course. Would he have missed? At that time, after all that shaking, I pulled the trigger once. A single bullet flew, and these days in Drongtsa village there's "Dent-head" Thubten.²⁶

B: Yes.

A: That was his forehead.

B: People say that. (as himself) *Ya*, ok ok. How is my imitation of their conversations?

A: Ah, amazing! It looks like you really became that old man! You deserve an award!²⁷

B: What are you going to give me?

ष 🔊 ५:वीं चु:दी ५:कै:वञ्चेषा:थेदा

म देवे:कद्वायायः स्वे वी:स्रमाः के प्राप्त स्वायः विद्यायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स्वायः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः प्राप्त स्वयः स्वयः

य। लट.चर्ड्स्वार्थ.च5ट.।

चतुः सिनः नक्षेत्रः सूनः सून् स्टानः नज्ञी सूर्यः दुरिः विमः सून् स्टान् स्वानः स्वीनः स्विनः स्वानः क्ष्माः तस्य स्वानः स्वानः

य रेटर्श्र

ग वातःवीःर्वेदःधःवातःरेदःधा

चर्ष्टु,जर्स,ज्यार्थु,कु,चू,रुटी चर्ष्टु,जर्स,चु,ची ली टे,कू्ब,बु,कूब,बु टक्र.िक.

त्ययः बु चेटः दुः चच्चवा बाः मृषाः बु निवायः मृषायः बा निराजन्या ब्राह्मवा वा निराजन्या वा व्याप्ता व्याप्ता वा व्यापता वा वा व्यापता वा व्यापता वा वा व्यापता वा व्यापत

पि कु.चचुवा.झुर.क्की

^{26 &}quot;Dent-head" is a nickname referring to the wound that man received in the skirmish.

²⁷ Literally, the language reads that he really "went into that old man's chest."

A: I have nothing to give, I will say a prayer that you will get old quickly.

B: Your skull!²⁸ I don't want to get old that soon, *wei*!

- चीलट.चड्डची.चूर्य.चुी ची क्षेत्र-क्षि.कट.ग्रेटी व्हि.इंश.श.ज्.जूचे.क्वेंदु.चि.
- प अर्थ.सूच.पञ्.री ट.चञ्.ज्.ज्यंच.व.श्र.वर्ट्ट.

²⁸ This is a curse. Perhaps like "Screw you!" in this context.

6. Please, Dear Leader ਨੁਮੈਂਕ ਮੌਾਕਾਰੁੇਗ੍ਰਾ

A: The three of us have to speak this three-person *khashag*. But before that, let me introduce these two.

B: Yeah, well then, introduce me first.

C: Introduce me first.

B: This is my first time at the evening variety show, *Aro*! Introduce me first!

C: With the exception of this time, I've never been to an evening variety show. *Aro*. Introduce me first.

A: [to one] You don't be hasty... [to the other] And *you* don't be eager. I have a condition for who I will introduce first.

C: What condition?

यिष्ठा-यान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान्त्रम्यम् स्थान्त्रम् स्थान्त्र

प्राची क्रिंव व.ट. शक्ष्म अ.क्रिंट क्रिंग

व र्ह्नेव.व.ट.शक्षश्वराह्मेर.चन्नवी.प्रैश

व.ट.अक्शन.चूँ र.चूंश वा.खेवान.चूं.घुरन.टट.त्.लुच.चूं.ल.चूं हूंच. व र.ट.घुरन.चुं.पटुं.चुं.स्व.ट्यूं.लुच्.चूं.ल्.चूं व र.ट.घुरन.चुं.पटुं.चुं.स्व.

या स्तित्र क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्ष या खुष्य क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र क्षेत्र प्रचेता क्षेत्र प्रच

પ્રાહ્મ પ્રાપ્તું મુક્તિ ત્યાને મુક્તિ મુક્તિ ત્યાને મ

या कःमोवःकेःचर्राय

¹ In this three-person *khashag*, Menla Jyab is "A", "B" is Phagmo Drashi, and "C" is a comedian/emcee named Phurwa.

A: Uh, whichever one of you is higher ranking, that one will be introduced first.

B: You must like leaders.

A: I would say that it's the only good quality I have.

B and C: You even say it's a good quality, wei!

A: I have a question: Which of you two makes a higher salary?

B: What's the point of asking our salaries?

A: *Uh*, whoever's salary is higher should be a higher-ranking leader.

C: I make 150 every month.

A: Ya? You make 150,

B: I make less than he does.

C: Ya, how much do you make?

B: I make 200 minus 50.

A: That's the same. Which of you is more famous?

C: In Tibetan regions, there's not a single one who hasn't heard my name.

B: Oh, if we're speaking of names, all Tibetans have heard my name.

या व्या शुद्ध-द्रभेत-तान्त्रक्षेत्र-तान्त्र्वान्त्र-क्षेत्र-तान्त्र-क्षेत्र-तान्त्र-क्षेत्र-तान्त्र-क्षित्र-तान्त्र-क्षित्र-तान्त्र-क्षित्र-तान्त्र-क्षित्र-तान्त्र-कष्णित्र-तान्त्र-कष्णित्र-तान्त्र-तान्त्र-कष्णित्र-तान्त्

वि र्सि:रदानी:दर्धेव:र्धेर:द्वाव:राःर्भेद:गी:र्के।

या ८.पज्ञर.पज्जेषाः स्ट्रिंस्ट्रेच्याः स्ट्रिंस्ट्रेचाः स्ट्रेचाः स्ट्रिंस्ट्रेचाः स्ट्रिंस्ट्रेचाः स्ट्रिंस्ट्रेचाः स्ट्रेचाः स्ट्र

प ५.४८.चबर.लुब.बुरा स्री

या ट.पट्रे.क्रि.पत्रुची.लूटे.ची ब्रि.चीध्रेश.पाटु.श्रीट्र.

चि अ.स्विथ.ट्रेश.लश.कु.क्वी

ण ष्या सुदिः ज्ञार्थे वायः क्षेत्रं वादिः द्रेत् द्रेयं वायः क्षेत्रं व

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प टार्केट्वो प्रसूषात्र छेवा द्रस्य वी

ग पार्छि:रु:र्षेर्च

प ८.धुय.चर्चे.जि.चर्चे.वीय.श्र.जूरय.ची

यो दु.वोङ्गवा.स्.वोङ्गवा.स्ट्रेन्स्या ल.ट.विं.वोड्गेयः व

चाडुचा.चा.४.भुटी चाडुच.चा.४.श्रीची चा चूर्ट.इचाबा.बाखिवाचे.टचु.कुट.चू.भार्शुट.चु.

હ્યું ક્રીન્ટન્સ્યન્સ્યું ક્રીન્ટન્સ હ્યું ક્રીન્ટન્સ્યન્સ્યન્સ્યન્સ A: *Ya*, it's the same again. *Ya*, what do you guys use for getting around?

C: Even if I go one span, I have never not taken a car.²

B: I drive a car to go pee!

A: Ha! These two are probably a pair of chauffeurs. *Ya*, let's not argue over who's first and who's next. Let's introduce you first. Don't move. *Un*, Give me a straight answer to whatever I ask. What's your name?

C: My name is Phurwa.

A: And what was your name originally?

C: Uh, originally? Originally I was called Phurwa.

A: [dismissively] Heh, Phurwa, Hurwa, such an uncomfortable name in the mouth, it almost breaks your tongue.³

C: Your tongue is probably a piece of wood.

या व्याप्त व्यापत व

तभूर.रश.सूर.वश व र.चेश्वे.धूच.च.य्र्र.व.र.प्रूरश.वर्षूर.

ष दवे श्वीद द सुर पा ने र र ।

ण दैदःसार्ह्वितैःस्चीदःदःकेःबेरःस्

व ला ट्रेट.मा ट्रेट.म.र.सेर.च.बुर.रा

ण है। सुराया हुराया दे क्रिंग्छीयाव वराया है। यदे वे प्यवेषा क्रिंग्यवें प्रकेंगा सामित्र वी

म ब्रिंदै से देवेट में प्रचिता भीव सार्भे द द्या

² A *mtho* [4] is the distance from the thumb to the tip of the middle finger. We have used the English "span" because it is a similar measurement, though slightly different in that the English span is the measure from thumb to pinky finger.

³ Asked to suggest that Phurwa is not his real name. Hurwa uses the Amdo practice of pronouncing *pha* as *ha*. Hurwa, however, refers to tent stakes, while Phurwa is pronounced in Amdo for names and ritual daggers.

A: And you now, how old are you?

C: Thirty-three.

A: [scoffing] Heh, you look like someone who is sixty-six.

C: Do I look that old?

A: How long have you been in your job?

C: Thirteen years.

A: So this is the result of working for thirteen years?

C: It is mainly because I haven't had any free time.

A: In my opinion, it's mainly because you've been wasting your days.

C: That is not it. It's mainly because I was installed as leader and the workload was heavy: meetings and trainings, trainings and meetings everyday.

A: Ah? Hold up. Thou art a leader?

C: Olé.

ग ५५-१र्ष्टुं भेवा हिं ५-र्ले ले ५ भेवा

च शुअःशुःर्गःचाशुआ

जूर-वु.स्चुचा-वा-द्या-बू! जूर-वु.स्चुचा-वा-चुचा-वा-स्टर-लब्य-स्ब्रर-

व दैःर्वेःर्वेःर्वेव्यव्यविष्यः विष्वेः

म चै.च.लब.लब.ज्.कु.कु.चु.चच्चेर.कुट.।

ব<u>্</u>য নূর্যন্ত্র,বার্থুপা

ग र्यः नहुः नहुः अत्ति। गा-दः वहुः अहः स्ति।

व वर्डें में विभाय दे र भेट सेंट है रेट्र

न्य दयः नहेशः व नहें न्यं हिंगः है : स नहें दः ह्या स्थान

 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1$

य ल्ला हिं कैवा र्झेन गॉ हिन गा वर्चा हिन प्षेत्र क्ला

য র্জে'ঝা

A: Ah, that's just like me. When I was young, my mom used to say that my left eye had a problem. That was true. *Aro*, how could I not know that thou art a leader? Thou mustn't be angry with me! Uncle Phurwa.⁴

C: Uncle? Aren't you older than me?

A: Thou art a higher-ranking leader than me. I'll introduce thee again: What's thy appellation?

C: Appellation? Oh, my name, right? I'm called Phurwa.

A: Oh, Look! The *phar* for the word 'promotion'!⁵ What an appellation. Amazing!

C: Not amazing at all! Isn't it a name so uncomfortable for the mouth that it breaks the tongue?

A: Oh, my apologies, my apologies. Thy appellation wasn't to blame. It's the fault of my useless tongue. What thou sayest was not wrong. This tongue of mine; this inflexible, piece of wood, it should be cut and thrown into a urinal.

- वेय. व्यू ला.वि.सीमा वि.स.वे. व्यू वि.स. वि.स.
- व लाखि ध्रि. दयु. कु. सू. श्रुच. चे ला
- या डिन्या प्राप्त स्थान होत्या स्थान स स्थान स्
- ન અજ્ઞવી હ્યું. દડ્યું શ્રીદ. દ. ભુવી લેં ર. દા ગ્રે ર. રી
- य सूर्य सूररी रेतु.सञ्जयःश्ररे.ध्री य सूर्य सूर्या सूर्यःत्रस्यः वी.यत्तरा भक्ष्यः
- च ह्या-स्कृता-सुन्-स्त्रीत-स्त्रीत-स्त्रीत-स्त्री च ह्या-स-कृता-सी-द्योत-स्त्री-स्त्रीत-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स्त्री-स
- क्ट. मूं. बी. बट. ट. ट्रेट. की. टाडु बा. सूटी बी. टट्ट. खें. टट्टे. ट. ट्रीट. मूं। क्ट्टेट. लख. बी. टट्टे. खें. ट्रेटेट. ची. बा. बट. ची. खें. ख. ट्रीची. लक्ष. को. केंद्र हैं जूर. टट्टे. कि. बट. ची. खें. ख. ट्रीची. च ब्रेट ली. ट्रीडिट. ची. बा. कब्दे. लब. चु. स. सूटी बा. ख्री. खेंचा को. ख. ख. चेंट सी. खेंचा को. ख. ख.

⁴ In Amdo, a speaker might use the word akhu "uncle," to speak respectfully to elders and monks.

⁵ Phar (ব্ধন্) in "promotion" (শ্ৰীশাসন্ব্ধন্) and the character's name Phurwa (ধ্রুমান্) are pronounced similarly in Amdo dialect.

⁶ Literally "the tongue in my mouth that should be thrown out on the road" (a dirty place, where many will step on and over it).

C: You will cut out your tongue for me.

A: What is thine age?

C: 33

A: 33?

C: Olé.

A: I don't believe it. You look twenty-three.

C: Don't I look older?

A: No way, no way. There's a saying, "a man shouldn't be called old in his thirties." You still have to be leader for thirty more years. Moreover, you have to keep moving up.

C: If I move up my workload will be unbearably heavy!

A: Really, as you go higher and higher in rank, you have more and more to do. As you do more and more things, your responsibilities get heavier and heavier.

C: That's difficult.

A: Really difficult. Extremely horrible. There's nothing to be done. It's difficult for a regular person, but they couldn't find anyone able to go higher than thou.

C: It'd be the same for anyone.

म दव:र्न्व-व-विंव:क्रें-मर्ट्न क्रुं-रेन-ल

ग हिन्गान्ग्रन्थित्

বা গ্রুমস্তু:র্ম্যবাগ্রুমা

ग शुअःशुःर्शेःचाशुआ

व र्छे.जी

ग अस्ति हैं शुक्त वाशुक्र प्वतिवास वास्ति हैं

व चष्ट्रेब्रान्नाकाच्छ्र्पाक्षेत्राच

क्ट.ह.अध्र.त्युं.ट्यूं.चूं.इट्टी क्ट.ट्यूच.तूर.तट्वा.ट्यूं.कै.ट्टी ट्रु.शु. चयःश्रेट.शुट.इट.च ट्यू.स्यू.त्यू.शुश. च कु.लुच.कु.लुची वि.ट्नु.र्टी तू.यू.शुशःहर.

र्वेटाक्नै.श.सुरी व टे.इ.शर्झ.मञ्जवी.शूट.र्देश टक.चे.च.किर.

य द्राया निर्म्य सम्हास्त्रह्म स्ट्रीस्ट्री स्ट्रीस्ट्री स्ट्रीस्ट्रीस्ट्री स्ट्रीस

वा २.२गाद.वा

चन्नवानस्यालकाः हुन्या। व्यट्टानिट्टानाः श्रेवः व्यक्टाः अस्ट्राय्कें कुट्टेनेः अट्टाने स्टार्ट्डेनेः विश्वान्त्रेश्वः वर्णे क्रिके म स्ट्रायः निर्मायः वी विश्वः वी खुरावी वर्णेट्टायः

ष दैःशुःधेवःवःरःष्ठिषःरेदःर्वे।

A: *Un*, no way, no way. It's fundamentally different. If thou didn't go higher and another did, then the people's lives would get worse, the livestock's strength would decrease, and the heads of grain would be scattered.

C: Wouldn't that be a poison?

A: Ah, leader, for thee it's like the saying of teaching *ka* and *kha* to the Buddha.⁷ There are poisons to thy right and left. Be careful! If thou takest the wrong step, putting aside the loss it would be for the people, it would also cause me lifelong suffering.

C: Why for you?

A: Leader thou knowest without being told, but since we are relatives, of course I would like to speak the words of my heart.

C: In what way are we relatives? Wei!

A: Uh, just by looking at me, of course thou wilt know that a person like me cannot be thy relative. It's because of the paternal cousins again.

C: [surprised] Paternal cousins?

- त्र्युं, युं, दुरी क्षेट्ट त्युं, युं, दुरी व्युं, दुवाया वा, खें, या त्युं र वा, युंट दुं, युं, दुरी क्षेत्राया, युं, या हुं, या हुं, क्षेत्रा या युं दें, यो हुं राय हूं या या, यो त्युं, या हुं, क्षेत्रा या क्षेत्री कुं, त्येती कुं, त्येती दुं, क्षेत्र प्ताय विश्वाय
- ष दै.पर्देषाःम्.दैषाःपञ्चषाःश्रेवःवे.सःरा
- र्श्वेय.चर्ल्यत्यवेया.चर्टट.चु.मुट्टी लुच.चू.ल्य.च.चूच्याल.च् टट.चु.मुट्टा त.मु.क्वैट.चर्टट.टीला जट.क्क्व्याल.ची.कुट्ट.चीट. चाचच.कुला चाल.घे.डिट्ट.चा.झेचल.ची.कुट्ट.चीट. टट.टीचा.उट.च.लट.ट.लूट्-चु.मुट्टी चाचच. मुट्टी डिट्ट.चांचु.चालल.चट्ट.चालूच.च.टिचा. बा ट्यूच.सू.डिट्ट.चा.लट.च.कुच.चा.वि.टेनु.
- च ब्रि.कु.चच्चेच.च
- व दुःचित्रैषःगाःकैःधषाःतेःवैःसेना स्रो
- य होत. चार्ने स्थाप्त होत. यहे संस्थाप्त स्थाप्त होत. संस्थाप्त स्थाप्त होत. संस्थाप्त स्थाप्त होत. संस्थाप्त स्थापत स्यापत स्थापत स्य

च तःध्रीवा

^{7 &}quot;Teaching *ka* and *kha* to the Buddha" is a saying suggesting that one does something unnecessary. *Ka* and *kha* are the first two consonants of the Tibetan alphabet, and refer to the whole of the Tibetan alphabet. Teaching the enlightened Buddha such fundamental knowledge is completely unnecessary.

A: Oh, Of course I know that our fathers were not brothers. The two fathers of our two fathers, if we trace back to *their* fathers, then there was the problem.

C: What was wrong?

A: They were said to be paternal cousins!

C: Who says that?

A: My father.

C: That's just idle talk.

A: Thou must speakest thus. I know that. That's a demand of your job.

C: This has a bearing on my job?

A: If thou trace relations and family and differentiate between the important and the unimportant, then could you honestly lead the broad masses of the people? Could you continue to preserve your magnificent leadership position?

C: That last bit is your own idea.

A: If you ask my father the story of how we're related, you'll know. But when I was two years old, my father went abroad. If you ever need anything from abroad, just ask. So keep me in thy heart.

- वे.क..मुन्यम् वा स.चावेक.मान्नेन.तका.लूट.व.लट.पचीचा.लूट. ज्यानेक.मान्नेन.वावेक.मान्नेत्य.मान्नेव.क्रामान्नेत. बा वि.चावेक.मानु.स.चावेक.मान्नीव.क्रामान्ने
- व कै'नबेवा'यर्ग'नव्या'र्येद'वे'रेदा
- ग पःसुवःभवावे सेराबेराकी प्रबेखा
- ग देःर्के:पञ्चेषाःसुरुःञ्चेरःषी
- ग देन'गदि'ष्ठा'या
- व दै:रद:द:प्यवदःर्वे:वै:रेदा
- य डि्ट्र मेथ दे प्यय पश्चर दर्वी वे से दि दश वेष वे से दि दु प्यति दि दि स्था
- व दे.चे.चर.कु.चच्चव.ची.चच्चेल.च.लूट.ची
- श्रु अश्चर्-त्रक्षेट्-स्वन-व्रम्। वी.पद्मिर-स्वन-व्रम्॥ स्वन्य-क्रे-त्रक्ष्ट्र-य-हेन्-न्व-दिवा-प्रेट-त्यक्ष्य स्वन्य-क्रे-त्रक्ष्य-य-प्रेट-न-दिवा-प्रेट-त्यक्षा स्वन्य-क्रे-त्रक्ष्य-य-प्रेट-न-दिवा-प्रेट-त्यक्षा स्वन्य-क्रे-त्रक्ष्य-य-प्रेट-न-दिवा-प्रेट-त्यक्ष-य-प्रमान-व्यक्ष-य-प्रेट-त्यक्ष-य-प्रमान-व्यक्ष-य-प्यक्ष-य-प्रमान-व्यक्ष-य-प्यक्ष-य-प्यक्ष-य-प्यक्
- व विवा.वी.क्रुवा.ट्रे.ब्रिंदु.चर्थश्र.त.र्र्टी
- ध्रेचाल,चा.कुचा.चेटला.चू.ट.टा ही.क्चिल.च.ट्यू.चुंचु.लूट्-व.कुचा.चाकुचा.लुचा ही.क्चिल.ल.चेट.लूट.चुं.पुट.च चाखेचा.हुंचाल. टी लट.ट.जू.चोधुल.लुचं.ट्यू.घचं.चुंचाल.च चाय.लाल.चाकुचा.लुट्यंकुं.चट.चुंचा.चुंचा.लुचा चा छं.चोधुल.चा.चे.चिचा.लुच चूंचु.जू.कुंचा.ट्यू.

C: You're nothing like the person you were before.

A: I'm speaking the truth, I'll say "yes" to whatever thou sayest. After all, thou are not an ordinary person like him!

B: What have I done, wei?

A: Un, I ask you, what's your name.

B: Phagmo Drashi

A: What was your name last year?

B: Last year I was also called Phagmo Drashi.

A: He, "She-pig," Phagmo, a she-pig among all the pigs, such an awkward name, it almost tears my throat.

B: Your throat is probably made of paper.

A: Ya, then how old are you this year?

B: 50 even.

A: It's finished.

B: What's finished?

A: It's not long before you go to the next life.

म दैटायाची ही देश या

य द्रायर्ट्र स्टावयाची द्वीत्रायादाळी व्यायस्त्राची स्रवायस्त्रायस्त्राची हिनामायादाळी व्यस्त्राची स्रायस्त्रायस्त्राची हिनामायादाळी व्यस्ताची

ष दलःकै:चन्नेषा:धलःचन्दःवे:रेदा से।

य खेबी रक्षांष्ट्रित्यें। क्षित्रःश्रीर.र.कु.चन्नुची

व त्रवा.श्रु.चर्चा:चैश्रा

ग व व दि र हिंदे ही द र र के ने र र

वि वे.बुट.र.लब.श्र्.चर्गःचेश

या है। सवाःस्य सवाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस्य स्वाःस स्वाःस्य देवें स्वाःस्य स्वा

यो.म प्रितःश्रीट-घवानुःर्स्वान्तुःन्त्रवान्त्रवान्यःयःर्ज्यः

ग षानार्ष्ट्रिनार्वार्वे नुष्पेवा

प र्ज.पश्च.घश.न।

ग र्ळर र्शेट वै रेट्।

व कै:पञ्जेषा:कॅर:र्सेट:वे:रेट्।

ग ५-ळे.ते.य.च्यें.केंट्र-वश्चव.जर्जे.वी

B: Since they've dumped leadership responsibilities on my shoulders, I have no choice but to bust my ass till I die.

A: Hold on! Thou art also a leader?

B: Un.

A: Ya, I am completely blind. Even when I was young, my teacher would say "your eyes are terrible." He would tell me I should wear a pair of +900 glasses. That was really true, aro. How could I not have recognized thee? My apologies, Uncle Phagmo!

B: Uncle? Aren't you my senior?

A: Thou art higher ranking than me. I'll introduce again. What's thy appellation?

B: My name is Phagmo Drashi.

A: Listen, the *phag* in the word for "promotion," *Un*, Could such an appellation be found in Geshe Chodak?⁸ Amazing!

B: Wasn't it not only not amazing, but an awkward name that tears the throat?

- चर्मेर-त्रां पक्र-स्वाय-व्यंत्रेन्द्र-श्र-भ्रेन-त्य-चर्म्द्र-वा पक्र-स्वाय-व्यंत्रेन्द्र-श्र-भ्रेन-त्य-वि श्रे-वी-अर्वे-विश्व-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्वाय-स्व
- **૫ ફિં**.ફેંન-ર્ને ફિન-૫-૨અર્ને ફિન-પેન-ન્યા
- দ জুবা
- चर्षट्यां भेषां क्यां क्यां हिं स्वां म्यां स्वां स्व
- प लाम्रा हिं.रदे.कु.स्.मुच.वया
- ण ब्रिट्गोरःचभ्रुषात्रःदर्धेतःषासर्वेःचीर्से ८०। देरःचीसस्स्रायःभ्रुरःचेन् ब्रिट्गीसस्त्रात्रा
- व दयुःश्रीदःदःतवाःश्रुःचगाःवेश
- म वृंद्र-द्रा वृंत्र-प्यस्यस्य प्रस्ति स्वेतः वृ सक्त्य-देश्य-प्यस्य प्रस्ति स्वेतः वृत्यस्य स्व वृःस-पर्स्य प्रस्ति स्वेतः वृत्यस्य स्वाप्यस्य स्व
- भूर.जूबोक़ीट.चबो.बोचबोक़ीट.जूर,टूट.जूब बि. चल.र.कुबो.बु.टेनु.शुटे.बे.शुचे.वेश्वीक़ीट.

⁸ This is referring to a dictionary compiled by Geshe Chodak, a Buryati monk who studied in Sera Monastery in the first half of the twentieth century. See Dge bshes chos grags 1957.

A: That wasn't thy appellation's fault. My poor-quality throat was to blame. But what thou sayest wasn't wrong. My throat is made of paper, gray paper, single ply gray paper used for rolling cigarettes.

B: You'll burn your throat for me.

A: Ya, what's thy age?

B: Fifty even.

A: Fifty even, *un*, no sign of aging, *aro*!

B: I'm not finished?

A: Of course not. As the saying goes, "Fifty is an age when your belly swells with experience." You still have to bear the responsibility of leadership for many years. Not only that, but you have to keep moving up too.

B: If I move up, my body won't be able to cope.

A: Really, as you go higher and higher in rank, you have more and more to do. As you do more and more things, your responsibilities get heavier and heavier.

B: That's difficult!

- ष ब्रिंश.र.दे.र्नेव.व.क्रीर.घवा.क्री.ब्रोवा.वी
- ग था ब्रिनःगःनर्वेदःर्वेःनुःधेवा
- 교 등.건환.집왜.리
- यो इं.क.ऱ्री व्यापक्षः चन्नाः यो । श्रुवी क्षयः वेशवः पञ्चेषाः सेन्।
- पि क्र्य.रब.चर्चर.जुर.बी
- यक्षिर-पर्वा वी प्रति प्रति होते क्षेत्र क्
- $\hat{\mathbf{g}}_{i,g_{i}}$: $\hat{\mathbf{$
- वि २.२मदःब

A: Really difficult. Extremely horrible. There's nothing to be done. It'd be difficult for a normal person, but they couldn't find anyone able to go higher than thee.

B: It'd be the same for anyone.

A: No way. No way. That's completely different. If you didn't get promoted but another did, then the earth wouldn't be able to turn. The sun wouldn't shine on the snow mountains. The Tibetan masses wouldn't be awakened.

B: It wouldn't be such a big hindrance, *aro*!

A: Ah, leader, thou hast taught the buddha's *ka* and *kha*. But there are many who create obstacles and interruptions for thee inside and out. Be careful! If a misfortune falls on thee, it goes without saying that it would be a loss for the Tibetan ethnicity, it would also make me shed tears for thee.

B: Why would you?

A: Leader thou knowest without being told, but since we are relatives, of course I would like to speak the words of my heart.

B: Bullshit! In what way are we relatives?

- पक्षात्माराजी वार्ष्याची स्टान्त स्टान्त क्षेत्र क्
- पि देशुःधीवःवःग्रुगःसेदःओं
- य्ट.वु.का.स्ट्री व्य.कु.मा.हु.याच्च.का.कु.ट्यटका.ट्य.व्य. व्य.कु.का.स्ट्री वाटका.सूट.कुट.चु.पा.ट्य.ट्य. व्य.क्.मा.हु.ट्या.कु.च्य.कुट.चु.पा.ट्य.ट्य.ट्य. कु.मा.हु.ट्या.कु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.ट्य.ट्य.ट्य. कु.मा.हु.ट्या.कु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.ट्य. व्य.क.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हु.मा.हू.मा.हु.मा.हू
- प दे.चर्न्या.च्यां.चर.चग्रेयात्रा.चन्नया.लुच.चु.त्रा.
- वि ब्रिं.कु.चच्चवा.वा
- ण नर्धेव-र्थे हिन्गाखुकेन्वि वित्रिक्ति वित्रिकिति वित्रिक्ति वित
- प्ति ही:बार्चेश उ.बार्चेश गा.कु.लय:चे.हिबा.लुब. वु.ऱ्टा

A: Though it's certain that we're not tracing back to the Rock demoness mother,⁹ but again the maternal cousins...

B: Maternal cousins?

A: *Un*, of course I know that our mothers were not sisters. The two mothers of our two mothers, if we trace back to their mothers, then there was the problem.

B: What was the problem?

A: Un, it's said that they're cousins.

B: Who says that?

A: My mother.

B: That's just idle talk.

A: Thou must speakest thus. I know that. That's a demand of your job.

B: How is it related to my job?

A: If thou trace relations and family and differentiate between the important and the unimportant, then could you honestly lead the broader masses of the people? Could you preserve your magnificent leadership position for long?

B: That last bit is your own idea.

य चनाश्चेत्र में त्रथान्तर व्याप्त व्याश्चेत्र में व्याश्चेत्

प यःध्रव।

म् अवि दि.चडिकामिदः अत्यादिकामिक्रियः म्यादः अत्यादि अत्यादि

ष के:पञ्चेषा:षरा:पत्वषा:र्षेद्:वे:रेद्रा

ण खुवा बर्धुवर्षेव वै सेट् बेर्ग्व पाने वा

वि श्रुष:५:बेर:वी

ग देर।वदुःषाःभा

ष दै:रद:द:प्यवद:र्वे:वै:रेदा

ण हिन् गाय ने प्यय नायुर न् र्वे । वे : से ना वेय वे : से ना ने स्वाप्त न वे : से ना स्वाप्त से ना स्वाप्त

वि दे.चे.च.कु.चत्रुबे.बी.वचुल.च.लूरे.बी

यया चहुर्न मी र्न्येव यास्य सम्हित्य वया मुझे चहुर्न मी र्न्येव यास्य सम्हित्य वया मुझे चहुर्न मी र्न्येव यास्य सम्हित्य हैं चित्र में स्थित सम्हित्य स्थापित हैं चित्र में स्थापित सम्हित्य स्थापित स्थापित

व विवानी क्रिया दे हिंदी प्रश्रस स्था स्था

⁹ A reference to the Tibetan origin myth that posits humanity being the children of a union between an enlightened Boddhisattva monkey and a rock demoness.

A: If you ask my father about the story of how we're related, you'll know. But when I was two years old, my father went abroad. If you ever need anything from abroad, just ask. So keep me in thy heart.

C: That's enough. Let me ask you: What's thy appellation?

A: Ah, well, let's say "what's your name" instead of "thy" and "appellation"

C: Ya, what's your name?

A: Leader, thou decide what my name is and that'll be it.

C: How can you make someone decide your name?

A: Uh, if the leader decides my name, I can just use it, right?

C: How's that possible, aro?

A: Well then, see if thou canst guess my name, leader.

C: See if I can guess?

A: *Olé*. I think you definitely can guess it.

C: *Un*, I think your name is "Sweet Talker."

- या वि.चाहुका मान्य हिना क्षेत्र का क्षेत्र मान्य मान्य हिना क्षेत्र का का क्षेत्र का का क्षेत्र का का क्षेत्र का का क्षेत्र का का क्षेत्र का क
- व.कु.इम्। व.कु.इम्।
- ण ष्यन्ति हिन्द्रिक्षेत्रक्षेत्रक्ष्यः विद्वाने विद्वाने विद्वाने विद्वाने विद्वाने विद्वाने विद्वाने विद्वाने
- य ला विंदीकीटाटाकी बेराया
- य द्वःश्चीदःदःके:बेरःव्ययःद्वेवःवें।श्चेदःयायः वयःवीःकेंदःवःवेंद्यःरःदःदःदेःचें।
- च श्चिटःकेषाःचीषाञ्चनाःचीःचरुट्राय्ट्रियाःचराःदीःक्रीः चत्रीचाःचरःचर्णेदःची
- म् । ज्ञा क्षेट्र-ट्र्यूब-प्रंब-प्रवास-प्रीव-ज्ञ-त्वन्टः व-ट्य-ज्या-ज्व-ज्ञाधर-प्रीव-ज्य-न्तन्टः स-द-र्-रे-र्-ज्ञा
- ष देःर्वे पञ्चेषाःषादःवःर्षेदःवरुषःषःर्दे।
- પ્રાહેર.પાત્રાજી.!કરાની કવા.ફેંજા વિક્રામાં જા.દુા વહે.જીંદ.દ.જુ.∌≭.વત્ર.ર્ન્સ્વ.દુા
- व क्षे.विट.वी.क्रेंश
- य क्रि.ज्री टब्र.चक्षेत्र.च.टे.क्रिट.चू.च्र्र.च्र.च्या.ज्रुच. च्र.ट्रटा
- ગ હ્યુત્ર| ઽૹ'વૡૢૹ'૱'૬'ૡ૾ૢ૽ૼૡ૽૾૽૾ૢ૾૱ઽ૽૾ૢઽ૽ૺ ૽૽૽૽ૠ૽ૼૹ૽

A: Sweet Talker?	η	বি'ঋষ
C: Did I guess it?	4	छो.पिट.चला
A: Un!	गा	গুৰা
C: I said, did I guess it? Wei!	4	छ। विट् : घवः च चे : वै : व्या
A: <i>Un</i> , you guessed it! You guessed it! My name is Sweet Talker.	η	लबी ह्य-हाल ह्य-हाल ह्य-हाल ह्य-हाल
C: Which two syllables are they?	4	भै.चो.चाट.चाठुषा.चा.लुचा
A: <i>Un</i> , leader, it's whatever two syllables thou say they are.	η	જીવા નર્ધેવ મં છિન માન નવન ને વૃત્તિ છે. છે કું નહું ત્રામાં ત્રાથ
C: How do you write them?	4	क्रै.लय.चुंय.चुं.ऱ्री
A: <i>Un</i> , writing them is not difficult. The <i>kha</i> for " <i>ka</i> , <i>kha</i> , <i>ga</i> , <i>nga</i> " and the <i>yag</i> for "really beautiful." ¹⁰	η	यो.चि.चो.ट.चुो.चि २.२ट.अड्रू.स.चुो.लच श्रेष्ठी चुंबा.चेट.चे.र.चे.प.चेट.क्वे.कुटी
C: Sweet Talker!	4	ाव-प्यवा
A: Uh, yes. Sweet Talker as in "flattery." ¹¹	η	क्षेयी ऱ्री वि.लची.ट्.्र्चीय.ची.वि.लच
B: <i>Aro</i> ! Wait! Wait! I heard it said that your name isn't 'Sweet Talker.'	[T	જ્ઞીવ્ય-દાવાનાવા શુ. કોર. ધી. શૂં જા જા. સું કૂંન કૂંની વ્યાનું સું નુવાવા ધુંવે.
A: What dost thou think my name is?	η	ब्रिन्'ग्राब'नक्षुब'व्र'स्त्रेःक्षुद'रःक्के'नबेवा बेर'वी

With many homophones in Chinese and Tibetan, it is common to ask someone how to write their name. Speakers may, in turn, tell you the syllables by their connection to other words. Here, kha yag literally means "sweet talker" or sycophant.

¹¹ These lines play on the repeated use of \P "pretty" or "beautiful." Someone with a "pretty mouth" might be called a "sweet talker," hence the link to flattery.

B: From what I heard, your name was Ugly Chest.	P	ઽૹઌ૽ૼૼૡ૽ૼૡ૿૽૱૱ૢ૽ૼ૱૽૾ૢૢ૽ૺઽ૽ૻ૽ૢ૾ઽ૽ૻૻ૽ૣઌૼૼૡ૽ૼૺૼૹ૽૽ ૽૽૱ઌ૽ૼ
A: Sweet Talker Ugly Chest. It can't be true, <i>aro</i> ? ¹²	η	व.मू.ल.मू व.मू.ल.मू
B: I think you're called Ugly Chest, did I guess it?	P	८४.चड़ेय.व. र्तृची क्र्र्या वृत्तःची क्ष्रीवट वला
A: <i>Un</i> . That's	η	গুৰা হ"হ"
B: I said is that it?	P	ર્ફિ.જો.સે ન્ .વગ્રે.વે.ત્યા
A: <i>Un</i> , yes, yes. My name is Ugly Chest.	η	क्षेया रूटी रुटी टडु.क्वीट.ट.चूर्वाङ्क्वा.बुर.री
B: Which two syllables are they?	P	धे·वो·वाट·वावेश्व·गा·से<
A: When your chest hurts, ayo, uh uh.	η	<u> चिची.ची.पूर्वे.ची ला.लूी ली.ली</u>
B: Just say it.	P	५:बर:र:र्वे५:५:पञ्चे:व।
A: <i>Un</i> , when your chest hurst, the chest for your chest hurts. And the ugly for not so pretty.	η	हीत्र। विचारम्पितः वी हिनास्म विद्यान्ति हो स्वी विचा है स्टायना हुन्यों के स्वी हिनास्म विद्याने विचा
B: Ugly Chest.	P	<u>चिंय</u> ार्डेग
A: <i>Un</i> , yes. The "ugly chest" for ugly mind and ugly chest.	η	क्षेया रूटी चश्रश्रङ्खां व्याङ्खां स्वां मा प्रवाङ्खा
C: No! I think your name is Sweet Talker!	ব	ઌઌૺ.ᢖૻૻઽઌૢ ૹ૽૽ૻૢૢૢૢૢૢઌૢ૽ઌૢ૽ઌ૽૽૱ઌ૽૽ૺઌૺ૱ૺૺૡૢ૿ૺઌૢ૽ૹૢ૿ૺૺૺૺૺઌૼૺૺૺૺઌ

A: Yes. My name is Sweet Talker.

B: I think your name is Ugly Chest.

ग रेटी टपुःश्चीट.ट.वि.लवी.चुर.री

पि रश्नयक्षेश्वर्षियुःश्चीर-राष्ट्र्यक्षित्रेचा <u>भ</u>्नरम्

¹² This name is so ridiculously unflattering, that his acceptance is utterly ridiculous.

A: My name is Sweet Talker, and also Ugly Chest.	य रष्टुन्द्रीर.र.बि.लबी.स.चुर.स.स.बूब्बी.कु्बी.
C: Why's that?	न दे.के.चडेना.लेव.वया छ.स्
A: <i>Un</i> , some call me "Sweet Talker," and some call me "Ugly Chest."	वुऱ्। म वि.लथ.वीय.र.पु.श्रीर.र.(जूबाक्क्या.बुर्य. यो ब्रीयो व.लथ.वीय.र.पु.श्रीर.र.(व.लवा.बुर्य.
B: What's that supposed to mean?	ष दै.चर्नेषा.बी.कु.चज्ञे.बी
A: <i>Un</i> , it's useful for you to identify which is which.	૫ હોવી ફિટ. ધના ત્રાત્ત ક્રુપ જી. તજીવો ક્રિવૃ. ત્
C: Right. Let me ask you a question.	म रेन्। दशर्षि केमायर्
A: <i>Un</i> , what do you want to ask, please?	ग खुर्वा के पञ्चेषा पट्टे क्रुप्पाया
C: How old are you?	न हिं'र्से'-तुःभैवा
A: Give me a hint for how old I am.	ग ८ स्पूर्त, त्रीव वया हो ८ गाया पर पत्रीया ही पर
C: So there's a hint to be given for how old you are?	म र्ले.रे.टी खे.रु.टी
A: How old dost thou need me to be?	ग ष्ट्रिन्'ग'र्थे'व'र्केन्'कै'र्ये'चबैग'न्बेंग्'व्या
C: Tell me straight how old you are.	ण वें ५ भेव वय ५५ कें वें ५ कें।
A: How about thou guesseth how old I am.	૫ ત્યન:શ્રુવ.વી ત.લૂ.રી.તુવ.વત્રાફિર.પોત્રાજી.
C: <i>Un</i> , I think you are eighty years old.	त. ऱ्टी च ब्रियी ट्य.चडेय.व.ष्ट्रि.ज्.चक्चेट.चर्थ.घभ.
A: I am.	ग ८:भेवा
C: Olé.	ण र्छे'चे

says!

A: I'm eighty.	η	ત્રમૈટ.શે.ધજાતા.ભુવી
C: Really?	ঘ	<i>षो</i> : से 5
A: <i>Un</i> , yes, yes.	η	खुवा रेन:रेना
B: Ah! so it's whatever number he	M	ष दी:पत्रे:व:दु:सेद:बा

A: This eminent leader is really quite wise. He took one glance and knew

that I am eighty years old.

B: *Aro*, are you eighty years old?

A: Ya, of course! I'm eighty. I just had my eightieth birthday party yesterday.

B: I think you're not eighty years old.

A: To you, mine age, uh, no, how old am I?¹³

B: I think you're no more than eight years old. Am I right?

A: *Un*, right, right. I am eight years old.

B: Are there any eight-year-olds who look so old?

यक्ति - द्वितास्त्र स्त्र स्त

प्रि.ण्.चमैट.श्र.लुव.व्या

पि.शट.शू.श.ची.धूंच.तम्ब्रीट.श्च.चम्राना.त्रुची जो लो जूबा.तुच.चच्च.च.चच्चेट.श्च.चम्राना.त्रुची

पि ट्य.चस्य.व वि.ज्.चम्ट. श्र.म.रेटी

म् जू जू.री.स्टी म् ड्रिटे.माद्य.सक्षेत्र.य.स्टिनीर.जू। खेयी घ.रुटे.

ह्म क्षेत्रच हिं क्यानकृत्नी के महिना अर स्मा क्षेत्रच हिं क्यानकृत्नी के महिना अर

ग ध्युवा रेट्ररेट्रा टर्स्य प्रकुट्र धेवा

खे.लूर-जा व ज्.स्येर-क्य-पत्रुची-ची-पट्टी-झ्.ज्.ज्येय-पत्रुची-

¹³ Here Menla Jyab inappropriately uses the honorific for himself. This may be merely for humour, or a subtle note that many in Amdo are less comfortable with honorifics, not using them much in everyday speech.

A: Heh, As the saying goes: Young kids with underdeveloped brains and old people with feeble minds are one and the same.¹⁴

C: *Aro*, you're no longer eighty?

A: *Un,* no way. No way. I'm eight. But I'm also eighty. I'm both an underdeveloped kid and a feebleminded old person.

C: It's so hard to follow this guy. *Ya*, let me ask you: *Aro*, are you a boy or a girl?

A: Oh, well this. It's really difficult to say. Thou decidest and that will be it.

C: How can that be?

A: *Un*, if the leader says I'm a boy, then I'm a boy. If the leader says I'm a girl, then I'm a girl.

C: Is that possible, aro?

A: *Un*, or else Leader, see if thou canst guess if I'm a boy or a girl.

C: Un, I think you're a boy, right?

A: Yes. I'm a boy.

- कृष-लूबा-बाङुबा-राबाङुबा-लुबा-इार्च्स् बाज्य-विश्वा-राबाङुबा-लुबा-राब्स्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-राज्य-विश्वा-राज्य-राज्
- ष अर्से ५ भर नक्कु ५ द्वा केव वर्ष
- ग श्रुत्रा के भेत्र के भेत्रा वाकुर्र र भेत्र र्वे चकुर्र रू र भेत्रा व स्थरा याद्वर सेवार से सेत्र रहें त सेवा
- स्व त्वर्या इतायदी काऱ्री मिंखे.चे.मु.सूव.वयाव.चे.सू. व यदेव.क्र्याह.र.ट्र.भाश.क्र्री.ची ला रकामिं
- म र्छ-दे-पर्झ-दी ट्र-अश्चन्यन्तिश्च्याः पत्रमा-द्रम् दे-दिन्नि-प्राश्चन्यन्त्रीयः व्यव्याप्त्रम् द्रम्
- व दे:क्रॅ.चडीवा:वाट:व:लूट:वी
- ण खुवा पर्धेव र्थे अवि त्ये से प्रचे व प्रचे व स्वि त्ये स्व भेवा पर्धेव र्थे अवि त्ये अवि त्ये से प्रचे व स्व व स्वि त्ये स्व भेवा
- ष देःश्रॅःचञ्चेषाःसःष्ठेःर्षेदःषःषाःर्से
- ૫ જીવી ત્રાર શુવ-વ.ટ્રિય સ્ટ્રિટીન માની સ્ટ્રિયો ત્રાન્કન ત્રાવી શુવાની સ્ટ્રિયો સ્ટ્રિયો સ્ટ્રિયો
- य श्रिया प्रयासक्ष्याय हिं क्षे.ज्ञान चेता सेता खा
- ग रेट्रा टःवैःवैःधेवा

¹⁴ Suggesting that young people and elders sometimes share similar mental capacities and understandings.

B: No. I think you're a girl. Did I guess it?

A: Did you? Yes, yes. You guessed it. You guessed it. Look! Leaders' eyes are unlike others'. Do you see that he identified me correctly with just one look? If you trace me back to my origins, I am a girl.

C: If you say that, then was I wrong?

A: *Un*, of course not. Of course not. You weren't wrong.

B: Ya, so what I said was wrong!

A: Of course not. Both of you weren't wrong.

C: Well then who was wrong?

A: I was wrong.

B: How were you wrong?

A: *Un*, mainly I was born a hermaphrodite, that was the problem.

C: So in reality are you a boy or a girl?

A: *Un*, right after I was born, I was a girl. But after a few days, I became a boy. Now I'm a boy, and I'm also a girl.¹⁵

ख, कु. कु. च्या विकास स्थापन स्यापन स्थापन स्यापन स्थापन स्थापन

ग खुवा के धेवा के धेवा तक्ष्मा से न मी में

च ॴ २.८४.५४५.ब्र्च.ख्बा.ब्र्र.चन्नुबा.ब

ग के.लुची ब्रिट.क्य.त.चीध्य.म.तक्वी.श्रट.ची

प दे.व.शं.तक्वा.श्र्रः वे.र्र

ग ८.५७४वी.शूर.ची.५८

य र्षिु:क्रै:ष्पष:त्कुष:र्शेद:वै:रेट्।

य शिवी वार्ड्स्ट्र्स्ट्रियः वृट्यत्रे त्वच्चवाः वृः भ्रेष्यः

ण हिं र्नेदार्ने अपने वे त्ये प्येत व्यवस्था व स्थापा वस्यापा

य श्रिवी ट.श्रुकाःसः ह्यां ताः हेर्यः स्त्राचीयाः हेर्यः स्त्राचीयाः हेर्यः स्त्राचीयाः हेर्यः स्त्राचीयाः हेर भारत्यायः स्वर्षे सः स्त्राच्याः हेर्यः स्त्राचीयाः हेर भारत्यायः स्वर्धाः स्त्राचीयाः हेर्यः स्त्राचीयाः हेर्

¹⁵ In these lines, the Tibetan term ৰ্ট্ডিব্ৰেল্ (pronounced *shoolog*) refers to a Tibetan conception of someone who is born a girl and becomes a boy a few days after

C: [as if unsatisfied with the answer] <i>A ha</i> !	4	w.2l
B: Wait! Come here!	P	र्वेन द्वा व्यक्त स्त्रीय
A: Un.	η	গুৰ
B: Let me ask you.	P	<u> </u>
A: <i>Ya</i> .	η	떽
B: You're not sick or in pain, are you?	P	<u>ફિં'ર્વિલ ફું'ન ફુ'એ</u> ન'વા
A: Even my teeth have never had an ache.	η	श्.पृष्टी.यञ्जवा.स.वीस.षाश्चीसा
B: <i>Un</i> , I think you're not quite well. Is it true?	P	खुद्या ८४:प्रनुषात्र (क्विं केषा प्रदे की स्रेट गी। प्रदेव की
A: <i>Un</i> , that's true. There is some pain. What dost thou think hurts?	η	યોયાનક્ષેયાવે.છુ.ત્વકુતો.ધૂઉ.ઘૂં.તું જોવી તનુવે.તું.જૂં! ધૂઉ.છું.તું.ધૂઉ.તું છુંટે.
B: I think you have appendicitis.	T	<i>८४.चक्षेश.च.</i> ब्रिंक्वे.क्षेबा.लूट.च
A: <i>Un</i> , I do. I have my appendix. 16	ग	खुवा ^{लू} टा कु:क्षे _{बी.लू} टा
B: How big is it?	T	क्टेर्के पञ्चेष र्षेत्।
A: <i>Un</i> , it can't be more than one or two arm-spans long.	η	श्रुव। तर्नुश्र.न.चर.नु.चनुबा.ची.कु.चनुबा.र.
C: I think you have no illnesses. Right?	4	દ્યાનકૃષાનું ફિંવન વર્ષ્ઠવા રાયેન વી છે. રેન
A: Oh, that's also right. Yes. I think I	η	र्षे। दै.र.रेट्.रेटी रक्ष.चह्नेक.व.र.श्रेट्.बी

don't.

birth. This can also work in the reverse.

This appears to be an intentional misunderstanding. The term $\frac{1}{2}$ can be either appendix or appendicitis. A (voiced by Menla Jyab) clearly has no idea what the appendix is.

B: I think you do, right?

A: Right, I seem to have a disease but when I think about it again I don't.

C: Ya, then what I said was wrong?

B: What I said was also wrong?

A: No, no. You both aren't wrong. I was wrong. I have a terrible disease. I feel ill sometimes and feel really good sometimes.

C: Ah, do you take medicine?

A: I eat it like tsampa.

B: I think you don't take a single dose.

A: Right. I don't.

C: It's fine if you do. It's ok if you don't. We are the only ones who have the cure for what ails you.

A: What is it?

B: You have to be promoted to a leadership position.

A: Oh, well then, keep me in mind, dear leaders!

C: But, at present, this medicine is not in our hands. Neither of us is a leader! पि दश.चक्षेश.व.लूर.ची हो.च्रेरी

यञ्चनानक्षित्रच-वःग्रेन्-बी स्ट्री रःबन्-पञ्चनाःस्न्-क्षित्ःस्न्-। सटःवन्रटः

ण पा नेषात्र प्राच्या मा

वि दश्राच्यत्र्न्रं र.पळ्वा र्श्वराच्चेवा व

या यान्नेत्रा विश्व का ना निष्ठ क्षा ना ने द्वा ना ने निष्ठ क्षा निष्ठ ने निष्ठ क्षा ना ने निष्ठ क्षा ना ने निष्ठ क्षा ना निष्ठ क्षा निष्ठ क्षा

च ला र्बिशःश्चवःत्रश्वरःचीःलोःर्जेरा

ग इस्राय:ब:ब:भेद:बी:र्भेद्रा

वि. च.च.चे.च.चे.वि.स.चे.वि.स.चे.चे.च.चे.च.च.च्या.स.च्यीस.

ग रेना वश्चर वी सेना

च हिंशायद्वराची विंतः वर्षा के व्यवराची के प्रमान के किया वर्षा के किया वर्षा के प्रमान के किया के प्रमान के क वर्षा के किया के किया के किया के प्रमान के किया के किया

ग कै'नर्ज्ञेग'रेन्।

ग र्षे दे न द्रा द्रेव में राज्या अधिवा

य नारेन्द्रा नावश्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः महिषाम्यः त्यनावः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः नावः नावः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्वन्यः स्व A: Then? ग दें बा

B and C: We are speakers of khashag! ष वाष्ट्रमण्याचाराज्ञ कि वाष्ट्रमण्याचाराज्ञ विकास

A: [dismissively] Heh! ग्र

7. The Telephone [작'니지]¹

A: So what should we do now?

B: It's up to you. Whatever you say.

A: Well, I'll say something. Instead of sitting here silently, let's speak a *khashag*. But before we speak a *khashag* let me look at your mouth.

B: I am young and I've just lost a tooth.²

A: That's not a problem. When I look at your mouth, I can see into your chest.

B: How is it? My chest is full of art.

A: I don't see any art, but there are a lot of guts.³ There is also tripe.

व वि.र्व.व्ययम्भात्रम् विस्तःकः यत्रे त्र देः भीवा

श.चर्चट.बूट.ट.टब.ब्रिंड्!ब.च.ब्रुच.चस्री स्वाय.बू.बि.चचवाय.चच्चच.चचटी विस्वाय. च्रा ट.टब.चर्चटी छ.च्रुब.चा.वर्ऱ्च.चा.उट्चा.

ब्र्ट्रन्ता वि वि.टे.व्हेट्स्ट्रेट्स् ब्र्राविस्त्वचुवीब्र्यात्राज्यी

म् देरःश्रुव से प्राप्त प्रितः विश्व स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स

चर्न्नर.लूर वि कु.श्र.मुरी रष्ट,क्वि.वा.बी.श्री.≆.ल.बील.वार.रल.

य द्वि:रूप:पर्जेन:रेप:पी:रेक्टुर्नेप:यर:पी र्कुर्ने

¹ In this performance, Menla Jyab plays "A", while Phagmo Drashi is "B."

² Pastoralists in Amdo tell the age of livestock by looking at their teeth. Here, the speaker assumes Menla Jyab wants to look into his mouth for this reason. Chos bstan rgyal (2014) for more information describes this practice in detail.

³ Here, Menla Jyab plays on the similar pronunciations of ञ्चा and ज्ञा.

B: What did you say? I have tripe?4

A: Oh, just kidding. But your mouth is especially good for one thing...

B: It's a mouth made for speaking *khashag*.

A: Uh, it's a mouth made for making phone calls.

B: Ah? Made for making phone calls?

A: Olé! Look at your mouth. Such a comfortable mouth, such a round mouth, one would think it's absolutely going to say "Wei!"⁵

B: So you can't make phone calls unless your mouth is round?

A: Oh, you can make calls if your mouth is square or triangular. The main thing is that a *khashag* speaker also has to look in the mouths of those making phone calls.

B: So you must have looked in them carefully.

A: Oh, would you believe it if I told you that I could write an entire *khashag* just about telephone conversations?

- पि कै.चड़ी ट.ब्रिट.सी.लूट.भी
- चन्नुचाचा-ट.खे.ची.श्रह्यःची.ला चन्नुचाचा-ट.खे.ची.श्रह्यःची.ला
- वि विःचेवाद्यान्तर्वितः भूतः विः निः निः विवादाः विवादाः
- प्र लि.तर.कैवा.कैट.गू
- त्र्रेर.प्र हे.क्.िव.ब्र्य.ब्र्य. रट.ट.झ.चड्र.ज्ञ.वर्ड्च. प्रज्ञा ब्रिंग.ब्र्वि.वर्ड्च.
- त्मरक्रियाःथेवःक्रिःअःइट.ता वि टुंशःवःविःगुर्मर्गुरःश्चरनञ्जवाशुवःवःविः
- वे.स्ट.ला वि.ससःक्विवाः वे.क्क्टुः वि.वटः टः सःवःक्षेः टेर्ग् स्.वि.चे वे.क्.स्.वेटः शविवः चच्चेवाः कुवः कुवः कु.वि.चं.त्वे.लवे.चच्चेतः व.क्क्वाः वे.स्टी वार्क्ः वे.हि.वं.त्वे.लवे.वव्यः कुवः कुवः वे.स्टी वार्क्ः वे.हि.वं.वि.स्वे.लवे.व्यवः वे.क्ट्रां च्याः वे.क्ट्रां
- p ब्रिंश-देर-(बे.ची-इवा-चक्षेश-लूर-श-लूर-भी-लू
- यञ्जवाञ्चिकायर्ड्वाचायाच्चायः वितुष्टम्माः क्षायः वि

⁴ The term translated here as "tripe" (횟ቫ닝) is used for livestock but not humans, hence Phagmo Drashi's confusion.

^{5 &}quot;Wei" is a common way of answering the phone across China.

B: I would if it's true. But not if it's not true.

A: That may be, but now I'll tell you the truth.

B: If you didn't tell me the truth, would I believe it?

A: Truthfully, I would sit silently less if asked to guard the telephone than if I was made to speak *khashag*.⁶

B: So what would you do?

A: My hand would not stop making phone calls, my mouth would not stop making conversations. I would not know from where the sun rises and to where it sets.⁷

B: Of course it rises from the east and sets in the west.

A: *Aro*! It hasn't been long since the telephone appeared in the land of snows, but there's a lot to be learned from a single phone.

B: That may be so.

A: There are all sorts of telephone conversations. For example, one time, someone was calling home from the hospital. That one was unique.

- प नर्व.च.च.चर.च्य्री श्र.नर्व.च.च.चर.श्र.च्य्री
- या नैःश्रॅन्यन्नेनान्-धिनःकुर्तःसेन्-नान्-स्यार्ष्टिः न्यार्थेर-प्यनिन्नो
- चर्यस्य द्रीयःसूचाःवाःवर्यवाःबुःशःसूदःला यह्याक्रिप्रःचन्नैशःचः।वःतत्रःश्वीःःवाःवाखेवाः य चटःश्रुरःचन्तदःबी द्रावःधेवाश्वःचन्तरःबीः
- ष ८.विंश.कु.चत्रुवा.लु८.वु.रुटी
- र.सेब.क्रै.ब.स्टी श.चब्र्.बोट.बेब.सेर.स्ब.बोट.ट.ल्ह्ब.बेब. बि.स्ट.चर्झेट.बुट.ल.बि.चर्च.लुट.बु.स्टी हु. बो टे.लबे.स्ट.चर्झेट.बुटे.ल.बि.तर.क्वैब.बु.स्टी
- ष्टि दे.सर.वयासर.रयात्रुचाचात्रुचाचे धेत.
- ची.श्रट.ट.चचुवा.चेश.क्टी.लूट.ग्री.शू पर्वोत्र.चचुवी.ची वि.तत्र.वित्र.दुरु.क्रेट.व.चेश. वा त्यांत्र.चचुवी.ची.वि.तत्र.चित्र.दुरु.क्रेट.व.चेश.
- ष दे.पर्जे.लुव.व.घटा
- लट. विट्र. स्ट्रीची. सुट. ली वश्र. क्षेट्र. लील. वि. तर म्युची. क्षेत्र. वी. तर टेतु. तप्वती. वी. सुटा. क्षेत्री. क्षेत्रा क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्षेत्र. क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्षेत्र. कष्टे कष्टे क्षेत्र. क्षेत्य. क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्षेत्र. कष्टे क्

⁶ At this time, the telephone was a new technology in Amdo, and there would likely be someone whose job was to mind and answer the phone. The word "guard" is likely used for humorous effect.

⁷ This is to suggest that he would lose all track of time.

P	w·æै· <u>चे</u> र·वी
ग	र्षे. ट्यूट. जु. ट्यूट.
P	Щ
η	स् ष्यःर्रे
ĮΩ	ने.क्वे.नेना ब्वटावायर्वेन वी.वी.चबेषाया रेषार्वी
η	चयान्त्रवि,च.और.अम्.अम्.अम्.कृ.चु.मुटी त्या श्रदःचयात्वीयाःकृत्यायाः
لتا	<u> दे,य. प्रचा भट्ट. मी ल.स्ट्र. मी.स्ट्र.</u>
η	ल.पूर.ची.लूट.। स्री क्ष.चू
M	से ष्य
η	ષ્યાર્સે ફિંપ્યવાર્સે હો પોતા
[T	षाःर्ने भेवःभःभेव।
η	र्वि धन भेव वया
[T	र्वि वन भेत्र
η	พ.चच.चु.कुब.भ.चचुब.चचुब.ला
[^L]	w·ळे·चञ्चेषा·रे ा
ग	पार्चि, ब्रैस्टर, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य पार्चि, ब्रैस्टर, याज्ञेष्य, याज्ञेष्य

B: *Oh* that's great. I was planning to come with a whole month's provisions.

A: *Aro*! You needn't bring any meat. Mom's going to go under the knife tomorrow.⁸

B: [laughingly] Ya ya ya ya ya ya.

A: [in normal voice] You refused to believe me when I told you you would laugh.⁹

B: Though I understand it, it is funny, *aro*.

A: *Aro*, there are also phone calls that make you want to cry.

B: So they're probably speaking while crying.

A: The speaker doesn't cry, but the listener will burn with embarrassment.

B: How so?

A: Some girls these days who don't know their own value and become different people when they make phone calls.

B: Ya, act it out!

 $[a \ m.L.\dot{a}.y.c.g.x.\dot{a}.y.c.l]$

बट्या, यत्वेदः क्षेत्री ब लार्ज्य देने ब्रिटिंग्स्य स्थान्ति कार्या

ש מימימימישן

ग हिं दर्गेदायाचे वाद्राक्षेष्टरायाचे

व ब्रिक्ट्रिं ब्रिक्टी मा निर्वाद क्रिक्टर विद्याला में

x.लूर.ल्। ω .र्जू २.४८.२.क्रै.लूट.बु ω ।व.तx.चड्डव.

व र.१. व्र्रास्यम् र्मे व्रे स्वर्षे

ग प्रमुपर्ने हुने या सेप्पूर्व विवर्ते में क्या अप

ष दे:क्रै:याः व्रवावीः रेदा

विरु.स्.यञ्जवात्रेष्ठ.यथ्यःयीरःपर्की.वी वी.सी.सू.विरु.विरु.विरु.वि.सर्मःप्यक्रीयःयपेरःयः वी.सी.सू.विरु.विरु.विरु.वि.सर्मःपर्वे

वि ल.जर्.ज्ञ्.चचुवा.व्र्थःरा

⁸ In the Tibetan, the term 직무지 literally meaning "slaughter." Some pastoralists in Amdo use this term for undergoing surgery, as seems to be the case here.

⁹ Hamithang (চু ঝিল্লম্ন) means "difficult to convince." With a *no* at the end, it can mean "maverick" or "rebel."

A: Ring ring.	गा	ᡨᢆ ᠵ ᡃᢆᡨᢌ᠋᠁
B: Wei!	P	원
A: [in a feminine voice] Hello!	गा	Hello
B: Wei, who is it?	P	म् <u>चे</u> सु [.] भीव्
A: [coyly, in a feminine voice] <i>Un</i> .	गा	গুৰা
B: What was that?	P	<u> नै:क्रे:पञ्चेषा:भेव:वृष्ण</u>
A: Don't pretend like you don't know!	ग	અ:લેજા-હિલા-ર્સે-અ:ખે <u>ન</u> -ર્ <u>ન</u> ુ
B: You're Drolma, right?	P	<u> ફિ</u> ં'ર્ક્સુંબ'અ'સે气'ર્સો
A: Annoying (taoyan 讨厌) You know and pretend like you don't.	η	वर्रः भव(讨厌) वेषःवः यः वेषः वः र्वेः भवा
B: You want me to write you something again don't you?	P	ખદ:ૠૢ૽ૺૼૡ૽૽ ૢૺ ૡૄ૿ૢ૽ૢ૽ૡ૽૽૽૽ૺૺૺૺૺૺઌ૽૽૽ૼૺ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૼૺ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૼૺ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૼૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺ
A: Write me a letter asking for leave.	ग	८.चोबर.च.खे.झैर.ग्र्यु.लु.चु.चचुचा.लुका
B: Where are you going with your leave?	P	च वर-प्र:बुशःच र-प्र:वर्जुःर्व :व्रशःःःः।हिं
A: This kind of job is annoying I don't want to do it.	η	मु'न'तर्दे'कॅ'त्दे'म्बर्दे'प्यत्'दे'नर्वेश'यश्य'त् क्षे'त्देर्देर'गे
B: You should say you're glad you've got a job like that. <i>Wei</i> , I have written the letter requesting leave. You come and pick it up yourself.		द्रास्त्राचेन्यम् वित्वान्ति । द्रास्त्राचेन्यस्युद्धस्यान्त्रस्यान्त्रस्यान्त्रस्यान्त्रस्यान्त्रस्यान्त्रस्य
A: [coyly] Uh-uh.	η	[PS]
B: Now what?	P	५८.कु.ज.थेय.चु.

A: With sun like this, my face will get dark, *aro*!¹⁰

B: Wei! I don't have time to come to you. Or else I'll get someone to bring it to you.

A: [in English] Ok, bye bye.

B: I don't really feel like crying, but although she says "ok" with her mouth, she has no *ka* and *kha* in her chest!¹¹

A: Compared with that, the phone calls of young men these days are very interesting.

B: Ya?

A: Those calls are endless and never finish. Then, as soon as you understand them, they're over.

B: That may be.

A: Ring ring.

B: Wei?

A: Wei? Is Phagmo the name of you?¹²

ग वदीः संक्षेत्रः स्वाचन स

चा.चर्सेन्द्र-द्यम्चा मटाश्चराच्या. च स्री ट.लूटाजूका.श्रची लटाश्चय.च.टका.कुची.

ጣ [in English] ok, bye bye.

च दिन्द्वाराष्ट्रप्त हैं स्थापित स्थाप स्थापित स्थापि

तराष्ट्रेची चर्या दे स्टार्ग सराष्ट्रेची चर्या दे स्टार्ग

[씩

य वि.तम् देवुःम् अभि चेत्रः सूरः स्थान् व्ययः स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान् स्थान्य स्थान्

पि भूषे.व.घर.

ग हैर:हैर...

य भी

ग से हिंगे छैट ट धन कें के रेड़

¹⁰ In China and Tibet, lighter skin is preferable, especially for women, hence the aversion to walking under the sun.

¹¹ *Ka* and *kha* are the first two syllables of the Tibetan alphabet. Here they refer to the entirety of the Tibetan language, suggesting that the woman mixes languages and hardly speaks any Tibetan.

¹² Note that in the exchange on this page, the "cadre" uses incorrect grammar and auxiliaries, hence the assumption that he must be Han Chinese. Phagmo then responds similarly.

B: [aside] He's probably Han. [in response] *Wei*, Phagmo is the name of me.

A: Your home is Jentsa.

B: Wouldn't I know that?

A: Wei! I'm also from Jentsa. Would you know?

B: I don't, but tell me and I would. Who are you?

A: *Ah*, I is a cadre... Is a cadre from Jentsa.

B: There are many cadres in Jentsa! Wei, do you have something to say to me?

A: Haha, I wouldn't call if I didn't have anything to say.

B: Haha, I would know that too.

A: The father of you sent some meat and *tsampa*. You need to come and get it.

B: I do. Where are you staying?

A: *Hu*, I'm staying in the nationalities hotel. If we can't meet, I'll put it in Menla's room. Do you know Menla?

B: I know him, but I'll come get it now.

लवा.श्.स्टी जि क्वे.सञ्जय.लूट.या.स्री ट.ची.श्रीट.ट.

ग र्बि:वी:य:धुव:वारुव:क्:रेट्रा

ष दे भीव र्वे प्रश्निम की भीव की भी रेड़ा

यो स्री ट.र.चिठव.क्.मी.र्ट्सी हिं.मी.प्रेश क्रि.सी.

श्व.लुया जि.लुया

ज

यो व्या ट.जयः चुटि.तः स्टी वोश्वयः क्.ची.जयः

वि विष्ठवःस्त्रं वःस्रशः चुनः पः क्रेः रः स्रेनः गीः वश

ग ५५। वनरक्षुः येर-व-वर्नेरक्कुः य-रेर्।

12 2.21 2.24.01.54.54.54.

ज्ञवान्त्रीयः प्रत्यान्यः स्वयः यात्रान्यः स्वयः स्वयः यात्रान्यः स्वयः स्वयः यात्रान्यः स्वयः स्वय

वि.ची.की.प्री क्षि.वाट.व.चर्चरे.ल्र्री

छ, ऱ्ट्री च.चट.ट.जड्ड्बोक्चे.ट्री ड्रि.श्रेच.चे.ट्रुनेश.क्चे. ब्य.च्रु.चेधुय.प्राञ्च.चेच.च.टय.श्रेच.चे.चि.ट. प्री.चृ.ट्रचय.अर्चुच.पट.च.चर्झट.लूट.ली

ष वेशक्रुः रेऽ ५। ८ ५ तोव वी र्षेट ५।

A: [as himself] You won't find it if
you go get it, aro!

B: [now to Menla] If I don't find it, then it must still be with you.

A: You won't know if it's there unless you call and ask.

B: Really?

A: Ring ring ring.

B: Are you Menla?

A: Uh, who am I if not Menla.

B: You are Menla.

A: Who told you that I'm not?

B: *Aro*! Don't finish it all before I get there.

A: What is it?

B: Don't act like you don't know. I'm talking about the butter and tsampa.

A: I don't know. I don't know. It was a prank that I pulled on you yesterday. But if you're coming here, buy some meat.¹³

B: So you had nothing better to do, and made fake calls.

ग येव में र्सेट र हेन वे स रेन में जर्म

वि अ.ध्रेट.च.ब्रिंद्य.जवी.च.लूट.क्रैंद्र.इटी

યો ભૂર ઝુરી વિતાસ મુક્તિ વ્યક્તિ કહ્યા ટ્રેયા સ્થય. વયા ભૂર વિતાસ મુક્તિ વ્યક્તિ જાય કૃતા કૃતા માન

ष छो. रेटा

ण हैस हैस हैस

प हिं भ्रव न्न छो भिवा

ग षा रःश्चवःन्नःसःरःशुःरेना

ष हिं भ्रुवः नः सेटः वी

ग र्ष्ट्रिं अर्रे ५ वेर र्वे र्शु रेन्।

ष अ:र्से ट:र्बेद्र:स्वाय:र्बे;सर्बे:र्ळर:वी:यहवा: वाःर्वे

ग के:पञ्चेष

वि शर्षेयावात्राल्टार्ट्से अराटाश्चराची

चच्चता ध्रुंया स्वेचा नच्च चया स्वा चक्र्या चुं. मुं. सुष्या यम्म स्वास्ता स्वास स्वास्ता स्वास स्वास

ल्ला वि क्रियासूर.रकावि.तराईयि.याचीयाचनुवी.

¹³ Notice how the original call convinced Phagmo that someone had brought meat for him, and now he is being asked to buy meat for Menla.

A: They are not like leaders who make real phone calls.¹⁴

B: Oh, leaders don't make fake calls?

A: Oh, the leaders speak about true things in conversations that seem fake. Those kinds of calls are difficult for unfortunate souls like you and me. You won't understand them, even if you want to listen.

B: So they probably speak quietly.¹⁵

A: No, they don't speak quietly.

B: Then?

A: They speak gently to their superiors, in a low voice to their equals, and slowly to subordinates.

B: Oh, that's difficult.

A: Haven't you heard it said that "If you never struggle with the difficult things, then it's difficult to reach the heights of comfort." ¹⁶

- ग्र.म.सूर.म्रा म् ।व.तर.सूरम.चड्डव.चक्चीत.चथ.वुर.कू.रेतूच.
- वि र्ष्णे दर्भेव संस्था विश्व स्थान स्थान
- ध्यः यः तर्ट्ट स्ट स्ट म् व स्वान्तः यः स्ट स्वान्तः व्यान्तः स्वान्यः स्वान्यः स्वान्यः स्वान्यः स्वान्यः स्व स्वानः स्वानः स्वान्यः स्वानः स्व
- वि विःर्रवाःवाःचन्नरःर्वाःवैःधवःकुर्दःरेरा
- ग विःर्रेषायाः प्रमुद्दिः सःरेदः र्षे
- प छो.वा
- या मूर-ट्रव्ह्यास्याम्यान्त्रन्ति हेन्। न्यत्यस्याम्यान्त्रन्ति हेन्। विवासम्बद्धाः
- पि छें। ५:५ मादः वी
- म् नगादः क्रुंतः नगादः त्यक्षः सः नगादा च हेर्ने सः म् नगादः क्रुंतः प्रस्तः सः नगादा च हेर्ने सः म नगादः क्रुंतः प्रस्तान्यः सः स्वाचित्रः सः

¹⁴ They here is referring back to the young men whose phone calls are being imitated.

¹⁵ In the previous turn, Menla Jyab says the word *go* which can mean either "to understand" or "to hear". Phagmo Drashi chooses to interpret it as "to hear" and suggests that they speak quietly.

¹⁶ This does not appear to be a traditional Tibetan saying, but here it refers to how one must experience difficulties in order to gain promotion in the government apparatus of the day.

B: That phrase I've not even heard it in the Elegant Sayings of Sakya Pandita.	જા શુંદ.! ૧૫ ટુ.શૂ.જૂવા.જા.શ્રુ.જુવાજા.તત્વેટા.વેટવેજા.સ.શૂ.
A: Those leaders have no match when they make phone calls.	प रेत्र्य.त्.र्.इ.ब्य.ब्र्.री.प.तर.क्वीया.बी.क्वियार.
B: Is it so unique when they make a phone call?	ख, ऱ्री वि चि.तर चिचेच.चे.विटे.तर चचुवी.लूटे.चु.
A: Of course it is! They have a special technique for when calling their superiors.	चच्चतालूटी जी जूबालूटी बूटाटावासराक्चिताद्वियास्थाला
B: <i>Ya</i> ?!	ات سا
A: Ring ring ring.	শ
B: Hehe. Wei, who is it?	ा जु जु से सु ⁻ धेवा
A: [to "secretary" Phagmo] It's me, Secretary Phag.	ग ८:धेवा धना दुद:डी
B: [aside] Did I become the Party Secretary? [to A] <i>Wei</i> , I know you by your voice. Do you have something to discuss?	वयानेयाचया र्ट्वाप्तायाच्या सी स्निप्तान्त्रवा वयानेयाचया र्ट्वाप्तायाच्या
A: Nothing. Nothing but as for the matter I have: I'll be fine regardless, I don't have any objection.	ण र्नेब-५म-७५-खे५-में बे५-५। र्नेब-५म- चन्नेम-र्थे५-वें ८-विंश-क्रे-चन्ने-व-दे-धेब-वे- रे५-में चब्रब-वक्रस-चन्नेम-ब्रे५
B: What?	ব &:ঘইব
A: That which I called to discuss yesterday.	ग वि.श्रट्रवि.सर्च्यक्वियःचश्राचनिर्वृत्ते
B: I received countless phone calls. How would I know which matter it is. <i>Wei</i> ! Which matter?	यहा रशर्मुब्र-द्यान्यार्थः स्रोतः चेर-चेर-द्रो स्री र्नुब्र-द्या विवासस्याप्तान्यार्थः स्रोतः चेर-चेर-द्रो स्री र्नुब्र-द्या

A: Even if I cannot go any higher, I have nothing but yes in my mind. 17

B: *Ya ya ya*. Do you have anything else to say beside that?¹⁸

A: Hehe. Of course not. You get some sleep, Party Secretary... Take care of yourself!

B: Of course I would not kill myself. *Ya*, goodbye.

A: Goodbye. Goodbye.

B: There really is a technique, aro!

A: When calling their equals, its relaxing.

B: Likely because there's no higher and lower between them.

A: Ring ring ring.

B: Wei, who is it?

A: Wei, bastard! You don't even know me?

B: Who doesn't know you. How could I dare not to know you. All good?

भ्रवावश्वराखें स्रीसुनासुना दते भ्रेनावाधः भ्रवावश्वराखें स्रीसुनासुना दते भ्रेनावाधः

व यायाया दै सेव वया द न्या हु से दावा

ત્રી કું.શું કું.ખૂર્ય.વકું.સો ફું.રીનું ફુંન.રૈલે.ફી

व र.वर.र.चबर.यह्बाक्किश ल.र.चर्-ख्री

ग परेओं परेओं

व र्रे.श.होच.चड्डवे.लूरे.ची.चूह्य.र्रो

य र.नर.र.वि.नर.क्रीव.र्थ.क्रुंर.चत्रुव.लूर.

वि शर्मे. रेशवः शरे. वृंदुः मुवे. लुवः मैंद्रः रूरी

प्त से शुः धेवा

ग से। र्रेन्ट्रिंगशकुर्ते। ८.४.श्रे.वेशकी छो.रेन्।

म्ट.चर्षुय.लुव.वी पि ब्रि.भु.चेब.बु.श्र.इटी टब.घ.चुब.धेव.वेबा

¹⁷ Going higher refers to promotion within government, suggesting the sort of sycophantic approaches one must take when phoning superiors.

¹⁸ Note that although this may appear impatient in the English translation, it is not so in the Tibetan.

A: *Ardzee...* absolutely all good. I solved your problem. You mustn't forget my issue.

B: I won't forget. I will be able to do it. There's not even the slightest concern about that.

A: Ah, I know, I know. Keep it up!

B: *Ya ya ya*. Do you have any other issues?

A: Of course I do. Come over to drink on Sunday. I'm boiling meat.

B: By your meat if I don't come. ¹⁹ As long as you're boiling some meat. Ya, goodbye.

A: Ya ya ya. Bye bye.

B: Now my mind is at ease.

A: When calling a subordinate, there is a rage.

B: You will probably get heated again.

A: Ring ring ring.

B: Wei.

A: Wei.

म अप्ते। स्टायबिदार्थेयाधिदायने स्वाहिसामित र्नेदार्वास्यायक्षुप्रयामिता स्वाहिसामित स्वाहित्वदाविकासे

ग षा वेषावै सेना वेषावै सेना वै से हीं षा

व यायाया र र्नेव र्वाको र्सेना

य र्जुल जेंद्री वाचतः तुः चतः वर्षे प्राप्तः वर्षे प्राप्तः वाचतः तुः चतः वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे व

ત્ર-દેવનું સું સુંય.મૂં ત્ર નિવિત્તુન બુદ્ધ ત્રે ત્યાને તું ત્યાને ત્રિયમન સુંયાના નિ

ग यायाया चरेखी चरेखी

प ५:रोग्रय:र.पर्-र्शेट-वे-रेन्।

चडुवा.लूट.यु.५८। यो लट.बूज.अपू.वि.तर.क्वेवा.२४८८। टर.

لم هدالم.حد. ه. بحرايرا

ण हैस हैस हैस

ा मे

ग से

^{19 &#}x27;By your meat' is an oath commonly sworn especially in pastoral regions. The structure of these oaths most closely approximates "I'll be damned if I..." in English.

B: Oh, oops! Wei? Oh no... Ah!

A: Ah? What do you mean by "ah"? Ah?

B: Ah, ah, I didn't know. Um. Ya!

A: What's "Ya"? Can you get by using "ya" for everything, ah?

B: That's right. That's right.

A: What's "That's right"? Ah, spineless one, Ah!

B: True. True.

A: I say it even if it isn't true, ah. Cannot even carry a conversation on this telephone of yours, eh!

B: Possibly. Possibly.

A: Hm. "Possibly"? Uh, if not, then am I wrong? Ah?

B: Ah! No way. No way. I was wrong. Tell me whatever matter you have. I'll take care of it.

A: I have nothing to say. The *khashag* called "*The Telephone*" was written by a person under you. Please leave him alone.

B: Yes sir.

A: Stitch the mouth of the one who performed "The Telephone" with him.

व ह्या देश त्रीय विषय से ह्या से ह्या से ह्या से

ग षाषान्त्रे के निवेष से षा

प जाजाजा अभिवादी सेना खु पा

यो ला च लानचुःर्ची लानचुचाःचीकाःलूट् क्ट्रीख्याः

ष दे:रेना दे:रेना

ग दै:रेद्रप्चे:र्वे षा स्टःर्ख्युष्यः येदःर्वे षा

ष परेवःषी परेवःषी

थ.भु.ज्यूं.बृ खो डिट.कूजु.वि.नर-टुवु.वट-वयाव-चर्न.लुट. ब्रा भु.चटुव.व.र-टयान्तरीट.वु.लुवी खो डिट.

प भेव व श्वर | भेव व श्वर |

ग हेव। भेव-व-घटा ह्या भेव-व-ट-व्ह्रवार्शेटः वे-भेव-व-घटा ह्या भेव-व-ट-व्ह्रवार्शेटः

वय.चीअ.चार्क्ट्री ट्रेंब.ट्या.कु.चच्चया.लूट.व.ट.कुंट.टी टक. वि क्षा कु.लुबी कु.लुबी ट.तक्क्या.सूट.चु.इटी

क्रियमे । वर्षे निर्मान हिंदी । वर्षे निरम्भ । वर्षे निर्मान हिंदी । वर्षे निर्मान हिंद

বি পৰাধ্য:ধূয়ী

भ्रमकासम्बद्धाः ज्ञानिस्यः निवास्यः स्वास्यः स्वास्यः स्वास्यः स्वास्यः स्वास्यः स्वास्यः स्वास्यः स्वास्यः स्व

B: Ah?	M	[51]
A: Olé.	η	ર્જે'લે
B: [as himself] Oh, it's difficult to listen to phone calls like that.	P	र्षेष् ५.1ष.तम.५.५.ब्र्.५.४५.५४५.क्रि.५.५५५५५ च्या
A: [as himself again] Oh, well, If you're afraid of the difficult ones, there are also some that are easy. If you think it's not true, give me a call.	η	જ્ઞ.નટ્રેવ.વ.ફ્રિંગ.૨.la.ન૨.નકુવો.ફ્રે્નિજો જ્ઞ.૨.ટેપોવ.જ્ર્.ક્ષેત્રી.વ.ક્ષે.જ્ઞ.૨.જૂટ.વુ.ક્ટી
B: Ring ring ring.	M	<u> </u>
A: Wei.	η	भे
B: Wei, who are you?	M	म्री हिं.श्र.णुवा
A: Why are you asking me who I am? What do you need?	η	चचुची.ट्रेस् ल.ट.श्र.लुच.प्ट्यी.व.रन्य.कुट.क्वैब्री ड्रि.कु.
B: Wei, is Menla there?	P	से झुव:न्नु:छो:पें5्गी
A: I don't know. <i>Tak!</i> [sound of hanging up]. [as himself] How simple!	η	ष:मेश घग के: र:कुग
B: [as himself] It's too simple. It is not worth the call I made.	[T	કું.છું.વ.મ.જુંદ.તગ્રુવ જુ.છુંતું.જાદ.જુંદ.તગ્રુવ દળ.વિ.તમ.તપેદ.
A: Well then, I'll do a slow one. There's nothing better than that.	ग	र्द्-व-८४-ब्रिं-८४-ब्रॅ-पच्चेष-लूट-। ट्रेट-लव-
B: That's good. Ring Ring.	N	<u> </u>
A: <i>Wei</i> , you, who do you need me to call for?	η	म्री हिंग हिं.शं.तत्त्रेर.टेब्
B: Wei, won't you call out for Menla?	P	न्धे। श्चवःन्त्रः केवाः श्चेः वर्वेन् खा

A: Of course I'll call him, of course I'll call him. He's bit far away, I'll go and call him.

B: Ya ya ya. Thank you.

A: [derisively, under his breath] Hehe, "thank you." If you need a slow [call], I'll speak with you in an hour.

A: Wei.

B: Wei.

A: Ah! Are you still waiting? *Ayoshe*, I looked for him everywhere, but I couldn't find him.

B: *Oya*! Then there's nothing we can do. Thank you!

A: You needn't say "thank you!"

B: [questioningly] Ya?

A: I never went to look for him!

B: Ah! [in surprise]

म ट.पसूर्य, बुंच्यू म का.जी जूज.पसूर्यी जूब.पसूर्यी सबा.कुबा.कुट.

प यायाया नगतः द्वातः की

यन्त्र। रुप्ति दुश्चर्स्य चित्रचा ची चित्रच्या चित्रच्या च्या द्वा चित्रच्या ची चित्रच्या ची चित्रच्या च्या च्या च्या च

ण से।

य से

चन्नवी.म्। यानक्षायानचन्नवी.सुन्.स्। याङ्गेन. पञ्चवी.म्। यानक्षायानचन्नवी.सुन्.स्। याङ्गेन. यो व्या न.स्टन्तमञ्जीवी.चर्न्नन्त्रीयाचन्नम्

च क्रा.ला २.चर्ग्ये२.त.लूर्ट.चु.ज.ऱ्री चर्माय.

ग ५ नगाय देव के ५ चेर ५ में वे श्रेव श्रेव

P 4

ग ८.चच.बी.चक्ष.बी.श.शूर.री

য গো

8. Careful Village's Grassland Dispute অম্ম্যস্কু⊂ ষ্ট্র'ন্বি'মস্কিব্য¹

A: Aro! This year, I went to "Careful Village" to write a khashag called "The Careful Village."

B: *Ya*, what was this so-called "Careful Village" like?

A: Ah, ah, ah... it was a village!

B: If it's called "Careful Village," then it must be a village. But judging by the village's name, you'd have to be very careful when you go there, right?

A: Ah, no, no. It's OK to let your guard down completely when you go there, *aro*!

B: Ah, ah, ah. *Olémo*! You wouldn't dare go to a place where you would have to go in fear.

- क्टर.क्रॅ.च.चडुच.एट्टी.क्रै.चड्र.क्टर.ट्र.सुभयः वित्तविष्यःचडुच.एट्टी.क्रै.चड्र.क्टर.ट्र.सुभयः वित्तविष्यःचडुच.एट्टी.क्रुं.चट्ट.ड्र.च्रुं.चट्ट.ड्र.च्रुंटर
- न जो शृष्ट्य.क्टर.क्ट्रं.च.चर्ट्रच.क्र्.क्ट्र.क्ट्रं.चड्डच.
- ग षाःषाःषा होःचःच नेवाः रेता
- खे.बु.मुश्यम.क्टर.लय.त्म्र्री.ट्यू.चु.मु.मुथ.या लुय.क्य्रि.पु.मु.टी झे.च.टुतु.बुट्यर.चडेम.च. वि मुश्यम.क्टर.झु.च.चुम.चू.र्यम्झे.च.चचुवी.टी.
- य का.के.मुची क.मुची चच.मु.मुजयम.हूँर्ज.नय.
- म्रि.ट्यू. ऱ्यां अ.क्.च्रा क्रुं न्यूं। विष्या का का क्षा क्रां जुर्ग क्रीया निय्या का न्यूं का न्यूं वा न्या नि

¹ A is voiced by Menla Jyab and B is voiced by Phagmo Drashi.

A: Uh, rather than "Careful Village" you could just as easily call it "Kind-Hearted Village." I've never seen such a hospitable village. They couldn't decide where to put me up.²

B: That was just them filling your belly to bursting.³

A: *Ah*, they weren't just hospitable with food. They also draped me in so many silk *khatak* scarves that I resembled a *labtse*.⁴

B: You got all happy and began to resemble a prayer flag.⁵

A: Additionally, my timing was excellent. Careful Village was in the middle of a land dispute.

B: So that's good?

A: One was killed over there [in the opposing village], and only three were able to be killed over here [in Careful Village].⁶

- शुः हैं द्यी शुंस् । स्टान्ने र्चे त्यिष्टे स्थादे त्यह्या यान्नेया शुंस्याया प्राप्त स्थाने स्थाने
- त्यरेट.यूं.टु.इट.जूं। वि टे.टु.युं.रट.ट.तक्वीबाब.कट्.त.तबुबा.खैंटे.
- या व्यायन्त्र स्वर्त्ते स्वर्त्ते स्वर्त्ते स्वरंत्रे स
- त्र-तत्रुची-वी-पूच-पूच-पूच-पूच्ची-त्रुची वि-पित्रुची-पूच-पूच-पूच्ची-प्रची-प्
- य ट्रेट.क्ट्रंन.ब्रीय:क्ट्रंस.क्ट्रंन्त्रंत्य:क्ट.ड्रा. वि.च्ट्रंस.च्यांच्यःक्ट्रंस्त्रंत्यंच्यःच्यांच्यांच्याःच्या
- ष रै:र:कृ'वै:रेन<u>ा</u>
- त्रीवः त्रतायाः स्ट्रान्यचेताः स्ट्

² Implying that all were willing to house him.

³ In the Tibetan context, he is suggesting that this is basic hospitality and nothing special.

⁴ A khatak is a silk scarf, often white, presented to visitors, and important persons. Encouraging him to put it in his pouch suggests possible bribery. Labtse are mountaintop cairns, seen as "consecrated abodes and places of veneration for specific territorial gods" (Tsering 2016, 451).

⁵ This metaphor suggests that he moved excitedly, dancing like a flag flapping in the wind.

The verb used here, $sod(\tilde{\mathbb{N}}_{1})$, is in the potential form, a peculiar form can be found in Amdo and Old Tibetan expressing the ability of the action denoted by

B: Isn't three enough?

A: There were also many wounded, so don't fret.⁷

B: As if I was waiting to hear something like that.

A: *Ah*, there are still five who look like they will die, fifty who it appears will definitely not die, and another thirty who are in great pain.

B: Un. That's plenty.

A: Uh, and that was the time I arrived. Just think! Isn't that timely!

B: Maybe so.

A: Moreover, all I had to do was observe closely, and then write extensively about it.

B: Your burden is light!

A: Uh, it was light, but with each laughing word that came out of that smiling Village Leader's mouth, my workload got heavier and heavier, aro!

B: Ya, what did the village leader say?

प्रिमः क्षित्रः क्ष्याः वृत्तः क्ष्रिः वृत्त्रे व्या

य व्याप्त स्थान स्यान स्थान स्यान स्थान स्यान स्थान स

व दबादी:ब्रान्चवायार्गानम्बरार्ज्यन्तरार्ज्यन्तरार्ज्यन्तरा

लूट, यु. इट्टी चडी क्. मूर्यं, ये. मूर्यं, रुपं, यच्चता, तु। श्वेश्वा श्वे. स्री शु. त्यकु. मूच्चता, लुय. यु. त्यटे. त्यच्चता, तु। स्री. यो ब्ला टे. देट. त्यकु. क्री. लुय. यु. त्यटे. त्यच्चता, तु।

ष्युवा ५ र्ष्ये५ वी

ण ष्या नेतेःभ्रम्ययःनेरःनःस्वेनःम्नरःनेःनेना क्वियःवन्दःर्मेनःसःनःभ्वेनःसन्यःवने।

पि ५ भीव वे भीव कुर्वे रे ५

य दे.श्रेष्ट.वस्तरी लट.टस.श्रे.पट.च.चड्डेब. चन्नेश्व.चरेट.ट्री श्रु.पर्ट.च.चड्डब.ड्रेश्व.चरेट. क्रिप्ट.ट्रे.ट्री

वि वितुःतवावः विरः यः यदः वी

ण ष्या बुरुन्वै: ५ डेवा यर वै: २५ ५ वे हे ५ वें द ५ वें ५ वि: १ वें ५ वें ५

प था हे दर्भे व की शक्त हो र की

the verb.

⁷ In the previous turn, the speaker said *nyungsong* (35.35), which could also mean, "too few." Though he means that three is too many, the other speaker interprets it as "too few" and assures him that plenty of others were injured.

A: [in the voice of an elderly man] "Ya, I've heard of the one called 'Menla Jyab from Amdo'⁸ but I've never had an audience with him. He must be something special, an impressive guy! Hahaha!"

ત્રી જા.જાતું.સી ૨.૨.૨ો જૂરે.રે.જાદજાવું.ઝુરી ૪૨.૨.૧ે.વગ્રુવી.છું. ત્રીવી જા.જાતું.સી ૨.૨.૨ે.વગ્રુવી.છું.

B: [surprised] What was that?

A: [in normal voice] The village leader laughs with every sentence he speaks.

B: Ha! I was startled! What did he say then?

A: [in the village leader's voice] "So you say you're an 'awtist.' You say you're an 'arthor'. Moreover, you say that you're a so-called 'odist.' That's a heckuva lot of titles for one person, isn't it? Hahaha!"

B: There it is again!10

A: [as the village leader] "Well, anyway. You are exceptional. Put this *khatak* in the pouch (of your robe). Hahaha!"

B: He's speaking, so listen!

- पि दे.कु.पञ्चति.लुव.वु.रूरी
- ग ष्या झे: दर्भें त्र नीयः क्षें नारे त्यम् द्रायम् । प्राचीता व्याचीया क्षेत्र स्टिन्स्य स्टिन
- ष्टि हे। दे.पर्च्र.रट.ट.क्षेत.श्र.चरेट.चरेट.घल। टे.
- । ५.२२। ब्रिक्तिन क्षान्त्राच्या व्याप्त स्थान्य व्याप्त स्थान्य स्था
- দ শহ.চূব.ঘনা
- नश्चरा क्रिया ५,२,२। नश्चरा क्रिया क्रिया अन्यत्वी हि.स.लुब.ची न नामक्ष्या क्रिया क्रिया अन्यत्वी
- व इं.चनर.मी.र्जुबा.बा.स्ट.बीश.र्बे्ब.व.र्डूर.ला

⁸ Using 짜 기계, translated here as 'from Amdo,' as part of one's name is somewhat unusual, and really only used for famous people,

⁹ In the Tibetan, the Village Leader mispronounces the words "artist," "author" and "poet" (which would be new terms to him), as "person with hair on their legs," "tsampa-er," and "melodious black-er."

¹⁰ This refers to the Village Leader's laughter.

A: [as the village leader] "Ah, it's good that thou camest in general, but it's especially good that thou camest to Careful Village. Hahaha!"

B: Why's that?

A: [as the village leader) "In the past, we of Careful Village weren't this timid around others. This time the weighted blackjacks all fell on our heads.¹¹ All the village men are over there lying on their beds. Hahaha!"

B: Ya, is that so?

A: [as the village leader] "You yourself have said that you are both Menla, and a *menpa* (doctor). It's up to you to make all these people stand again. We will run to battle as soon as we get up. Hahaha!"

B: Are you satisfied now? So what did you say?

A: I spoke honestly, "Dear Village leader, that would be difficult. They look badly injured, and they won't be getting up any time soon. What can I do to rouse them?" I said.

B: What did he say?

A: [as the village leader] "Hahaha!"

B: Now what?

अभयः कटा झे.च.सुचयः क्र्यांचे २५५५। यो व्या द्वीरः विचायास्यात्रे स्वा देवात्र

प देवे कुं सर्व के प्रचिष भीव वे से दा

म्, वेतालका चर्ना सुर्वा ची वेतालका चर्मा के स्वी स्वाप्त स्वी स्वी स्वाप्त स्वी स्वी स्वाप्त स्वी स्वी स्वाप्त स्वी स्वी स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वी स्वाप्त स्वाप्

ष भा देःभवेदःवःभा

य हिं श्चेव संस्कृति ५,५,२। कुर्पे ५ हिं स्व संस्कृत विश्व स्व संस्कृत विश्व स्व संस्कृत विश्व स्व संस्कृत स्व संस्कृत विश्व स्व संस्कृत स्व संस्कृत स्व संस्कृत स्व संस्कृत स्व संस्कृत विश्व स्व संस्कृत स्व संस्

पि ८.[ब्रि.ख्र.क्र्य.ची [ब्र्य.क्र.चड्रा

स्थान्य स्थान

ष कु.चुर.ची

ጣ 5'5'5|

प परकें यात्रवावी सेत्

¹¹ Translated here as "blackjack" (ঝৰ্ল) র্ন্ন্স্ন্) is a long leather strap with a piece of shaped metal attached at the end.

A: [as the village leader] "If a doctor cannot rouse his patients, then there's no way that the patients can rouse the doctor. A doctor should have a solution. Hahaha!"

B: Now you'd better come up with something fast!

A: [as himself] At the first chance I got, I said, "Dear Village Leader, I say that I am a doctor in my compositions, but if a truly wounded man was placed in my care, I wouldn't even know how to check his pulse! By Picasso!"

B: [incredulously] What did you say? Picasso?

A: Uh, I panicked, so I swore by a great artist.

B: *Olé*. Would he believe you if you swore an oath like that?

A: [as the village leader] "I believe you since you have sworn by your father!" 12

B: Oh, he believed you!

- श्रव-त-तन्त्रची-वा-वर्ग्न-त-लून-क्रिय्-म्नी श्र श्रव-त-तन्नेन-त्यान्न-क्रिय्-त-लून-क्रिय्-म्नी श्रव-त-तन्त्र-त-र्श्न्य-क्रिय-व-त-वन-तन्त्र-
- पि ५.४८.बीथ.५अ.अ.चर्ग्रे.त.पडीव.ली
- त्रवात्र्या प्रवात्र्या स्वात्रः स्वित्रः स्वेत्रः स्वेत्रः स्वा वे स्वेत्रः व स्वा स्वायः स्वयः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स्वय
- पि कु.चड़ी तुश्र.वि.श्र्री
- क्रवे.क्र्यं.सञ्जयात्रवेदःस्वेतःस्वरःस्व
- ष्ट्र-तर्के,यन्ना व ख्र.ज़ी ट्रे.क््रम्पयंतःचन्नुचीःचन्नीनःलन्नी हं.मु.
- य निर्देशःसःम्बनःवःक्नःपर्द्युःवेःसेन। नश्चिषःसःम्बनःवःकनःपर्द्युःवेःसेन।
- पि क्र्. ई.र. प्रवृ. क्.

¹² Here the Village Leader doesn't recognize the name "Picasso" and interprets it according to Tibetan conventions, in which people swear by relatives, for example "by my father's flesh" (জ'ণ্ট্'ন্মা).

A: [village leader's voice] "I believe that you're not a doctor, but you shouldn't keep it a secret that you are a *lama*, it's a matter for all sentient beings. Hehehehehehehe!"

B: [chuckling] And you still haven't escaped.

A: [in normal voice] I was so scared that my hair stood on end. "Dear Village Leader, you're an intelligent person, so how can you say this? Look at the hair on my head, the clothes on my body, and the stubble on my face. Where is there a *lama* like me?"

B: What did he say then?

A: *Hehe*! He had some things to say, *aro*! [as the village leader] "I've seen faces on *tangka* paintings, and Tri Ralpachen's¹³ head was like that. People say I don't know anything, but I've been around the block a few times. All those who don't like Tibetan clothes, and don't wear Chinese clothes, wear clothes like this. Whiskers grow on your face even if you are a *lama*, nobody is planting them."

B: That's right. I think that's definitely true.

ण श्चित्र-धान्तेत्र-वित्तंत्र-धान्ते क्षेत्र-धान्तेत्र-धान्त्र-धान्ते क्षेत्र-धान्ते कष्टिक क्षेत्र-धान्ते कष्ते क्षेत्र-धान्ते क्षेत्र-धान्

ष लट.ष्र.घर.घजी

यं.क्रां, स्वें क्षां स्वां, स्वां,

ष दै'चबे'व'कै'बेर'षी

या है हो हो नी देवे क्टूर मी निष्ठ के स्टार हो स्था है के हो हो के स्वार के स्वर के स्वार के

ष ने'मर्बे'रेन्। वेंब्यम्नेव'वर्नेन्'वी

¹³ Tri Ralpachen (c. 805–c. 838) was one of the three dharma kings of Tibet, and the penultimate king of the Tibetan empire.

A: [in normal voice] So then I also sincerely explained, "If I were a *lama*, then my monastery would be a distillery, my monks would not have perfected the study of the "perfection of wisdom" sutra, and they would have attained perfection only in smoking cigarettes. If there is a *lama* like this, let alone in the next life, would the government¹⁴ even accept him?"

B: That was direct. What did the village leader say?

A: [as the village leader] "Uh, I know, I know. Then swear that everyone in your work unit doesn't call you, 'Alak'" [in a normal voice] he said.

B: But that's just a name your co-workers came up with themselves.

A: [normal voice] Eh, I said that too, but that old man was stubborn. [as the village leader] "So anyway,

The disputes of men are like unbreakable boulders,

The disputes of women are like juniper that doesn't rot.

- च्राथ.कु.चुर.ची .चचुची.च्रा खा.षि.हु.टेत्य.
- वु.मुट.जू। वि. मु.जय.विट्य.वीय.मु.कूय.म्ट.ट.चेचेवा.
- य्येवाक्षेत्रम् न्यानः स्त्रम् च्येवाक्षेत्रम् न्यानः स्त्रम्

ल्.क्र्रीट.ल.च्ट्टाचेबाबाक्की.ग्रटी

र्<u>ज</u>्रा.क्रुं ५:सृषायः ४:सः क्रुं स्रोता

¹⁴ The Tibetan term *gongma tshang* (ब्रिट्स कॅंटिं) is traditionally a way of referring to emperors and their officials. Here, however, it is used to refer to the government as it is sometimes used today.

¹⁵ Alak is a common term of respect used in Amdo for reincarnate *lama*.

For the whole business of this grassland dispute, we will entrust it to you. Hehehe."

B: So, there's no way you can say "yes!"

A: [chuckling] I did say, "Yes."

B: Ah, how could you?¹⁶

A: Uh, I had to learn about this matter regardless—I had no choice!¹⁷

B: It's OK to learn about it, but you can't be a fake *lama*.

A: I thought of that too, so I spoke even better than a real *lama*!

B: [incredulously] Ya?!?!

A: [in normal voice, addressing the village leader] "Uh, well, my previous incarnations thought of nothing but religion, but I'm one of those who can't even deal well with the secular."

B: In saying so, you agreed that you are a *lama*.

A: That's right, but I kept it a secret that I'm fake.

B: That's what I was saying!

५.मुट्यान्याः अक्ट्रिट्याः च्यान्याः च्याः च्यायः चयः च्यायः चयः च्यायः चयः च्यायः च्यायः चयः च्यायः चय

ष ८.विंश.ल.चुर.थेव.चु.श.र्रे.च्

ग ८८४-४-७५ वने प्रतिराम्

प षा यर्ने न्ये वया पा

ण श्री वट हेर ट्यार्चे वर्गेट या सेट स्था च च विष्णे पर हेर रेवें वी वर्गेट या सेट स्था

त्रक्तःभेषःषु अःसेरःम् विकाल्य स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्थान्त्रः स्

य रशः र.टे.पर्टा तम्बीयः तथः र.चे.यः शः रं.यः वर्षेत्रः तयः प्रचीयः तथः प्रचाराः वर्षे

M M

ण दै:रेन्:व। ह्वास्थः भेवः वें वायरः चन्दः वेः रेनःया

ष दे.चत्रं.वय.ला

¹⁶ The Tibetan phrase *dida shi thal* (৭৭ মূল্ম), literally something like "he's dead," is used to complain that someone is making a poor decision.

¹⁷ He must learn about it, because he's still planning to write a script about his trip.

A: Maybe so, but they'll figure it out in the end.

B: When they find out you'll be gone, and they'll be finished!

A: Uh, it's not like I'm the only heartless person who has cheated these kind-hearted Careful Villagers. Put another way: I'm here only to learn and won't profit by it, *aro*!

B: I don't know about that... And then?

A: Uh, then, pretending that I am [a lama], I upbraided the village leader.

B: You've grown bold before they've even given you any money.

A: Uh, "Ah karmically-wicked ones! Why did none of you think to contact me about this important issue until now?"

B: Wouldn't you help them attack (if they asked you)?

A: [in normal voice, to B] I can't do much, but I would help do rituals on their behalf.

B: You bullshit without thinking!

A: [back to the village leader] "You are the village leader! You can't rest there so comfortably."

B: So, what should he do?

म दै.लुब.४८.शचर.श.चञ्चनामानेश.पर्की.वै. इरी

वि ग्रहेग्वेश-दुश-दृःहिंर्न्र-र्शेद-वै:रेद-दृ। विरुक्ति-स्र-र्शेद-वै:रेद-पा

ला.म्. ला. श्रम्भावान्यसम्बद्धाः स्वान्त्रसम्बद्धाः स्वान्तस्य स्वान्यस्य स्वान्तस्य स्वानस्य स्वानस्य स्वानस्य स्वानस्य स्वानस्य स्वानस्य स्वानस्य स्वा

ष दे:वेष:वे:अ:रेन् दे:वषा

य व्या दे.वय.ट.ट्य.च.ड्या.लुव.च.च.ट्र.। रस्त्रेच.च.चयाय.चर्क्यच्याचय.च्याच्य.

u क्रि.भ.पर्येज.मूर.पचुर्या.मु.क्रिश.प.धेर्य.घजी

वि ब्रिंग.र.कैंवाय.र्च्याय.ल्ट.ज.चत्रं.धु.श्रव.वी

या ८४.कु.चन्नुबानानुं अन्देन्-न्य क्रूबर्न्यन्यः राष्ट्र

व जयःभैवाःभैर्यः र जर्रः भैवाः श्रः रम्, मै

य हिं.झे.रेत्र्य.ऱ्री चरे.झ्.लब.तरीब.ब.लूर.

ष ५:क्रे.चञ्चवा:चे५:५र्वे:वे:रे५।

A: "Now, you've fought though you said you wouldn't fight; and you've killed though you said you wouldn't kill. Hold a meeting tomorrow for the entire village; the *lama* will come to resolve this dispute.¹⁸ If you're going to obey, say, 'Yes sir.' If you don't accept, then I'll go away!" I said.

चड़ी वि.शु.लुच.डुच.च.खुर.टव्सू चड़े रा मी.से.स.सूटा चम्च कु के डुच्च प्रचान स्त्र मा.सू.च.झे.वक्स्वमा.कुचमा कुट.स.स्यानकूट. श्राचाजूट.चड़.दर.चन्नट.चड्च वर्थ.

B: What did they say?

A: [hollering] "Yes sir! Yes sir!" [normal voice] they said sounding like the Chabcha earthquake, aro. 19

B: So that day was nice, but the next day must have been difficult.

A: That next day, everybody gathered together: from those with white teeth to those with white hair,²⁰ the living and the dead!

B: [stunned] What did you say? The dead? The dead came back?

A: Oh... no. I was saying the mature and the immature, both the maimed and the not maimed, many of them gathered.

B: Oh, and the charlatan might also be revealed.

- प के.च्रेर.च्री
- य.तवीज.चर्षैवाय.यु.जर्ने.चन्नुवा.स्ट.ळ.सू म जवाब.जू। जवाब.जू। त्रस्ता.स्ट.क्स.क्स.
- ष देवे क्षेत्र द्वार प्राप्त प्राप्त क्षेत्र क्षेत
- ૫ દેવું સુંતું કુંતું દુષ્યું નામું કુંવાનો જ્યાના કુંતું કુંતું - કુંતું નામું કુંતું નામું કુંતું નામું આ કુંતું કુંતું કુંતું નામું કુંતું કુંતું નામું આ કુંતું કુંતું કુંતું નામું કુંતું કુંતું નામું કુંતું કુંતુ
- प्रमाने के प्राची भी में प्राची भी में प्राची स्थान स्यान स्थान स्यान स्थान स्यान स्थान स
- या क्षी य:रेट्'र्वे कुट:य:प्येव;येव:पाठेवः या स्वय:य:प्येव;येव;पाठेवःय;यट:य:र्वः दर्ळेपाय:प्येव;येव;यवेवःयःयः
- ष क्र्.र.हेब.ज.स्.र.केर.र.परीर.ग्री

⁸ হ'ঝ'ণ্ডিব্ literally means "cut the tail," but here it is used to settle, mediate, or resolve the he dispute.

¹⁹ This is likely a reference to large earthquake in Chabcha (Ch., Gonghe) County in 1990, during which a dam broke, and that this and similar phrases below may allude to this event.

²⁰ Here this means both young (with white teeth) and old (with white hair).

A: Uh, again the village leader went first. [in the village leader's voice] "Hey You guys! Pipe down! Pipe down! Don't push and don't crowd! We are here to worship the *lama* not to chase him away. Having come to our gate, how could we not get an audience?"

B: They will get an audience, but they'll be worshipping the wrong one.

A: In the blink of an eye, a countless amount of *khatak* were in front of me and "human heads" had fallen before me in greater number than the people there.

B: What did you say? Human heads fell before you?

A: Olé! The number of people on each was different, just as they have different values if you take them to a mall.

B: Oh, you're talking about money?²¹ The 5s and 10s, 50s and 100s each have different images on them, and their values are different from each other. But you can't keep them.

A: Oh! [chuckling] I put them in my pouch!

- बूट.बू.चूच.चया वि अहल.वि.टे.लूट.क्वै.ट्रे.टी शहल.बू.प्क्वी.
- चन्त्र,चम्द्रस्य। श्री,अर्म्,चम्रम्,श्री,ट्री,ट्र्यू,श्री,क्ट्रस्,ये,चम्रम्, चप्रेयाता,चार्यात्र्या,भ्रात्युय,यु,चम्रम्,चाम्, च चन्नेयानम्बर्धा,मुचा,मुचा,चारपु,र्जूच,य,चा
- पि कु.पत्र्री ब्रि.क्र्वं.व.वेंशे.श्व्.त्तवं.त्यं.त्ये.त्यं.त्यं.त्यं.त्यं.त्यं.
- यो.म्) ह्यूची प्रट.स्.सूर.च.मुच.घर.म्.कु.पट्. यो.म्) ह्यूची प्रट.स्.सूर.च.मुच.घर.म्.कु.पट्. यो. क्र्.जो ट्रह्यूची वी.कुर्जी प्रचरम्भ म्यूची
- धर.वटी.वु.श.स्टे.टी स्ट.बुश.लुट.वेच.वु. स्ट.वटी.वु.श.स्टे.टी स्ट.बुश.लुट.वेच.वु. फि. ख्र.झूस.झ्.चव्र.वशा टु.ट.क्रॅ.चूब.चर्झ.चूब.
- ग र्षे रुवायानधूषानहरा

²¹ This is likely a reference to the third or fourth series of Chinese RMB, both in use at the time of the performance, with the latter featuring images of different ethnic minority groups on different denominations.

B: <i>Ah</i> ? But then didn't you say that you were only there to learn, and wouldn't profit by it?	N	ष्ण दें.व.डिंशः चुरा वेंव सेव वरा चुः से नर्वेः पत्रे वे सेव वर्षा
A: Uh, I forgot about that as soon as I saw the riches, <i>aro</i> .	η	ष्ण क्रुं देवा पहराव पहेरावर्कुं वी ष्णार्से
B: I thought that you'd do that from the start.	Įα	८ष:र-दिर-अ:पञ्जेषाःषीःदीःधोदाङ्काःसेदाःवर्देदः यार्जे
A: Uh, then I gavest an oration.	η	ष्ण ८.८४.चोश्चर.च४८.च४८.च५८.।
B: What did you say?	P	५-क्र-पञ्च-वर्ष
A: "Uh, now all of you shut up!"	η	ला ८.क्ट.भ्राय.स्या.चा.कुवा.सूटी
B: [now as an audience member] We're making no sound.	Π	ाय-सञ्जया-की-को-को-को-को-को-को-को-को-को-को-को-को-को-
A: "Don't make the children with bright futures cry."	η	^{નુ.} તજાજાતનું ફ્રૈયૂ.લ.તજા.ટે.ઘુ.જા.તદેવો.મ
B: Such a strict <i>lama</i> .	[T	<u>दैःक्षं</u> न्नुःयःचर्डत्ःर्ये
A: I'm not stunning, but I am strict. I speak little, but I would bend over under stress. ²²	η	दः संभायत्रेषा स्रोता पर्द्यः संभाषेतः वः सुरः स्। वो स्वे वो प्याप्तान्य पर्द्धः स्था प्रेतः वः सुरः स्।
B: Is that the way a <i>lama</i> should speak?	P	दै.चर्चे:ब्रु:अ:चडीवा:वी:चन्दर्:ब्रें(य:पीव:वी:रः श्रीव:वी:रेद:वॉ
A: Uh, "but you all don't know the things I know. If you knew them, you would know whether or not I am a real <i>lama</i> ."	η	ઇન્ય-ફ્રિ.વ.દ.ધ.જા.નુવ.જીવ.સુવ.૨.છિ-દ્યુન્ય.ઇન્ન જા તુવ.જી-દ-દન્ય.ઇન્ય.વું.છિ-દ્યુન્ય.જી.ઇના ટું.
B: So, no one knows other than me.	[T	<u> </u>

²² Translation aims to replicate the repeated uses of *ts* sounds in the original.

A: "Uh, so if there is anyone who says that I am not a *lama*, then get out!"

B: [as an audience member again] I must sit there biting my lips.

A: "These Tibetan land disputes are disputes over water and land. Put clearly, fights over there and fights over here and all people fighting together, they're still just fights."

B: They know that!

A: "Uh, this fighting is a good tradition. Uh, we fought starting from Tri Ralpachen's time. At that time, they had disputes over territory, but they didn't fight over grass. Now, they fight over grass but not territory. Although the goals were different, they were, to put it simply, fights. You need to fight, so keep fighting!"

B: So, they won't ever finish fighting?

A: [to B] Uh, as long as there is life on this planet, there will be fighting.

B: But if you keep fighting, then your shepherds and goatherds will be no more.

A: Uh, the things that should finish must finish. This world must end. I must speak thus, and I must obtain what I seek.

B: It's certain you will.

- या का.रे.स्. अ.अ.इ.स.चे.स.चे.सूर.चे.स.स.चे.बी. वा.सूर.
- वि अ.विर.सू.चेच.चग्र.चरीबीक्री.बू

ष नै:५:वेष:कु:चे५:५।

- पि न्रिंद्रन्थ्राळ्न्रक्त्र्यं प्रवेषायेन्वे छोन्ने ।
- म अप्यह्मनाहेन्न नीप्यक्टं नामाक्टरान्य प्रहेना हेन नीर्हेन्य करने
- र्म, बु. सुरी यपेट. ट्मू, बु. सुरी चलका रूचे म्युन, तबीय. केष कर कि. चमुन, बु. सुरी चलका सूच, यज्ञीय. बो. ह्या कर कि. चमुन, ब्यून, सुन, वहना.
- पि त्वीतः क्रि. लुवः व्र्. र्षिः घवाः रूटी

A: When you say it like that, now I understand something.

B: What is it?

A: [speaking again to the villagers] "And if I speak clearly about this grassland dispute here, it's just a dispute."

B: They know that already.

A: "Well, if there is a dispute, then there must be a reason for it. I need that reason. If you all don't tell me that reason, then I won't understand it at all. If one knows the reason, then it's easy to fight."

B: You're going to sit there and say it's easy!

A: [to B] Uh, but if you think about this simple matter, then it might be difficult.

B: Who knows if it is a simple matter, as it's difficult even to get it out of your mouth.

A: [to the villagers] "You're still definitely going to fight. So, let's make some simple arrangements. If you will obey, then say 'Yes sir!' If you do not agree, I'll leave."

B: And they probably said, "Yes sir! Yes sir!" sounding like an earthquake.

- य देग्यवति त्यम् सूर्यः चेर्यः त्याचित्रः चेत्रः चत्रा
- प क्र.चर्च्या.रूटी
- यन्तर्भुरुयान्त्री म र्षेट्रियानी,अर्ड्ड्रेन्यर्ट्री.राज्यलान्यु.लया
- ष दे:र्षि:र्क्रेश:र:वेश:वे:रेद:पा
- યો જો ફ્રુટ્ટ.ત.તના વેડ્ટ.ક્ર.ત.ટ્વે.વું.કુંટ. કુંત્ર.ક્ર.વ.ફિં.ક્રું.લ.લ.વનેટ.વે.ટ્ય.ક્ર.વ.વ.ત તા જો ફ્રુટ.ત.તના વેડ.ક્ર.ટ્ટે.વે.વું.કુંટ.ક્રુંટ્ર.
- ह्या विश्वःक्षेत्र्यःयधेरःजयःयक्ष्यःवोयःयर्देवाःक्षैः
- या ब्या र्नेत्र-प्वाञ्कः क्रेंग्यनै त्यन्तः समुनावः नुष्याः क्या क्रेंग्यने स्वर्माः
- ખ ટ્રેવ.વત્રા વ.વર.વત્ર.ભૂર.ક્રીપ્.કુવ.રે.પીત.વી.વગ્ર.વ. ફ્રેવ.રેવા.ક્રે.શૂ.તુવ.તર્રેવા.શ્યાનુત્ર.રી ફ્રિંવુ.
- त्र्य्यी जवाद्या<u>र्य</u>त्तच्ची वि.क्षु.जुव.चुर.वे.क्षुर.र. ज.चर्यूर.क्षुव.जुरी चर्याव.चक्कु.क्षुं.चुर.वे. या ट.क्टर्ड्ड्रट.क्षित्.व्.घव्य.ऱ्री ट.क्ष्.क्र्.जुर.
- वु.तर्ट.चचुत्रा.लुय.क्र्यू.स्ट्री वि जवात्र.जूर्रा जवात्र.जूर्ग लट.ब्र.जवीज.चक्रैवीय.

A: Uh, "I'll ask first, and then you respond."

B: Now hurry up and speak.

A: "First, Village Leader, stand up!"

B: Will you make that old man laugh again?

A: [to the village leader] "Ya, speak without laughing! Disputes are disputes. We need to make it easy by fighting. What's the reason that neither you Careful Villagers nor they can make it simple by fighting?

B: *Ya*, now the village leader will speak.

A: [in the leader's voice] "Goodness! Starting from the old times we took turns leading off horses and killing people. Hehehe! Oh! I'm not allowed to laugh."

B: But the old world is past. We have to speak about the new society.

A: [as the village leader] "For us, there's no old and new. If it weren't for the hiatus of '58 and the Cultural Revolution,²³ more than a few people from both sides would be no more. Hehehe."

- त्तव.सूचन्या च्या ह्या मूट-वय.ट्या-वट्टी बूचा-वया.सूर.कूय.
- व र रेअ अ रेग र्वेर ल र्वेर ल
- ग र्वेषाः सराषाः ष्ठाः श्वेरियं वास्यः सः सेरिया
- व लट.मेर.त्.रमूर.चूर.मु.पर्थं मार्के.येश
- व ल.र.इं.रेत्य.बीथ.वधर.क्.र्र.
- वि प्रतहेषा हेत् हिराया हैरा र्सेराय विश्वा
- म् दे:क्रॅवे:पर:र:पायर:क्रेट:पी:क्ट:प्र्वीवे:अ रेप:प्र्योर:क्षे:यो:पात्र्व्यःपर:क्र्रं:र:पार्वेदः रेप:प्र्योर:क्षे:यो:पात्र्व्यःप्र:प्र्योवे: रेप:प्र्योर:क्षे:यो:प्रदेश:यो:क्र्रं:र:पार्वेदः रेप:प्र्योर:क्षे:यो:प्रदेश:यो:क्र्रं:प्रायेवे:अ:

^{23 1958} is the year of a revolt, the end of gradualist policies for integrating Tibet into the still-young PRC, and also a famine. Tibetans traditionally refer to 1958 as the dividing point between the "old society" and the "new society." The Cultural Revolution (1966–76) was a ten-year period of chaos that disrupted the entire nation. For more on the experience of 1958 in Amdo, see Weiner 2020.

B: Are you satisfied? You wouldn't be able to find a response to that.

व र.ब्रि.ख.क्र्य.ची लव.पर्नेचयाक्री.स.धा.ड्रेरी

A: [as himself, speaking to the village leader] "Uh, Village Leader! Speak plainly without mixing the old and new. Why did things go bad this time? There must be something to fight over," I said.

यवीवा क्र्रेटिकी यवुवाल्टिकीय्स्ट्रिटान्न्स्य वायलास्ट्रिटी ट्रिट्याकुत्ववाचालाः वा ब्या ब्याकिकीर्याचीवाचाः

B: If there was nothing to fight about, would there be a dispute?

व र्रेन्कुनवेषायेन्यर्रेन्ययेन्वेषायेन्

A: [as the village leader] "Things can't be hidden from the *lama* or from the next rebirth,²⁴ but the reason for the fight is no good."

ण न्नु:अ:ष्वेषर:द:धु:अर:ष्वेषद:। ईंद्ईंखेष: पर्छषा:वे:रेद्

B: That's probably right.

पि दे.श्र्.पत्रचीपालिवःक्रुःरेदा

A: [as the village leader] "Do you know the household responsibility system?"²⁵

ग तवाव वार्यः योव विश्वः वेषः गाः पञ्ची

B: I certainly do know it.

ष ५.५.ज.चेश.च.रूरा

A: [in the voice of the village leader] "Olé! When the livestock were divided up [among individual households], and they had constructed fences in each place, and each family was allotted a mountain pass, they let their horses stray into our sheep."²⁶

म्या क्ष्यां क्षुः विवास्त्रीयः स्याप्ते क्ष्यां क्ष्यां क्षयाः क्ष्याः कष्याः कष्यः कष्याः कष्यः कष्याः कष्या

B: So, give them back!

पि दे.हैर.र.धूर.ज.घूरअर्थो

²⁴ This is a traditional expression suggesting that the speaker must be truthful.

²⁵ A government policy in agricultural and pastoral communities instituted in 1978.

²⁶ Laha (ལ་ད།) is a term used in Amdo for an extremely woolly breed of sheep that are not native to the Tibetan Plateau.

A: "Uh, how much can a few horses eat? But we can't lose our pride! We said that if they don't pay a fee, we won't return their horses."

B: So, they can pay it.

A: "Uh, they didn't pay, so we weren't happy, and now we are at odds."

B: Now things have escalated.

A: "From that day on, we grew accustomed to taking turns butchering any who came onto our lands."

B: [addressing the village leader] What did you say? You butchered those that came on your land?

A: "We butchered them! We butchered as many as we could catch. If we couldn't catch them, then they got away."²⁷

B: [directly to the village leader]
Oh, so if one rode a great horse one would escape.

B: Who's saying that? *Your* livestock ride horses.

A: [interceding] Uh, the old man was talking about livestock!

B: [addressing A again] Oh, I thought they would butcher people.

शुः श्रें र त्यज्ञी तक्ट्र र भ्रा थेष्य त्यो श्री तज्ञ्चता सानुष्य त्या श्री र र स् या व्या वर्षा त्या वर्षा त्या क्षा वर्षा त्या वर्षा वरा वर्षा वरा वर्षा वर्या वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्या वर्या वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा

प दे:वीव:नहर:व:क्रेंग:वी:क्रॉ

य ब्याचान्ते स्त्री प्राचनान्ते स्त्री अप्तायतः वे स्त्री प्रस्ता

पि रर्नेवर्गाहेळेरसुर्ध्र

ज्ञत्यः व्या कृता-वा-कृटः व-त्यवितः द्रशः स्तर् क्रिः पञ्चवीः व देवः क्षेत्रः प्राप्तः व्याप्तरः व्याप्तः विद्या

वु.नुरी कु.मज्जी बाह्मवी.वी.सीटी.बूस्टाचे.सपीबा.सहूची.

या चनवित्रवीरित्रची दुःचैवावादुःचनविद्यवीरित्रची व्यः

ग ष्या यदीश क्रे.चेरा चूंचा में.खूंच नचुंचा चार च. लूर चंत्र क्रे.च्या

ग ष्णे श्रे-वी-क्-न-र्धेल-र्जेव-वेर-र्वे-वे-रे-न-पा

वि श्री द्रःचन्नःश्चीःचनवःवश्वःवःवर्द्रदःवा

²⁷ This could refer to both villages.

A: [under his breath] That would be a hospital.	ग ञ्चन्।व्दःभेनःगःभेन्।	
B: [to A] Ya, what did he say then?	ष थ'५'के'चेर'षी	
A: [as the village leader] "Ya, so if you're going to butcher them, then I'll butcher them too, and let's slaughter as many as we can!"	य स्त्रियः	મેના લે
B: It was probably a complete slaughter!	ष चनःगीक्वेंबा चन्दः सः स्प्रेनःगी र्वो	
A: <i>Ala</i> ! Those evil ones grew more and more accustomed to butchering, and even grew accustomed to cleaving.	ज्यकः मी.चीचवाः क्षे.चड्डाचाः र.ज्यचयः ह म व्यायाः ह्यं चायाः क्षे.कः क्रांचिवः क्षेत्रे	
B: <i>Aro</i> ! Hold up! What did you say? What did they cleave?	त्येटर.बु.सूरी वि क्ष.सूर्य कूर्र.बु. कु.चड्डी कु.चड्डवी.बीर	74].
A: Well, they weren't just cleaving cloth. Listen!	ग ५:रसःमधिनामसः बेरःकुः र्सेनः वेःसः वृत्रः वः वृत्रः	देन
B: It's not that I wasn't listening, I just didn't understand.	ष वार्मिर्वे सेव वर्षा साववादी प्रके पीव	7:51
A: [as the village leader] "uh, at one point the young men got knives in their backs while herding."	म् । प्रत्यः क्रिं स्वा श्रुपः श्रुपः श्रुपः से य म् । प्रतः प्रतः स्वा स्वा स्वा स्वा स्वा स्वा स्व	
B: Oh.	म छें।	
A: "They slashed at one of ours horizontally, and we cleaved one of theirs vertically."	चर्टर.चना चना क्रिक्टुत.चन्नर.२.चच्चन.घटर. च ट्रक्टुत.चन्नर.२.चच्चन.घटर.च्याचन	
B: <i>Ah</i> , so now they're slashing at people!	वि स्त्रो ट.घुटश.ट.घुी.चीचेची.चचुची.ली	

A: "Again, if you're going to slash, then I'll slash you too; and let's slash as many as we can."

B: So, go and slash each other to pieces!²⁸

A: "Ala. Those bastards got more and more used to cleaving and then ended up getting used to knocking off. But an unequal number were knocked off, and they were walking while we lay down. It's not fair, is it?"

B: So, what are you going to do about it?

A: So, he said [in the village leader's voice], "We're counting on you, wise *lama*, to pay them back with interest!"

B: So, learning about it gave you an excuse to take money, but you mustn't violate karmic law.

A: Even if I have no money, a true thief, let alone a fake *lama*, would understand the importance of not letting this village's line be cut.

B: Then tell them that it's an easy thing to do!

A: Uh, I did aver that settling that affair would be easy.²⁹

B: That's absolutely wrong! If that's easy, then what's difficult?

- चलभःतमः विची द्रमः च चीवी द्रमः जूदी यो लटः विची द्रमः जूदे च विची द्रमः जूदी खेः
- व ८.विव्या. इथ. वृंश. ट्र. रथ. वी. वृंट्श. ट. वृंट्श
- ट्य.पर्यो.स्.ची ट्रे.स्.चे.पड्डा.स्ट्रंच्या ट्रे.स्.चे.यं.ची.पथवा.पटेट.ट्या प्र्.क्र्.यट्य. ट्रे.च्या.स्.स्.यट्य.प्रेट्यंट.स्या ट्रे.स्.स्या य्ट्याय.प्रे.स्याय.प्रेट्यंट्याय.क्र्यंत्यय.स्या व्याय.प्रे.स्याय.क्रुंक्य.स्.चानवा.क्रुंत्.
- ष ८.कु.चञ्चबा.लुट.ट्रब्स्.बु.ऱ्री
- યા દુઃકું.ત્રીય.ત્યનિ.યું.ના તટુંતુ.કું.જ્ર.થાંકુંવ. વર્ષ્ટ્રના કુંત્ર.ય.વરુલ કુંત્રું.ટે.ચે.જ્રાં થોકુંવ. કુંત્ર.ત્યા
- यट्याऱ्यो क्री.वर्चया.गुट.वु.व्यया.गु.धेव.त् वि ट.क्रीया.जूच.वे.वि.वीलरा.रया.क्री.यट्या.वे.
- य र्राट्याकुर्तर्व,यन्त्रीयाचीयप्रीयाचीयप्रीय भ्राप्ट्रविकुर्प्र,र्याचीयाचीयप्रीयाचीयाचीयाप्रीय भ्राप्ट्रविक्रिय्र,र्याचीयाचीयप्रीयाचीयाचीय
- ष देशवाद्यादित्याद्याद्याः अर्थे विषया स्टिप्स स्टिप्
- चिश्चरकान्यर्थः ज्ञा स्कारःस्वारतानुःश्चेत्र्यःसञ्जेषान्तरः
- ष देश:चाव्यावधीयावी:याचे, प्राचीयावी:याचे, प्राचीयावी:याचे, प्राचीयावी:याचे, प्राचीयावी:याचे, प्राचीयावी:याचे,

^{28 5&#}x27;39| refers to scraps of cloth cut from a larger piece of cloth.

²⁹ In this line, Menla Jyab awkwardly and humorously uses honorifics to refer to the things he has said in the role of *lama*.

A: Uh, it's easy. Wipe out the other village, and then whose would their things be if not mine?

B: Well, aren't you a wolf in sheep's clothing!

A: Uh, so I will solve it beautifully!

B: [dismissively] Bullshit!

A: [to the villagers] "Uh, take a seat, Village Leader! I will call the villagers. Um, before, when the two villages fought, the losses were imbalanced. From now on, when people fight, they must be equal. In general, respect the words that the *lama* speaks, and especially, listen to the words of your parents."

B: Again, they probably said, "Yes sir!" such that, the earth and sky quaked with it more than just the earthquake! And so, who knows who will be called on first?

A: "First, that one with the long braid, stand up. [Hastily] Oh, not that one, not that one. A kid with braided hair should be catching baby birds.³⁰ The one behind him ... not you, not you, what old lady doesn't have a braid? The braided one behind her. Not that old man. The one young guy behind him: the one who's praying."

- य ल्या दे ऋषे से से स्वास्त्र स्वास
- वु.म.र.कु.नुरी व र.मची.नर.चर्चरी.जग्न.हची.न.चर्ड्य.चरेट.
- ग । ष्या ५:८रू:५पनाःनाःप्ययः व्यनःनीयः मर्छे५:कुः - देनःओ
- पि रःभ्रुवाःवाःसःस्रेव
- त्त्र्र-(यर्नाक्षयः) वी.लबायः स्याच चे.लूर्न क्रियः स्ट्री क्र्बायः स्या वि. लटायः त्वीलः बी.श्रः क्र्युः स्ट्री क्र्वायः ययुः स्ट्री वि. लटायः त्वीलः बी.श्रः क्र्युः स्ट्री क्र्वायः ययुः स
- मृष्टिं।

 ब्रिवाना-स्वान्त्रस्ति वर्ष्य-स्वान्त्रस्य क्षिः
 स्यान-इव्हर्मे विद्यान्त्रस्य क्षिः
 स्यान-इव्हर्मे विद्यान-इव्हर्मे विद्यान

³⁰ Meaning that he will not be calling any children forward.

B: *Ah ah ah*. There are rows and rows of people with braids!

A: "Uh, tell me! Which is better: to enjoy your own life, or to destroy your own people?"³¹

B: That's not like what a real thief would say. What did he say?

A: [in a different man's voice] "By my father's flesh, how should I know? But it must be that: 'It's better to die nobly than to live in shame for your whole life.'"

B: So he's one of those who is willing to sacrifice himself.

A: [as the *lama*] "Ah, noble son! If told to run to the paths of the dead, you will. If told to hit your father's head, you will. You are fated to defeat one who is deaf in his left ear, and who has a scar on his lip, and you're not allowed to even approach anyone else."

B: That's distinctive; there's no mistaking that!

A: [as the braided man] "Ah, my maternal uncle? Dear Alak. That's my mother's brother!" he said.

B: Oh, what do you say to that?

- द्रभारानचुवालूर्यः व स्थारानचुवालूर्यः
- य लाहिंयार्चेटी शुः झुः जूटयार्श्चेटी लया चे स्टेग्वे
- पि दे.तर्ज्ञ.भीवे.क.ट्र.क.तज्ञवी.ची.भेटे.क.भु.ह्यी. वी क्षु.जुन्द्राची
- य क्ष.क्वेतुःस्याङ्गवास्त्रेयःचेत्रःस्याः च्राञ्चेतःस्याङ्गवास्त्रःस्याः व्राञ्चेतःस्याङ्गवास्त्रःस्याः
- प्ति न् 'स्व'न्यस्' प्ययः न् रस्थिन हें 'प्ययः सुन् 'वर्षी'
- वा.चर्टेट.चं.स्.भुक्त व्रिट्ट.पट्या.सेला.लुची ट्रे.शूच.चया.क्री.चच्ची. वर्लटा क्र्येंट्य.ता.लुच.च्री वि.च.भ्राव.क्य.स्. पलटा क्र्येंटचाच्च.वा.च्यंच्यं.प्रच्यं.स्टी च्र. व्रा द्रवाया.ग्री.वी क्रियायाच्च.चं.वाचेच.ह्
- पि हेर्बायाच्यान्त्र स्ट्री तळ्वाची या सेट्री
- ત્ર્યા જા જાત્વર:ખીવા જાત્યનાય:બુંન્સા જાન્મુવે:બ ત્રું-દેર-પાવે:જા-અવે:શુંદ-સં-સે-પાયો કેસ:ખા
- पि र्ख्ये ८ रखे स्कूचा ची

³¹ Here, Menla Jyab plays with the rhyme of ক্রী ক্র'ন্ম্ন ক্রিন্ত্র বিদ্যালয় your life" and ক্রী ন্ম্বান্তর্বান্তর বিদ্যাক্তর বিদ্যান্তর বিদ্যান বিদ্যান্তর বিদ্যান বিদ্যান্তর বিদ্যান্ত

A: [Menla Jyab as himself, tersely to the braided man] "I didn't ask about that. If he's your maternal uncle, then he must be your mother's brother. Sit down! The one in front of you; the one wearing the sheepskin robe."

B: They're all wearing sheepskin robes.

पि र्श्वेया.त.ध्येय.ध्य.प्र.च्यं.त.चश्च्य.श.क्.र.त्र

A: "Uh, that one with the robe with the patch."

ग षा र्डेंग्यायानुवार्यान्डवार्यान्

B: I'm sure there are many with patched robes.

प भ्रुव-धें रुव-र-क्रे-र-क्रे-र-में वर्ष

A: "Uh, that one with the robe with a round patch sewn with black thread! Stand up!"

ण ष्यःभ्रदःभिःर्विरःर्वेरःभ्रुद्दःभःद्वषाद्वषावीयः चर्डेयःर्देःदैःष्यरःरःसिंदश्व

B: [sounding impressed] You don't need glasses, wei!

वि वित्राश्चिषामान्यां वित्रश्चीति वित्रश्चीति ।

A: Uh, I said, "Tell me!" [in a high-pitched voice] "Yes sir," he said. [in a normal voice] "But you don't have to speak," I said. [in a high-pitched voice] "Yes sir," he said. [in a normal voice] So I said, "From now on, don't say 'Yes sir' to anyone." And he said [in a high-pitched voice] "Yes sir!"

चड़े स्यापायार्थ डोस्या देस्ध्रिय क्ट्रिय प्रियोच क्यायायार्थ डोस्या प्रशास्त्रिय क्ट्रिय प्रयोग्य डोस्या प्रशास्त्रिय क्ट्रिय प्रयोग्य क्यायार्थ डोस्या प्रशास्त्रिय क्ट्रिय क्यायार्थ डोस्याची स्थाप

B: He's an agreeable person!

पि श्रु:र्टर:श्रॅ:पञ्चण:रेर्

A: "Well, I'll speak plainly to you. If someone asks who is straight as an arrow and brave as a tiger, it's you. And if you ask who you are fated to defeat, his name is Dundul. The goal is not to defeat this side, but to defeat the other. Except for him, let alone defeating, you may not even approach anyone else."

B: And he probably said [in a slightly higher voice] "Yes sir," again.

A: He got nervous, and said, [in a high-pitched voice] "Alak, sir! I can't say 'Yes sir,' to that, sir."

B: What's wrong with it?

A: [in a high-pitched voice] "That man's wife is my sister! It would kill me if you told me to kill him."

B: Now that's really horrible.

A: "Uh, I didn't ask you that. In a place where you need to kill and cut people up, you can't choose who to kill. Sit down! That old, wounded man, stand up!"

B: Oh, so you won't even let the wounded sit?

A: "Uh, you're old and in the evening of life.³² Moreover, you are now wounded. So speak sitting down!" वकालन्दीला वे.का. नेवी. चने से चे.स्वी. स्वी. संस्था की स्टार स्वी. संस्था स्वी. संस्था की स्टार स्वी. संस्था स्वी. संस्था संस्

व लट.जव्यश्च.स्त्रु.चञ्च.लूट.क्वैप्.रूटी

प्र-ट.जवायाज्ञ्यः कुवाःच्र-प्रचात्रे व्याच्याः यो स्ट.ट.जक्यः यपेट.चजा (ब्याजवायाज्ञावाया

प देर:के:बा:वव:वे:रेट्रा

ग नेवेःम्बन्र्यःस्वेःश्चेरःर्यःसेन् नेःर्वेन्यःर्वेस्यः चन्नेःबन्दःस्ययन्यन्यन्यनेःसेन्।

ष रर्देखायनान्द्रवेरेर्जे

- र.पक्र्य मर्टा.ग्र.भ्रथ.या.स्ट्री, स्था.या.स्ट्री लथ.पर्टेया.थ.पत्रच्या.याट्य.प्र्टे.प्रथा शर. पथ.पर्वी.स्.थ.पत्रच्या.याट्य.प्र्टे.प्रथा शर. या श्वी ट्र.श्र्.प्र.पर्टे.या.श्रटी पथर.पश.याक्ष्य.
- क्रि.ज.र। वि लूर्ग रे.क्श्य.ज.र.सङ्ची.वीजातरेटैवी.वी.पटेटी
- हूर्यासूरी वि.र.हुर्यास्थास्यास्त्रीहुर्ये वर्ष्याचा वि हिंद्युत्युव्यव्यव्यात्मावदे हुःसःस्री हुर्याः

³² The original translates literally as like a sun setting behind the mountains and suggests that the elder is no longer in the prime of his life.

B: That's better.

A: "Ya, old man, last time you fell into the hands of an accursed wretch, and he beat you within an inch of your life. This time, a child will fall into your hands. It's OK to kill him like a baby bird. His name is Shamtruk," I said. And the old man stood up.

B: I bet the old man was happy.

A: The old man cried.

B: What was wrong?

A: [in the voice of the old man] "Ah, goodness!³³ How could it come to this? I will die before my son does, for he is my son, given up for adoption, Alak!" he said.

B: What else could the old man do? What father and son will fight each other?

A: "Uh, I didn't ask about that. In a place where brothers feud, how can you be free from it? Sit down!"

B: Now you'll let them all die.

A: *Ya*, so I finished making arrangements for everyone.

B: They all must be related.

ष दै:वर्जे:रेट्रा

लय.स.लट्य.चेट्ट.च्या चुंदि.स्रीचा.चार्य्य.चार्च्य.लक्ष्य.चींट्य.क्ष्य.चींट्य. चुंदि.त्यचा.चा.च्य.लय.चच्चचा.तक्ष्य.चींट्य.प्य. स्रीच.जा.चच्चचा.चर्ट्य.चेट्ट.चुं.स्टी ट.म्रेट्य. स्रीचच्चा.ची.जचा.चार्च्य.स्या क्षीर.स.लूट.भु. स्रीचच्चा.ची.जचा.चार्च्य.स्या क्षीर.स.लूट.भु. वी.चच्चचा.ची.जचा.चार्च्य.स्या क्षीर.स.लूट.भु.

वि मिट्रास्त्रित्वातः यहरः यञ्जेवाः व

ग क्र-पें-दुश-चन्द-घ्य

प दें के संजुव वे रेंद्

क्षात्मवाज्ञा बेरःला भूर्यद्रा विरुप्तकोरमायाम् प्रीवार्वे स्रित्य भूर्यद्रा विरुप्तकोरमायाम् प्राप्तकोर्यान्य भ ज्ञा चार्यप्तकोरमा

प्ति ट.स्मेट.स्.कु.पिन्याःक्कियां ल.स्.यो.चीव्रेशःपाशःक्कियाः

य ह्या देश्वर्यः त्राचित्रः विश्वर्यः विश्वर्ये विश्वर्यः विश्वर्यः विश्वर्यः विश्वर्यः विश्वर्यः विश्वर्यः विश्वर्य

पि नि.ब्रिंश.क्ट.श.पकु.ब्री.पर्टेबा.क्री.रुटी

चलवा.नथर.। $m = \frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2}$

ष्ट्रिंग्स्त्राम् क्रिक्ने क्रिक्ने

³³ The phrase ਉੱਕ੍ਰੈਂਕ੍ਰਿਤ੍ਰਿਕ੍ਰੈਂ is a common expression in Amdo to express dismay.

A: Ah, sure are. They all descend from the Bodhisattva monkey and the rock ogress.³⁴

B: You're really heartless.

A: If Careful Village has heart, then who should care whether or not I do?³⁵ What bothered me was that the offerings they gave were too few.

B: [reproachingly] Oh, nothing can be done (for you)!

A: I thought about it and something could be done.³⁶ I went over to Careful Village's opposing village, they offered far more than Careful Village.

B: You're really shameless.

A: Uh, the work there wasn't that difficult. Just orating some sermons.

B: Do you know how to chant scriptures?

A: Uh, the entire village gathered, and I spoke "The essential and necessary prophecy."

- या ख.टी.लुच.क्वेंत्.र्न्सी क्ट.श.झुंव.चैट.क्वे. इंट.क्र्या
- व श्रेम्बराम् नियं श्रेम्बर्गि सेन्
- કુવા.ચેન્.શૂન્.चचुवा.लो चट्टे.घैटे.बू.टे.शुश्रय.કવે.बु.લવીज.च.કુવો. શુશ્રय.ક્ષિન.કુ.ભૂટે.ઘૈંથો ન્.ઘોવુ.શુશ્રય.શુ. વ્રજ્ઞય.જૈન.કું.વ.શુશ્રય.ભૂટે.વે.ન્.ાવૃન.શૂ.
- ष र्षे ५ स.च.व. रूरी
- चर्टर.चला श्रुष्टा.कें.च.बी.बी.की.क्.च.वी.युंचा.चरील. केंट.कें.च.बी.बींट्र.ल.बी.कें.च.वीट.बूंटर.च बेंटर.चचुबी.चक्चैच.च.कींक्ट्र.च.बी श्रुषत.
- पि निर्माळ कुर्ने प्रिम्बार्म अनिवासी
- वि व्रिशःक्र्यानच्चीयः नर्चे तर्ने व को विषा
- क्.र्यु.चिर्ययात्रासम्बद्धनायश्चरयायहरः। य स्त्री क्रं.य.सू.चक्रैयायरेट.टयासीट.चक्रैय.ीयः

³⁴ This refers to the Tibetan creation myth, in which Tibetans are the progeny of a monkey and a demoness.

³⁵ Here, Menla Jyab is relying on Careful Village to "have a heart" and refuse to kill relatives. His heartlessness is immaterial.

³⁶ His partner is reproaching him, saying that he is beyond help, but Menla Jyab interprets the other literally and says there is a way to solve the problem.

B: I've never heard a scripture like that!

A: "oM swa ra swa sti³⁷ the land dispute,

oM will finish your grandchildren!

oM swa ra swa sti the land dispute,

oM will finish your grandchildren!

oM swa ra swa sti the land dispute,

oM will finish your grandchildren!"

I chanted for the entire morning. In the afternoon, they all said that they didn't understand anything except for "quit something" and "will finish something."

B: How could they?

A: Then I explained it clearly for them. I said, "This is not a prophecy that existed before, but one that has just emerged for this time. As for the meaning, it says, 'If you fight Careful Village, your village will be finished." And everyone was frightened.

ष दे.ष्र्.ष्ट्र्याच्च्या.ब्र्रा.र.षा.श्रुटः।

ण क्रू.थ.र.थे.है.४१ट्ट्र्रट.ग्रीया

क्रॅ'क्ट'चें'क्टंचें'क्टरकुरेऽ॥

क्रें सु र सु है। या हें पा ग्रीया

क्षें कं चें कं में कं में क्

જાઁ.યી.મ.યી.કૃષ્.ય.કૃ્ટ્રેન.ગુિયા

७ क्.क्.म्.क्.म्.क्.म्.म

श्रव वयान्त्रवाक्ष्यान्यः स्यान्त्रवाच्याच्याः स्यान्यस्य स्वाक्ष्याः त्रियाः स्वाक्ष्यः स्वाच्याः स्वाक्ष्यः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्य स्वाच्याः स्वाचः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः स्वाच्याः

ष म्.४.लूर.री

³⁷ Mantra of the Boddhisattva Yangchenma (১ন্ড্রেম্ ভর্মা).

³⁸ This is not chanted, and likely suggests that the villagers did not understand.Menla Jyab often uses this construction to indicate someone's misunderstanding.

B: Who wouldn't be frightened by such a terrifying thing?

A: The elders spoke enough to fill a valley, and I grabbed my offerings that were enough to fill a valley and returned to Careful Village. The elders there were also speaking enough to fill a valley.

B: What were the elders saying?

A: Uh, the young folks came one after another, and said, "Mother cried. Father went crazy. A fight between relatives individually is really impossible."

B: Well then, what should be done?

A: Uh, I have a plan. If they can't fight each other individually, then let's have the villages fight. Having divined the date and time, I had both villages meet on the mountaintop.

B: Then they all went to war?

A: Then all was well.

B: *Ah*?

A: Olé!

B: [as if coming to a realization] *Ah*, oh, you scoundrel! Your plan is quite a plan!

पि नैःश्रॅःश्चिषान्तृन्वःश्रःश्चिषान्वैःशुःनेन्।

य.लट.जू.जूच.कूथ.जीट.च.चीट.चचेट.चूं.च चो टर.टंग.शुश्रश्र.क्टेट.कुं.च.चीट.लूट.चो टू. चो टर.टंग्रेश.वचेंज.च.जीट.च.चट.चूं.चबेंट. चो च्य.चूं.कूश.सैट.क.जीट.च.चोट.चचेंट.चूं.

व स्.स्य.क्र्य.क्र.चन्नव.त्वर.स्.व

कृषाःशुःसैयः,चुःचुन्। घला च.धुः मृषाःवाःमुः,चीरेचाःवाश्वः।वृन्यःघीयाःनेः यशा त्यात्रः देशःचिर्धः चिर्वाः वाश्वः।वृन्यः चीवाःनेः यो त्यां वाश्वनः यः कृषः चिरुषाः वाश्वेषः चीव्यः।

ष दें तु कि प्रज्ञेषा भे ५ '५ वीं 'ते 'रे ५

ची.चर्षचा.चरेटा चरेट.टथी कुं.च.चीधेय.ची.कुं.अचू.चयःधेवी. भु.चेंच.चे.कुं.चीचीचीचेंचे धुं.अ:अर.अ:चर्च्य. च ल्या टु.ट.चर्जूट.त.लूट्.चुं.इटी व्रिट्य.चीची.क्वी.

ष ८.चच.मु.पर्धिव.मु.च७चव.च२८८क्षैप्र्.रूटी

ग ५'नन'में'त्रीम'र्सेट'वे'रे५'ण

ण र्छे:यो

त्र स्त्री त्र स्त्री क्ष्री क्षेत्र स्व हिंदे नर्गे नर्भे न A: Uh, now both villages had a peace summit, and their battle wounds were healed through marriage, and they had weddings. As for me, I had a great time going from party to party.

B: They **should** invite you to the party.

A: Uh, there were so many more parties, but I had no time to attend them. When I go back, I need something to show for it. And then I set off all of a sudden. Before I left, I spoke a parting wish.

B: What wish?

A: "Ah, dear friends, since I came to Careful Village this time, I have accomplished everything I came here to do. My final hope is that you take the gifts you gave me and build a school for the children on the border of the two villages, and between both monasteries."

B: Oh, such a thing would be difficult even for a real *lama* to achieve.

A: Uh, at that moment, a small child came running over and gave me a *khatak*, and I kissed them and whispered, [as a child] "I'm not a *lama*; I'm a learner.³⁹ You go to school, too!" And they said, "Goodbye Uncle Menla!"

- वि ट्र.श.क्रेंब.श्रूर.च्र्य.व.क्र्वी.वी
- प रे.च.कु.चच्चेवा
- क्ष्मेश्रा पातु.सम्प्रचेश्व.ले.लशक्त्रमःधूसःची.सचुना सचुनो.लूर्स.बुं.स्व.यसेलास्व.पर्ट्रोसःमधुः स्रम्थ.ब्रन्त्यीय.जूर्म भट्टिनो.श्वप्त.मुं.स स्रम्थ.ब्रन्त्यीय.जूर्म भट्टिनो.श्वप्त.मुं.स स्रम्थ.ब्रन्त्याचीय.जूर्म अट्टिनो.श्वप्त.मुं.स स्रम्थ.ब्रम्थ.क्ष्य.क्ष्य.ची.श्वप्त.च्राच्च स्रम्थान र.स्
- ष्ट्रिय:देगदःवे:स्प्ति च्राक्रास्त्रःवःवे:सः चञ्चितःदगदःवे:स्प्ति च्राक्रास्त्रःवःवे:सः
- क्षित्रेष्ठयः संस्तृ सुम्मः स्त्री स्त्रेष्ठयः स्त्री स्त्रिः स्त्रेष्ठयः स्त्रीयः स्त्रा स्त्रा स्त्रियः स्त्रीयः स्त्रीयः स्त्रीयः स्त्रीयः स्त्रा स्त्रीयः स्त्रीयः स्त्रीयः स्त्रीयः स्तर्भयः स्त्रीयः स्त्री

³⁹ Note that the original uses the word স্থান আ translates best as "student," but we have used "learner" to emphasize the way Menla Jyab plays with the

B: *Ya*, now hit the road!

A: Taking the narrow footpath away from Careful Village, the village leader's words echoed in my mind.⁴⁰

B: What did the village leader say?

A: [as the village leader] "Ya, now that these two villages have reconciled, We plan to join both villages to have grassland disputes with another village!" he said.

B: Oh, you'll probably have to come back again!

A: *Ya*, well, anyways, goodbye, Careful Village.

B: Goodbye.

A: As dawn broke, and I was writing the end of this *khashag*, I said "Goodbye," and my wife raised her head up off our bed and said, "Where are you going?"

प्र पा र प्रमासास्या

चन्नवा.र.सट.क्षणका.व.जूवा.जूवा.चन्नवा.सटी वाषा.जूट.ट.म् । का.कि.कु.ट्रा्च.वा.सट.क. वा क्षणका.केट.कुं.च.वा.मट.जका.सं.जूर.खेवाका.

व हो:५र्धेव:वीश:के:बेर:वी

क्रे.शर्क्र्-क्रि.चुम्.ची.लून्-चुम्.ली स्रेन्-त्यक्ष.चर्च-त्यक्ष.च्राचील्य-चचुची.ची. त्यीची.जूम्-ख्रे.म्नी नृतुःश्र.क्ट्-क्रि.चन्द्री.चन्द्री यो ल.न्-क्रि.च.तन्त्री.चिष्ठेश्व.यो.त्यचीची.लची.ची.

वि स्त्री लटार्बि.हीर.र.लूट.टेब्र्.की.रुट.जी

ग ल.ट.चट.हेरा युष्रय.कट.हे.च.चटे.यू.ट्रीया

ष्टि चर्ने:र्ब्य:ब्रैंश्

चट.ट.जंकुं.कैंग्डांड्र-ली क्रूय.थेज.यंतु.वेट.वेश.अमूं.चजीचे.चीयांकुं. ख्रूर.ट्रांत.वेट.वेश.चटे.क्र्यंकुंय.चड्डा.ची चेचे. चेश्च.त्यट्य.वि.टश.वि.श्चेबाय.उट्टेतु.इ.श.उड्डा.

pronunciations of র্ন্নিব'ঝ and ন্ন্নাঝ in the Tibetan.

^{40 &}quot;The Narrow Footpath" (শ্ৰেম্প্ৰাই) is the title of a famous essay from modernist Tibetan author Don grub rgyal, and Menla Jyab likely expects audiences to make the connection.

9. Careful Village's Bride જોઅજાસ્કુદ શ્રેપ્વવે અનુવ આ¹

A: *Ah*! With a welcome like this, I don't know what to say or do, *aro*!

र.भुज्याचीच्ची काऱ्री स.चेबटाचेस्टर्स्यकुत्वच्चीजुर्नेर्स्यीचीच् च

B: [with a slight chuckle] Go to Careful Village again!

वि लट.शुत्रथ.क्टेट.क्टे.च.शूट.र्ज्

A: Uh! I've gone to Careful Village a lot,² but I've never once come back with peace of mind.

चन्नुवा.सूरी ची सुत्रस्य.क्टर.क्ट्रांच.स्य.क्ट्रांच.स्य.स्य.स्य.ची ची सुत्रस्य.क्टर.क्ट्रांच.स्य.क्ट्रांच.स्य.स्य.स्य.स्य.

B: So who has you bothered this time?

द्र्य। ष लट.क्षेत्राष्ट्रियु.मुज्ञया.वि.र्यग्रीवीयात्वरेट.चु.

A: If I speak my mind plainly, it's Careful Village that has me bothered. And it's Zalejyal that has Careful Village bothered. क्वील.सूटी य.सूटे.टी कुष्मथ.क्वट.झुं.च.टेग्रीचाब.बूं.च.जु. यी टपु.कुष्मब.चि.टेग्रीचाब.बूं.कुष्मब.क्वट.झुं. यी कुष्मब.चु.कुष्मब.चिट्स.चाबाब.सू.लब.चचेट.

B: Zalegyal... this Zalejyal didn't kill someone, did he?

त्यरः वुः श्रवः वा व चःषः क्रिया चःषः क्रियः तर्र्वा व्ययः क्रियः तयर्

¹ A is voiced by Menla Jyab and B is voiced by Phagmo Drashi.

² The Tibetan uses a double negative, which has the effect of intensifying the statement.

A: As soon as I heard the village leader's story, I got a feeling that something wasn't quite right, *Aro*!

B: What did he say?

A: [as the village leader] "In general, Alak, it's not OK to make you tear things apart, but that Zalejyal messed up.3 Let us gather at Goree's house with a few of Careful Village's wise elders to do some tearing, and let's make it so that there's nothing left to tear after that," he said.

B: What is that?

A: That night, I was scared and went to the Goree house, and it seemed that the elders had nothing in their hands that could be torn. What they did have were tobacco pouches.

B: Did they want to quit smoking?

A: That's what I thought, but according to the Village Leader it wasn't like that, *aro*!

B: Ya?

A: [as the village leader] "We've inconvenienced thee every time thou hast come. We shouldn't weary thee with resolving our external fights and internal disputes, but we have to tear Zalejyal's corpse.

यो लाष्टिः श्रेन्द्रिन् त्वीः श्लेन्ट्रिन् स्वीताः स्वीताः स्वीताः स्वीताः स्वीताः स्वीताः स्वीताः स्वीताः स्व

ष कु.चुर.ची

कट. चाड़ेट. क्रि. जुट. चूं. लुट. चाड़ेट. क्रुंचा व्यायः चुं. दुरी अञ्चयः क्रुंट. क्रुंचा अर्चा दुर. क्रुंच. यवीयः चुं. दुरी अञ्चयः क्रुंट. क्रुंच्यं क्रुंच. यवीयः चुं. दुरी अञ्चयः क्रुंट. क्रुंच्यं क्रुंच. यवीयः चुं. दुरी अञ्चयः क्रुंच्यं क्रुंच्यं यवीयः चुं. दुर्चा अञ्चयः क्रुंच्यं क्रुंच्यं यवीयः चुं. दुर्चा अञ्चयः क्रुंच्यं क्रुंच्यं यवीयः चुं. दुर्चा अञ्चयः क्रुंच्यं च्या क्रुंच्यं यवीयः चुं. दुर्चा अञ्चयः क्रुंच्यं चित्रः चीहेंदे. यो. करः चीहेंदे. यो.

पि दे.कु.मञ्जून.लुव.वयायी

ष र्पानक्रियान विष्वेता

या दे.क्र्.सच्चेतालर्ट्रेन.काऱ्या दे.क्र्.सच्चेताकाऱ्ट्रेन.

1 WI

र्.चोट्टेट्ट्स्न्यं चर्ट्स्यता चर्खेचकाचरेट्स्कुःधेचःत्री लटःबःजुःक्षैतःबी. कुं.बुंट्टेच्चेट्ट्स्कुंचेन्द्रचेन्द्रच्येन्ट्रचेन्द्रचेन्

³ The Tibetan ४/६६/, translated here as "to tear," is commonly used in Amdo to mean "resolving conflicts."

B: What did you say? Zalejyal's corpse? He's dead?

A: [belligerently, as the village leader] "That undead one wouldn't let the elders die in peace. I don't know if it's a public quarrel or a domestic dispute, but he has started it!" he said.

B: Hehe, now I understand. This "tearing" and "prying" is all just a way saying that they have to resolve young Zalejyal's issue.

A: Uh, they needed to resolve it, but they couldn't resolve it.

B: What did this "Zalejyal" do?

A: They said that he found a wife, but that he found the wrong one.

B: [surprised] Ya?

A: They said that she's from too far away, and her speech is unclear.

B: If Zalejyal understands her, isn't that what counts?

A: Moreover, they said that her customs are different, and she's not pretty enough.

B: But Zalejyal loves her, and that's all that matters. It's none of Careful Village's business.

वि क्रि.यज्ञी अ.जु.क्यीय.क्यी.स्री ची.श्र्रट.व्री.स्री

चि हे.हे। ट्राट्याची व्याची वाहेट्याची ह्या व्याची ह्या व्याची व

ग ष्या वनानीय नर्डेन् नर्ने ने सेन् न्या वनानीय केन् कुरु सेन्

वु.ऱ्ट्र। व च.जु.क्रैज.चट्च.जूब.कु.चच्चचे.लब.चेट्ट.

य स्ट्रिन् स्ट्रिन्

1 WI

या विष्ठवा देट र्श्वेट वर्डवा विः श्लेट् की ट्वा की व

वि न्नःले:कुलःवी:व्याःर्श्रेटःवःन्ने:रेन्द्र्ञ्ञ्

ग ५.४८.लेज.ब्र्जि.च्य.च्याचियाची घ्राःस्त्रीःभ्राःजूटयः च्याःच्या

A: I said that too! But those elders are willful!

B: What did they say?

A: Uncle Tungtung was shaking his head.

B: Judging by his name, I thought he must be like this.

A: We take refuge in you, but thou mustn't say this.

B: Why not?

A: Um, if not from the creation of the universe, then at least from the time of our fathers and uncles, we have married girls of our own place,⁴ and then raised our own families.

B: That's right.

A: For long distance marriages, we used to "buy and sell" girls on both sides of the Yellow River.⁵

B: So they consider that a very long distance.

या ८४-४-दे.चड्रे-४। ब्य-१५० क्ट्रेस्ट्रि-स्ट्र-१०व.२०व. स्ट्रा

ष कु.चुर.धी

य ल.षि.घेट.घेट.चीय.भर्म्.घट.ची.चालिचा.ची.

वि श्चीट-ट-चङ्गरान्त्र-विरागीयाः वर्देद्-गी

म्। मी.मू.व.श.वक्ष.स.टी.टी.क्ष्म.मीश्रेस.भु.वेष.

ष के.मञ्जूषा.बा.भा.भेष.वे.वे.बं.बं.बं.

r 5:251

य क्ष.ट.घब्य.इट.चर्च्य थ्य.चेटश.ब्र्य.चन्ट्रट. रा भ.क्ष्टु.त.तर.या.क्ष्ट्र.या.लथ.वे.क्र्य.क्र्य. र.चर्ड्य.च्य.क्ष्ट्र.या.क्ष्ट्र.या.लथ.वे.क्र्य.च

पि लासुरावी सवा रेटा प्रज्ञेवा प्येत तर्ने दार्गी गा

⁴ The Tibetan ব্ৰি'বব্'ঝ| is a humilific term for the girls of their village.

⁵ The phrase "buying and selling" is not traditionally used in Amdo to describe the common practice of paying brideprice, but Menla Jyab uses it to critique arranged marriage.

A: "We don't know what goes on inside the heads of these empty-headed ones nowadays. But even if they don't fall in love with one from their own village, it should at least be someone from their own ethnic group."

B: Oh, now I get it. Zalejyal chose someone from a different ethnic group and wants to marry her.

A: That's right! That kind of ne'er-dowell wouldn't do anything other than what's inappropriate.

B: Good, Good. So she was Han Chinese.

A: She was a (foreign) girl! A (foreign) girl!

B: She couldn't be a boy, of course.⁶ I meant: is the girl Han Chinese?

A: "Nope, this low-life is going to make a scene by marrying a foreign girl. How can we even speak about it?" He said.

B: A foreigner? I can empathize with them. Did you ask what country she was from?

A: Uh, I did ask, but they said that they couldn't remember on the spot.

- य स्ट.ची.श्री.इचाश.चडीचा.टे.लुव.टेचूं.चा.चडी स्ट.च.रट.चूँर.जनम.चु.मडीचा.श्रेट.प स्ट.च.रट.चूँर.जनम.चु.मडीचा.श्रेट.प स्ट.च.श्रेट.व्या.श्रेच्यं.चु.मडीचा.थेच्यं.चु स्ट.ची.श्री.इच्या.ची.श्रेट.चर्च्यं.चि.श्रेच्यं.ची स्ट.ची.श्री.इच्या.ची.श्रेट.चर्च्यं.चि.श्रेच्यं.ची.
- चन्नुचा,लुच.च.उट्ट्रंट.जूं.च चन्न्द्रंट.चर्टेट.ट्य.श्रु.ट्रचीय.श्रु.चेड्डचा.चु. चि
- ण क्षेत्र त्वराप्ता अन्यनागि सेनाया देवाकीत विः चित्र चित्र विकास विकासीत विकासीत विकासीत विकास विकास विकास वि
- ग धुःर्के प्वचेषा रेटा था धुःर्के प्वचेषा रेटा
- प्त वि'त्ये'चडेवा'५'के'भेव'५| वि'र्क्येकु'र्क्यरे५'त्य'
- या के.लीव.तम्ब्रे.स्.ब्रीबा.बा.ब्रेंब.क्रिंत्.तद्रेश.क्री.लूर् मह्त्य.ला.क्षे.क्रिल.ची.क्षे.क्र्य.मझवा.लव.क्षेत्र. ची.झस्.ला ची.झस्.ला
- च कुष्मावनः वादः वीः ध्वेतः त्रवादः खोः द्वेषा चुष्मावनः वादः वीः ध्वेतः त्रवादः खोः द्वेषा
- ग ष्म वर्दे कुर्दे देशम रेयायायी द्वा मी बेम

⁶ Here the conversation relies on B misunderstanding धुँ वें। "foreign girl" as वै वें। "girl," as the two terms are pronounced similarly in Amdo dialect.

B: That's also understandable. Must be hard for them to pronounce.

A: Uncle Shepherd said that it seemed to be coming to his mind.

B: I doubt it.

A: [haltingly] Let's see... Where did he say it was... It was the name of a fabric.

B: A fabric? Let's see. There's no country called *Buree* is there?⁷

A: No. No. *Buree* is what I've got tied around my waist. It's the name of an expensive fabric!

B: It isn't Panama, is it?

A: Ah! Pa- ... Panama. Well, that ain't actually it. In the past, Careful Village's leader, the one with a great black tent, had a green-yellow Tibetan robe made of that fabric.

B: America!

A: Ang ang ang! Isn't that right. America! It's this so-called "A-ri." Horrible woman! Her nose was scary like an arura "snail!"⁸

B: Now he's going to malign her.

- $\widehat{\mathbb{Q}}_{:Y:X}$ Lead $y \in \mathcal{Y}_{X}$ Lead y
- म्ट.चुर्य बाक्षिःजीयो.हृद्या.षूष्ट्यःजुट.ज.लूट.वि.चचुर्याः
- व र.कु.च्.च्
- या चा.इट.ची चट.चचुचा.चुऱा रक्ष.चचुचा.ची.
- क्रियः यञ्जयाः श्रेतः ला वि स्थायञ्जया वासी वसी स्थाञ्जरः वृद्धे क्रियः
- कुव.मज्जवा.बी.ब्रीट.लुव.ली रब.मज्जेट.लूट.बू.पटी.स्ट.टी बूक.त.क्. ब. अ.स्टी श.स्टी वर्थ.स्ब.टे.टब.चक्टब.
- प यानायाधीनानीयीनान।
- प षाःभेःरःग
- पहुर्वायाली भी ब्रै.पर्जु.पर्यं.ख.२.४.४.वी.जूबो.वायार्थ.२.८वी. ब्या.इ.पर्ट्वा.वूंपु.लीव.ड्र४.८ली ट्र्हूबायाडी. ब्या.ब्यट.ब्यटा.वि.का.यट्रेय.वथा ब्या.घु.इ.ब्रो
- La 2. Lad. Dal. D. 3221

⁷ The Tibetan 역당 역 (pronounced like *buree*) is the name of a sort of a coarse silk most often used for sashes or shirts.

⁸ In Amdo, the sounds for $\frac{2}{3}$ in $\frac{8}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ in $\frac{8}{3}$ are pronounced similarly.

A: [as the village leader] Ahem!

B: Who's that?

A: Uncle Village Leader scooched forward.

B: Now he's gonna speak.

A: [as the village leader] These modern situations are difficult to discuss like telling the Gesar epic, and are difficult to untangle like a mess of silk thread. As for Zalejyal and the young lady who cannot be separated, they don't listen when their parents speak, will they listen when the *lama* speaks? And if they still don't listen...

B: Then what will they do?

A: [as the village leader] "We would shun him before Careful Village becomes infamous. But our old fool [Zalejyal] would probably be happy about it."

B: Is it that serious?

A: [as the village leader] "The goodness of the girls of Tibet— the land of snows—is famous everywhere, but it's unspeakable that a yak herder abandons them to take up with a bird herder?"

B: *Ah*? What's this about a "bird herder"?

শ জীবুৰ

r 5.8.32

ग ष्यासः हो ५ ५५ व ह्वतः या च छवा वु र मी

प र.चथर.के. रूर.ज्री

क्षेत्र, ब्रेस्य वी क्षेत्र, ब्रेस्य वी क्षेत्र, ब्रेस्य विश्व प्रमुख्य विश्व क्षेत्र, ब्रेस्य विश्व क्षेत्र, व्याप्त क्षेत्र, विश्व क्षेत्र, विश

प र.कु.चच्चा.लुर.कु.रूरी

म् त्रितः यहें मानः यहेना स्टा रुपः यहें के स्वानः व्यान्त स्वानः स्वान रुपः यहें स्वानः स्व

व दे.म्.क्यम्ब.कुव.चन्नवा.स.ब्ब.लुव

वि ला विदःहः पर्वेषाः व्याः केः बेराव्याः वैः रेपा

A: [Menla as himself] I didn't understand either. I asked for a clear reason, and old man Ada stood up and gave a detailed explanation.

B: What did Ada say?

A: [as Ada, without stopping]
Well I'm not sure if it's America
or Ashmerica but when did those
wanderers arrive. It was last
year—ah yes—in July. I don't know
if it's true, but they said they were
researching larks. They said that
there were no larks in their land.
Who knows where they flew off to!

B: Oh, so that's why they called her a bird herder.

A: [as Ada] To tell you the truth, who knows if she came to be a bird herder or if she came looking for a yak herder? Either way, Zalejyal's corpse has fallen into her hands.

B: Saying it like that makes me think that she beats him.

A: [as Ada] "Zalejyal, that weakwilled person: Initially he was teaching her pastoralist dialect, then they were accompanying each other, and finally they were together. And that's not alright, right?"

B: Everyone must have been amazed to find out about it.

A: They said that the first to find out was Uncle Toktok.

प षाद्यीषाक्षः नेरामी

ष र्षे) वुषुःद्देः बेर-र्नेव-दे-रे-राया

ज्ञान्त्री हुत् हुः येत्र व्यान्त्री क्षेत्र क्षेत्र हुः से न

ष दै-पञ्चे व किषा मुक्र र्वेष प्रमृद पर्दे द

ची ट्रव्यीची:श्रट्भाट्य] त्युं.स्.मे अघतःशःत्यीची:चब्राट्यूची:च्रिट्स् त्युंची:भ्रेट्र्यूची:ची चनःवशःत्यूची:च्रिश् च च.जु.क्युजःर्युची:ची चनःवशःत्यूची:च्रिश्चः

व ट्र.मी क्ट.भ.ल.भक्र.सूट.क्री.र्रट.सू

ग र्वेषाः अरः वेषः र्वेषः र्वेषः श्वेषः र्वेषः र्वेषः भवः वेरा

B: *Ya*! How did Uncle Toktok say that he learned of it?

A: [as Uncle Toktok] I'm a knowledgeable person. There's no way I couldn't know [about the relationship]. One acted like he understood that ghoulish language, and the other pretended like she was studying pastoralist dialect, but if you looked at their mannerisms, they were talking of living together.

B: He knew this from looking at their mannerisms?

A: [As Uncle Toktok] I thought it was wrong and told everyone, but no one believed me.

B: The elders especially wouldn't believe it.

A: [As Uncle Toktok] Are you satisfied? Then one day at a village gathering, they made a scene and let it all out of the bag.

B: Oh, what did they do?

A: [As Uncle Toktok] As soon as the foreign girl arrived, she said either "'ello" or "Hello," And I can't tell you today exactly what she did, but it was just my bad karma to see her release Zalejyal, turn around, and say [haltingly, in a woman's voice] "I ... like... Zalejyal!"

B: That is probably a foreign custom to make it public.

- व स.ट.क्ष.षि.घूच.घूच.घूच.घूथ.कु.लथ.घुय.घत.
- क्य.सू.चचेट.मू.मू क्येबायामानक्षेत्राच.व्रियामाकृवा.व्यायट्यी. चि.सू.लेट.मू.सू.सू.शूच.येशा वट.क्रूंच.मू.सू.सू. लबा वाङ्चवा.मुबा.वर्तु.मू.सू.च्ये.चटेटा.वर्.सू. पूरी वाङ्चवा.मुबा.वर्टु.भूट.मू.मू.च्ये.चटेटा.वर्.सू. च.क्ये.च्यायाच्येबा.सूरी घाष्ट्रेबा.बा.वर्त्तु.मू.चा.
- ष्ट्रवायःग्रामः चित्रयः वेयः स्ट्रांचियाः व्याः व्यः व्याः व्य
- ग देखाः अस्ति वर्षे वर्षे निवस्ति अस्ति। अद्भारति स्वर्षे वर्षे निवस्ति अस्ति।
- ष्ट्रिन्।य्यर: नुःर्यः त्यंत्रः क्रंतेः क्रंतः त्र्नुं क्रुः सः रेन्ऽर्ये।
- चर्टर:चला ४.तच्चवा.वकाञ्चीवा.वा.चक्षेच.वका.केंट.ट.वीट. मे ट्रि.खा.क्र्यांची ध्रेच.क्रुवा.ट.क्रुवाया.
- य र्षे) के:पञ्चेषा:पष:पृत्र-द्वर्ष:व्या
- ब्रेस्य-दी ब्रिस्स-प्रतिक्रम्म दिन्न-व्यक्तियान्त्रीक्ष स्यान्त्रीयान्त्राचार्यक्तियान्त्रित्यान्त्रीक्ष्यान्त्रीयः स्यान्त्राच्यान्त्रीयस्यान्त्रीयस्यान्त्रीक्ष्यान्त्रीयः स्यान्त्राच्यान्त्रीयस्यान्तिस्यानिस्यान्तिस्यानिस
- चात्राज्ञ्ज्ञ्चिच,त्याच्चे,त्युच,क्चेंज्र्-इटी च ट्रे.चर्च्,र्ज्ञे,त्वे,क्चेल,क्चे,ट्रेन,लुच,व्यत्यःकट.स.

A: [As Uncle Toktok] Uh, she didn't only want to be with him, but came right out and said it! And I was embarrassed and froze. There was nothing else I could do: I kicked Zalejyal, and fled.

B: I'll bet!

A: [As Uncle Toktok] If that's all they did, why should I complain again and again? Saying that it's the Tibetan custom, her team of birdherding friends came to talk [about proposing a marriage] the next day, and we gave them a good talking to.

B: What did they say?

A: Now we spoke like this.

B: Un, un.9

A: [As Uncle Toktok] "Now I am happy that you have arrived at my doorstep and are sitting at my hearth, but if any matchmakers this frightening have come here before, I'll drink Yongbha's blood! Oya! By my son's flesh, I won't give our boy to you, and by my daughter's neck we don't need that girl of yours. If you understand, then keep it in mind, and if you don't understand, then get the hell out! At this, they all stared dumbly at each other."

क्र्यः। क्रीयः र्स्ना क्र्यंश्चितं प्रचीतः प्रमुखः त्रचेत् ः स्ट्राच्चेत् श्रृताः ताः स्वाः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राच्यः स्ट्राचः स्ट्राचः

- ष ट्रे.श्रॅ.चत्रुवा.लुव.क्रु.रेटी
- चन्-चन्-चन्-चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्नुस्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्नयः चन्-चन्न्यः चन्-चन्नयः चन्-चन्नयः चन्-चन्नयः चन्यः चन्यः चन्यः चन्यः चन्यः चन्-चन्यः चन्-चन्नयः चन्यः चन्यः चन्यः चन्-चन्नयः चन्यः चन्-चन्यः चन्यः चन्यः
- प कै'नबैग'नबे'र्भे5'व्याव
- ग ५.५.क्र्यायरी.लय.चचर.जा
- দ জুব'জুবা

⁹ Suggests assent or agreement.

¹⁰ Yongbha is the name of one of Menla's colleagues at the dubbing office where he worked at this time. He uses the name to rhyme with [35] and [35], but this is

B: They said what they should have!

A: [Menla as himself] Uh, Papa Cheche said he went even further.¹¹

B: *Ya*? What did this Papa Cheche say?

A: Uh! Listen!

B: Ya.

A: [as Papa Cheche] "Now I don't know which side of the Yellow river this 'Ari' is on. You say that you came here in a bird boat [airplane], so I think you must be wealthy. Since you can come chasing birds, so I think you must have a lot of free time. And judging by the patches on your clothes, I think you must have nothing left!"

B: Fair enough.

A: [As Papa Cheche] "Now I have a message for the old men back in your 'America!"

B: That's horrible!12

- पि २.चर्च२.क्रॅंयू.२.चर्च२.च्ड्रम.ब्र्
- य ब्या ब्याय के के वीया प्यति व विद्या है ते रासी व
- चञ्चव व ला ब्य.स.कु.कु.चर्नूब.चूथ.कु.चञ्चवी.चचेर.
- ग षार्नेवःर्ग
- 1 WI
- या निहिक्तं क्षार्यः स्वर्त्वा मिन्ने म् निह्न स्वर्त्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्त्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्त्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्त्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्त्वा स्वर्वा स्वर्वे स्वर्वा स्वर्वे स्वर्वा स्वर्वे स्वर्वे स्वर्वे स्वर्वा स्वर्वे स्वय्वय्वय्वे स्वर्वे स्वर्वे स्वय्व
- ष दै'वर्बे'रेदा
- या चे.ट्या डिटा या खार हे. खंटा ची क्षा प्राप्त के स्थाप क्षा क्षा प्राप्त के स्थाप का क्षा क्षा का क्षा क्षा क
- দ ২:মু.ষক্র.লা

also suggestive of Menla's creative play with oaths and other traditional language forms.

¹¹ In some parts of Amdo, including Menla Jyab's home region, the Tibetan 땡띡 "father" can refer to any male of the father's generation. The word for "father," meanwhile, is 땡희.

¹² This suggests he is dismissive and not approving of the elders' next statements.

A: [as Papa Cheche] "The families of Careful Village boast a long lineage. You won't understand if I say too much. We are descendants of Lhalung Hwaldor.¹³ Our fathers' bones are gold, and our mothers' bones are conch. But if you bring a yellow stain on that, then we are going to fight."

B: Oh?

A: [as Papa Cheche] Uh, apart from the impossibility of this marriage, we have nothing else to fight over.¹⁴ If you still want to chase after your birds, or go collecting your bugs, you can do that as long as you let them go later. The good thing about you guys is that you won't kill them.

B: Oh, and what did he say the go-betweens said?¹⁵

A: He said, "It seems that they thought they had no hope, and they left saying either 'nah' or 'nor.'"¹⁶

B: They probably didn't understand any of it.

श्रम् म्रुची प्रयुव म्रुची व मुक्कें नियुव म्या मेर्स्स चीर्यम् स्त्री साम्यस्य स्त्रीय प्राप्त स्त्रीय स्त्

দ জী

- म् स्वास्त्र म् स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र
- ष र्ष्ण वर.व.क्ष्य.कु.बुर.बु.बुर
- ग रे.प.सेन्.बी.पर्नेन्.पर्नरःवयावी व.पज्ञे.बी. क्रें.पज्ञे.क्रेवा.वा.वें.स्वयःज्ञेरा
- पि क्रिट्सार्वी'वै'भीव'कुर्वे'रेन्'भा

¹³ Lhalung Hwaldor is the shortened form of the name Lhalung Hwalkyi Dorje (智 영下行다다), the ninth-century monk who in 842 assassinated the final king of the Tibetan empire, Langdarma (蜀下下飞时).

¹⁴ This phrase is commonly used in Amdo at the conclusion of a dispute mediation.

¹⁵ In Amdo Tibetan wedding traditions, weddings are arranged through [5.7] (pronounced *warwa* and translated here as go-betweens) who negotiate between the bride's family and the groom's.

¹⁶ These are approximations of the English word "no," and suggest that the villagers did not understand.

A: Uh, Granny Tsitsema, expressing that the old men were being reasonable, piled on.

B: Ya, what did Granny Tsitsema say?

A: [as Granny Tsitsema] These old men are reasonable. *Atsi*! Zalejyal must have epilepsy! If I met someone like her alone in the fields, by my mother's flesh, I'd faint.

B: That seems reasonable.

A: [as Granny Tsitsema] The human body is precious. Judging by my merit, could I say anything to anyone else?¹⁷ Whether I say it or not, she's on full display, their bride is.

B: Let her speak! What did she say she's like.

A: [as Granny Tsitsema] Now I won't say it, *aro*. Her yellow hair is like the shining sun, her blue eyes are like a dried up spring, and her face is as pale as a coming drought. Her body is tall like a bent over tree. If they can't butcher their larks, it's certain that they'll have nothing to eat. What can I say other than *Alahoho?*"18

B: It's certain that nobody wants to be caught by her sharp tongue.

- भूट.क्य.सू.चचेट.लक.वि.कूंच.चचुवा.क्येव.त्यू यो व्यावा.कुंच.क्य.कुंच.चचेत.सू.कूंचिया.
- प पा षा भे रहें या है या वी या की जो रावी
- य स्पर्ते क्रुंचि । स्पर्वे त्यी व्यक्तिया व्यत्यक्षेत्र व
- पि विची.लूरे.क्वे.श.रुरी।
- व पर्वर.बी.क्बि.सी कु.श्र्.चचुबा.र्रर.चुरी
- या निकाननित्रात्त्री स्वाप्ते स्वाप्ते
- ष देखे.पि.बर.स.कृषो.क्षेस.भु.धेब.बू.प्रू.घबो. इसी

¹⁷ This is similar to, "who am I to judge?"

¹⁸ A laugh that women in Amdo make to suggest that they have made a point or to deride.

A: [Menla as himself] Uh, with that, everyone spoke at length about how they prevented this wedding, about how Zalejyal couldn't understand, and how that young lady had no way of working it out.

B: *Ya*, tell me: did that foreign girl leave or not?

A: Uh, they said she slunk away, but then something unspeakable happened.

B: What was that?

A: Zalejyal's old man who was having difficulty putting it into words, ¹⁹ finally spoke up.

B: What did he say?

A: [as the father] "Dear Alak! If I tell someone about my son's conduct and deeds, how could we ever complete our household penance.²⁰ But there's nothing to be done, so I'll speak." He thought for awhile, "ah, karmically wicked ones, can I say it or not?" he said.

B: Instead of asking whether he could say it or not, he just could've gone and said it!

- ब्रुजःश्नरः-द्यप्तरः वर्षा व्यानः श्रदः ब्रुजः वाश्वरः ब्रुः देनः चर्ग्यरः तः श्रदः यद्भनः चर्गावाः वर्ष्यवाः त्यशः वर्षे वः वः क्षे व्याः या । व्या देनः अधिरः जयः ब्रुह्मः अशः विष्ठेवः हूवः
- [A A A] [A - A - A] [A - A - A] [A - A - A] [A - A][A
- पि कै'पञ्चेषा'धेव'व्याया
- र्षेय.य.ट.चर्यट.घचर्यात्मश्चर्याचेट.घत्। य च.जु.चै.ज.ची.त.चेंय.चीर्याचर्याच्या
- ष कु.चुर.ची
- व.चुर.ल। चक्कैय.चथा ल.जय.टव.कू.ट.चचेट.लु.थेव. चक्रय.क्रै.शुट.चचेट.ज.चेट.। उटेट.चचुवा. वि.चक्ष्य.च.बुश.चेट.क्रै.चचुवा.कु.लूट.टी ट. जय.बूज.टू.क्वा.वा.चचेट.चेट.टेशा ट्र. वा.जवात.जू.जू। टप्त.खु.जु.ट्रेश.चक्ष्य.ब्र्.
- ष्टर-त्तरीट्राचेट्रक्कियः द्री व ट्राचिट्राक्षः वेष्ठाः वेष्ठाः च्रोः वर्ट्याः स्वायः स्री

¹⁹ Suggesting embarrassment.

²⁰ Across the Tibetan Plateau, people may visit a divination specialist who will be able to tell them the rituals, chanting, and circumambulations they need to do to atone for the individual sins or their family's sins in this life (both past and future). This is called ¬¬¬¬ (pronounced jawa), translated here as "penance."

A: [as the father] "So, if nobody says anything, the parents will speak up, *Oya*! In the matter of this demon girl, we used both the carrot and the stick with Zalejya, we've tried beating him and biting him. 'If you say you want to marry her, then we will cut you off! But if you don't marry her, we'll buy you a motorcycle.' We tried everything to no avail.

B: Probably.

A: [as the father] "It's like he has been possessed by a demon. He said that he and that girl will both live and die as one family."

B: That's real love!

A: [as the father] "When they parted, he [Zalejyal] took out a silver amulet with the Buddha Shakyamuni's statue as the core and put it on her neck. As soon as she then placed something around his neck —whether it was an iron Buddha or a person, it had four limbs outstretched²¹—a blizzard wiped out many of my sheep. Ah, ill-fated ones!"

B: He pointed the finger at that [the giving of the crucifix] as the cause of that incident.

प भेवः हुः रेऽ।

म बि'त्ये'चडीवा'र्से-दि'वावे-त्योक्ष'नाडीन्-वाहिया'ये-दि बि'र्से-दे-वि'र्से-वाहिया'ये-दि बि'र्से-दे-वि'र्से-वाहिया'ये-दि बि'र्से-वाहिया'ये-दि बि'र्से-वाहिया'ये-दि ब'र्से-वाहिया'ये-दि ब'

ष र्ट्.अ.च्रु.र्ट्ट.लूरं.चथेरं

प्ति पूर्व मुक्ति प्रेति प्रवृद्ध मुक्ति प्रेत प्रमूर प्रकृत । वत्या

²¹ This describes a crucifix, suggesting that the foreign woman is Christian.

A: [as the Father] "When inauspicious times come, people leave our own [Tibetan] girls who are like goddesses, and fall in love with these demon-like girls. Now he says he's going straight to America. There can be no other explanation for this. Slinking off to school was the mistake, without doubt."

B: Now he knows!

A: At that time, Zalejyal's mother stood up. [as the mother] "Your Honorable Alak, may I please say something?" She said.

B: "Of course she may!" That's certainly what you should have said.

A: [As the mother] "Though I am a nobody, I would like to speak up."

B: Of course she would.

A: [As the mother] "When I think about myself, I would like to allow my only son to do what he wants."

B: That's right. All mothers are like this.

A: [As the mother] "Uh! When I was young, I came here without any freedom. Rending two apart takes but a moment, but the suffering lasts a lifetime. As parents, we don't want to torture them with this knowledge."

B: That's right.

र्ट्टी शुरुंकाश्चित्रभूति पट्टी श्चित्रची श्चित्रपूर्णिय तक्ष्यां स्वाचीयो त्री पत्री श्चित्रची स्वाचित्रपूर्ण स्वाच्या स्वाचीयो त्री यो खे स्वचाना टि. श्चिट च्रि. इस स्वाचा त्राच्या स्वाची त्री स्वाची स्वची स्वाची स्वची स्वाची स्वाची

ष २:वेश:लॅ५:वी

कूर्यालयाकानुमःची स्वा व्यालयाकान्याचीचा स्वान्ध्यासम्बद्धाः यो श्लीयकानुमःची

व वेंबाक्वालाया देन्नेर-दर्वाने वेंबाक्वा

चीनां अ.सर्ट्रेट्.ची यो ट.र्रिय:क्टर्स्ट्रेट्स्ची

व र्षेशःवर्देना

य रशःस्टःबेटःरः तर्दः से क्विनः यहरः व। प्राप्तः व विद्याने स्थाने स्थ

वि न्देन्द्रेन्त्र्य विद्यान्त्रेष्यः वी:खाः सः न्देन्द्रेयः व्यवः वि

अट.ज.चेच.च.भु.जर्ट्स-म् झैचा-चर्ज्ञल.कु.चोडुचा-मुटी ल.श्रथ:चेश-चेश च.लूट.ट.! चोट्ट्स-क्वैत्स्वेटल.चोडुचा-मुट.टी ब्रा हु.चर्च्च-क्विट-टील.चट-टरालूट-जट्टी

P 5:351

A: [As the mother] "Now my son's destiny is in a faraway place; and my daughter-in-law's previously accumulated karma seems to have led her to Tibet. If you, Alak, are not cruel, you will fulfill their wishes."

B: What did you say?

A: [Menla Jyab as himself] I said, "Use the mother's suggestion as the basis, and fulfil the young man's wishes. Call the American girl back." Then everyone said "it is just as the girl had said when she was about to leave."

B: Ya! What did the foreign girl say?

A: They said that she said, [haltingly, with a high-pitched voice] "I ... goed... and I'll ...to come back!"

- प र्विश.कु.चड्र.ला
- ત્ર્યું. વિ. ત્યને ટ્રિસ્ટ. ત્યાં કે ક્યાં ત્ર્યું. વિ. ત્યાને સ્ટાન્ય ક્ષેત્ર ત્યાં સ્ટાને સ્ટાને
- प पा धुःमुत्यःषीःबिःर्सेषःकैःचन्नेःवैःरेन्।
- या = र....व्हान्ययः क्षेत्रः सः स्प्रेटः क्षुः से दः । वी : चे स

10. Careful Village's Wedding ঐম্বাজ্ব স্থান নি স্থিব মান

A: Ya! Now on this auspicious day; at this excellent minute! The time when good things are created! Yesterday was New Year's Eve and today is the first! वि.अट.चेवेश.चेट.टु.सुट.कुल.चेडुचे.सुटी तपु.श्रेर.शो चट्रे.जुवोश.चट्टीट.चपु.ट्रेश.कूटी यो ल.टे.चर्चा.चुल.तपु.धु.शो सिंव.शिश.कूवोश.

B: [Sarcastically] I also know that the day after the eve isn't the second!

स्यासः भेषानी स्या स्यासः भेषानी स्या च्या चार्वस्यानी स्याभे स्वाभिता स्थानी स्थानी

A: Uh, at the good time on the first of the new year, those with wealth will show it off, those without will pretend like they have even though they lack, and when merrily dancing and singing songs, it should be said that I won't stay quiet, but will speak a *khashag*!

इस्कीश विस्त्रची.ची.शु.पट्टीची.विस्तेबीश.पचच्ची.पचेटी. टेबीश.धी.लुचे.बोस.कुटे.लुटे.बुॉ.टिशी ट.स. शुटे.चुश.झटे.देट.लूटे.वि..लशी श्रुटे.टेबीप. धु.शी क्रै.लूटे.चुंश.कुंचे.कुंचे.चेंश.च.लशी क्रैं. बो शिं.पटचंट.सू.खे.लुंचु.कुंश.चेंड्ची.ची.

B: [Shouting] No need! No need! [in normal voice] This sounds like a wedding speech!²

चि क्षे.नर्जे झ्र.नर्जे ब्रिंद्य.न्.क्रेंब.न्यवेन.चज्ज्ञेचा.च.

¹ A is voiced by Menla Jyab and B is voiced by Phagmo Drashi.

² A more appropriate response is to say *laso* (এবাৰ্থানি), which suggests assent or agreement. In saying "no need," B uses a negation inappropriate to the genre to make a joke.

A: Uh, well, it's a sign that I performed a wedding speech.

B: When?

A: The year before last, when I went to Careful Village.

B: You performed a wedding speech again, and embarrassed yourself at the wedding?

A: It's not just boasting! I don't think I gave a bad "wedding speech." After I finished speaking, Uncle Village Leader was about to cry.

B: He was distraught.

A: He was stunned. Listen to what the Uncle Village Leader said.

B: What did the village leader say?

A: [As the village leader] "Ah, ah, ah, ah! Knowledgeable lama, you knew it through and through! Such a fun wedding speech. Such a dear wedding speech, by my son's flesh!" [as himself] he said.

B: Oh! Without speaking it, I can't decide whether or not it's a dear wedding speech. I hope that it's in a language.³

म् जा दे.ट.ट्य.हूंब.ट्येट.लय.बूंदु.हेबेय.

चि वस्त्रमञ्जूनाम

श्चीयायाः श्रृंच या प्यवापाय प्रमान स्थापाय स

ट्र.चड्र.टी.क्री.चडुची.लूट.टथ.चर्चट.लूट.चु भूटी चर्चटे.जय.क्ट्र.टीय.ल्य.क्रि.झुं.टेसूचे.चुं. चर्चटे.चटेचा.चूं.भ.चर्चटे.चुं.चथम्र.त.चडुची. च जच.चक्चैच.चय.डुच्य.बु.कु.लूटे.टी ह्रेंब.

الم شاح، هج : هُلَد ا

य भीन्-वर्गावाबर-वन्-वेतिः भीन्-कः वृत्य-दी।

ष हें'दर्धेव'वीशके'नेर'वी

कूट.ची औट.क.चडुच.लुच.चुंचु.धूंच.तन्। ची.कूंच.त्त्वट.ह्यचं.धु.तट्चा.चूं.ह्यचं.ची.शु. चि. ब्लॉ व्लिंदु.कूंच.त्त्वट.टूं.श्र.त्त्वट.चूंट.चडुचं

³ He clearly has little hopes for the speech, being unsure if it is even in a human language.

A: Uncle Village Leader spoke the truth! The form of my wedding speech is fresh so as to be in tune with a new era, and if you understand its meaning, it's close to real life.

B: Is your wedding speech really so fresh?

A: You don't believe me? Ok, then you leave me no choice. I'll tell it again today, everyone!

B: Do it! [addressing to the audience] Listen up, audience!

A: Why are you just sitting there listening? Applaud!

B: [surprised that he has to ask for applause] What's wrong with him, acting like this.

A: "I will say, *Ya*, now praise *e ma ho*⁴ praise *e ma ho*,

Praise, praise, praise the azure blue sky.

If you don't speak praises to the azure blue sky,

It is said that there is no place for satellites to be in orbit,

And it is said that there's no place for these airplanes to fly.

च.र्यट्याच.र्ट्यूच.लूरं.तक्ष्.च.धुं.चुं.सुर्या रचया.वीयर.ता.श्रधिव.वुं.सुरी वट.र्ट्यूच् च्युःक्ष्र्य.ततिर.क्ष्यात्म.क्ष्य.त्याच्या.देय. वा त्याक्ष.क्षं.रेत्य.वीया.ततिर.क्ष्य.वे.सुरी

त्रियः क्षेत्र प्यत्र प्रत्यः दे स्था क्षेत्र क्षा या चित्र क्षेत्र प्रत्य प्रत्य क्षेत्र प्रत्य क्षेत्र प्रत्य

ग इर:बे:वर्जे:व ष:५:पठव:कु:बेन ८४:५े इर:वेंर:वेंश:डेव:चव्र-वें कुब:५:कें।

पि दे र्चेश विव सम्ब क्याम वेव में

य् रट.ट.धेव.वेब.चर्चर.जब.कु.क्वैबा घल.जू.

पि यर्नेदे.वी.यर्ने.मु.खा.ली

चर्क्नेन्-चर्क्नेन्-वर्क्नेन्-वर्क्नेन्

न्गुरःषाःर्स्वायनैःयानर्सेन्यानर्सेन्वा

थ.छोटे.येथ.झेर.बो शुक्ष.त्येड्य.पीतूर.क्षेर.ज.पीतूर.रका.पटीवी.

ૹઃએઽઃવયઃ૽૱:.ઘી વુષ્ય:આવવુઃ.ઘોવુમ:.વર્લર:૨ઌ:વર્ધુ):

⁴ জীমার্ন্ত্র is an expression of wonder common in Tibet.

And it is said that people won't know that this earth is round."

How's that?

B: Alright.

A: "I will say *Ya*! Now praise, praise, praise, praise the earth.

If we don't speak the praises to this earth,

It is said that there will be no place for this white snow mountain to tower imposingly.

It is said that there will be no place for the green meadows to stretch.

And it is said that there's no place for herders to lie down."

How's that?

B: It's ok!

A: I will say *Ya*, now praise the human world,

and especially praise Tibet, the land of snows!

Praise the monkey bodhisattva.

Praise the goddess mother of rock.5

क्षःब्रं चे प्यायदी में स्वीय स्वीय

पि क्रूबी.वी

ग ण पर्केन्प्तर्केन्पर्केन्यः

षार्नेषाः संप्तिः सामार्हेन् सामार्हेन् सा

શ્રન-ધૂન્ય-કૂન-ધ્રાત્વે ત્વન્ય-ખન્ન-વર્નનાના શ્રન-હૂન્ય-કૂન-ધ્રાત્વે ત્વન્ય-ખન્ન-વર્નનાના

ૡૢ૾ઌૻ૽૽૽ૣ૾ૼ૱ૢૢૼ૱ૹ૾ૢ૾ૢઌૢ ૡૢઌ૽૽૽૾ૣ૾૾૽ૡૢૼૺૠ૾૽ૢ૾૱ૢૢૼઌૢઌૻઌઌઌઌ૽૽ઌ૽ૢ૽ઌ૽ૹ૽ૺૺૢ

क्रे:र्बे:रे5|

य केंगि.मु

ब्लेंबासुग्वादबारुवार्चेन्सुवार्वेद्

ब्रुंदु:चुर:कुन:स्रेम्य:न्यर:नर्स्न्

ष्र.चेश्चच.चे.के.स्र.स्र्री

⁵ This is a reference to the Tibetan origin myth in which humans are the children of a monkey and rock demoness.

Praise the silk knot of love.

Praise the long path of free marriage.

Today we also praise the weddings of Careful Village!

B: So are you going to keep praising or are you going to start talking?

A: Ya, so, when I tell you I won't give a speech, you tell me I must.

If I speak one as long as the number of hairs a caterpillar has, it's too much;

and even if you, the listeners, don't get hungry, I, the speaker, will get frostbite.⁶

A: Well, then just speak a little bit.

A: Now, when I tell you I won't give a speech, you tell me I must.

If I give a speech that, like a little black ant, has no beginning or end,

Then the listeners' heads will certainly start spinning, and the speaker will be ashamed.

B: So speak just the right amount.

यक्के.र्टर.र्टर.बी.अर्टर.त.पर्के्री

रट.र्टनट.रट.पत्त्रीवी.वीधेषे.लाश.रुट.ध्रू.

ર્જ્યો ટ્રેન્ડ્રિયા જ્યાં જિલ્લું તે તું તું તું તું કું તે કું તે કું તું તું તું કું તું તું તું કું તું કું તે કું

- বর্টু,ফ্রিনা La 2.ট্রিন্স.নর্ম2.লন্স.বে2িনা.ফ্রি.ব.নগব.নেন
- त्युं.ची त्यी.वीला-चान्चची.ची.वी.चीट्यान्चची-चे.चरा चच्चची.चर्चटी-ट्यूं.चुर.ची यो ला.टे.चीप्रेश.चच्चची.कु.चर्चटी-चच्च.चे.चीप्रेश.

ૉકું ૧વ વૃં. મું. ફું વજા વ.૨. વન ૧ વૃં. ધું ૧ કું. ૨૧

- ष दे.व.धर.धर.चत्रचार्चेत
- वेब.स्.लं.क.च् वेब.चु.पच्चत्राच्चर्याः चीत्राः यच्चताः त्यत्तर्याः चीत्राः यच्चताः त्यत्रः त्यर्वः यच्चताः त्यत्रः त्यर्वः प्रचेषाः त्यत्रः त्यर्वः त्यर्वः यच्चतः त्यत्रः विः प्रचेषाः त्यत्वेषाः त्यत्यत्यः त्यत्वेष्यः व्यविष्यः । प्रचेषाः त्यत्वेषाः त्यत्यत्यः त्यत्वेषः यविष्यः । प्रचेषाः त्यत्वेषाः त्यत्यत्यः त्यत्वेषः । प्रविष्यः ।
- व र.क्र.रट.रव.त.चत्रुव.स्र्र

⁶ Weddings in Amdo are often held in the New Year period (in winter) when people work is light, and when people who were mourning a deceased relative in the previous year are free to celebrate again.

A: And when I tell you I won't give a speech, you tell me I must.

If I give a speech that, like a butterfly's wing, is the same on the inside and the outside.

B: Hold on, *aro*! Why are you just talking about insects?

A: Uh, it's alright, they're just metaphors

B: Ya, get on with it!

A: Now, if I give a speech that like a butterfly's wing is the same on the inside and the outside, I'm not an elder who speaks old speeches, I'm not an elder who speaks old speeches, nor am I a scholar of modern speeches.

B: [interjecting] Nor a *bla ma* with insights into the next life!⁷

A: [aside to B] shut up!

First, it doesn't come to my mind.

Then, it doesn't come from my mouth.

And in the end it will remain in my chest.

B: If it doesn't come, then why are you still speaking?

वयात्र्यः स्यानक्रीन्तिन्द्रः क्रुंद्री व क्रून्त्रं खाऱ्ये क्रिंत्ययः तसि हवा हेवा हवा व

ग षार्केगावै सेना निये तर्हेगा सेन सें

ष भारासरारार्नेराज्ञ

यी.शोवश्व.त.श.सूरी यधेश.यञ्जय.यभेर.वी ट.वोधश.यभेर. योधश.यञ्जय.यभेर.वी ट.वोधश.यभेर. यो ट.क्षे.श.ज्ञय.ङ्.वर्ट.वर्टकुक्षे.वर.श्चर.बुकु.

पि दी:बायादीव:वी:वी:वा:बायादी

ग विःर्सेवाःस

८८.स्.ल८.ज.श.लूट.ची

नेतिःतर्सेः।चःवरुग्धेःर्भेटःची

शचट.भार्म्या.चया.पीयाटक्री.मी

वि शु.लूट.व.चचिट.क्वैप्.बी.कु.लुट.क्वैश

⁷ Here "A" begins a set formula common in Tibetan oratory, and "B" has completed the set for him.

A: So when I tell you I won't give a speech, you tell me I must.

If I give a speech of a superior man, he's like someone who does tricks while riding a good horse.

When the horse is running, he is confident that his feet won't fall out of the stirrup even as he leans over to pick a flower.

B: And if you give a speech about a mediocre man?

A: If I give a speech about the middling man, he's like someone who is taming a brown mule.

Though the mule bucks more and more violently,

he is confident that he won't lose his grip on the mule's mane.

B: Judging by the middling man's description, I wonder what an inferior man is like.

A: If I give a speech about an inferior man like me, it's like someone riding a donkey to go herding.

On level ground it must trot, on the uphill you must dismount, and you have to lead it on foot on the downhill.

B: It's better to just go on foot. Now it'll be difficult for you.

यञ्चवी,यसेट.टेब्स्, जुरुप्ते - यञ्चवी,यसेट.टेब्स्, जुरुप्ते - यञ्चवी,यसेट.यञ्च,वी,यसेट.यञ्च,वी,यसेट.यञ्च,वी,यस

क्ट्र-लूट्-वी | मट्-लवा-क्षेत्र-लूट-व्ययःश्च-द्य-व्युद्ध-लूट्-| क्ट्र-लूट्-वी

- ष भ्रुेष:र्षे:वर्दीर:वर्त्रेष:वी:वि,वि,व्य:रे:वर्य,
- श्रैवा.क्टर.ट्रेज.ल.व.जू.चर्येज.उटी प्रीश्रज्ञ.त्यु.यद्वर.चड्डव.ब्री.ब्री.व्यार्थ.यर्थे.यी

पश्चिवा.ची.पश्चिवा.चीथ.इ.से.लुव.१८८।

र्हेन् अ'लन् न्या के' पर्केर वेदे 'भेट् र्केट्' ऑट्सी

- कु.म्.चड्चच.तट्च.च.च.५। वि सू.पड्चट.ची.क्य्वायाचा.चक्रेया.च.सू.टच.चीया
- यो तृर-भ्रिः कु. खुब. च अ. जूब. हुर- खूर- तरी वो तृर-भ्रिः कु. खुब. च अ. जूब. हुर- खूर- तरी

वितायः त्राचितः प्रमुची वितायः व्याचितः वितायः व्याचितः वितायः वितायः वितायः वितायः वितायः वितायः वितायः विताय वितायः विताय

पि देर सङ्गर्याची दिन्न स्वर ची दिवाय व दिहिंग विकास स्वर ची दिन्न स्वर ची दिवाय चिं A: It wasn't that the old donkey liked trotting, but the slim whip wouldn't let it be. It wasn't that I, an inferior person, liked speaking, but Careful Village wouldn't let me be.

B: If you speak poorly, you have a reason.

A: Yeah, I've been told I must speak the praises of both upper and lower [Tibet].

B: Here comes the old praise again.

A: It's said that in the surrounding areas of the three districts of Ngari up top, there are countless pilgrims.

It's said that in the crossroads of the four horns of U-tsang in the middle, there are countless drunkards.

It's said that in the six valleys of the six ranges of Amdo and Kham at the bottom, there are countless arranged marriages.

[to B] Is that new?

B: It isn't not new.

चळ.तर्टेबा.बु.श्रन्थवा.बु.शुबी स्थ.त्मतेट.ज.टेबाट.बु.शुबे.स.शुश्रश्र.क्रेट.क्रे. क्षेब्य.सं.श्रूथ.तर्टेबा.बु.श.त्मचबा.यशा ट.श्रु. बो ट.सूट.बोबे.तर्टेस.स.टेबाट.बु.शुबे.स.क्रैबे.

वि वि.वट.ट.भ.लूट.व.म.विवी.यहूवी.४१.लूटे.या

य भ.ट.क्रॅ्ट्रझट.चीक्र.मदि.चक्रॅ्ट्रस्यचेन चन्नट.ट्रक्स्

प लट.चर्ह्नेट.न.धुट.च.च्.च्च्य.चल

य.वायक.धूर.टा.झु.झु.चाटक.जुट.ट्रटी य ट.ब्रुंट.अटल.ट्रक.धूर.वाश्वरा.बु.अघल.धूर.

यञ्च-प्रःक्विक्यः स्वर्धः स्वरः स

ૹૢ૮.૪૮.૩૩૪.ૹૺઌ ૡૺ.ઌ૱ૡૺૹૢ૿ઌૺ.ઌૢૺઌૺૹૢ૿ઌૺઙૢ૾૾૱૾ઌૻઌ ૹૢ૮.ૹૢૢૼૺૣઌૹઌૹ૿ઌ૽૽ૼઌૺઌ૽૽ૢૡૺૹૢ૿ઌૺૹૢ૾ૺઌૺઌૢ૽ૺૼૺૼઌૺૺ

वाराय:वाखो:रेटी

प श्रवःकुःश्रेनःची

A: If I speak about the lineage of the leader of Careful Villagewhich nobody has seen but I have imagined—located in the middle of Amdo, U-tsang, and Kham: a leader was born into a great lineage, and after his birth he went to China. Employing a variety of methods, he obtained a stamp.8 Obeying his orders, he obtained a decree. From under a white helmet he protected the four continents, defeated the four enemies with his Mt. Meru-like body. and pacified the three realms with strict commands. One should say that you are a family of leaders with an unbroken line of leaders like a beautiful mountain range!9

B: I've heard that before in a wedding speech, but I'll allow it.¹⁰

A: *Ya*! Now if I speak the of the lineage of the bride's family,

you are holders of an excellent lineage:

A lineage of deities with white flags,

- कृत्या स्वत्या स्वत्य स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्य स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्य स्वत्य
- प्त नै.र.क्रेंब.त्त्वर.त्वेब.ब्रेंब.क्र्रंटला प्रचारा र.रच्यं.व्रे.च्रेंब.क्र्रंटला
- या भ्यान्त्रित्याष्ट्रात्वरः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स स्वत्याः स

५२:५गार:ठव:वी:क्षु:क्कुर:धीव:वीं

⁸ Historically, Tibetan leaders in Amdo would receive recognition of their authority from Chinese authorities (emperors or their representatives), primarily in the form of a "chop" or stamp.

⁹ Here Menla Jyab, praises the lineage in terms of Buddhist cosmology, with Mt. Meru being the centre of the Tibetan Buddhist cosmological word, and the continents in the four directions of the mountain, the three realms refer to the desire realm, form realm, and formless realm.

¹⁰ Meaning he'll accept that this is "new."

A lineage of lamas with red flags,

And a lineage of tantric practitioners with black flags.

If one of a cultured lineage put their mind to it

They should say that you are the bride's family and would ask for a *phata* horse like a rocket

And would ask for a *mata* horse like a motorcycle,

and would ask for a *zhang ta* horse that reaches the North Pole!¹¹

B: That's not bad!

A: Ya, so! If I speak of the lineage of the groom's family,

you also, are holders of an excellent lineage:

A lineage of deities with white flags,

A lineage of lamas with a red flag,

B: *Aro aro aro*! that's the same as the bride's family!

८म.प्रथम.कव.मी.सम्बर्ध-एमव.स्री १म.प्रथम.कव.मी.सम्बर्ध-एमव.स्री

र्मवायाक्किट.क्ष्य.बीयार्मवातात्रम्यात्राच्या

यम् पर्वे तसुर अन्तरत्र तन् नर्वे वेर वे

याम्यान्यः र्सू र्वे त्यु त्यु त्यु प्रची ने स्वी

હિન્.પ્રાત્સ.લેન.ક્રે.વેન.લાક્ર્ય વે.વે.વે.વેન્.ક્રેન.ક્

पि दे.पर्जे.भु.क्र्याक्री.भुट.वी

क्षे क्षेत्र-क्ष्य-क्षेत्र-व्याक्षेत्र-क्ष्य-क्

८२:८ण२:७व:वी:क्ष:क्षु८:धेव:वी ८२:८य:७व:वी:क्ष:क्षु८:धेव:वी

प अ.स् अ.स् अ.स् दे.क.च८.क्ट.स.चाकृता इ.स.च

¹¹ In some parts of Amdo, there is a tradition of giving a horse to the bride's maternal uncle, called a 역자 left. Here, Menla appears to be adding 역계 "horse for the father" and 제품 "horse for the mother," which is, to our knowledge, an innovation. He may be doing this for comedic effect to rhyme 역품 with 역생자 제품 which follows it, and 제품 with 제품 left.

A: Well, except for that fact that one is taking wealth, and the other is giving it, they're basically the same lineage.

B: Oh, then we'll make it work.

A: Well, so, if the excellent lineage puts their wealth into it, it should be said that you are the groom's family:

You weigh pounds of turquoise and coral and give them.

Measure out ounces of gold and silver and give them,

Measure armspans of otter pelts and woollen cloth and give them,

And gave female yaks, and female *dzo* enough to afford a girl.

You take both the bride and her bridesmaid together!¹²

B: *Aro*! *Aro*! You aren't just selling the girl, but giving them her bridesmaid too?

A: Uh, even if not to that family, they have to sell her to another one. I'm simplifying things.

B: Now try and keep giving your wedding speech.

ण ष्या क्रुं :येव, वे :पञ्चेषा सः क्षेट्र :येव :येव्य इन् :येव, वे :पञ्चेषा सः क्षेट्र :येव :येव्य स्ट्रिंग्येव, वे :पञ्चेषा सः क्षेट्र :येव :येव्य

ष र्षे। ५:धेव:वे:र्चेश:र्वेरस्।

ण भः नृष्ठी कुन् । चन् । चन्

विति:वीरामी.षा.ष्ट्री.वेशाक्षेरार्च्री

विश्रेर.रेटिज.श्रेर.र.पहज.लग्र.हेर.ब्री

ब्रमःस्वाप्तर्ममामान्याः

त्री:र्से:र:सर्हे:स्रि:टीव:व:ती:स्रिणार्वे।

या.चाधेव.क्ट.चचट.इट.चुर.क्रिया चर्चा.म.चचा.डूचांबा.मधेषा.चुंचे.चूं.डिट.

ट. दीट. चर्चा सूर्वा अ.स. क्षेत्रः क्षियः वया व अ.स् व.स. व्रियः च.स्य. च.स्य. व्या

क्रिश्र्.लट्जनिट:री बाह्य:ज्यानिव:देटा हवाचानर्ह्ट:र्ट्ज्वाच

प ५.डि.स.च.श्रम् स्वत्त्वर्थः स्वर्धः स्वरं स

¹² This refers to the practice of the groom's family paying a brideprice.

A: *Ya*, well, if you know the nature of weddings, they are merely a worldly custom.

It should be said that I won't hide it but tell everyone today

That if you give a simple wedding things will be good there and good here. ¹³

But if you give a lavish wedding without knowing what weddings are,

then by the end, it will be a complete embarrassment.

B: Are you praising or are you ridiculing?

A: *Ya*, of course it's praise. If I praise this *khatak* in my hand, 14

It didn't come from the highlands, but from the lowlands.

It came from China, the land of kings.

या भारनञ्जूष्य क्रांक्ष्य क्रांचित्र क्रांच

त्र्जीं पर्ने तर्नुषा पर्ने : धरा व : धरा पर्ने : ध्रुं रः पर्ने : धेव : वें।

क्ट्रॅब-र्से-क्ट्रॅब-र्से-पन्ने-वें-पन्ने-क्ट्रॅब-सःवेशाःश क्ट्रॅब-पावसःक्ट्रॅब-प्यशना

नष्ट्रव:ळॅर:तुष:ब्रीवा:वा:नष्ट्रव:यवा:यीव:वी

चुर्म्भ्या $= \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} \times$

त्स् मृ वृषा व नृष्ट्वियान्यर्हेन्यायेन्न्त्वेत्यत्वर्ट्य्यक्टा

तम्बेन्य। वि.चन्वयायन्नि.चर्च्राचर्ष्ट्रन्यः सम्भावशुम्रः म ज्यो चर्ष्ट्रन्यः वर्ष्यम् चर्षेन्यः वर्षेन्यः वर्षे

वरी क्वेंन वर्षाया कर क्वर वर्षा कर विवा

श्चरकी.वेब.कील.स्यु.लेल.वेब.कर.पचुब

¹³ The Tibetan ৭র্থা 'নন্ন' নেন্ন' নান্ন' literally means going well and staying well and is used to refer to a simple wedding. ধন্মন্নি স্ক্রম্মনি "good there and good here" parallels this, and suggests that it will be good for both families.

¹⁴ In this and several following sections, the Tibetan literally translates as "pull the three praises of." Pulling praise (মুর্ন্ট্র্ ম্ব্রের্ম্ব্রা) is commonly used in Tibetan wedding speeches, as does the number three. Though playing on the auspiciousness of the number three, the number of praises frequently exceeds three.

It should be said that when this was brought to the highlands it was a ceremonial scarf for *lamas*.

when this was carried to the lowlands it was a leader's judicial scarf.

and when this was brought to the gathering, it was an entertaining scarf for singers.

B: Do that! Do that! Use *khatak* as playthings.

A: Uh, if I praise this bowl in my hand,

It didn't come from the highlands but from the lowlands.

It came from the Jingdezhen in China.¹⁵

The older men said, "It's worth a horse."

The older women said, "It's worth a female yak."

The boys said, "Is it fake?" [then to B]

Aro, I don't need to speak of the eight-spoked wheel etc. on the bowl, do I?

त्दे-क्ट्रॅन्याष्ट्रेरावान्न्यः याच्चेतः सहयादरः वदः क्ट्रॅन्याष्ट्रेरावान्नः स्वान्यः

त्दी:श्चर्या:।होर-व-र्न्यव-र्न्यवर्वेत:होसस्य र-१:श्चर्या:।होर-व-र्न्यव-र्न्यवर्वेत:होसस्यः

त्तर्नुतृङ्गर-प्र-तृत्वावान्यः होत्यः व्यक्तियः व्यक्तियः व्यक्तियः व्यक्तियः व्यक्तियः व्यक्तियः व्यक्तियः व

वि निर्मेश निर्मेश निष्यन्त्रम्थाः स्त्रिन् स्तिन् स्त्रिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्त्रिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्तिन् स्त

ग ष्या ८.८५.४ त्या.ची.८ या.५५५ त्ये स्ट्रीटी स.म्.स.चाशुस्राचे त्याचे त्याचा

यर्ने क्रेंन् वयाया सुन क्रीन वया सुन प्रवेश

श्चरक्वान्द्रवर्गः अवरात्रम् वर्षाः स्वरास्त्रम्

यत्र-पत्रम् ५.१८८/हि.५५६म् व.स्.म् तत्रम् त्याः

याःस्रीत्र्यातस्त्र्यायाः नामान्यः तत्त्रीः पञ्चेषाः प्रस्तान्यः वीः स्रास्त्राः स्रोत्तर्भावः स्रोत्तर्भावः स्रोत्तर्भावः स्रोत्तर्भावः स्रोत्तर्भावः स्रोत्तर्भावः स्रोत्तर्भावः स

चुःकं में त्वर्क्षेयायायाया हुत्वः साखोः धीवावः चुःकं में त्वर्क्षेयायायाया हुतः साखोः धीवावः

क्य.तू.र.चतर्शः भृत्यां व र.जर्नुतुःब्यः सूर्याः न्याः त्याः सूर्यः स्थाः चर्चिरः

¹⁵ A city in Jiangxi Province. Since the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), Jingdezhen (景徳镇) has been famous centre for Chinese porcelain making.

"nectar."

telling me.

B: I would know it even without you

B: There's no need for that. Just say what's in it.	ष क्षे:नर्वे:की बदःव:के:मज्जेष:र्सेन्:वें:वेंन्:ब: वेंदरू:स:ने:सेन्।
A: It has the stuff you like in it!	ग वदःवःदःहिंद्वादःर्वेःदेःर्भेदःहुःसेद्
B: It should have alcohol, shouldn't it?	lय कट.लूट.क्र ी .⊀ट.ब्र्
A: Ya! If praise the cool nectar in this bowl,	ग ५४-५ग्र-ॲ्बर-तर्बेर-५५क्य-वृद्धः चर्यवायायदिर-चर्बेर-५४क्य-वृद्धः ५४-व्य
In Upper Ngari they planted white barley,	ब्रेंट्-अटल:देश:धुवा:वश:दश:दग्रद:वहवा चत्रेव
And they say that they had white barley like white conch shells. ¹⁶	<i>ब्रषाऱ्ग्रर:5ुद:</i> न्ग्र्य:व्र <u>-</u> :व्रन्:ब्र्-:ब्रे-:ब्रे-:ब्र
In U-Tsang, in the middle, they planted blue barley,	चचुवा चर-देविकाबोद्दर:लेखावकावेकाकूष-चरेचा
And they say they had blue barley like pigeons.	वयःक्रॅ्वप्सुवार्स्वायम्यप्तायम् विःचेरःवी
In lower Amdo and Kham they planted grey barley,	चचुवा श्चर-अर्ट्र.विश्वयाः स्थाः येषः श्चीः चरेचः
And they say they had grey barley like pheasants. ¹⁷	<i>વજાસુ</i> 'દે.સું તર્-તર-ખેંદ-તુ કેર-ની
It should be said that the essence of the three-colored barley is called cool	चटर.इ.चथुल.घ.चु.धुर.७ट.घु.चुर.कु.ट.ट. ब्रम.च.भर्चूच.चीथ्रभ.चु.धुर.७८.घु.चुर.कुर.ट.

ष दै.र.ज.चनर.व.र.चेब.बी.रा

¹⁶ This refers to both the size and the colour, as do the lines immediately following.

¹⁷ Likely a reference to the Tibetan eared pheasant (Crossoptilon harmani).

A: *Ya*, when you say "boil the *chang*," it is boiled like dry yak horns.¹⁸

When you say "lay out grain for *chang*!" it's like laying an eighty-year-old woman down.

when you say, "scoop out the *chang*!" it's done like receiving a newborn baby!

B: Oh, I know how to make *chang* and can also drink it.

A: *Ya*, it should be said that if one drinks a mouthful of this *chang* their mind becomes clear like an eaglet.

If one drinks two mouthfuls, their bravery increases like a tiger cub.

If one drinks three mouthfuls, their stomach drags like a piglet.¹⁹

B: That's terrible.

A: It should be said that if a high *lama* drinks it, he shows signs of his spiritual attainments.

If a large leader drinks it, he shows signs of wisdom.

And if fools like you and me drink it, we show signs of madness.

चक्की-(नर्श्वपुःस्वयःसूर्यंस्वयःसूर्यःस्वयःस्वयः कटःचश्रेषाचलानश्रेषाःस्वयःस्वयःस्वयः व.चोलचा-रःश्लेषाःस्वयःसङ्ग्रस्यःस्वयःस्वयः च लो ट.कटःसङ्ग्रस्ययःसङ्ग्रस्यस्यःस्वयःस्वे

तपुःसीसीजमुष्यःमुष्यःम्बान्यः ८.करःजूरमाक्ष्यःमुष्यःमुष्यः वाष्ट्रमा

- वि स्थ्री कर.रे.जय.र.चेय.वे.रुरे.रे.टे.जबैट.र.
- योशका स्थान स्

ર્સૈવા, વા, ત્વૃતા, ત્વૃં, કુ મ. વા, કુ મ. ક્રૈજા વેત. વા શેજા. તર્કી મ. વ. કૃ. સે. મ. જા, ક્રિવા, રેવા. સૈવા, વા, ત્વૃતા, ત્વૃં, કુ મ. વા વેત. કૃ. તર્કી મ. ક્રૈય જા. વા, જા. ક્રેવા,

- षि दै.रे.क्वा.क्र्या.बी
- ग वदीः अर्हेन् वर्षे मुन्ति । हेन्द्र न्याचे स्वाधिक वर्षे स्वाधिक स्वाधिक स्वाधिक स्वाधिक स्वाधिक स्वाधिक स्व

र्क्षेत् तं नेर्पेत प्रेंय प्रह्म त् अवशाहनायः

चेव.स्.ब्रिंच.व.चुम.कैंबा चेव.स्.ब्रिंच.व.चुम.कैंबा

¹⁸ This refers to the amount of time required to boil the dry yak horns.

¹⁹ Suggesting that they become fat when they drink too much.

B: <i>Aro</i> , so there's a difference based on who drinks the alcohol?	ष्यः र्स्य करः वि.वे.वि.तं तं तं तं ते तं ते तं ते तं
A: It should be said: elders please don't drink this, or you won't see the path.	ग वदी विं विंत्र वर्षेत्र वर्षेत्र स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व
Grown ups, please don't drink this, or you won't complete your work.	<u> </u>
Youths please don't drink this, or you won't be able to settle down.	नर्वित् पानर्वेशयात्रहुट विभानविशकी वेत
Cadres, please don't drink this, or you won't have a good reputation.	यट्रे.लक्ष.मुद्दे.पर्जूक.म.पर्श्वट.वि.लक्ष.भू.देवो
Students please don't drink this, or you won't get good marks.	ર્સું ન અ નર્કે જ અ તકુ દ ઋ ર અ એ બેંદ્ર જા
If you know how to drink this, it is medicinal nectar,	વદ્દી વક્ષદ છેયા વ. વદ્દદ કે. શ્રેવ દ્વાળીવા મા
But if you don't know how to drink it, it is evil poison.	पर्वट.भ.घेय.भ.रच.२ेवा.इ.४.लुघ.चुर.कैंग
B: <i>Ya</i> ! So you're saying it's ok to drink a bit!	व.कू्बा.च.चड्रा व ल.टू.चड्र.च.च्.क्.ब्रा.कु.च.च्र.च्रंडिट.ब्रा.चर्छ्य.
A: Oh! For people like you it's better to say nothing than to tell you not to drink.	म ब्र्सि ब्रिंग्टर् तर्ने त्वर्ने क्वरं क्षत्र व्यव्यक्ष
B: As if you won't drink when told to, right?	षि हिं.रे.वर्षेर.चत्रु.य.र.वर्षेर.वु.ष.र
A: [to B] Ah, shut up! [continuing with the speech]	ग ७१ ।च र्सेव
<i>Ya</i> , so now if I make an offering with this ambrosial liquor, and speak the gateways of speeches,	ઌૡ૱૱ ઌૡઌ૽૽૱૱ૢ૽ૺૹૢ૿૽ૹૢ૽૱ૡઌૢૹ૽૽ઌ૽૽૱ૢઌૡ ઌ૽૽૽ૺ૱ૹ૽૽૽૽ૺૹ૽૽ૢૼૺઌ૽ૼઌ૽ઌ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૢ૽ઌ૽૽૱ઌઌ૽૽ ઌૡ૽૽૱ૹ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૹ૽૽૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ઌઌ૽૽

It should be said that this liquor
offering is the gateway to food,

the thirty consonants are gateway to speech,

alalamo is the gateway to songs,20

playing jokes is the gateway to conversation,

studying knowledge is the gateway to revenue,

only raising livestock is the gateway to losses,

doing anything is the gateway to expenditure,

and the sure thing these days is the back door.²¹

B: Lakso! Lakso! I think that's definitely true!

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech of great things,

It should be said that the weddings are with great fame.

The invited guests are of great importance.

भ्रुेंबर्षासुन्करावि : वर्षा भ्रुं : वेव : वे

गा.वि.श्रेष्ठा.श्रे.टवा.श्लॅ.लुव.चुर.वी

જાતાતાસ્ત્રી સું સું ખેતુ કેમ ની

गुःरेःक्केट्रार्के जानुकाःक्षें धीवः बेरः वी

वेषानुःर्षेव नवःश्वरषावःर्षेरःश्वरधेवः बेरःषी

ब्रैम्थाः व्याप्तान्त्र्याः च्रिम्याः

र्देव-दवा-क्रे-पञ्चवाःश्च्रुप-व-तर्चीःश्चे-धेव-ञ्चर-वी

ત્રું. કુંચા કુંદ. જ્વાના સુંગ્રું કુંચા સુંગ્યું કુંચા સુંગ્યું કુંચ.

व विष्युष्य विषयः विषयः

या स्तर्पार्वे स्त्राची के.च.इस.चीरीका.चर्चे ह्वी. चत्रप्राची

ह्वायाराः क्षेत्रार्थे त्रार्थे दाळे वी

र्चेषायदी अर्चेव र्ये वाया के वी

²⁰ alalamo is a common set of vocables used by a singer when singing a folk song as the opening.

²¹ Here Menla uses the repeated use of 劉 "door" to change from "gateway," to a sarcastic comment on the importance of "using the back door" (Ch., zou hou men 走后门) or using connections to get ahead in modern China.

The uninvited guests have great hopes.

The bridal party have great greed,

The hosts have great generosity,

Careful Village has a great gathering,

And I—the speechmaker—have great courage!

B: You're certainly not the person you were at the beginning!²²

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech of small things:

It should be said that in the world, people are small.

In Tibet—the land of snows—I'm a nobody,

most brides are young,

and they have little power in front of their mothers-in-law.

B: Tibetan girls generally have no status, so how could a new bride get power so easily?

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech of the things that are many,

य र्चेष यर्चेव र्पेर रे के वी

ष्णःवदःर्र्टरःदंनेयःकेःवी

वानेव.क्ट.क्ट.ट.ह्ट्र

श्रेश्नराक्तेराकृतियते क्रिंशके की

ट.चर्चर.गु.खु.खु.खु.डुट.कु.बु.चुर.बु.चुर.

Ta 2.22.91.91.2.91

ग भःन्। चानुकाची छुट नः क्ष्याचा शुक्रानार्वे छेवा नवनः वा

यह्वाह्रेव।वस्यावःश्चे:कुरःची

यारमारुवार्चेत्वमाराखुरायी

चवा.त्रा.तजा.कुर.जू.क्ट.वी

क्षावे :ह्वतःवयः ५ नरः खुरः वी चेरः वी चेरः षणवे :ह्वतः वयः ५ नरः खुरः वी चेरः वी चेरः

प्ति चुर-र्वेद्-षी-सुद्-रेशेद-त्यः र्वेद्यः व्यक्तः स्त्रेद्यः प्रविच-व्यक्तः स्त्रेद्यः प्रविच-व्यक्तः स्त्रेद्यः प्रविच-व्यक्तः स्त्रेद्यः प्रविच-व्यक्तः स्त्रेद्यः स्त

या ल.ट.ची२श.ची.भट.च.¥श.चीश्रभ.चर्च्.कुची.

²² Here B points out that Menla Jyab previously says he is not brave and refers to himself as an "inferior man."

It should be said that in Lhasa, there are many pilgrimage destinations,		સુ.જા.વ.જા
in Ngawa, there are many businesspeople,		इ.च.ब.क्
in Ziling there are many scholars,		ञ्चे भैट व
and in Tibet in general, there are many monks.		कुंबा ब्रीय:सूर्य:५
B: It probably is more or less like that.	[T]	तत.कुर.
A: <i>Ya</i> , so if I give a speech of the	ग	ਘ-5-ਕਵੈਥ

It should be said that there are few villages that don't have grassland disputes,

things that are few,

there are few monasteries that maintain pure religious discipline,

there are few schools that teach culture completely and systematically,

there are few leaders who only do things for the general public,

there are few *lamas* without beautiful consorts,

and there are few children these days who speak Tibetan.

B: Indeed! Indeed! I agree!

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech of things that are fitting:

રુ.ય.વ.જાદતા.ય.જાજાદ.વું.ગુંમ.વૃ

ऱ'प'व'र्केंद'प'यद'वे'बेर'षी

<u> चै'भैट'व'अ|घर्ष'घ'अट'वै'चेर'वी</u>

ૹૄ૾ૢઌ ૹૄ૾ઌ

म सक्षःक्रेसःदैःक्रॅंग्चबेषाःधेवःवःब्रह्मः।

ग भः ५:५६६म:हेब:मी:नु८:५:इअ:मीशुअ:५३ डेम:प्यप्र, ज्या

कृष्रार्हेन्त्रीरायेन्वित्रेष्ट्रेन्त्रनुरावे चेराणी

देवा'वाव्या'अ'अवा'क्ट'वेदि'र्स्सेट'च्यु'र्नुट'वे' बेर्स'वी

श्चे र्नेव मुरमुरमञ्जूत विदे र्निव से नुर वे बेरमे

८.५व.भ.लव.भ.जूट.वु.५५व. इ.स्.व

देट:बट:वॅन:श्रूप। वेट:बट:वॅन:श्रूप।वेष:वेवे:वु:खुना:वुट:वे:

प दे.लुवा दे.लुवा वह्यर.त.लुवा

ग भ-५-विनुष्याची सहत्यः चासुष्यः विश्वयः विश्वेः चन्द्रन्तु It should be said that it's fitting if Tibetan proverbs are spoken in the crowd today.

It's fitting if a Chinese knife hangs from the groom's waist,

it's fitting if the beautiful fur of a "three-valleys" fox is worn on the bride's head,²³

and it's fitting if the essence of this ambrosial liquor wets the orator's lips.

B: Aro! So aren't you wanting a dram even as you're telling people not to drink?

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech of things that are inappropriate,

It should be said that it's inappropriate if educated cadres engage in sectarian disputes,

it's inappropriate if monks with shawls play billiards,

It's inappropriate if earring-wearing women are belligerent drunks,²⁴

And it is inappropriate if an eightyear-old boy smokes cigarettes. ૠૢ૿ૢૺ૽ૄૢૢૢૢૢૢઌૡ૽ૼૡ૽૽ૺ૱ઌૢૡૺૢઌ૽ૺ૱ઌ ઌ૽૽ૹ૽ઌ૽૽૱ઌઌઌઌ૱ઌ૱ઌ૽૽૱૱ઌ૽૽ૺ૱૱ઌ૽૽

कैंया खु-ज़ुद्ध, वि.या.स्या.या.सह्य.यु-बुस्यो.बुस्य पर्टिन् कु. कर्त्या, युन्ताक्ष.युन्त्र, त्यानुस्य

- त्य.चु.कुच.वी व क.सूर्य भ.तर्घट इस.बूस.स.तर्घट च.तर्ट्स.
- य भः न्यानुस्याची स्री स्याद्धः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्षः व्यक्ष यक्षः स्वेनः व्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यकः विद्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यक्षः विद्यकः विद्यक

पर्मेत-ये.भू.शह्यःचुरःचु चौ.त.त्राचयं.मूंश.रुयं.वीश.घु.कुर्य (母球).

षह्तः चुर्माची चुर्माकुषा सुःकुट्म् त्यची पुरस्कृषा

^{23 &}quot;Three valley's fox" is a stock formula in Tibetan verbal art, and the gya (\mathfrak{Y}) refers to the fox's longest and best hair.

²⁴ Literally, "act out alcohol's faults."

B: True! Have you seen that nowadays some have cigarettes in their mouths that are longer than they are tall?

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech about respect

It should be said that among the cadres you must respect teachers,

In the village you must respect women,

among your family you must respect your elders,

the good daughter-in-law must respect her mother-in-law,

the good groom must respect his father-in-law.

B: Truly, it's important that everyone respects teachers!

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech of the praises:

It should be said that the auspiciousness of the New Year must be praised with weddings,

the rows [of guests] in this gathering place must be praised by many singers,

the wise scholars must be praised,

त्यर्थनायः सूर-व्यः अः स्वा प्रचर्नेत्रः सूर-व्यः प्रचर-व्यः स्वाः स्वाः स्वाः स्वरः

य भर्गन्त्रज्ञा च्यन्त्रज्ञान्त्रज्ञान्त्रज्ञान्त्रज्ञान्त्रज्ञेनः

लक.मुन्द्रिन्वरःवयःनिनेम्बरःचगुरःनर्वे न्वैः बेरःम

ब्रें प्रदे त्रदः त्र ष सुद् स्थेदः प्रगुरः द्र्षी दैः बेरः मै

ष्ट्रिम.क्ट.वट.वय.ज्.ज्.व्.चगुर.दर्व.वे. वेर.वी

अवतः अप्यच्यः र्येषः छ। वे प्यगु सः पूर्वे वे :

इम्.कैया सन्त.न.चचर.नूब.ल.खंट.चर्गेर.टेवू.वू.

च रू.ज.क्.च.जग्र.न्यो.म्व.क्.कृता.नग्र.क्रियू.

ण भः नः नानु अः नीः चर्के नः भः स्व अः नाशु अः चर्चे र छैनाः न्यन् न्या

णव्यार्थे ज्ञायम् । सःक्षेत्र : व्यायम् । स्त्रीत्र : व्यायम् । सःक्षेत्र : व्यायम् : स्त्रीत्र : व्यायम् : स्त्रीत्र स्त्रीत्र स्त्रीत्र स्त्रीत्र स्त्रीत्र स्त्रीत्र स्त्री

पर्कृत्-त्व्, वु. चुर्मा विष्यः त्यत्वे विष्यः त्यत्यः विष्यः त्यत्यः विष्यः त्यत्यः विष्यः त्यत्यः विष्यः त्य

र्लेव् न्व रहवायी स्रावशास्त्र स्वर्हेन न्वी वै वेस मी the loving husbands and wives must be praised,

and the jealous must be praised by themselves.

B: That's an example of the bad praising themselves!²⁵

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech about arrogance,

It should be said that an incompetent monk is arrogant when a *taru*²⁶ is placed in his hand,

A foolish guy is arrogant when he obtains some power.

An ugly girl is arrogant when a mirror falls into her hands,

And if money falls into the hands of a fickle person, he is arrogant.

B: Many people are just plain arrogant, too.

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech about happiness.

It should be said that if at this wedding people sing songs, dance, and don't drink, the village will be happy.

पक्के प्रदूर रुद्ध वी प्रवास हो प्रवृत्ति हो । वेस वी

इम:क्रिया इम:क्रिया

ष दवःतथः स्टः चर्छेन् चेरः चतः दुधे सेनः स

य ल.ट.चिरेश.ची.कुटब.च.झ्श.चिश्य.चड्र्. ग

> चवःक्र्याञ्चेनःत्वचाःचाःतःसःचिवाःवःविद्यः व

वु.चंद्र-ज्ञी चु.मुंद्र-त्यानाना-निन्द-क्र.मुंग्र-द्रान्द्र-श

इम्.ची स.लया.च्रन्यत्वा.या.स्.क्षे.च्र्न्य.च्रीवृत्यत्वे.

વુઃત્રેક્'એ૬'બવા'વા:ર્ક્સેક્'ર્બેલ્'વર્'ક્સાનેદ્રજ વુઃત્રેક્-'વી:ત્રેક્-'લુંબ

- वु.रूटी व रट.ट.रट.ट.विटश.चर्न्नटे.लूटे.वु.र.शट.
- या भाराचाहुकाची:र्वादायाङ्काचाहुकाचर्ची: कैवा:चवरावा

²⁵ This refers to the previous line.

²⁶ A type of ritual drum with strikers on strings that will swing and hit the drum faces when twirled.

The in-laws will be happy if their daughter-in-law is kind and hard-working.

If the bride is beautiful and respectful, the groom will be happy.

And if they have a child after the wedding the in-laws will be happy.

B: If they're still not happy with a daughter-in-law like that, then what can be done?

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech about joyfulness,

It should be said that if the young boy is smart and hard-working, his teacher is joyful.

If the son is worldly and good at business, his parents will be joyful;

if a woman is wise and kind to all, her husband will be joyful.

If the wedding is good—with prepared meat, tea, and liquor—the guests are joyful,

and if the speech is articulate and in good meter, I am joyful.

B: By the Yum, if it's not.

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech about gatherings,

क्ष.यु.का.कु.क.ट्वाय.यु.चु.च्य.त्वय.या.लूट्.य. व्यवय.य.चचट.जू.लूय.यय.त्वय.या.लूट्.य.

ઌૡ૿૽ૹ૽૽ઽઌઌ૽૽૱૱૽ ઌૡ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽ૼૹ૽૽ૼઌ૽ૼઌૹઌ૱૾ૢ૽ૺૹ૽ૣૺૡૢૡૻૡૺઌઌ૽

ૹ.વુ.ૹ.ૹૢૺૹ.૨ૺવાઽ.વુ.૩ુ૪.વા.૩ુ૪.વૄૼૺ.લી ૬.૧વય.વાયુવ.ૹૄ૿વા.તાજ.૨ય.૧ી.લીવા.ૹુેંશ.વે.

- ८.कु.मञ्जूबालर.कैया २.चु.मुज्जूबत.अ.लूर.च.र.१४८.भु.रचात.च.
- य भ-८-विष्ठाः वी क्षेत्री-पः क्ष्यः वाश्यः वर्षे देवा चश्र-विषा चश्र-विष्यः भव्याः वर्षे व्यापक्षः वर्षे व्यापक्षः वर्षे व्यापक्षः वर्षे व्यापक्षः वर्षे व्यापक्षः व क्षेत्रः विष्ये वर्षे वर्ष

ૹઃસુટે-વું.ਭુ-r.નુ વી.અધૂટ-મી.તાદજા-દજા.ધૂટ-ટ.જોવજા.વે.ત.

ૹઌ૽ૺઌૡૢ૽૽૽૽ૢ૽૱૽ઌઌ૽ઌૣઌૼ૽૱૽ૢૹઌૡ૽૽૽ૼૹ૽ૺૹ ૹઌ૽ૺઌૡૢ૽૽૽૽ૢ૽૱ઌઌઌૣઌૼ૱૱ઌ૽ૺૹઌૡ૽૽૽ૼૹ૽ૺૹ૽

अर्चेव र्.सृष्टी न वे जेर मी अर्चेव र्.सृष्टी न वे जेर मी

चीन्स्रीनःभीः वेरःचीः वेरःक्षुय। चीन्स्रापः क्षेः नचाःचीरः क्ष्याः मदः चनेः वः दः

- प धुम्रान्डेवासारेटावार्वे
- ય ભ.ટ.નોરેજ.વી.લ્ટર્યાત ક્રેયાનોશૈજાના્ર્સ. કુવાત્તવેટ વી

it should be said that all have gathered on Careful Village's ground:

glorious leaders with high seats have gathered,

fake *lamas* with little money have gathered,

boastful wanderers have gathered,

and new thieves without standards have gathered.

B: True! They won't leave the old female yaks behind. Even the old nanny goats shouldn't be left in their sight.

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech of the things that trot,

In the azure blue sky, the little black raven trots in search of food;

From the top of the mountain with the beautiful base, my ancestors and descendants trot after livestock;

And today, in this auspicious age, I trot after knowledge again and again.

B: And you trot after money!

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech about things that are busy:

योश्चन्योत्स्योत्स्योत्स्यात्स्य स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्याः स्वत्य

भीयः यज्ञीयाः अस्य स्त्राच्याः स्त्राचः स्त्राच

अः इः र्वेदः प्रेदः वेद्वः व्याद्वः वाद्वः वाद्व

ઋન: कर्से अप्यें न्यन्न वि: त्वा अप्यें क्षेत्र प्यें त्रुषः वी

य्रेयत्व प्राप्तः याच्या स्त्रीत्व स्त्राच्या स्त्रीत्व स्त्राची स्त्रीत्व स्त्राची स्त्रीत्व स्त्राची स्त्रीत

प र्ट्.श.इरी पद्मीस्ये अ.क्ट्र्स.ट.कु.श्रीम म.स्ये

ण चन्द्रचानुबानी विदुर्द्धाः स्वास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवास्त्रवा

दवा-क्टरःवाचवःवःवरुरःवी दवा-क्टरःवाचवःवःवरुरःवी

जुब.बी.लट.लट.पर्टर.बी.बुर.क्रिश टिश.चश्चेल.च.लब.बी.ट्रे.ट्रट.चब्र्.ट.लूब.२व.

ष र्ष्ट्रिःर्सेरःर्स्रे त्येव की त्वरूर वे त्येव र्

ળ ખ.૨.તારેજ.ઘી.જી.૨ત.વ.≇જ.વાશેજ.વક્ર્યુ. કુવાત્તવેરવી It should be said that when burning *suru*, your hands are busy;²⁷

When riding a bike your feet are busy;

When chewing gum your mouth is busy;

And the minds of those who think of high-ranking leadership positions are busy.

B: If their minds are busy then that's what they deserve, since they aren't satisfied with an appropriate rank.

A: *Ya*, so if I give a speech about things that are harmonious:

It should be said that the sun, moon, and stars are harmonious in the sky;

tea and milk are harmonious on the stove:

thieves and bandits are harmonious on the road;

the bridal party and groom's party are harmonious at the wedding;

A speech about things that are harmonious is like that.

सु:सु:सु:साव:स्वा:सी:द्या:बेर:वी

ञ्चन्याम् र्वेव व राज्या की प्रयाचेर मी

.च.र.प्री.च.च्यां क्ष्यां क्ष्य व्याप्तां क्ष्यां क्ष्

र्ट्यव्यायक्षेत्र्याच्यायः विष्यव्यायः विष्यव्यायः विष्यव्यायः विष्यव्यायः विष्यव्यायः विष्यव्यायः विष्यव्यायः

चलवाच.स.स्टावी.य.स्वीचेस्स हेस्सी च य्रेययायी.स्वास्य स्वासी

या भर्पान्यप्रस्ता । विवासम्बद्धाः स्वास्त्रस्य स्वास्त्रस्य स्वास्त्रस्य स्वास्त्रस्य स्वास्त्रस्य स्वास्त्रस्य

<u> કુ.[ા] સેન્.વોજીજા.૨વોન્.વજા.જારી</u>વ.નુ

ह.र.प्र.थ.घंच.वंबा.थंबेंच.व्रां

पट्टे.मुं.पच्चता इट.च्चर क्रिया चिष्ठा ची.मधिव.त.स्था चिश्रम पर्चे.पर्चट.च.

²⁷ Suru (སུ་རུ།) is a species of Rhododendron used for firewood in parts of Amdo. It burns quickly, hence the suggestion that someone's hands will be busy.

B: *Ya*, enough! Enough! So do you have anything to say other than these "things that are" speeches?²⁸

A: Of course I do! *Ya*, I will praise the bride!

B: Ya.

A: *Ya*! It should be said that her skin is red like coral;

her eyes are mottled like onyx;

her teeth are white like conch shells;

She's beautiful like Tara.29

Today's bride,

Tomorrow's daughter-in-law,

the mother of the world!

The elders gathered like vultures,

the matchmaker trotted around like a mountain wolf,

your parents sat like distillers,30

making plans like chess on a square board, 31

न ल.कूच.ची कूच.ची हिं.टं.क्याताचाशीया.धेत.

क्रि.ट्रट.ज्र्रा ज्ञा ज्रूथ.लूटी ल.टे.टब्र.चवी.श.चड्रेटे.स.लुटे.

1 WI

श्रीवास्माम्बर्धरावी।वि.लुवार्ची

र्शेक्ष:तुरःषी:नगरःधेवःर्वे।

ર્ચે:ર્ક્સે:ર્ફ્સેવ:અવે:સ્નુ:પીવ:ર્વે

रे.र्र.ची.चवा.भा

व्रद्यागाःचीः अवदः आ

तह्याहेव'यी'ख'यायाया

२.मेर.त्र्.क्र्.मूर.त्र्यवायायक्र्वायायया

चर-च-चर्चे-रै-<u>श्</u>रीट-पर्टर-पर्टर-लश

त.भ.चर्च्.कट.भ.उर्चे.उर्चे.तथा

र्विवाः द्वेशः युः प्रवेशः त्युः पर्वाः परवाः पर्वाः पर्वाः पर्वाः परवाः पर्वाः पर्वः पर्वाः पर्वाः पर्वाः परवः पर्वाः पर्वः पर्वाः पर्

²⁸ In traditional Tibetan oratory, many verses describe "three types" of things or people (though the actual number may not be limited to three). These are translated here as "things that are" because that phrase is most commonly used for "three types of" (중작다다 맛이 is not translated literally in this text.

²⁹ Tara is a female Boddhisattva associated with compassion.

³⁰ Suggesting that they are paying close attention.

³¹ Suggesting that they examine the situation from every angle.

having discussions	that	were	circular
like a drum.			

And you, girl, were given as a bride.

B: Of course they gave her, that's why they are having a wedding!

A: *Ya* so, girl, you are probably not like this, but

it should be said that when some unfortunate ones hit the road, they were told:

"get married and we'll give you silk and lambskin robes."

"braid your hair and we'll buy you gold, silver, turquoise and coral."

"Hit the road and you will have so many things."

"please don't cry, my dear, just go get married!"

And nobody except me knows that you, ill-fated one, don't have freedom over your own body.

B: You may know, but there's nothing you can do!

A: *Ya*, now if you, who are like Sengcham Drukmo, go get married,³²

ग्र्रीयामार्ग्रस्यास्य स्तर्

नुःर्वे र्ष्ट्रि नग्या अनुवान निर्देश सेन् वेर कुषा

वि चुन्दान्दर्भः संक्षेत्रः संभित्तः विविध्यात्रः विविध्यात्रः विविध्यात्रः विविध्यात्रः विविध्यात्रः विविध्या

ग षान् नुः र्वे क्विं नर्वे नै र्वे के प्वेन न्

यय.रवे.ज.ज.जय.ज.उसेटे.ब्र्.र्था

मु.वायकालासूर.म.म्बराक्तम.म्बराजीयाजी. मु.वायकालासूर.म.म्बराक्तम.म्बराजीयाजी.

ષ્ટ્રે. ગુરુ. રી ફુંબ. રવિ. શ્રુ. શ્રું બ. ર. વોલુ ર. રવિલા વોલી. છૈ. ર.

चन्द्रात्वा चित्रकार्कार्वेदकाराज्येदार्चेकार्वेदार्चेकान्वर्चेः

द्वःर्वे र्वे : स्वात्रः व्यवस्य स्वातः स्वतः स्वातः स्वतः स्वातः स्वातः स्वातः स्वातः स्वातः स्वातः स्वातः स्वातः स्वातः

र्ह्वि'व्ययः द्वार्यः स्टानुयः वेषः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः वि

विश्वास्त्रियाः स्वेदः प्रमृदः प्रास्त्रेदः त्या

³² Sengcham Drukmo is the wife of the epic hero, King Gesar. In many Tibetan oral traditions, women are compared positively to Sengcham Drukmo as a paragon of feminine beauty.

It should be said that you must be wary of your mother-in-law's mouth;		षाः वे वी । व तदी र खेशका कुर प्ये न दर्वे
You must be wary of father-in-law's mind; ³³		જા.છો.અ.ની.પ્રિની.લટ્ટી.મ.જાજાજ.જેટ.જી.ટ.ટ્વે
Be wary of your sister-in-law's ear, ³⁴		શ્રેું ૬ સેં 'चै' क् 'वर्द र 'ચે અચ' & દ' ખેડ 'ડ્વેં
You must be wary of your husband's hand; ³⁵		ल्.भ्रेश.ची.जवा.वट्टीर.श्रंशश.क्टर.लट्.ट्व्
You must be wary of your neighbour's gossip;		ણું સાથે આવે. ત્યું માત્રાય કર્યા છે. ત્યું માત્રાય કર્યા
And if you're not spared despite your wariness, you don't need to stay, just come back home!		વર્ટના.જી.ત્યું.ાઠું.ત્નું.કુંત્ર.તાત્રુંના.કુંત્રા
B: <i>Aro</i> , do you have that kind of power? And then?	P	ષ્યઃર્સે હિં'દૃૈર્સે દ્વદઃ & ષ્કે પેંદૃ વા દૃૈવય દ્વ
A: Then I should praise the groom.	η	નૈ:વજાન:તજારાવામાનફ્રેન:ય:ખેન;ક્રુ:રેન: ઑ
В: <i>Ya</i> .	P	ΨĮ
A: <i>Ya</i> , it should be said that in robes, you're as straight as an arrow.	η	ઌ.૨.ઌૢૢૢૢૢૡ.ૹૣ.ૹૢૺઌૢ૱ઌ ઌ.૨.ઌૢૣૢઌ.ૹૣ.ૹૢૺઌૢઌ
On a horse you're light like a tuft of white wool.		ङ्:वर्दे:चवे:र्वेट:व्यय:चवःदग्रट:वी:यट: भैव:र्वे
In front of your enemies, you're quick like lightning,		न्यान्त्रणार्थतेः र्ह्स्वान्ययाः र्सूजाव्यायाः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः स्थान्यः न्यान्यान्याः स्थान्यः स्थान्य

last year's nomad,

³³ Suggesting that the father-in-law may not say much if he is unhappy, but keep it close to his chest.

³⁴ Suggesting that the bride would be wise not to confide too much in the sister-in-law.

³⁵ Suggesting a potential for domestic abuse.

today's groom,

and a future father!

From today you've gotten married.

B: He has done it.

A: It should be said that your family added an old *mdzo* on top of the old horse;³⁶

handed off your sister and took some female yaks;

exchanged all of your valuables for money;

The reason you bought the wealth of the ocean³⁷ was for the purpose of getting a wife while you're still young.

B: He knows that.

A: *Ya*, it should be said that this wife for whom you gave your wealth, isn't just your cook for life.

And that this valuable human body isn't bought at any price.

And it should be said that when there isn't equal status and a balance of power, I'm not sure you'll be able to keep this wife. टे.इट.बी.श्रवा.ता

भ.पूर्यानपु.ल.त.ब्रि

दे-दित्वसम्बद्धाः देव-द्वान्वर्देशः वहतः वैः देद-बेद-क्रुस

ष वर्डेश'वहदावी'रेड्।

ग ५:डि५:गशःहःक्वदःर्घेषःषःअर्द्धःक्वदःव्वयः गश

શુદ.શૂ.વશ્ચૈળ.ભય.વદ્યુ.શૂ.ધૈદય.દથ

र्यातःश्र्राल्ट्यःहूचिशःश्च्रिःश्चरःयहेश

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देव:केव:बी:क्षेत्रायदी:बीट:केव:बीकार्ने:

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³⁶ Dzo ঝৰ্হা are a hybrid formed from crossbreeding a yak and cow.

³⁷ This refers to coral, and possibly otter pelts, which were both highly valued in Tibetan communities at the time.

B: Now aren't you done giving this wedding speech yet?

A: *Ah*, what are you talking about? Listen!

B: I am listening, but it never ends!

A: *Ya*! To you, the dapper happy groom and the stunning beautiful bride:

It should be said that what we call a life, if you know how to live it, then it's sweeter than nectar.

What we call a marriage, if you know how to co-exist well, then it's the happiness of the world.

What we call a family, if you know how to take good care of it, it will be your home for your whole lives,

You both must remember this!

B: Laso! Laso!

A: *Aro*, although I wanted to keep on speaking, Uncle Village Leader interrupted again.

B: What did Uncle Village Leader say?

A: [as the village leader] "Compassionate *Alak*, you mustn't be angry, but if you don't stop now, the bridal party is going to hit the road," he said.

व र.ध्रुंब.यचर.यचर.जग.क्र.श्र्य.बु.श्रुब.वी

ग ष्य हिंग्दिशकः के नेरावी हें नार्री

प १व.र.लूर.री क्र.की.पत्रुवाश्रर.क्

या ल.ट.क्ट्रीट.ब्रा.शबा.बाबुद्या.व्रि.क्र्या लबा.ब्रा.चवा.

चन्नतः र्कदः चन्नतः र्कदः चन्ने र्ने त्वदी त्वदी व्यवस्थात्रेयः विश्वस्थात्रेयः

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ब्रिट.बोधुब्र.बोब्र.लुट.ल.यहूच.टेब्र्.चुर.चुर.

व जवाय.श्री जवाय.श्री

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पि षाषिः हो दर्भव गीया के नेरा गी

र्यं क्ष.वंट.क्ट्र.तमःमःतट्यःक्टें.ट्ट.चंट.ली चर्षट्यःमुःधेयःटी ट.मक्सम्यःमःचर्षेताः प्राप्तचयःश्चित्रग्रह्णयी श्चित्रयःचर्षेताःचच्चतः

11. Careful Village's Thief ਐਕਾਲ੍ਹਨਾਏੁ'ਸਰੇ'ਸ਼੍ਰਤਾਕ।¹

A: *Aro*! This year Careful Village invited me again.

B: And you played a fake lama again.

A: I wrote a *khashag* after I came back, but it still doesn't have a title.

B: It's fine if you don't have a title. Just tell me what it's about!

A: The contents of the *khashag* and the reason they invited me are about the same.

B: In that case, tell me clearly why they invited you.

A: When I went, at first even Careful Village's leader couldn't give a clear reason.

B: Ya, what did he say?

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व लट.ये.श.ह्य.अ.च्.येथ.तथट.तत्रुव.व

चेट.ट.क्ट.जुटी ज्री क्षेत्र.र.लूट.टब्स.चि.चेबाबा.चचुवी.चुब्स.र.चि.

च्रि.चीट.जुरे.चे.जब्रीची.ची.ट्रांचःसेचीयर.ची.चट.

ग विःश्वष्यः वीः वदः र्देवः विः र्केशः दः वर्वेदः र्देवः धवः क्रेसः वृष्ठेवाः सेदा

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म् अःसूर-४र-र-विश्वतःस्यविरक्किश्ररेवी भ क्षःसूर-४र-र-विश्वतःस्यचेवीश्रश्वतः

प थाक्षान्त्रमणी

¹ A is voiced by Menla Jyab and B is voiced by Phagmo Drashi.

A [as the village leader]: "Ya, now compassionate Alak, take a rest and sippest thou some tea!" He said.

B: Oh, anything else?

A [as the village leader]: "Well, there are a lot of issues, I'll report at the gathering." He said.

B: Were they holding another war party?²

A: [Menla Jyab, as himself] No, no. It was a people's meeting.

B: Oh, oh, in my mind an image of people riding horses had appeared.

A: All came on foot, and a lot were barefoot. People were trampling right over each other, *aro*!

B: No place of worship is calm.

A: After all fell quiet, Uncle Village Leader stood up.

B: Ya!

A: [as the village leader] *Ya*, now count them all, young and old, without omitting a single one.

B: None wouldn't have come for an audience.

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प अहलामी ५ से वेंत्र ते प्रचेमा से ५ त्या

² As in the case of the Grassland Dispute.

A: [as the village leader] It's good that none haven't come. Just see if there's an escape for any who won't take an oath before the *lama* today!

B: About what?

A [as the village leader]: *Alak*, I am inconveniencing thee, but if I speak in detail, it's like this:

B: Will there be something for you to understand?

A: [as the village leader] The year after thou camest, a *khenpo* named Ra dzu na ma—who was fluent in both Chinese and Tibetan and seemed to be from Kham—came.³

B: Ra dzu na ma... never heard of him.

A: [as the village leader] We built a stupa at the mouth of Thangkoli. Some said that it was blessed, and some said that it couldn't be trusted. Some said, "If this is holy, we will worship it," and some said, "if it is demonic we will destroy it." So what should we do, thou decide. That's it.

B: I bet you told them you wanted to tear it down quickly.

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³ A Khenpo (ঝ্ৰ্ম্ব্র্ম্) is a learned lama in the Nyingma tradition, or the abbot of a monastery of any sect.

A: [as himself] You make it sound like I am looking for something to tear down.

B: If you didn't want to tear it down, then did you want to build one as well?

A: As if I had nothing better to do!

B: So what will you do?

A: "What will I do other than speak truthfully: I've said before that I'm a student and not a *lama*. I can't say if it is blessed or not. I need you to fill me in a bit."

B: What should they tell you?

A: "First," I said, "Tell me why you needed to build a stupa. Who will tell me?"

B: Again I bet there was no one who could say it clearly.

A: There sort of was. Uncle Village Leader stood up again.

B: What did he say?

A: [as the village leader] "Ah, ah, ah! Dear Alak! You would knowest without me needing to tell you! This Thangkoli is not just some hole in the ground."

B: Then what is it?

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नुश्रा ब्रि.क्.स.न्यनेटिक्नैतृःकूचात्वातःताटेच् चर्यटा टिक्नैयःक्ष्यन्यालूट्यंत्रट्यंत्वाटात्वाटा्युः यूत्रःश्लॅ्याक्ष्यःक्ष्यःक्ष्यंत्वाचितःचन्नुचाःचीट्यट्यः य टट्युःश्वानिटिःतःकुःलुटिक्वैश्वाटःस्वायः

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म अल्लाका अल्लाचित्रक्ते वी बु.के.ट्वें हिं चीयः महोत्व वे :देट्टा बट में वे :बेट चें हिं चीयः म अल्लाका अल्लाचित्रके :बेटा

प देश'व'के'मञ्जूषा'भव'वे'रेटा

A: [as the village leader] "Before it was a hideout for bandits. Nowadays it is a home for thieving dogs."⁴

B: How many thieving dogs can there be?

A: [as the village leader] "Don't say that there's so many! Ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, and now they're numbers have skyrocketed, have skyrocketed. [with a pained voice] *Ayoshe*, my kidneys... *Ya*! Now one of you kids speak."

B: And did a little kid speak?

A: An old granny got up and spoke.

B: Ya?!

A: [as an old woman] "Ala, if the village leader is wrong, then who's right? Damn these thieving dogs. They don't even give us a chance to get a mouthful of meat down our throats.

B: What did they do?

A: [as the old woman] "After taking meat off the stove and putting it down, I turned around, and when I turned back I didn't know where they had taken it."

ये विश्वेत्रक्ष्यः स्वास्ति स

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चीकार्सेट.टे.चुन्री भावजाःशायदुःटी लाटे.खे.लबाक्ष्युःचीडुची. ब्याचनटेन.बूट्। विन्दन्म्ब्र्टी ब्याल्यंशी दयुः ची टे.ब्राट्टबानम्बर्स्टि। ब्याखाःब्याब्य

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^{4 &}quot;Before" refers to the "old society," before the communist reforms of 1958.

⁵ This is a feature of Amdo speech, where despite appearing negative, it means that there are very many.

B: Now where would they have taken it? They would have taken it out.

A: [as the old woman] "I tell you, *Alak*! That was just an aside. But seriously, those incredible thieving dogs cannot be deterred by locks, let alone being afraid of people in the house. So what can we do?"

B: So these thieving dogs probably come carrying pliers and awls!

A: [as himself] At that time, a bald old man, covered in oil and dirt and wearing glasses with a long yak-hair string for the temple spoke up.6

B: I think he definitely wants to speak.

A: [as the old man] "Aro! By my children's blood! It is not an ordinary thing; it's like witchcraft! When those thieving dogs arrive, no one wakes up and the cattle don't scare. We don't know when they come or when they go."

B: They wouldn't let you know when they were coming.

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- ह्य न्य न्य ने स्वतं क्षेत्र स्वतः क्षेत्र स्वतः क्षेत्र स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः
- चावायानम्दास्या राची खरारी क्षेत्रास्या स्त्रीया स्त्रीय स्त्रीया स्त्रीय स्त्रीय स्त्रीय स्त्रीय स्त्रीय स्त्रीया स्त्रीया स्त्रीया स्त्
- पि ज्राचियात्राच्ट्री
- क्षै.सुर्या क्षै.सुर्या वेश.लूट्.वे.शु.सुर्या वंश.सूट्.वे. चर्टट.टेश.बुट्ट.लटे.बु.शु.सुर्या चुं.सूर्य. चर्टे.चेट.चचुं.तु.सूट्य.बु.शु.सुं.यं.चुं.सूर्य. क.सूर्य बं.लूट.वु.शु.सुंया वंश.सूट.वु. शु.सुर्या क.सूर्य बं.लूट.वु.शु.सुंया वंश.सूट.वु.
- वि विषावी प्राप्त प्राप्त मुर्ते से दिन

⁶ This description gives the sense who is not particularly careful about his personal hygiene, and probably very poor.

A: [as the old man] "If we don't know where they come from or where they go, then we don't know. If we don't know when they come and go, then we don't know. If only they had left footprints going here and there... Ashirego!"

B: I guess there aren't any thieving dogs who wear leather boots.

A: [as an old man] "I don't know what method they use. They probably do wear boots, since they don't need any yaks but those with the best skins." He said.

B: What did he say? The dogs drove the yaks off?

A: [as himself] I didn't understand either. I asked Uncle Village Leader, and...

B: What did he say?

A: [as the village leader] "These so-called thieving dogs are human thieves. While they are 'human thieves' they are also 'thieving dogs.' Except that some have tails and some don't, they're all thieves. Now if they're not thieving dogs, then what are they?" [To B] Do you understand now?

- चलवा चर्चरः क्रिंची लाग्ने इ.म् वयः सूरः दे.सूरः वा भरः इबः चन्नवा लुवः उरः वयः सूरः वयः सूरः यः अनुबन्धः अनुबन्धः व च रे.चारः सूरः वर्दुरः सूरः यः अनुबन्धः अनुबन्धः
- व राष्ट्रिःमीयःम्.क्षेत्रःम्य्रियःम्यः व राष्ट्रिःमीयः म्य
- या कै:मञ्जेषानी:मार्गेन्यः विक्रान्तिः केतः वीत्रः वीत्रः
- प्रिक्तिया विद्यानिक व
- ण ८ष.४.५ अ.म्.ल.१८ इ.२५्व.व.२ ४.५०४ ४
- ष कु.चुर.वी

B: [with a voice of sudden realization] Oh, now I understand. Those so-called thieving dogs are human thieves. The so-called human thieves are thieving dogs. In actuality they are thieves.

A: [as himself] Exactly!

ग अ.५ळ्वा.घल

B: So the ones that sleep in Thangkoli are also human thieves.

क्षे भीयः इट.क्षी वि चु.च.चं.वट.क्ष्म्ं त्युतः वट.च.वे.कतः लूट.बु.स.

A: [matter-of-factly, as himself] Sure are! The ones without tails!

ग भैवावशानासाम्री

B: Even if you reported it to a real *lama*, he wouldn't be able to do anything to the human thieves without tails.

बियाराचभूराताश्चराता वियाराचभूराताश्चराता

A: There was nothing they could do, so last year they invited this "Ra dzu na ma."

यो चर्मोर्-सःश्रेन्यःन्वःबोर-सःहःवःश्रःचन्यः वा चर्मोर्-सःश्रेन्यःन्वःबोर-सःहःवःश्रःचन्यः

B: What did this "Ra dzu na ma" say?

प र.र्ट्, व.ज.नर्वा. मूं ४० कु. चुर. ची

A: "Oh! He said, don't look down on him who has come from elsewhere. Build a stupa at the mouth of Thangkoli, and there will be no escape for you thieving dogs. चातक्र्यः अःक्रे.स्ट्री चन्नचात्तवेदशः स्चितः स्वि । चि । चि । चि । चन्नचा क्ष्यः अभेत् । ब्रह्मः स्वेतः स्वि । चन्नचा । चि । क्ष्यं । क्ष्यं । व्यव्यक्षः स्वेतः स्वि । चन्नचा । व्यव्यक्षः स्व

B: What did he say he would make happen?

पि कु.पच्चती.लथ.पर्ट्वी.वी.चुर.वी

A: "Even when those that were human thieves have become thieving dogs, then if they don't grow tails then they can say 'he is not a real lama." He said.

य ८.कु.भीय.तमुबा.लुय.२८.कु.भीय.यमूब्य. यथ.क्र.२८.वी ६.क.तमुबा.का.भीक.यमूब्य. भ.क.५८.तमुबा.लुव.२८.कि.भीय.तस्त्र B: Oya! How powerful!

A: From the time they heard this speech until the stupa was built....

B: The thieves got fewer, didn't they?

A: They said that the thieves grew in number!

B: [matter-of-factly] So they are growing tails. And then?

A: So listen to what Uncle Village leader said.

B: What did he say?

A: [as the village leader] At that moment, those with tails were nowhere to be found. Really, as soon as we completed the stupa, there was not even a footprint of a thief.

B: So they must have been afraid of growing a tail.

A: [as the village leader] But before long, there were also thieves who did not fear tails.

B: Oh, that's bad.

A: [as the village leader] First, we lost a strong nanny goat, round and white like a potato. And yet, there was no talk of people having tails.

B: Perhaps the thief was clever and hid the tail inside the pouch of his robe.

पि क्र.ली कु.श्र.चिथेय.त्र.चन्नुची.लुव.ची

योड्चा.पर्वीय.रचादा.स् योड्चा.पर्वीय.रचादा.स्

ष मुव्यस्तिष्टान्त्र्राच्या

ग मृतःसःहेस्सः स्टान्द्रिः ध्रयः हो

प रहायाञ्चेषामी दीवण

ग ५ जाषु भे ५ चें व नी भू ५ क हें व रें।

ष क्र.चेर.ची

यचुवा.वी.मेट.हुब्य.स.घ्य.चचीटावजा ब्रेट.ची ट्र.घा.घाष्ट्रटाहेब.पवीटाचु.स.मीव.घा. यो टीटा.घा.टी.वया.स.मीवा.चीटाच्या.

व ८.६.भ.भेष.ला.पहूच.वा.भेव.त्.व.भव.व्या

या कर:मार्जूर:मिया समाम्मानीयाः वा कर:मार्जूर:मिया समामानीयाः

ष छ्या ५ स्य प्राच वि रे रा

या र्हेव सः प्ययः र स्थाने र स्वतः स्थाने स्वतः स्थाने स्वतः स्थाने स्वतः स्थाने स्वतः स्थाने स्वतः स्थाने स्व स्वतः स्

चर्नेय.चर्नेट.जूट.चु.लुच.चैंय्.इट्री वि भीय.भःभैट.चू.चचुची.लुच.चयःद्रभःभःभःभः A: [as the village leader] "Now, if you're a thief who doesn't fear growing a tail, then I won't begrudge you one doe."

र.भ.चेडुचा.चा.गुर.झे.गुरी च ट्रि.भेंच.भ.द.भ.भुेंशक्रैत्.भु.भेंचा.ची ट.र.

B: Fair enough.

ष दे:वर्जे:रेद

A: [as the village leader] "I thought so at that time, but looking back I was wrong." य दे.देश.दे.ब्र्.जर्ट्र.ज.म देर.जर.चक्षेत्र.च. व्रॅस.ब्र्र.चडीव

B: *Ya*?

P 4

A: [as the village leader] Now this tail-less thief, wasn't satisfied with one goat.

ग ५.८५.मीय.ज.स.ज.स.चूर्यः चूळा.चूळा.च्या. चूळा.ज.स्थळा.चळा.

B: How many goats did he take?

व लट.र.भ.रे.विर.श्र्ट.चन्नव

A: [as the village leader] Then in addition to the goat, he took a *tulma*.⁷ Now I'm certain that they didn't grow tails.

B: Oh, so they really didn't grow tails.

ष्ट्रिंन्स्यस्ययःश्चेषावैःसेन्।

A: [as the village leader] And because they didn't grow tails, it all went wrong again.

य.शूर्.। म स.भ.म.भुैषा.यूंचू.भैतवा.व्यूब.लट.जभ.म.

B: And they grew braver right?

षि रर्धे्चयायाहे केर सुर्खेर वे रेर्जे

A: [as the village leader] But why would they stop at the doe and the *tulma*. They've also taken our pregnant mares.

म ५.८.क.धित.क.कु.भिर.न धूर.क.धुत.क.र.

⁷ Tulma, ह्रवास्था is a term for young, newly mature and very strong female yaks.

B: Oh, that thief didn't need anything other than female livestock?

A: [as the village leader] He's not only satisfied with the females.

B: He wouldn't be.

A: [as the village leader] "So he chooses the strongest of male sheep. He picks the strongest and fattest yak bulls and cows from the flock. He steals everything, from big things like horses, cattle, and sheep to small things like household items such as like nuts and bolts. How can people survive?" he said.

B: That's understandable. Dealing with that thief is difficult.

A: [as himself] As soon as Uncle Village Leader sat down, someone next to him stood up.

B: Who would that be?

A: I didn't know who it was, but I clearly saw that his two front teeth were covered with iron.

B: Why are you talking about the teeth in his mouth? Listen to the speech coming from his mouth!

A: [in the slightly higher voice of another man] That thief, by both my parents' flesh, did not grow a tail, but if he grows a tail, I hope he doesn't grow it from the normal place but from his cervical spine.

- त सूर्य भेव. भ. पुरस्ते स्वीत्य त्रान्न व्यवस्था निस्ते । विस्ति भीव स्थापित स्वीत्य स्वीत्य स्वीत स्व
- य ८.ट्रे.क्र्.क्षैवकःमेटःमेटःचचुवाःचीकःभ्रःक्ट्वाः चाःला
- पि क्र्याक्निः श. रूटे. श्री
- क्षे.स्ट.चेस्ला हेव.पटी.चभी.चु श्रुश्य.क्ये.टुंग.lव.शूर्यकी. जीवा.वाश्रीशभी.चु क्षेट.च.शह्स.श्राशह्स. श्रेश.पटी.श्रेश.पठीय.पहूंचा.चु कु.च.घे.चूंस. यो ट.घे.चचव.घुटे..क्ये.चश्चत.पहूंचा.चु वालवा.
- ह्रा । व द्रायाच्या सेन्यो मुवास ने स्वाप्ता स्वाप्त
- યો જાજિકૃતિનુવું જમ-મનક્ર્યોજન્મસ્થીના કુનાવજાનાકૃતા, જમ-મનક્ર્યોજનસ્થીના
- पि शुःभीवःवशःव।
- ग सु:धेव:पदे:धेव:पर्वे:स:वेय:दा सर्वःर्सः विवेश:गा:धुवाय:गीय:वव:वें:य:वायय:दें: प्रवेग:देवा:वी
- ची. जि.स् कुंब. र्स् । $\frac{1}{2}$ (है. र्सुनु. जि.बेट. ची. क्र्.ची. क्र. जेट. कैंब्ये। जि.बेट.

B: If it didn't grow from the normal place, it wouldn't have grown from his cervical spine either.

A: [the man with the iron teeth] By both my parents' flesh, that bastard's misdeed should be exposed but wasn't. It's embarrassing to tell someone about it. He's shameless!

B: If he had any shame, would he be stealing?

A: [the man with the iron teeth] Old spinster Granny Lugu Jyi's only lamb was taken.8 It wasn't an eagle. If it had been an eagle, wouldn't it have left the tether behind?

B: He also made off with the tether?

A: [the man with the iron teeth] "Who knows how many cartons of cigarettes he smoked with that lamb's skin. May he grow wings."9

B: What a nice turn of phrase comes from that pair of silver teeth.¹⁰

A: Oh! And what Granny Lugu Jyi said was even better, *aro*!

B: What did Granny Lugu Jyi say?

- वय.ट.भ्रेय.वू.क.म वि ट.भ्रेय.कू.वय.क.भ्रेथ.ट्य.भ्रे.क्ट्रवय.वट.
- न्त्रन क्षेत्र क्षेत्र यो दे स्व क्षेत्र क्
- प्रि.क्.क्.लूट.व.भीश.लुट.वथा
- चक्रीर.जूर.वेश भ. प्र.स्.यूं। श्रीच.लुव.क्री.व.धूंर.घच.ट.सेज.व. प्र.स्ट.यूं। श्रीच.लुव.क्री.व.धूंर.घच.ट.सेज.व. च ल्य.लु.चव.क्ट.ली.ची.श्रीट.ची.ली.ची.चु्च.यूं.
- व ब्रे.चीयःर्हेन्:घवाःरःष्ठिरःर्शेटःचञ्चवाःवा
- म् अंत्या देव.क.म् वर्षेवा ह्युं श्रेश हु पर्द्वा त्वं म अंत्या देव.क.म् वर्षेवा ह्युं श्रेश हु पर्द्वा त्वं व
- चक् क्रांच्यान्त्रवाक्ष्यान्त्रवा वक्षान्त्रम् । वक्षाक्षान्त्रवाक्षयान्त्रवा
- ૫ ુર્ભા જા.નુ.લુ.વી.કુટિ.વી.ક્ષેટ.જ.ટુંતુ.૨.કી.કુટ. જા.કૂર્
- प षा.ला.जी.ची.श्रीट.चीथाक्ष.चुर.ची

⁸ ক্ৰিড্ৰাৰ্ডিনা translated here as "spinster," is a derogatory term for an unmarried woman, possibly divorced but not widowed, who lives in a separate household, and is old enough to have grown-up children.

⁹ Here "may he grow wings" is a curse.

¹⁰ Note that the speaker has (perhaps kindly) changed Menla Jyab's description of "iron teeth" to "silver teeth."

A: [as Granny Lugu Jyi] If only that lamb hadn't come to me. If only it had been led by a quick ewe instead of being raised by such an old woman, then it certainly wouldn't have fallen into the thief's hands.

B: That might be true.

A: [as Lugu Jyi] I am a surrogate mother for that lamb. That thief certainly has a mother too. *Ama, ama!* While he could carry off that *droma*like one, he couldn't kill it, could he?¹¹

B: The old woman thought that someone had killed it.

A: [as Granny Lugu Jyi] Not only did they kill it, they butchered it, and having butchered it, made off with its skin.

B: Oh then...it was really killed!12

A: [as Granny Lugu Jyi] And they left the corpse behind. It would have been better if they had just left the tether.

B: That's true.

भीय.अ.ट्रेट्र.जवा.वा.अस्ट्राक्ट्रचा.लुयी ब्र्.अर्ग्नेवोद्यां.ब्र्.चड्डवा.वुद्यां.क्ट्रियी व्यत्रं.ब्र्.चट्ट्रेश्च.चड्डवा.वुद्यां.ब्र्र्यःच्यां.अ. व्या डिट.लि.बी.ट्रे.ट्यु.जवा.वा.श्च.लूट.क्ट्रेबी ट्र.

पि दे.मज्ज्ञामदेवावाधरा

- चकुर्यः वद्या चचुचाः पर्यः पर्यः पुर्वे स्वीतः विद्यः वद्यः । सः त्यः यः प्यचे चा पूर्यः पूर्यः । व्यव्यः यः यः व्याव्यः यः व्याव्यः यः वद्यः यः वद्यः । व्याव्यः यः वद्यः य या सः त्यः चा प्रवे व्याव्यः वद्याः वद्यः वद्यः । वद्यः वद्यः वद्यः वद्यः वद्यः वद्यः । वद्यः वद्यः वद्यः वद्य
- व स्वयः श्रृंषः क्ष्याः वीषः चष्यन् : चान्यः विवायिन् नि
- च व्यत्वेत्रः स्वाया हिन्स् स्टान्चे व च च व्यत्वेत्रः स्वाया स्वायः स्व
- ष छें न रें सन्बन्धन निरम्न
- ण ५:५:६५:५०:नक्षुर:नहरःकुःतःरः चक्ष्यःवीर्हेदःघणःचक्षुर:चहरःकुःतःरः ळॅणःव
- प परेवःगीःर्थे।

¹¹ Droma (회행), known by the Latin name *potentilla anserina L.*, is valuable for its sweet roots, the lumpy shape which Lugu jyi is evoking with this simile. Menla Jyab also uses it for the "a" vowel sound to create assonance with "ama."

¹² This phrase means both that the thief killed the lamb, and that the speaker feels sorry for the pain this caused Lugu Jyi.

A: [as Granny Lugu Jyi] If that damned one had to "end a life," If only he had killed me rather than that lamb. I'm more than ready to die.

B: Slaughtering her only lamb really killed Lugu Jyi.¹³

A: [As Lugu Jyi] No! He needed money, not some old woman, and so the lamb died before Lugu jyi could. The saying "Birth happens in a certain order, but death doesn't follow it," is true!

B: Oh. The old woman is overthinking things!

A: [as the old woman] I have a lot to think about! I have a lot to think about!

B: So what did she have to think that much about?

A: [as Lugu Jyi] I feel compassion for the lamb. I also feel compassion for the thief.

B: How can that be?

A: [as Lugu Jyi] When I think about that lamb, I close my eyes, and I can still hear it bleating in my ears. *Om mani padme hum*.

B: Fair enough.

- ब्ट.शुटी भुटे.नशटे.चेट.क्वे.ची तकु.श.रच.श्वेट.बी टेब्रे.ची अ.बी.टु.बॉब्र्ट.क्वेंच्.चक्रेश.बी.अ.बी. प्र.कट.क्वे.नर्ट्बा.ब्र् ब्र्च.बर्ट्ट.क्वें.नचुब.
- भ्रुट.प्र.प्य.पट.चेट.चु.प्रटी व ट्र.ब.ट.खे.ची.व्र.ज्ञ.चवेब.चेट.ट्य.खे.ची.
- [|]व र्ष्ण् ८.मेब.भूब.पर्यंत्रत्यन्यमैच.चब.पूर्यःवजी
- ग ८.पर्टरम्बेब.कु.बी.ली ८.पर्टरम्बेब.कु.बु
- बु.नुरा वि. र.टु.स.चच्चवा.कु.चच्चवा.वा.वर्टरःक्विवा.व्र्
- य रखासाची दे:स.ब्रेस्ट्रेची सा रखामुन स्यान
- ष दे.के.ब.धव.वे.रूरी
- ब्रूँ.क.<u>कृ.सड्रै.</u>वूँ। चक्ष्म.चरेट.चे.टे.देट.चे.लम.चे.तचय.ब्र्.ब्री च टक्ष.ली.बी.ट्रेट.पटेट.चचुबी.चच्चैच.वे.क्रीबी.
- पि दे.चर्च्र.पियो.श्रेट.यी

¹³ Lugu Jyi's name literally means "happy with lambs"

A: [as Lugu Jyi] And if I think about that thief, I wonder what will happen to him in the afterlife? *Om mani padme hum*

B: She's so kind-hearted that she is even concerned for the thief.

A: Uncle Village Leader stood up again.

B: So he will comfort that kindhearted granny.

A: [as the village leader] Old woman, now don't worry about that thief. Thieves these days end the lives of freed livestock,¹⁴ they sure don't give a thought to the afterlife. If they're not afraid, then why should we fear for them?

B: True, true.

A: [as the village leader] Now those things that have fallen into the thieves' hands are lost. The main thing is to be diligent with what we still have.

B: It can't be that bad.

A: [as the village leader] Truthfully, those tailless thieving dogs won't let the cattle sleep nor will they let the people rest.

- क्र.तृ अ.सूर.व.क्र.चन्नवा.लूर.क्रेश खूँ अ. प्र.तृ अ.सूर.व.क्र.चन्नवा.लूर.क्रेश खूँ अ. च रस.भीव.ज.रुर.वर्रट.चन्नवा.चिच.ची ट्र.
- त्रम् अभयः तज्ञरः त्रुवः त
- च्चचा.लुट.क्.र्य.च्चट.अ.ट्रेन्ट.कुष्टाच्च. वि टे.क्.लु.सुष्टाच्चे.
- ष र्रें यारेना रें यारेना
- ण ५:मुबः स्रदेः त्यवाः वार्भेरः स्र्रेटः र्वे र्भेरः स्र्रेटः वे रेपा वार्के स्र्यः तुष्यः वः प्येप् रवें र्भुः रेप्पेपः प्रवें वैः रेपा
- प दे.र.वर्ज्ञ.र.कु.ब्र्.रा
- या द्रिया.ची च्रिया.धेषा.ची.कु.प्टिया.स.की.स.पटिया.ची.की. प्टिया.ची

¹⁴ This refers to the practice of life release. Also mentioned above in "The Dream" (Chapter 3, Note 60).

B: So what did he say they do to people?

A: [as himself] He said that they didn't let them sleep.

B: *Ona*, didn't he say that neither dogs nor people could hear the coming of the thieves?

A: That's what I said, but Uncle Village Leader said that he didn't say that.

B: Ona?

A: [as the village leader] "If we wait for the thieves to come, we stay up night after night, and they only come on the nights we've fallen asleep" he said.

B: If they come when they're awake, what can they get hold of?

A: [as the village leader] "Sleeplessly we kept our eyes peeled for a long time. *Ah*, *ah*, *ah*, how long we waited for those thieves" he said.¹⁵

B: It's better to come up with a plan than just sit and wait.

A: [as the village leader] We came up with plenty of plans. As a last resort, we tied horses to the stupa at the mouth of Thangkoli with tethers.

- पि श्चीरःक्चे.पञ्चवी.लब्ब.प्येट्ट.वु.रूट्.पञ्ची
- ग गहिंदागी से तह्या मी चेर था
- त्र त्रामुत्र अर्थे त्रुधी ही पाद्येश गाया अर्थे में
- ग ८ष:स:दी:पञ्चे:स:ख:[छ:ब्रे:पर्वेद:वीष:दी:पञ्चे दी:बीद:बेस|
- प्रि.वी
- ब्ट.लूट.चेब्रा वि ट्रे.बट.लब.चर्इट.लूट.टेब.लूट.टब.लबी.ची.
- य श्चित्रास्य स्वायः र्वो त्वस्य स्वात्रः स्वायः स्वयः स्वय
- चर्गूर.त.चन्नुचा.यद्येष.येथ.टेची.रचीथ.चूं. चि र.रट.ट.ऱ्.चक्षेथ.लथ.यरीची.रचीथ.चूं.
- व्यःत्रन्। इ.सट.भू.लुट्यःव.च्यःक्ट्रट्यःक्ट्रच.च्यःच्यः इ.सट.भू.लुट्यःव.च्यःक्ट्रट्यःक्ट्रच.च्यःच्यःक्र च्यःचट.भू.लुट्यःव.च्यःक्ट्रट्यःक्ट्रच.च्यःच्यःक्र

¹⁵ The word ই'মণ্ডুমা used by the village leader is usually used to refer to something people look forward to. Here it is used sarcastically.

B: Would that be helpful?

A: [as the village leader] Who knows if they really were afraid of the *lama*, or afraid of growing a tail, but we didn't even see the footprint of a thief.

B: So it was helpful!

A: [as the village leader] We said it was a blessing! Before long, every one of the horses was handed over to them.

B: The thieves drove them away too!

A: If they were like bandits of the past who rode horses, the posse could chase them. But thieves these days ride in cars. Who can catch them?

B: Once they reach the road, you won't know which direction they went.

A: [as the village leader] "We don't know where they went, they're modern thieves. If they went to India or China, where would I, who doesn't know anything but Tibetan, go to look for them?"

B: Fair enough.

व दे.चर्चे.लव.घूबबाब.छा.लूट.जा

घला सुल.म् भेय.श.चचुत्ता.म्रीम्ट.हुल.श.म्य. प्र.श.म्.श.भेता.यल.य.स.श.भेता.यल.श्रेश.

দ পৰ.ধূৰাপ.লূই.বা

क्र्.वि.क्ट.ट.इंट.वुंच.वर्टेच,ट्रेटी जो वुंच.क्यत्यःइट.वज्ज.वर्जूट.ट.क्र.वर्जूट.ट.व्

व लट.भेष.भग्न.भग्न.नेट.शूट.मञ्जवा.व

या र्ड्डिय कट्ट वी ह्वण भारते हिंदी कट्ट प्याप्त क्षेत्र क्

चच्चीता.बा.बूट्टिबश.स.चेश.क्रै.श.इट्टली व जञ.चा.बुवा.खेबाश.चेट्ट.क्टर.स्थ.वट.स.

वि विवी.शुरे.वृ

A: [as the village leader] "Damn it all. As soon as we began saying that this stupa was not blessed, a vulture-like horse returned home; 16 now how do you explain that?" he said.

B: It probably escaped from the thieves.

A: At that time, an old man with a number of knots around his neck stood up. ¹⁷ [as this old man, addressing the *lama*] "Here in the presence of the Alak, we should speak in truths! We should talk speak in truths!"

B: [in agreement] Un, un!

A: [as the old man] "There are, in general, many thieving dogs. What special harm could they do? The main thing is that we can't allow a 'conspiracy of dogs and wolves.' If dogs and wolves conspire, it will be difficult for both men and livestock," he said.¹⁸

B: It will be difficult.

- या चुःतरीः व चुःतरी। अर्क्टन् हेवः पदीरः चुेवः स्वयं अर्वान्यः प्रवादिः स्वयं स्वयः स्वरः प्रवादिः स्वरः स्वयं स्वरः प्रवादेशे अर्क्टन् हेवः पदीरः स्वयः स्वरः स्
- पि देःमुवःयवेःययाःवयःर्वरःर्वरःवेःयेवःकुः स्टा
- द्यु.ला जयः क्चै.पट्यं यु.श्चे-.क.चंचेट. ट्यू जयः ट्यं क्ट्र.जयः क्चै.पट्यं यु.श्चेट.क.चंचेट. चजा टे.ला.जयं या.लूट्.यः क्ट्र.चंट्र.चंट्र. यो.चंट्र.त्.चंचेया.कूचे.यं.लयः स्टर्यं चंट्र. यो. श्चेच्यं दे.ट्यु.चंट्र.यं.चंट्र.चंट्र.चंट्र.
- দ জুবা জুবা
- या द्विराष्ट्रिः मुत्रुवः केः रः कोन्योः व्यवः राष्ट्रिः स्वादः विद्यापारः व
- वि क्रवा.क्रवा.वरवा.क्रि.मुरी

¹⁶ Vulture is a positive metaphor in Tibetan. "Vulture-like horse" then suggests that this is a fast horse that the thieves would probably want to keep. It is not a common expression for horses but is used for the repeated sound of the second syllable in each of the Tibetan words.

¹⁷ The "knots" refers to the practice of tying "sacred knots" (ৼৢঀ য়ৢঢ়ৢ), blessed by contact with holy sites and people, around someone's neck. The description suggests the man is very pious.

¹⁸ This is phrase from the Cultural Revolution, translating the Chinese phrase *langbei wei jian* (狼狈为奸). Here it suggests that thieves alone aren't the problem, but the people in the village helping them. Thus the metaphor about dogs (the thieves) and wolves (those in the village).

A: So that old man spoke clearly: [as the elder] "Well, the reason I'm using this Cultural Revolution-era proverb, 'the conspiracy of dogs and wolves,' is:

To stop the thieves from without, you need to defeat the thieves within.

and to defeat the thieves within, then we must unite our strengths."

B: That guy has a lot of Cultural Revolution-era language, *aro*!

A: [as the elder] "Ah! I'll say this: In the past,

If you worked a lot, you got a lot,

If you worked a little, you got a little,

Those who didn't work got nothing.19

The thieves want to earn capital without working for it. I say that's capitalist thought. And I say we proletarians won't take it."

B: Well put!

A: [as the elder] "Ah! If we were to speak from a Buddhist perspective..."

B: He's going to keep speaking.

ण निःश्वेषात्वर्धणार्थेषाय्यायस्य स्वाप्त्राचित्रः वितः स्वाप्त्राच्यायस्य स्वाप्त्राच्या स्वाप्त्राच्या स्वाप स्वाप्त्राच्याच्या स्वाप्त्राच्या स्वाप्त्रा

हुःमुत्रःपयापाःवर्षेषाःभेनःनर्षेःव। वरःमुत्रःपयःपरःमुषाःनर्षेःव।

वटःमुवःप्यःगरःमुचः दर्वाःव। क्ट्रेंचयःश्वायःगरुवः क्वीयः येटः दर्वाःवी

- क.शर..बु..काऱ्। वि ट्रेन्.ऱ्या.वोषक.वोशनः विष्टुं,श्रेचक.बु.श्लेन.
- **॥ ह्य.कट.तर्जु.लुव.क्वै**य.व.री

সՀ.जब.প্রশ.রূব.লথা

वैट.जब.वैट.चूच.लबा

यान्यत्र कें से वेंच पने कें

- দ বর্গই.ষল.র্
- चर्तर-क्रिं-ब्र-र् य व्य थि.चर्चुचुःश्वरश्रक्षेशःक्र्यःसीयोगःक्षेरःरः
- P 5:35:495:8:351

¹⁹ This is a Cultural Revolution era saying, referring to the concept of 'distribution according to work' *anlao fenpei* (按劳分配). The saying translates the Chinese: *duolao duode, shaolao shaode, bulao bude* (多劳多得, 少劳少得, 不劳不得).

A: [as the elder] "I'll say that if you ask whether the causes and consequences of karmic action exist, these days it seems like they don't, but they almost certainly do."²⁰

B: That's right!

A: [as the elder] "Ah, I say that if you ate what I had saved would your stomach be comfortable? Oh, and I say that if you impoverish me and it gives you an ulcer then we're both worse off! Instead of that..."

B: What did he say to do?

A: [as the elder] I say it would be better to swear oaths, make sang offerings, and give up stealing, and then dismiss the meeting, rather than to block the lama in, and regale him about how bad the thieves are.²¹ How's that? [without pausing] I'm not saying that you guys are forgetting what today's issues are, but I say my sheep are getting away.

B: That's so.

या व्यवः कुर्व्यव्यक्षः स्ट्रिन्ते व्यवः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्य व्यवः कुर्वे स्वतः विद्याः विद

P 5:251

- रे.चो.चचु.चूरी ट्रेट.चक्रैंथ.ची.टी चो.श्रेषे.चचुची.चक्रूथ.चरेट.चे.खे.चीश्रेश.चो.झु. क्रूचियाचा.चूट.चचुची.चच्चैच.चथा.च्रिंचु.चूची. चूची.चो.चश्रयाच्ये.ख्रे.छा.इट.चचुचू ख्रू.च्यु. चा ला टबा.चांब्रुचा.चू.चूं.ख्रूय.चरेट.चे.च्रिंचु.
- पि ५.कु.पञ्चता.लूर.च्.ची.पञ्ची
- वजायत्रे व्यां वजायत्रे वे श्री व मार्म स्टानी खेता क्रें स्विम क्रें अपरे प्रवेश में प्रवेश में क्रिया क्रें स्वाम क्रें मार्म स्वाम स्व

四 子四新子子

²⁰ This is a highly popular line, and is often quoted in Amdo Tibetan speech.

²¹ Sang (བསང་།) refers to the practice of making "fumigation offerings": burning juniper and other materials as offerings, an essential part of many religious practices on the Tibetan Plateau.

A: [as the old man] Ah, I say: admit past thievery and take oaths not to steal from now on! For me personally, that in 1958 I stole an omasum for my stomach, and I say it was properly dealt with during the Cultural Revolution: I got in a struggle session [for stealing] and one of my ribs was broken. I'll say that after that, by the three jewels, I haven't stolen even a lamb's rib.

B: He's really clean.

A: [as the old man] Ah, by the grace of good policies, our stomachs are full, our backs are warm and our minds are happy. I say that from now on, I won't steal again, by the three jewels! So that's it!" He said.

B: It seems that we can really trust him.

A: [as himself] After that, everyone, young and old, swore serious oaths in front of the big *sang* offering that they hadn't stolen in the past and wouldn't steal in the future.

B: If a few don't end up eating their words, then that's good.²²

चमुक्षर्श्वेट्व न्द्रन्ति अर्क्व नष्ठिक नवे स्वी विविद्य क्षित्र क्ष्य निम्नु क्ष्य न्या क्ष्य नवे स्वा विविद्य क्ष्य निम्नु क्षय क्ष्य क्ष्य

व ट्र.भ.विश्ट.भ.चर्चे.मु.मूरी

- य ह्या दे:ब्रीट्राहुबराया पार्चितः सक्रेवा वाह्यस्य म्याप्ता क्वानार्चे ज्ञानार्चेतः सक्रेवा वाह्यस्य म्याप्ता क्वानार्चे ज्ञानार्चेतः सक्रेवा वाह्यस्य म्याप्ता क्वानार्चेतः स्वान्तार्वेतः स्वान्तार्वेतः
- व ट्र.भ.प्र्यंभाचे ट्र.क्र्बी.४१.लूटे.बी.ब्र्
- व ज.ज.बीब.च्र्य.त्र.बूट.व.टे.बी.री

²² The Tibetan phrase for breaking one's oath is to "eat" it. Here we use "eating words" as an easy translation.

A: How could they? Making them talk and be embarrassed is better than them eating their words in secret. For example, one young herder held nothing back:

B: What did he say?

A: [embarrassedly, and haltingly as the young herder] Dear Alak, by my father's flesh! *Ah*, *ah*, *ah*, *Atsi atsi*, *Ah ah ah*!

B: He hasn't revealed a single secret yet!

A: [as the young herder] *Ah, ah,* I'm not not telling it, but I can't say it. *Ah ah, ashirego,* I wish I had some alcohol.

B: Hypocrite! How can someone who can steal not be able talk about it?

A: [as himself] Ah, after an entire afternoon had passed, he finally spit it out.

B: Ya?

A: [as the young herder] Ah, ah, ah! By my entire lineage. By my father's flesh if I'm not so embarrassed that I'm all red! By my father's flesh, if I won't say it!

B: It'd be better if he just said it.

चोशट.ट.चर्चट.चेंगी चर्णचा.चे.चोशच.दे.चूंचा.डू.चचुंचा.चोश.श. क.बूंच.चर्चट.बूंच.लटे.ब्रैंचू.चट्टं.चूं.चूं चें चें कु.च.चचु.ची चोशट.चथेट.टश.च.चवश.चूं

ष कु.चुर.ची

યા જાત્વાયાત્રાંના જાસુતેથી જાજાત્યાં જાકી આ જાતવાયાત્રાંના જાસુતેથી જાજાત્યાં જાકી

व अ.चोशट.ट.कट.श.चघेट.घजो

ग ष्याष्य। अप्यथनित्वै स्थितः स्थितः स्थिति वी ष्याष्य वी से वि कटा प्रचिता प्रेति कुरता से चेसा प्या

चूथ.चर्चट.शु.र्घंच.च.चंट.ट.च्क्रुं.की व पवित्र.शु.प्र्वृत्य.शु.चूं चर्मे.घैंच.बु.चड्चतं

यन्तर्यन्त्रम् चर्निः स्वापा य ष्या क्षेत्रे नुस्यन्ने वार्षे स्वाप्तः स्वाप्तः स्वाप्तः स्वाप्तः स्वाप्तः स्व

[씩

ळा.क्वेतुःसी अ.चज.च.ळा.क्वेतुःसं.मी टं.नचेटं.क्वें.शुचे.चं. यो ळा.ळा.ळा श्री.मु.म्.श्री.क्वेटी हु.क्.लयात्वमः

[5.8x.x.092.022.5]

A: [as the young herder] By my father's flesh, in truth, I found a rein in the mountains, and even though I knew to which family it belonged, I didn't return it, by my father's flesh! From now on, I won't do this again, by my father's flesh!

तुव.कट.ट.ट्र.क्य्.ट्र.जट.व.ळाक्केवु:स.च्चर.ला चेब.टा तुच.ट्र.च्य.चुवा.चुव.व.ळाक्केवु:सा ट्रट. भटेव.चचुवा.क्षेटे.जब्य.खे.क्टट.वी.लुव.चु.च. बा काक्केवु:स.टेट.क्य्ट.चनेटी श्चट.चेब.जव.

B: And what else?

A: [as himself] That was it!

B: Ah, I thought he'd admit to stealing an entire flock of sheep!

A: Still some discussed why this is difficult for them to accept.

B: Who?

A: Those like Uncle Gontoe.

B: What did this Gontoe say?

A: [as Gontoe] We can't keep it secret from the *lama* or from our next reincarnations. Prosperous Village: if we all had admitted and promised, we could just pull our blankets over our heads and go to sleep. But by Rudo's flesh, our burglars really cannot be trusted.²³

B: Who were these burglars?

पि दे.श्रेव.वंश

ण ५:५:३५।

व.तर्ट्र.जा व ला इ.तर्ज्ञ्य.प्रेय.जियावि.तज्ज्ञ्यांवयावयाज्यवि

भ्रट.क.र.चर्चट.घल। य ट.क्टर.वि.वित्रः बीब्राव्ययः तुर्चरन्त्रीयः बीः

r 8:351

ग षा।षु:सर्वेव:र्वे:रुव:र्ध:रेऽ।

वि अर्वेवि:र्वे:पर्वा:र्वेथ:के:बेर:वी

प र्स्न्रेरक्रियन्वार्मेखुःखुःधीवावयावा

²³ Rudo is a personal name that is being used to create rhymes with Rishor (translated here as burglars) with the first syllables of each being homonyms in Amdo pronunciation.

A: [as Gontoe] Ah. The first is my son who defrocked and fled to Lhasa. And if you speak of Gontoe family's *gewo*,²⁴ he's like a mountain deity, when you think of him, he'll appear; and he's gone again before the dust settles, and everyone knows that he never leaves empty handed.

B: That really is like a mountain deity.

A: [as Gontoe] So next. Doedoe from the Dada family is the second. He went wandering for a few years, and when he guides the thieves he looks like he is just looking for stray livestock, and we only realize that he is one of the thieves after several months.

B: That's the worst, when one can be both a thief and a collaborator.

A: [as Gontoe] Ah, the third is the one named Ndregordo [horn-less ghost], he doesn't have a father. It seems as though he was expelled from school, but he keeps going back and takes things when he does. He doesn't take anything big, but he takes small things even from his own home.

B: So then he is a child thief.

- व ट्र.भ्र.वि.चर्चा.च्युचा.चा.क्रवा.श.लूर.च्ये
- या व्याप्ते स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त स्वाप्त्र स्वा
- पि लाधुरावी सुर्कोर्ची मुत्राकावी धीकात्र वराका पि लाधुरावी सुर्कोर्ची मुत्राकावी धीकात्र वराका
- प लट.ट्रे.भीय.सीबा.चच्चा.लुव.की.रुटी

²⁴ $Gewo(5^{\frac{1}{4}}]$ is a word used to refer to a defrocked monk.

A: [as himself] He said that if we don't make it clear that these three are part of the village, but not part of the oath swearers, then nobody will be able to accept it.

B: That's understandable for them.

A: Finally, Uncle Village Leader summed it all up.

B: Ya.

A: [as the village leader] *Ya*, good people, protected by heaven. You were all honest. By admitting all of our secrets, we have accomplished today's task.

B: You couldn't accomplish more than that!

A: [as the village leader] Ah, not only is it difficult to get people to give up stealing, but if you think about it, those thieves are pitiful. Of course they would steal, right? Ah, we are manual labourers, and I say that we have bad karma. In comparison, mental labourers have it better. They need only to move their minds and not their fingers. And look at their light fingers!

B: What did he say? Mental labourers are light-fingered?

बीतः धुपुः सी. तम्मी स्त्रीयः सुर्यः सुर्यः सुर्यः सुर्यः सुर्यः स्त्रीयः सुर्यः सुर्य

व दे.पर्जे.र.विर.क्र्.र.विवा.शेद.वी

य अह्वाअधरःष्याष्ठः हो द्वेत्यं वीयः ही वर्षेअयः ध्वयः ।

[의

व रुषुःलवःबुःपबीयःक्रैःलूरःबुःषःरुरःबु

त्वील.कु.ट्वूं.ची.ची लवा.त.कुट.बूंचु.ची.कुंल. व्यील.कु.ट्वूं.ची.ची लवा.त.कुट.बूंचु.ची.कुंल. व.प्रीट.ति.वज्ञ.ट्यूं.कु.चा.चचु.कु.च.कुंल. कु.ज.त.कुट.बुंचूं ल्या व्य.चचुं.कु.च.कुंच. कुल.त.कुंच्यूं ल्या व्य.चचुं.कु.च.कुंच. प्रत.त.चुंचा.चच्चित.ची भेंच.ल.कुंचला बुंच. तर्ट..चचुंचा.चच्चेत.ची भेंच.ल.कुंचला बुंच.

त.इट.ची वि कु.च्रन् भींटीवीबश्चरलाङ्क्ष्यत्व.यच्च्युःजवी. A: [as the village leader] They are not just light-fingered, but famous for their light fingers as well! They are called scholars, but they discretely steal others' writings.

B: That's true.

A: [as the village leader] Ah, I say "teeth labourers" have it even better.

B: The word "teeth labourers" is a new one.

A: [as the village leader] I'd say there are many who were decent, but some who are not.

B: Which are they?

A: [as the village leader] I say they're the ones who are driving cars provided by the State, sitting on thrones, and with bellies filled by the government.

B: *Oh*, you're talking about the corrupt!

A: [as the village leader] "I say there are people stealing the country's wealth, and they certainly steal the smallest things from our homes. Uh, there's no problem as long as they can stop like we did. It is a difficult thing to talk about.²⁵ Now come have an audience, offer your scarfs, and we'll go!" he said.

- चन्नः मृत्रं विश्वतः स्त्रं स्त
- ष दे.चर्चे.चट्रेब.ची.च्

- या वि.श.लूर्ट्य. यार. अ.स्ट्रे. यी जाजायचुन. जी वि.श.लूर्ट्य. यार. अ.स्ट्रे. यी जाजायचुन.
- प यदःस्वःर्मेः भैवःवयःव।
- य कुलावनः वी देवा से प्राचीतः र्वेषा से देवा चलु वायः वि र्वेषा से देवा के प्राचीतः र्वेषा से दा या कुलावनः वी देवा वाकुषा वि र्वेषा से दा
- वि श्री विषाः अधिवः चर्त्रे चर्ति । वी
- र.जर्को, कि. लुट, डुर, बी. ली इटी ट. शहल, कि. लूट श्र. ट. शहल, टेर. उचील, श्री व. प्रच्यु, के. लब्ध, ब्यू, ट्यू, ट्यू, ट्यू, व्यू, ट्यू, ही. व. कट, बी. क. टब्स. ब्यू, ट्यू, त्यू, य्यू, या. व. व्यू, व्

²⁵ This is a phrase that people use to cut a topic short, and change the subject.

B: *Atsi*!²⁶ You accepted offerings again?

A: [as himself] Ah, after accepting it, I wanted to give it to support the building of the school [that was to be built at the end of "Careful Village's Grassland Dispute"]. But what I had given them before had already been taken a long time ago, *aro*!

B: By whom?

A: "That Ra dzu na ma.... That 'Ra dzu na ma' was a fake *lama*, and now he is a prisoner!" they said.

B: Truly, he seems to have been a thief!

A: I was thinking about that while I was out on the street yesterday. And as I was walking silently, the title of the *khashag* came to me, *aro*!

B: What was it?

A: "Thief!" I said, and my wife looked at me angrily and said, "You don't have a penny to your name, why would a thief target you?"²⁷

वि का.श्री लट.वरीका.च.धैरका.वेब्रा

ल.स् वा.वुच.बू.वाचेत्यःचन्नुचा.वा.वुट्यःबूटःचन्नुचा व्याचःकू्च.च.कुंट्यःव्यःचुटाःचा.वोत्यःकूटःचन्नुचा व्या चिट्यःच्येटःटलःधूचःचीःवर्द्धवायःश्चेटः वा व्या चिट्यःचयेटःटलःधूचःचीःवर्द्धवायःश्चेटः

ত্র প্রথা

- या रःह्'व'अ'चर्न्यार्येषायां राह्'व'अ'चर्न्यायां न्'स्'अ'ह्व'अ'चेन्यायां राह्'व'अ'चर्न्यायां वेरःणा
- लूर-प्रा वि ट्र.श्रान्यति-वी ट्रान्य-भीय-श्रान्यञ्जना-सूचा-सूचा-स्र
- चैर-La.बर-र-ब्र्य-ब्रजा क.स्। जन्ना la.स्व.ची.चकु.च्.रिज.la:चेबान.ची.la. च रन्न.स्.la.नर-क्रे.ब्रर-वेन्न.ट्रेब्र्-चन्नुची.टर्न्ट्
- पि कु.चच्चेया.रूटी
- यः भीवः अत्योगः सम्बन्धे स्वाक्षः चेरः स्वा स्वत्रेश्वा हिं.श्लेरः अत्यादः अदः वे स्वच्चेताचा चीदः मृत्वः अत्याचे स्वाचित्रं स्वाचित्रं चित्रः विवास्य

²⁶ Atsi is a colloquial interjection used to express surprise.

²⁷ The Tibetan word translated here as "target" is literally "to kill."

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About the team

Alessandra Tosi was the managing editor for this book.

Adèle Kreager proof-read this manuscript. Annie Hine compiled the index.

Jeevanjot Kaur Nagpal designed the cover. The cover was produced in InDesign using the Fontin font.

Annie Hine typeset the book in InDesign. The fonts used in this book are Tex Gyre Pagella, Noto Serif SC and Noto Serif Tibetan.

Jeremy Bowman produced the PDF, paperback, and hardback editions and created the EPUB.

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Hannah Shakespeare was in charge of marketing.

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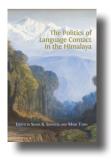
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