Linguistic Features of Tibetan Proverbs with a Focus on Amdo

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1 Introduction

Proverbs are an especially intriguing genre of formulaic and phraseological expressions, together with riddles, songs, oaths or maxims, etc. The short, pithy, and usually figurative expressions of proverbs contain several linguistic features that are different from those of ordinary speech. It is important to categorize proverbs into spoken vs. written, and ancient vs. modern proverbs. Tibetan proverbs have been documented from as early as the era of the Dunhuang manuscript, and are still being used in daily life and literature, such as modern novels or movies. Spoken proverbs ordinarily show dialectal features in their expressions; consequently, they inevitably exhibit dialectal differences. This paper focuses on modern, spoken Tibetan proverbs from Amdo, a region that includes Qinghai province, the southern part of Gansu province, and the northern part of Sichuan province: in China. Amdo Tibetan partly differs from Central Tibetan phonetically and lexically, but grammatically they are basically the same.

　　Generally, proverbs portray unique grammatical features not seen in ordinary speech. In this paper, first, these linguistic features of proverbs are compared with the grammar of ordinary speech in Amdo Tibetan. Second, semantic analysis is performed, and relations between proverbs are discussed.

2 What is *gtam dpe* 'proverb'?

Proverbs are called *gtam dpe*[1] in Tibetan. *Gtam* means "speech, telling," while *dpe* means 'figurative expression' (in most cases, metaphor). In some cases, the word *kha dpe* (*kha* meaning "mouth") is also employed, which is almost interchangeably used as *gtam dpe.* In this paper, only the word *gtam dpe* is used, because this is more commonly referred to in Amdo Tibetan. Although Tibetan dictionaries usually do not give detailed definitions of *gtam dpe*, this word is usually interpreted by Tibetans as the following two paraphrases:

i)　　*Gtam gyi dpe* (speech GEN figurative.expression) 'A figurative expression of speech,'[2] and

ii)　　*Gtam dang dpe* (speech AND figurative.expression) 'Speech (=what one wants to say, general truth) and a figurative expression.'

In the former interpretation, *gtam* and *dpe* are connected by a genitive marker =*gyi*, and then a head is posed on *dpe* "figurative expression." In the latter, two parts are equally connected by a connective marker =*dang* "and," and in this case *gtam* means "what one wants to say, general truth." The latter indicates that many Tibetan proverbs are composed both from "what one wants to say, general truth," and from a "figurative expression." As both of these interpretations show, "figurative expression" is an important factor for *gtam dpe*. As Lakoff and Johnson state, "most of our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured," metaphors in terms of other concepts are important for our understanding,

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[1]　Transliterated Tibetan is in italics. The system used is the Wylie transliteration.

[2]　This interpretation was pointed out to me in a personal conversation by Prof. Rgya-ye bkra-bho in Xining, January 2014.

because they make concepts easier to comprehend[3]. This is emphasized by the often-quoted Tibetan proverb (e.g. (1)).

(1) *gtam dpe med de go dka'/* [4]
   '[Speech] without proverbs is difficult to comprehend,'
   snod lung med de 'ju dka'/
   '[just as] a vessel without a handle is difficult to hold.'[5]

   Proverbs are often quoted in everyday speech. As well as in daily conversation, they can appear in literature. Many proverbs are used effectively in modern Tibetan novels. For example, in novels by Don-grub-rgyal (1953-1985), many proverbs are used in situations where persons blame other people and insist on their opinions; in such cases, proverbs are quoted to verify speakers' assertions.[6] The novel "Grassland" (*Rtswa thang*) by Pema Tseden (1969-) describes the story of the search of a criminal who stole the yak of an elderly lady, Tsomo, which she had "liberated," i.e. freed from slaughter.[7] While searching the criminal, village headmen and young men who are suspected of the theft are quoting proverbs to justify their own statements. Lha-byams-rgyal's (1977-) "Tibetan children" (*Bod kyi gces phrug*) is an impressive example of using proverbs. In this novel, elderly people arrange the marriage of the protagonist's elder sister. In this situation, proverbs are used for persuasion. Witnessing the elders' conversation with a lot of proverbs that are unfamiliar to him, the protagonist realizes using proverbs is part of becoming a mature adult.[8]

   Not only can proverbs be used to justify arguments or opinions, they can also simply be used to add poetic images and make a conversation livelier.

   Most Tibetan proverbs are composed of "figurative expressions" referring to similar phenomena in other concepts, such as nature, heavenly bodies, animals, and so on, and "what one wants to say, general truth." The order of these two elements can be switched in each proverb. Metaphors occur in the first part and general truths occur in the second part in examples (2) and (3), while the opposite examples can be observed in (4). On the other hand, some proverbs are composed of only one of metaphor and general truth (metaphor examples are (5)-(7), general truth examples are (8)-(10)). As Sørensen and Erhard point out, there exist a great variety of proverbs without figuration.[9]

(2) *rta gom pa can na lcag gcig* (metaphor)
   'A whip to a good horse.'
   myi go ba can na tshig gcig (general truth)
   'A word to a man with perception (understanding).'[10]
(3) *zog gi khya khya phyi na yod/* (metaphor)
   'Patterns of domestic animals appear outside of their bodies.'
   myi gi khya khya nang na yod/ (general truth)
   'Patterns of human beings appear inside of their bodies.'[11]

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3 Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 56.
4 Tibetan spelling of Amdo Proverbs quoted in this paper follows the original texts.
5 Cüppers and Sørensen 1998: xxvii.
6 Don-grub-rgyal 1997.
7 Pad-ma tshe-brtan 2012.
8 Lha-byams-rgyal 2012.
9 Sørensen and Erhard 2013b: 240.
10 Ebihara 2008: 639 (39).

(4) *myi gi sems ma tshig* (general truth)
　　'A word to a man's heart.'
　　g.yag gi sems ma gyi (metaphor)
　　'A knife to a yak's heart.'[12]
(5) *sdug mi myong na/ skyid mi 'tshor/*
　　'If [one] has not experienced hardship, [one] cannot feel happiness.'[13]
　　bzang ngo mying can ma red/
　　'A good man has no fame.'
(6) *ngan pa rtags can red/*
　　'A bad man has a bad name.'[14]
　　gna' mi dang da mi 'dra/
　　'People in old days and recent days are the same.'
(7) *pha dang bu mi 'dra/*
　　'Fathers and sons are different.'[15]
　　thang gi rdo len rgyus bzas/ rum gi gro lhung ngas /

　　'To pick up a stone from the ground,[one] drops a handy food from his front pocket.'[16]
(8) *chu la lag rjes bzhag na shul med/*
　　'If you put a handprint on water, there will be no trace.'
　　rdo la ri mo brkos na 'gyur med/
　　'If you carve a pattern on a stone, it remains.'[17]
(9) *khyos skam po rdo gis brdung thub na/*
　　'If you can hit a dried thing with a stone,'
　　ngas rlon pa gyi gis gcod los thub/
　　'of course, I can cut a wet thing with a knife.'[18]

Maxims or elegant sayings (*legs bshad*) are similar to proverbs in their pithy formation and the fact that they try to tell some truth. Maxims are more moralistic, and more stylistically and semantically sophisticated, while proverbs are more closely related to everyday life and sometimes vulgar. In terms of authorship, maxims tend to contain more literary expressions and their authors are usually scholars, such as Sakya Pandita (*Sa skya legs bshad*). After the publication of *Sa skya legs bshad*, many authors copied this maxim style with four verses and seven syllables.[19] In contrast, proverbs are usually bipartite, colloquial, folkish, and in most cases anonymous.[20]

3 Sources of this article and previous studies
　　As mentioned above, this paper focuses on spoken modern proverbs of Amdo. The samples quoted in this chapter taken from a number of earlier collections of Tibetan

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[11] Ebihara 2008: 628 (2).
[12] Ebihara 2008: 638 (36).
[13] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 45.
[14] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 183.
[15] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 197.
[16] Ebihara 2008: 629 (4).
[17] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 125.
[18] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 190.
[19] Cf. Nishida 1992.
[20] For a definition of Tibetan proverbs, see Sørensen and Erhard 2013a: 292.

proverbs,[21] as well as from the literary works of Don-grub-rgyal (1997), which contain a lot of Amdo Tibetan colloquilal proverbs. Tournadre & Robin (2006) include proverbs from several Tibetan-speaking areas; 30 Amdo proverbs are included in this source. Ebihara (2008) is a reference grammar on Amdo Tibetan which contains sixty eight Amdo Tibetan colloquial proverbs in the appendix. Some books contain proverbs that are grammatically altered in order to suit written Tibetan. In this paper, in order to focus on modern, spoken Tibetan, mainly proverbs that are not altered into written style are referred to. In addition, some proverbs from my field notes are cited.

For Tibetan proverbs (including old and new, written and spoken), the list of proverb collections and literature is introduced in other works[22]. The list is not repeated here.

There are several previous studies on linguistic analysis of Tibetan proverbs; Duncan (1961), Takeuchi (1995), Tournadre & Robin (2006), and Sørensen and Erhard (2013a).

Duncan collected 672 proverbs from Khams area (Bathang) and suggested that,

> Tibetan proverbs are usually cast in the form of poetry with rhyme rarely found and probably accidental in those few instances. Tibetan poetry has only balance and rhythm. These two characteristics have been maintained in the English translations. Tibetan is more terse than English so the translation has more syllables than the Tibetan original. In Tibetan the number of syllables is regular for each line, but the number of syllables in each line of a couplet may vary from two to fourteen syllables with most proverbs falling between four and nine syllables. Usually the proverbs are in balanced couplets and antithetical but occasionally are in a single continuous sentences. In a few instances they run to three or more lines.[23]

While Duncan mentions "most proverbs falling between four and nine syllables," Takeuchi says "syllable numbers of two verses are the same (usually from three to nine)."[24] Tournadre & Robin point out some characteristics of Tibetan proverbs in general:

a) Vocabularies and syntax of Classical Tibetan (adjectives, preposed nouns, absence of auxiliaries, etc.),
b) Regular rhyme,
c) From two to four verses with the same number of syllables (with exceptions),
d) Ellipsis of verbs (noun-ending, ending with case markers), and
e) Grammatical concision.[25]

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[21] Mao & Zhu (1988) *Bod kyi gtam pe 'dem bsgrigs*, Mtsho-lho bod-rigs rang-skyong-khul dmangs-khrod rtsom-rig-gi dge-mtshan sna-'dzoms gzhung-las-khang (1992) *Mtsho lho'i gtam pe*, Don-grub-rgyal (1997) *Dpal don grub rgyal gyi gsung 'bum*. Vol. 2, Rin chen (2001) *Gtam pe*, Tournadre & Robin (2006) *Le grand livre des proverbes tibétains*, and Ebihara (2008) *A Descriptive Study on the Amdo Dialect of Tibetan Spoken in Gonghe County, Qinghai Province*.

[22] Cüppers & Sørensen 1998: xxviii-xxxiii, Sørensen and Erhard 2013a: 298-301.

[23] Duncan 1961: 162.

[24] Takeuchi 1995: 278, translated by the present author.

[25] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 11–12, translated by the present author.

These characteristics can equally be applied to proverbs of Amdo Tibetan. Rhymes are found in some proverbs; however, rhyme is not an obligatory category in Amdo Tibetan proverbs.

In this paper, first, the structural formations, such as the number of verses and syllables will be shown. Second, grammatical features specially found in proverbs, compared with normal spoken language are analyzed, and third, how pastoral life, which is imperative to Tibetan life, impacts semantic features are focused. Lastly, proverb variations are discussed.

4 Structural formations

In general, Tibetan proverbs are composed of two or more verses with the same number of syllables; their rhythmical phrases help us to memorize them. In what follows, the number of verses (4.1) and syllables (4.2) are analyzed.

4.1 The number of verses

In most cases, a verse is equal to a sentence, a clause, or a phrase. In terms of the number of verses, most proverbs are constructed of two verses (4.1.2), although in several cases endings of verses are not clear-cut. Proverbs with a single verse (4.1.1), four verses (4.1.4), or triple verses (4.1.3) are not common and proverbs with more than five verses are very rare.

Statistical data on the number of verses in Mao & Zhu (1988) is shown here. Although in some cases it is not easy to clarify the verse separation of proverbs, I count verses by following the linearization in Mao & Zhu (1988). Out of 2170 proverbs, 2108 (97%) consist of two verses, 32 (1.4%) of one verse, 21 (1%) of four verses, and 9 (0.4%) consist of three verses. No proverbs with more than five verses can be observed in Mao & Zhu (1988).

4.1.1 Single verse

It requires considerable attention to identify single verses, because in some cases, these actually are just half of one two-verse proverb.

(10) *phar ra sems ster na/ tshur ra glo ston gi*
    'If [you] gives a heart, [she/he] will show you a lung.'(=(53))
(11) *gshob rkyal tshang nga / nangs kha mang /*
    'There is a lot of "tomorrow" in liars' speech.'[26]
(12) *phyag sen mo bcu de gang bcad rung tsha/*
    'Any of the ten fingernails being cut, it will hurt.'[27]

4.1.2 Two verses

As noted above, most proverbs are composed of two verses, which usually show parallel syntax.

(13) *za rgyu 'thung rgyu mang na sra/*
    'It's better if you have a lot of food and drink.'
    bshad rgyu gtam rgyu nyung na dga'/
    'It's better to talk and speak less.'[28]

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[26] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 149.
[27] Mtsho-lho bod-rigs rang-skyong-khul dmangs-khrod rtsom-rig-gi dge-mtshan sna-'dzoms gzhung-las-khang [Office for collecting Folk Literature of Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture] 1992: 86.

(14) *ja tshwa med na chu yin/*
     'Tea without salt is water.
     mi kha brda med na klo'u yin/
     'Man without speech is a fool.'[29]

4.1.3 Triple verses

Proverbs with triple verses usually exhibit parallel syntax.

(15) *gos gong ba med na bzo 'phro red/*
     'If clothes lack a collar, they are oddments.'
     gri yu ba med na brdung 'phro red/
     'If a knife lacks a handle, they are leftovers.'
     tshig rnga ma med na bshad 'phro red/
     'If talk lacks an ending, it is unfinished.'[30]

(16) *sgo nga'i nang gi ser thig yin/*
     'The yellow of the egg.'
     mig gi nang gi 'bras bu yin/
     'The eyeball.'
     khog pa'i nang gi snying thig yin/
     'The heart in the chest.'[31]

4.1.4 Four verses

It requires considerable attention to identify four verses, because in some cases, these are actually a proverb with two verses, in which each verse is divided into two.

(17) *rta rgan gar song dpyid ka red/*
     'Wherever an old horse goes, it is spring.'
     khug rta gar song bzhi ba red/
     'Wherever a swallow flies, it is April.'
     ston pa gar song ston ka red/
     'Wherever a monk goes, it is autumn.'
     khu byug gar song dbyar kha red/
     'Wherever a cuckoo goes, it is summer.'[32]

(18) *ston lug shwa bo lug rdzi bya khra yin/*
     'Autumn sheep are like deer. Shepherds should be like hawks.'
     dpyid lug nad pa lug rdzi sman pa yin/
     'Spring sheep are like patients. Shepherds should be like doctors.'
     dgun lug bag ma lug rdzi bag skyal yin/
     'Winter sheep are like brides. Shepherds should be like bride maids.'
     dbyar lug jag pa lug rdzi ra mda' yin/
     'Summer sheep are like burglars. Shepherds should be like pursuers.'[33]

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[28] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 153.
[29] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 146.
[30] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 61.
[31] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 94.
[32] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 147.
[33] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 162.

4.2 Parallel syntax

Most proverbs with more than two verses show parallel syntax. In some cases, not only the syntax, but also sound or words are the same in each verse.

(19) *rta ra ra yin/*
　　 'The horse is white.'
　　 sga khra khra yin/
　　 'The saddle is colorful.'[34]
　　 (The best conditions are prepared)
(20) *gtam ku re med na bshad srol med/*
　　 'It is not a way of talking if it lacks a joke.'
　　 zas chod ka med na za srol med/
　　 'It is not a way of eating, if it lacks a ritual (praying).'[35]
(21) *nad pa drag na sman pa brjed 'gyo*
　　 'Once you recover from ill, you will forget a doctor.'
　　 la mgo bud na 'do ba brjed 'gyo
　　 'Once you pass a hill, you will forget a horse.'[36]
(22) *rta rgod po sgrog gis thub dgos/*
　　 'A raging horse needs to be reigned by a strap.'
　　 mi rgod po tshig gis thub dgos/
　　 'A raging man needs to be reigned by a word.'[37]
(23) *pho rab de gtam gyis bslu/*
　　 'A higher man gets lured by words.'
　　 pho 'bring de rgyu yis bslu/
　　 'A normal man gets lured by wealth.'
　　 pho mtha' de zas kyis bslu/
　　 'A lower man gets lured by food.'[38]

4.3 The number of syllables in proverbs

If there are more than two verses, they often appear with the same number of syllables, as shown in the examples above. However, there are exceptions, as in the following examples.

(24) *la re thur re ma brgyab na/* (7 syllables)
　　 'If [one] doesn't go down a hill,'
　　 bde mo thang nga mi bob gi (7 syllables)
　　 '[one] cannot reach a plain.'
　　 skyid re sdug re ma brgyab na/ (7 syllables)
　　 'If [one] has not experienced joys and sorrows,'
　　 skyid sdug dbye ba mi shes/ (6 syllables)
　　 '[one] doesn't know the difference between those two.'[39]
(25) *khyi rgya lu rnga ma ring yang /* (7 syllables)

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[34] Ebihara 2008: 646 (65).
[35] Ebihara 2008: 640 (42).
[36] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 130.
[37] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 147.
[38] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 220–21.
[39] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 43.

'Even if a tail of a dog is long,'
sha tshang ra yan la bud ma myong / (8 syllables)
'it is not long down to its waist.'
seng ge dkar mo'i g.yu ral ring / (8 syllables)
'Even if a mane of a lion is long, '
sog pa man la lhung ma myong / (7 syllables)
'it is not long down to its shoulder blade.'[40]

However, Duncan states that the number of syllables in each line of a couplet may vary from two to fourteen syllables, with most proverbs falling between four and nine syllables,[41] whereas Sørensen and Erhard claim that proverbs usually consist of "a minimum of four syllables".[42] Proverbs with two syllables cannot be found, but three syllables are found in the sources of Amdo proverbs.

(26) *mo ngan kha/*
　　'The mouth of a bad woman [is evil].'
　　pho ngan lag
　　'A bad man's hand [is evil].'[43]
(27) *dbyar kha'i sha/*
　　'Meat in summer.'
　　dgun kha'i zho/
　　'Yogurt in winter.'
　　(Both are difficult to get)[44]

Most polysyllabic proverbs contain fourteen and sixteen syllables (e.g., (28)).

(28) *gos gcig gis rgyal khab khebs no 'dzam gling nyi ma dmar po red/* (14 syllables)
　　'The single piece of cloth which covers the entire kingdom, is the warm sun.'
　　zas gcig gis rgyal khab bzas no bod dpe bzhag na sbra gur rtsam pa red/ (16 syllables)
　　'The one piece of food that can feed the entire kingdom, in the Tibetan context is tsampa (barley flour) [offered] in tents.'[45]

5 "Ungrammaticality" and proverbial features

Like the English proverbs "Waste not, want not," "Fair without, false within," "Far from eye, far from ear," proverbs sometimes exhibit "ungrammaticality." As Norrick mentions about special grammar in English proverbs, there are many structures which cannot be understood in the framework of ordinary speech.[46] This ungrammaticality of proverbs is the characteristic different from standard mechanisms of the language in question. Some Amdo Tibetan proverbs also show some features which are different from ordinary speech, as described in grammars of Amdo Tibetan.

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[40] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 39–40.
[41] Duncan 1961: 162.
[42] Sørensen and Erhard 2013a: 292.
[43] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 275.
[44] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 247.
[45] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 61.
[46] Norrick 1985: 33–36.

(29) *gnyid=song=gi*   *g.yag*
      fall.asleep=AUX=GEN   fart
      'A fart after sleeping.'

      bzi=song=gi   *gtam/*
      get.drunk=AUX=GEN   tale
      'A tale after getting drunk.'
      (In the grammar of ordinary speech, a genitive case marker =*gi* cannot follow non-nominalized clause like '*gnyid song*' and '*gzi song*')

(30) *khyod=dang*   *nga*   *med/*
      2SG=and   1SG   NOT.EXIST
      'You and I are inseparable.'

      rta=dang   *sga*   *med/*
      horse=and   saddle   NOT.EXIST
      'A saddle and a horse are inseparable.'[47]
      ('Separation' might be omitted)

(31) *myi*   *ngo thang-can-po*   *rgyu*   *yin/*
      person   face-POSS-NMLZ   wealth   COP
      'It is because [she/he] is rich that the person saves face (prestige).'

      sha   *gong thang-can-po*   *tshil*   *yin/*
      meat   price-POSS-NMLZ   fat   COP
      'It is because it is with a lot of fat that the meat is expensive.'[48]
      ('It is because' is omitted in both clauses)

5.1 Ellipses
In general, proverbs prefer pithy structures, in which ellipses usually occur. Some proverbs require ellipses of words or suffixes in order to reach the same number of syllables.

5.1.1 Ellipses of case markers
However, since Tibetan is an ergative language, ergative case markers (=*gis,*= *kyis,*= *gyis, -s*) are required for transitive agents; in both verses of (32), ergative case markers are omitted. In (33), the genitive marker is omitted in the first verse, from the comparison with the second verse.

(32) *kya mi*   *brla*   *bshad/*
      horse.rider   thigh   tell
      'A man who came on a horse tells about the pain in thighs.'

      rkang thang   *sdug*   *bshad/*
      walker   pain   tell
      'A man who came by feet tells about pain.'[49]

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[47] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 46.
[48] Ebihara 2008: 361 (12).
[49] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 11.

(33) | khyod | stag | kha | che=na/ |
      | 2SG | tiger | mouth | big=COND |

'If you say that a tiger(=you)'s mouth is big,'

   | nga | 'brong=gi | gnya' | sbom/ |
   | 1SG | wild.yak=GEN | neck | thick |

'then I say a wild yak(=I)'s neck is thick.'[50]

5.1.2 Ellipses of auxiliary verbs

In affirmative and declarative sentences of spoken Amdo Tibetan, auxiliary verbs are mostly required, and there are some proverbs that appear with auxiliary verbs. Example (34) contains the auxiliary verb =gi "state," while example (35) contains =btang "perfective," =gzig "past," =song "perfective." In addition, sentence-final particles can never be observed in proverbs.

(34) | gna' gtam | ma-bshad=na/ |
      | old.story | NEG-speak=COND |

'If [one] does not tell old stories, '
   | da gtam | mi-go=gi |
   | current.affairs | NEG-understand=AUX |

'[one] cannot understand current affairs.'[51]

(35) | rta | brgyug=btang=gzig |
      | horse | run=AUX=AUX |

'A horse ran away.'
   | du | yal=song=gzig |
   | smoke | fade.away=AUX=AUX |

'Smoke faded away.'[52]

However, many proverbs that lack auxiliary verbs are also found.

(36) | 'o ma | phar | blugs/ |
      | milk | outward | pour |

'[One] poured milk to the other person .'

   | chur khu | tshur | blangs/ |
   | whey | inward | take |

'[One] took whey (sour water remaining after making cheese) for her/himself.'[53]
(In ordinary speech, some auxiliary verbs should follow blugs and blangs)

(37) | gos | so ma | sra/ |
      | clothes | new | good |

'When it comes to clothes, new ones are good.'

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[50] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 46.
[51] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 197.
[52] Ebihara 2008: 646 (66).
[53] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 318.

myi	*snying ba*	*sra/*
human	old	good

'When it comes to friends, old ones are good.'[54]
(In ordinary speech, some auxiliary verbs should follow *sra* in both verses)

(38)
ske rags=kyis	*rta*	*thub/*
waist.belt=ERG	horse	withstand

'You can bind a horse with a waist belt.'

lham sgrog=gis	*lug*	*thub/*
shoe.string=ERG	sheep	withstand

'You can bind a sheep with a shoe string.'[55]

5.1.3 Ellipses of verbs

As Tournadre & Robin mention, ellipses of verbs are found in many proverbs.[56]

(39)
a pa	*ngan=na*	*a pa'i*	*yog*
father	good=COND	father.GEN	below

'If [one's] father has power, [one] will take his side.'

jag pa	*ngan=na*	*jag pa'i*	*yog*
robber	good=COND	robber.GEN	below

'If a robber has power, [one] will take his side.'[57]
(Verbs like 'go, take' might be omitted)

(40)
nyin	*rkus*	*myi=gis*	*rig=ni=zhig*
day.time	steal	eye=ERG	see=NMLZ=INDF

'If you arrest a thief at day time, you need to have witnessed the stealing.'

nub	*rkus*	*lag=gis*	*'dzin=ni=zhig*
night	steal	hand=ERG	catch=NMLZ=INDF

'If you arrest a thief at night time, you need to have caught him with your hands.'[58]
('need to' might be omitted)

(41)
sa	*zhig-mkhan*	*a bra/*
earth	disturb-person	Himalayan.Pika

'Those who disturb earth are Himalayan.Pikas.'

sde	*zhig-mkhan*	*nag mo/*
village	disturb-person	women

'Those who wreck villages are women.'[59]
(In both verses, copula verbs might be omitted)

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[54] Ebihara 2008: 643 (54).
[55] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 10.
[56] Tournadre & Robin 2006: 11-12.
[57] Ebihara 2008: 629 (3).
[58] Ebihara 2008: 641 (46).
[59] Ebihara 2008: 644 (57).

(42)   *ston pa*   *gar*   *song*   *ston ka*
     monk   where   go   autumn
     'Wherever a monk goes, that place is full of food as in autumn.'

     ston pa'i   *yul=nas*   *dpyid ka*
     monk.GEN   home=ABL   spring
     'In his house, it lacks food as in spring.'[60]
     (In both verses, copula verbs might be omitted)

As a result of verb ellipsis, many noun-ending proverbs are found. Some endings are followed by suffixes.

(43)   *dran chen=na*   *dran log*
     benefactor=DAT   repy
     'Repaying for a benefactor.'

     g.yang=la   *rdo kha/*
     domestic.animal=DAT   throwing.stone
     'Casting a stone to domestic animals.'[61]

(44)   *btang=na*   *mda'=dang /*
     shoot=COND   arrow=and
     'To shoot is an arrow.'

     bkug=na   *gzhu/*
     bend=COND   bow
     'To bend is a bow.'[62]
     (This example is described in written Tibetan style)

(45)   *nom pa*   *rig=na*   *smyon pa*
     wealth   see=COND   madman
     'If [one] sees wealth, [one] will become a madman.'

     rgyu nor   *rig=na*   *bsam nag*
     treasure   see=COND   malicious.man
     'If [one] sees treasure, [she/he] will become a malicious man.'[63]

(46)   *nyin dkar=kyi*   *mi/*
     day.time=GEN   man
     'In day time, it is a man.'

     mtshan mo=yi   *'dre/*
     night.time=GEN   demon
     'In night time, it is a demon.'[64]

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[60] Ebihara 2008: 632 (14).
[61] Ebihara 2008: 640 (44).
[62] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 146.
[63] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 194.

5.2 Neutralization between Conditional and Concessive

In some semantically concessive clauses, a conditional clause linkage marker =*na* is used instead of a concessive marker =*na ra* or =*rung* (in some cases =*ra*) [65]. In other words, neutralization between conditional and concessive occurs. In some cases, these phenomena might occur in order to adjust the syllable number in a verse. In the following examples, a conditional marker =*na* is underlined.

This is the example of "grammatical concision" mentioned in Tournadre & Robin.[66]

(47) *sa nag=ga*   *gsed ka*   *gad=na/*
      worm=DAT   crack   cut=COND
      'Even if someone cuts a worm,'
      (Semantically, this clause should be *sa nag ga gsed ka gad=na ra*)

      bar nag=ga   *'brel ba*   *med=gi*
      centipede=DAT   relation   NOT.EXIST=AUX
      'it is no concern of a centipede.'[67]

(48) *rta*   *med=na*   *bong lu*   *ma-zhon/*
      horse   NOT.EXIST=COND   donkey   NEG-ride
      'Even if you cannot get a horse, don't ride a donkey.'

      bod mo   *med=na*   *he mo*   *ma-btsal/*
      Tibetan.girl NOT.EXIST=COND   Muslim.girl   NEG-search
      'Even if you cannot get a Tibetan girl, don't go with a Muslim girl.'[68]
      (Semantically, these clauses should be *rta med=na ra, bod mi med=na ra*)

(49) *rnga mong*   *mtho=na*   *ngur*   *mi-mtho/*
      camel   high=COND   voice   NEG-high
      'Although camels are tall, their voice is not high.'[69]
      (Semantically, the subordinate clause should be *rnga mong mtho=na ra*)

(50) *kha=nas*   *kun rig*   *bton=na/*
      muth=ABL   Kunrik   pray=COND
      'Although [she/he] prays Kunrik (mantra of Vairochana),'
      (Semantically, this clause should be *bton=na ra*)

      khog=na   *nor rta*   *sgom=gi*
      stomach=LOC   yak.and.horse   meditate=AUX
      '[she/he] meditates on yaks and horses.'

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[64] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 136.
[65] Grammatically, =*na ra* and =*rung* are almost the same (used for both realis and irrealis situations), but stylistically =*na ra* is used more colloquially than =*rung*. On the other hand, =*ra* is only used for realis situations.
[66] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 11–12.
[67] Ebihara 2008: 644 (59).
[68] Ebihara, field note.
[69] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 107.

(51)   *rta*   *nyos=na*   *sga*   *mi-thog=gi*
        horse   buy=COND   saddle   NEG-care=AUX
        'Although [one] buys a horse, [one] doesn't care about a saddle.'

        mdzo   *nyos=na*   *rwa*   *mi-thog=gi*
        Dzo   buy=COND   horn   NEG-care=AUX
        'Although [one] buys a Dzo (a hybrid of a yak and a cow), [one] doesn't care about horns.'[70]
        (Semantically, =na in both clauses should be =na ra)

(52)   *gang=nga*   *song=na*   *skyon=zhig*
        where=DAT   go=COND   defect=INDF
        'Wherever [one] goes, [one] has a defect.'

        gang=nas   *bsdad=na*   *kem=zhig*
        where=ABL   stay=COND   defect=INDF
        'Wherever [one] stays, [one] has a shortcoming.'[71]
        (Semantically, =na in both clauses should be =na ra)

(53)   *phar=ra*   *sems*   *ster=na/*
        that.side=DAT   heart   give=COND
        'If [you] give a heart,'
        (Semantically, *ster=na* should be *ster=na ra*)

        tshur=ra   *glo*   *ston=gi*
        this.side=DAT   lung   give=AUX
        '[she/he] will show you a lung.'[72] (Lung is a bad part in human body)

5.3 Imperative of stative verb stem

Stems of adjectives are called "stative verbs" in this paper (for examples, *mang* of *mang po*, or *chen* of *chen po*). However, in ordinary speech, stative verbs cannot be used in imperative. In the examples (54), the stative verb *mang* "many" is used in imperative with the negative marker *ma-*. In the formation of negative imperative, a verb stem follows a negative maker *ma-*.

(54)   *nyal=kha*   *chu*   *ma-mang /*
        get.asleep=just.before   water   NEG-many
        'Don't drink too much water, just before [you] get sleep.'

        'chi=kha   *gtam*   *ma-mang /*
        die=just.before   speech   NEG-many
        'Don't talk too much just before [you] die.'[73]

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[70] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 149.
[71] Ebihara 2008: 629 (5).
[72] Ebihara 2008: 640 (43).
[73] Ebihara 2008: 639 (38).

5.4 Position of Adjectives

In Amdo Tibetan ordinary speech, adjectives are generally placed after nouns. However, as Tournadre & Robin (2006) point out, proverbs in which adjectives precede nouns are found.

(55)   <u>nar nar</u>   <u>lce</u>=la   bdag po   ma-brgyab=na/
        long   tongue=DAT   control   NEG-do=COND
        'If you don't control your long tongue,'

        <u>ril ril</u>   <u>mgo</u>=la   'o brgyal   bzas   yong=ngo /
        round   head=DAT   trouble   make   come=AUX
        'your round head will be in trouble.'[74]
        (In ordinary speech, underlined phrase should be *lce nar nar, mgo ril ril*)

6 Semantic features

Semantically, Amdo Tibetan proverbs widely include a variety of content (from wisdom of living to general truth). Many of these proverbs shed light on Amdo Tibetan cultural beliefs or the view of the world; these are sometimes incomprehensible to outsiders. In this section, the focus will be on one semantic field that reflects the life of Amdo Tibetan people: pastoral life.

    There are many proverbs containing metaphors about domestic animals, products of pastoral life, and pastoral life itself.

6.1 Metaphors concerning pastoral culture

Amdo proverbs include many metaphors about pastoral culture. These metaphors reflect knowledge about pastoral culture, accumulated over many generations.

    In many proverbs, these metaphors have fixed corresponding meanings as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Metaphorical meanings of animals and their products

Metaphors	Meanings
horse	something with good capability, speed
donkey	something foolish, inferior
dog	something weak, which behaves badly
milk	something white, sweet
wool	something soft
wild yak	something wild, coarse, strong
tiger	something brave, strong
lion	something brave, strong
wolf	something vicious, violent

6.1.1 Horse and donkey (*rta* and *bong lu*)

Example (56) highlights proverbs containing the horse metaphor, while (59) is an example for the donkey metaphor. Horses and donkeys have a culturally contrastive meaning, which is shown in (57), (58).

(56)   *myi bo gyags na mtshan gyis gyags/*
      'The prestige of men is a name.'

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[74] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 193.

rta bo gyags na bang gis gyags/
'The prestige of horses is the speed.'[75]
(57) *rta brgya rgyug pa'i sngon la ma slebs kyang /*
'Even if [you] cannot go before a hundred of horses,'
bong brgya rgyug pa'i rjes su ma lus tsam/
'don't leave after a hundred of donkeys.'[76]
(58) *rta med na bong lu ma zhon/*
'Even if you cannot get a horse, don't ride a donkey.'
bod mo med na he mo ma btsal/
'Even if you cannot get a Tibetan girl, don't go with a Muslim girl.'
[from the present author's field note]
(59) *khyos bong lu zhon nas thal 'phud go rus tha tsho/*
'When you are riding a donkey and throwing charcoal,'
ngas 'brug khyung zhon nas thog 'phen gi yod/
'I am riding a dragon and throwing thunder.'[77]

6.1.2 Dog (*khyi*)
In proverbs, dogs appear as something weak, which behaves badly.

(60) *khyi rgyags na mi zug dgu zug*
'When a dog eats enough food, it will bark a lot.'
myi rgyags na mi bshad dgu bshad/
'If a man eats enough food, [she/he] will talk a lot.'[78]
(61) *nga seng ge dkar mo sgang nga bud na gangs ri'i rgyan cha red/*
'I am a white lion; I will become a jewel when I mount a mountain.'
khyod khyi rgan rgya li lam nas rgyugs na rdo log nyo spyod red/
'You are an old dirty dog, you will be cast a stone when you are on a road.'[79] (In this proverb, a speaker is proud of himself and looks down on the other person)
(62) *skyag nang gi nas 'bru/*
'A barley grain in a dog litter.'
ngan pa'i nang gi bzang bo/
'Good in evil.'[80]

6.1.3 Milk ('*o ma*)
In proverbs, milk appears as something white and sweet.

(63) *kha 'o ma las dkar/*
'The mouth (=word) is whiter than milk.'
khog tsher ma las nag
'The stomach is blacker than a thorn.'[81]
(64) *'o ma'i rgya mtsho nang la/*

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[75] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 18.
[76] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 148.
[77] Ebihara 2008: 639 (29).
[78] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 150.
[79] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 190.
[80] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 39.
[81] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 28.

'Into the sea of milk,'
khrag gi tshigs pa ma 'phen/
'don't drop blood.'[82]

(65) *kha 'o ma las 'jam zhing khog tsher ma las rtsub pa zhig yin/*
'In the mouth it is sweet like milk, in the stomach it is cruel and stingy like thorn.'[83]

6.1.4 Wool (*bal*)
In proverbs, wool appears as something soft.

(66) *'jam po lug gu'i tsha ru 'dra/*
'Soft like a lamb's wool.'
snyam mo khu phyug gi ngag 'dra/
'Well-sounding like a cuckoo's voice.'[84]

(67) *skra rtsa bal las 'jam/*
'Hair is softer than wool.'
snying rtsa tsher las rtsub/
'The heart is spikier than a thorn.'[85]

6.1.5 Wild animals
In proverbs, wild yak ('*brong,* e.g. (68), (69)) appear as something wild, strong, and coarse; Tiger (*stag,* e.g. (68), (69)) and lion appear as something brave and strong (e.g. (61)). The wolf appears as something vicious and violent (*skyang ki, skyang khu,* e.g. (70), (71)).

(68) *khyod stag kha che na/*
'If you say that you, tiger's mouth is big,'
nga 'brong gi gnya' sbom/
'I have to say that I, wild yak's neck is thick.'[86]

(69) *kha dkar rkyang la kha lo med/*
'Wild donkey is not easy to control.'
bre ser 'brong la sna lo med/
'Wild yak is not easy to ride.'[87]

(70) *rkun mar dpa' dar ma ster/*
'Don't give a scarf praising brave men to a thief.'
spyang kir tshe thar ma gtong /
'Don't give a Tshethar to a wolf.'[88]

(71) *gzan sham thab yog na skyang khu yod/*
'[Even] under monks' clothes, there are wolves.'
gos 'khor gsum yog na sangs rgyas yod/
'[Even] under laymen's clothes there are Buddha.'[89]

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[82] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 318.
[83] Don-grub-rgyal 2008: 264.
[84] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 129.
[85] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 18.
[86] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 46.
[87] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 19.
[88] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 5. The term *tshe thar* here designates livestock which is spared from slaughter and set free.

6.2 Proverbs that reflects pastoral knowledge and skills

As well as giving some social and psychological truth, proverbs provide us with knowledge about our life and vocation we live by, such as proverbs about weather forecast, agriculture, or fishery. In Tibetan cases, there are many proverbs that provide us with knowledge about pastoral skills. The following proverbs indicate 'the pretence for metaphorical proverbs', which seems figurative proverb although purely literal application seem as well possible, say, in a pastoral context.[90]

(72) *ba bsha' ba las bzhos na bzang /*
    'Milking a cow is better than eating a cow.'[91]
    (If you eat a cow, you have nothing to milk)

(73) *yag spang la ded nas rmyig sne zad/*
    'Yak's hooves become worn on a plain.'
    lug nags la ded nas bal kha gzan/
    'Sheep's wool becomes damaged in a forest.'[92]

(74) *ston lug shwa bo lug rdzi bya khra yin/*
    'Autumn sheep are like deer. Shepherds should be like hawks.'
    dpyid lug nad pa lug rdzi sman pa yin/
    'Spring sheep are like patients. Shepherds should be like doctors.'
    dgun lug bag ma lug rdzi bag skyal yin/
    'Winter sheep are like brides. Shepherds should be like bridesmaids.'
    dbyar lug jag pa lug rdzi ra mda' yin/
    'Summer sheep are like burglars. Shepherds should be like pursuers.'[93]

(75) *dpyid lug nad pa red/*
    'In spring sheep are patients.'
    lug rdzi sman pa red/
    'Shepherds are doctors.'[94]

(76) *rta rta 'dra na spu la ltos/*
    'Look at colors of horse hair when distinguishing horses.'
    mi mi 'dra na ming la ltos/
    'Look at names of people when distinguishing people.'[95]

(77) *rta kha srab mdas 'then dgos/*
    'A mouth of a horse needs to be drawn by reigns.'
    'ob chen rkang pas non dgos/
    'A strap needs to be kicked by feet.'[96]

(78) *rta sha shed 'dzoms dus 'tshong dgos/*
    '[You] should sell hoses when they are fat.'
    mi grags skad ches dus 'dzoms dgos/
    '[You] should get together when she/he has fame.'[97]

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[89] Ebihara 2008: 632(16).
[90] Sørensen and Erhard. 2013b: 239.
[91] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 231.
[92] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 324.
[93] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 162.
[94] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 205.
[95] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 150.
[96] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 146.
[97] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 153.

(79) *g.yag rgod po bzang ngan sna ltos/*
      'Look at a yak's nose to know its quality.'
      ma bu mo bzang ngan ma ltos/
      'Look at the mother to know a girl's quality.'[98]
(80) *gtam gi bden rdzun bshad na shes/*
      'When told, [one] will know truth-false.'
      lug gi tsho rjid bshus na shes/
      'When slaughtered, [one] will know the weight of sheep.'[99]

7 Proverb variations

Since proverbs have been orally transmitted from generation to generation and from region to region, there are several variations of the same proverb. These variants have more or less the same meaning. They differ in lexicon, structures, and metaphors.
    Semantically, they are almost identical, but their formation or structure is different.

(81) a *stag gi khra khra phyi na yod/*
         'Patterns of a tiger appear outside their bodies.'
         myi'i khra khra nang na yod/
         'Patterns of human beings appear inside their bodies.'[100]
      b *zog gi khra khra phyi na yod/*
         'Patterns of domestic animals appear outside their body.'
         myi gi khra khra nang na yod/
         'Patterns of human beings appear inside their body.'[101]
(82) a *gtam ku re med na bshad srol med/*
         'It is not a way of talking if it lacks a joke.'
         zas mchod kha med na za srol med/
         'It is not a way of eating, if it lacks a ritual (praying).'[102]
      b *gtam ku re med na bshad srol med/*
         'It is not a way of talking if it lacks a joke.'
         chos 'jam sgrog ma byed 'don srol med/
         'It is not a way of praying, if it lacks a soft voice.'[103]
      c *zas mchod kha ma 'phangs za srol med/*
         'It is not a way of eating, if it lacks a ritual (praying).'
         gtam ku re med na rtse bshad srol med/
         'It is not a way of talking if it lacks a joke.'[104]
      d *zas kyi thog mar mchod kha phongs/*
         'When [you] eat, do praying at the beginning.'
         gtam gyi thog mar ku re shod/
         'When [you] speak, say jokes at the beginning.'[105]
(83) a *rkun mar dpa' dar ma ster/*

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[98] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 323.
[99] Tournadre and Robin 2006: 153.
[100] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 156.
[101] Ebihara 2008: 628 (2).
[102] Ebihara 2008: 640 (42).
[103] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 140.
[104] Rin-chen tshe-ring 2001: 93.
[105] Rin-chen tshe-ring 2001: 94.

’Don’t give a scarf [praising] brave men to a thief.’
spyang kir tshe thar ma gtong /
’Don’t give a Tshethar to a wolf.’[106]

b *spyang ki la tshe thar/*
’Tshethar to wolves.’
skun ma la dpa' dar/
’A scarf [praising] brave men to a thief.’[107]

(84) a *nyin dkar lha mor lha las rogs/*
’[One] is helping a goddess in day time, ’
nub mo 'dre mor thags 'thag
’and helping a demon in night time.’[108]

b *nyin dkar lha mor lha las rogs dang /*
’[One] is helping a goddess in day time, ’
mtshan mo 'dre mor thags 'thag rogs/
’and helping a demon in night time.’[109]

(85) a *ba rnga ma ring na dpyid la ngan/*
’If [a cow] has a long tail, the cow will be damaged in spring.’
(In spring when foods are lacking, cows have no power to flick their tails)
gyod rnga ma ring na rang la ngan/
’If a quarrel is prolonged, it will damage yourself.’[110]

b *gyod rnga ma ring na bu la ngan/*
’If a quarrel is prolonged, it will damage your son (descendants).’
ba rnga ma ring na dpyid la ngan/
’If a cow has a long tail, it will be damaged in spring.’[111]

8 Conclusions
In this chapter, linguistic features of Tibetan proverbs are described from structural, grammatical, and semantic perspectives. This time the Amdo dialect was focused, but most of these features might be common in Tibetan proverbs form other Tibetan dialects as well.

In this study I was not only able to reaffirm previous studies, but also to highlight new grammatical and semantic characteristics of proverbs, such as neutralization of conditional and concessive, or metaphors of words concerning pastoral life. Lastly, proverb variations could be illustrated with examples. These variations differ in lexicon, structures, and metaphors. There are numerous variations of proverbs. This is because the spreading of proverbs by word of mouth is very common.

Profound meanings of proverbs cannot be discussed due to space limitations. For further study, more holistic semantic analysis should be conducted with the semantic-based classification of proverbs. There are proverbs that are universal to other cultures, while there are also non-universal proverbs that cannot be understood by outsiders, including the present author. One has to bear in mind that the former might have been influenced by

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[106] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 5.
[107] Mtsho-lho bod-rigs rang-skyong-khul dmangs-khrod rtsom-rig-gi dge-mtshan sna-’dzoms gzhung-las-khang [Office for collecting Folk Literature of Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture] 1992: 81.
[108] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 137.
[109] Don-grub-rgyal 1997: 207.
[110] Mao Jizu and Zhu Gang 1988: 230.
[111] Don-grub-rgyal 1997: 206.

proverbs of other cultures (China, India, or Western countries). The latter are important because they convey the views of Tibetan people, by which they perceive the world. Additionally, as Sørensen and Erhard 2013a mention, contexs shold be taken into account for semantic-specific study, because the verses in proverb take different meaning in different contexts.[112]

Unfortunately, many collections of Tibetan proverbs do not include Tibetan original texts, but only English translations.[113] However precious the collection is, data without original text is useless for linguistic study. Original Tibetan texts and their translation are paramount for the study of proverbs. For a comprehensive study, it is necessary to compile a corpus of proverbs and generate a quantitative survey.

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[112] Sørensen and Erhard 2013a: 239.
[113] So for example Duncan 1961 among others.

Abbrevations

-	Affix boundary
=	Clitic boundary
1	First-person
2	Second-person
ABL	Ablative
AUX	Auxiliary verbs
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
ERG	Ergative
GEN	Genitive
INDF	Indefinite marker
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
PL	Plural
POSS	Possesive
SG	Singular

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アムド・チベット語のことわざの言語特徴

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　ことわざは、なぞなぞ、歌、誓いの言葉、格言等と同様に、定型化された興味深い言語ジャンルである。簡潔で含みがあり、比喩表現が多用される点において、ことわざは通常の談話とは異なる。ことわざは、口語 vs. 文語、古典 vs. 現代という視点から分類することも重要である。チベット語のことわざは、敦煌文献の時代から記録されており、日常生活や、小説、映画でいまだに使用されている。

　口語のことわざは通常、方言的特徴を含むため、方言差が反映される。本稿は、中国の青海省 (玉樹チベット族自治州を除く)、甘粛省の南部と北部、四川省北部で話されるチベット諸語のひとつである、アムド・チベット語における現代の口語のことわざを対象とする。

　一般に、ことわざには通常の談話にはみられない独特な文法特徴がみられる。本稿では、まず、これらのアムド・チベット語のことわざの言語特徴を通常の談話と比較し、次に、意味的な分析を行い、ことわざ間の関係についても論じる。