Tshobdun Rgyalrong Spoken Texts
With a Grammatical Introduction
草登嘉戎語
口語文本分析暨語法綱要

by
Jackson T.-S. Sun
and
Bstan’dzin Blogros

孫天心 石丹羅 著

Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
中央研究院 語言學研究所
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Summary

Tshobdun Rgyalrong is a distinct, morphology-rich Sino-Tibetan language spoken in northwestern Sichuan. This book comprises an original collection of Tshobdun annotated spoken texts, accompanied by a synopsis of the phonology and grammar of the language. The oral tradition of storytelling used to be a primary means of cultural transmission and participatory entertainment in Tshobdun and other Rgyalrong communities. This tradition is sadly no longer practiced. The current volume of seventy-five carefully selected texts represents a substantial new contribution to the preservation and linguistic analysis of Rgyalrong spoken data. The data contained in this book were collected during extensive fieldwork conducted over the past two decades, representing the native speech of co-author Bstan’dzin Blogros. This book is intended for all readers interested in the structures of Sino-Tibetan languages and in the local cultures and folklore of non-Sinitic populations of southwest China.

概要

草登嘉戎語是一種形態豐富的獨立漢藏語，使用於四川西北部。本書收錄了詳加註釋的分類口語文本，並附有草登話語音語法概要。草登及其他嘉戎藏族過去有口傳敘事的傳統，曾是族群內部主要的文化傳承及群體娛樂活動，現今惜已式微。本書精選了75則各類口語文本，對嘉戎口語資料的記錄保存與結構分析作出顯著貢獻；語料是作者二十餘年來合作調查蒐集的，反映了第二作者石丹羅本人的母語。除了漢藏語系語言結構的研究者，本書也面向於有興趣探究中國西南少數民族本地文化及民俗風情的廣大讀者。
Dedication

This book is dedicated to the memory of Academia Sinica academician Prof. Hwang-cherng Gong 龔煌城 (1934–2010), an exemplary mentor and teacher, whose admirable character and eminent scholarship in Sino-Tibetan linguistics have provided, and will continue to provide, an enduring model of inspiration and influence.
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Preface

This book presents a grammatical synopsis and a collection of fully annotated spoken texts of Tshobdun, a morphology-rich Sino-Tibetan language of northwestern Sichuan, China.

Tshobdun is a member of the Rgyalrong cluster under the Rgyalrongic subgroup in the Sino-Tibetan language family. The Tshobdun forms in this book represent the native speech of the second author Bstanblo (Bstan’dzin Blogros), who is from Kakhyoris Village of Tshobdun Township. The data were collected during extensive fieldwork conducted over the past two decades.

The oral tradition of storytelling used to be a primary means of cultural transmission and entertainment, as well as an important participatory activity in the Rgyalrong communities (as depicted in the text “Story-telling” under the “Local History and Culture” section). Sadly, this tradition is no longer practiced in Tshobdun and other Rgyalrong areas, where nowadays folklore survives only in the memories of certain elders. Endeavors have been witnessed in recent years to gather and publish annotated folkloric texts in the Rgyalrong languages, including book-length publications such as Jacques & Chen 2010 (six texts, in Japhug Rgyalrong) and Lin 2016 (sixteen texts, in the Cogrtse variety of Situ Rgyalrong) and a number of MPhil and PhD theses containing annotated sample texts; e.g. Prins 2016 (on the Kyomkyo variety of Situ Rgyalrong), Zhang 2016 (on the Bragdbar variety of Situ Rgyalrong), and Gong 2018 (on Showu or Zbu Rgyalrong).

The current volume of seventy-five carefully selected texts represents a substantial new contribution to the preservation and linguistic analysis of Rgyalrong spoken data. The texts included fall under five different genres: personal anecdotes, accounts of local history and culture, procedural texts, folklore, and miscellaneous other texts. In order to maintain dialectal consistency, texts recorded by speakers from other Tshobdun villages were re-told in the Kakhyoris dialect by the second author.

We owe a debt of gratitude to our Rgyalrong friends and language consultants (many of whom no longer with us) who provided valuable language data and taught us much about the rich cultural heritage of the Rgyalrong Tibetans. Sincere thanks are also due to many colleagues, especially Guillaume Jacques, Katia Chirkova, You-Jing Lin, Randy J. LaPolla, Jonathan Evans, David Bradley and our anonymous reviewers, who have benefited us with helpful comments and insights on various aspects of the grammatical analysis presented in this book. Ann Lin, Abigail Jen-Hui Wang and Jenny Tzu-Chun Chen deserve our special appreciation for having toiled countless hours over our dense manuscript, and contributed important improvements to this work in both format and content.

Last but not least, we gratefully acknowledge the generous support we have received from several National Science Council grants (89-2411-H-001-088, 90-2411-H-001-088, 95-2411-H-001-074-MY2, 97-2410-H-001-072-MY3), as well as funding from the Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.
### Abbreviations

(Other interlinear morpheme glosses in this book follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<td>A</td>
<td>actor</td>
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<td>AFF</td>
<td>affective</td>
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<td>AMB</td>
<td>ambulative</td>
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<td>andative</td>
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<td>APP</td>
<td>applicative</td>
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<td>CISLOC</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
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<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
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<td>COMP</td>
<td>comparative</td>
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<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous</td>
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<td>CVB</td>
<td>converb</td>
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<td>DM</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
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<td>GP</td>
<td>generic person</td>
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<td>HON</td>
<td>honorific</td>
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<td>HTR</td>
<td>high transitivity</td>
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<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
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<td>IDPH</td>
<td>ideophone</td>
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<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<td>INV</td>
<td>inverse</td>
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<td>LTR</td>
<td>low transitivity</td>
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<td>MED</td>
<td>mediative evidential</td>
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<td>NVOL</td>
<td>nonvolitional</td>
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<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
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<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
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<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>personal or place name</td>
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<td>PROS</td>
<td>prospective</td>
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<td>RDPL</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
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<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequentializer</td>
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<td>SPON</td>
<td>spontaneous</td>
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<td>SUB</td>
<td>subordinator</td>
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<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
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<td>U</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
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<td>VOL</td>
<td>volitional</td>
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</table>
Color plates

Tshobdun Rgyalrong woman in traditional attire
(Tsheskyid; Bstanblo’s mother)
Tshobdun Rgyalrong man in traditional attire

(Bstanblo; co-author)
Tshobdun Monastery

Bkrashis Sgang Monastery
Kakhyoris Village

Byangchub Stupa
Bsangs (juniper) burning as a ritual offering for mountain and local deities
Part I.
A synopsis of Tshobdun Rgyalrong grammar

1 Background

Tshobdun (tsʰovdan 草登; a.k.a Caodeng) belongs to the Rgyalrong1 language cluster, which includes three other languages: Situ, Japhug, and Showu (a.k.a Zbu), spoken mainly in Rngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in northwestern Sichuan. The Rgyalrong languages are affiliated in turn with two neighboring language clusters, Horpa (Sun 2000b; Sun 2019) and Khroskyabs (a.k.a. Lavrung; Jacques et al. 2017; Lai 2017); together, they comprise the Rgyalrongic unit under the Qiangic branch in Sino-Tibetan (Huang 1991, 2001; Sun 2000a, 2000b; Jacques 2017). Tshobdun Rgyalrong is distributed at the following villages in Tshobdun Township, 'Barkhams (馬爾康) City, Rngaba (阿壩) Prefecture: Kakhyoris (qɐcʰwetriʔ 嘎秋里), Te’utses (tɐjtsiʔ 代基), Gtsotse (χtsəɣtsʰeʔ 周車), Tshobar (tsʰɐ́wł 泽灣),2 Cus (tʃuʔ 珠林), Kholakyi (qʰolɐsiʔ 科拉基), and Rnyi (sɲiʔ 斯尼).3 Tshobdun is internally uniform, with Kholakyi and Rnyi being the more divergent varieties. The Tshobdun data in this book represent the speech of Kakhyoris Village.

1 All Rgyalrong speakers use the autonym kɐruʔ (and its various local variants); however, the Tibetan name Rgyalrong (from <rgyal.mo.tsha.ba.rong>) and the Chinese rendition (嘉戎) is preferred in writing.
2 Older name: Mkhardgu (mkʰɐ́rgu 卡爾古).
3 The other three villages use other Rgyalrong languages: Japhug in Snar’dus (snɐ́r’di 斯拉爾底) and Showu in Sardzong (ʁlaʔloʔ 沙佐) Village and all hamlets of Po’ge (pɔrge 寶岩) Village except Khyirwe (切爾瓦) Hamlet.
2 Phonology

2.1 Segmental phonology

The structure of the Tshobdun syllable is (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C). There is a preference for complex onset clusters, while, by and large, the nucleus and coda positions permit only one segment.

The inventory of simplex onsets includes the following contrastive consonants. Items enclosed in parentheses are marginal, occurring mainly in consonant clusters or in loanwords:
Part I. A synopsis of Tshobdun Rgyalrong grammar

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<th>(1)</th>
<th>p</th>
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An enormous number of cluster onsets are attested, including many three-member clusters. Phonological evidence supports treating nasal + voiceless stop combinations as consonant clusters, but voiced prenasalized stops as unitary phonemes. The unitary status of prenasalized stops/affricates is borne out, among other things, by the fact that they can further cluster with n-, producing the characteristic nʰC- clusters (e.g. nʰgu ‘solid, sturdy’, in contrast with n̄gu ‘poor, impoverished’). Of the consonantal codas permitted in the language -t, -ν, -z, -ɣ, -m, -n, -ŋ, -r, -j and -ʔ, the voiced spirant coda -z (< Proto-Rgyalrong and Proto-Sino-Tibetan *-s) is often weakened to -ɣ or replaced by vowel length, the rhotic coda -r is often devoiced, and the lateral coda -l is distinctly laminodental. The glottal-stop coda may further combine with continuant codas, creating the only kind of cluster coda in the language. Syllables carrying a glottal coda behave phonologically like checked syllables with regard to tonality (see further on).

Tshobdun distinguishes nine vowel phonemes: a, e, i, u, e, ə, o, ɔ, and ə. Only two intrinsic complex vocoids ej and oj exist in the native vocabulary. These cannot take consonant codas other than the glottal stop, and are treated as vowel + glide sequences.
A number of segmental phonological processes are found, including high-mid vowel lowering under falling pitch (e.g. ’tsʰê → tsʰɛ̂ ‘goat’; zyôt → zyɔ̃t ‘arrive [STEM 2]’), vowel assimilation (e.g. ró-ⁿdi → rü’di ‘as soon as she/he rides’), vowel syncope (kv-n³-ⁿge → kʊ-n³ge ‘get oneself dressed [INF]’), vowel fusion (e.g. mə-tʃ-o-ⁿduʔ-ᵃⁿ → motoⁿdɔnʔ ‘she/he did not beat me’), consonant assimilation (e.g. n²-scḥ-ⁿ-ᵃⁿ → n²scɔnʔ ‘I was comfortable’), consonant epenthesis (e.g. nɾewɛ → ”dʐewɛ ‘hope’; sə-rem → səyɾɛm ‘make dry’), and syncope (e.g. kəʃ-sqɛ → kəʃsqɛ ‘sixty’; usm-mækɛ → usmækɛ [uzmækɛ] ‘he is stealing it’). For productive phonological alternations at the morphosyntactic level, see §3.2.

2.2 Suprasegmental phonology

While not a full-fledged tone language, Tshobdun displays several types of pitch-related phenomena. To begin with, checked syllables (including those checked by a glottal stop) and non-checked ones are normally spoken in high level and high-falling pitch, respectively. These allophonic pitch variations take on an ancillary tense-aspect marking function. Glottalized verb roots regularly drop the glottal coda in the past and high-transitive continuative verb forms (see §3.4.2), triggering a predictable shift of pitch from level to falling:

(2) roʔ [roʔʰ] ‘fetch’
    vsv-ro [vʰsvʰro³u] ‘She/he is fetching.’
    jɛ-ro [jɛʔro³u] ‘She/he fetched.’

Significantly, pitch shift also applies to verb roots checked by the stop coda -t which, unlike the glottal stop, does not undergo deletion under stem alternation:

(3) fkot [fkot³u] ‘carve’
    vsv-fkɔt [vʰsvʰfkot³u] ‘She/he is carving.’
    ne-fkɔt [neᵗfkot³u] ‘She/he carved.’

Unlike in the closely related Showu Rgyalrong language where all syllable types show a level
vs. falling tonal contrast (Sun 2004), Tshobdun syllables with -t normally do not carry the falling pitch, barring a small number of lexical exceptions (marked in this work by a circumflex; e.g. xtšt ‘be short’; nžet ‘be low’). The phenomenon in (3), therefore, represents a notable case of grammatically conditioned tonality alternation.

Tshobdun tonality is further characterized by a functionally more substantial pitch accent system, in which a pitch drop (H-L) inside a phonological word plays a distinctive role at both lexical and morphosyntactic levels.

The default accent position is stem-final, which we equate with absence of accent, as suffixes are generally low-pitched in this language. The locus of the syllable bearing the marked accent, i.e. the high-pitched syllable immediately preceding the pitch drop, is restricted to the penult of the stem. Interestingly, monosyllabic words contrast in accent even though the citation pitch remains identical (high falling); the latent accent (marked in this work by an apostrophe) materializes only when a preceding morphological element is added, e.g. ‘pa [pam] ‘pig’ → v-pa [v-pa] ‘my pig’; ‘tsʰet [tsʰetm] ‘goat’ → v-tsʰet [v-tʰetm] ‘my goat’; cf. ye [yem] ‘cow’ → v-yē [v-ye] ‘my cow’. The marked accent is thus phonologically significant and must be lexically indicated. At most one accent (realized as H-L pitch drop) is permitted in well-formed phonological words. Accent placement of compound words is determined by the last compound element, e.g. ‘me ‘foot’ + ‘mŋa ‘eye’ → tə-mé-ṃŋa [tə’me’mŋa] ‘ankle’ vs. ‘me ‘foot’ + qʰu ‘posterior side’ → tə-me-qʰu [tə’məqʰum] ‘heel’. Once the location of accent is determined, derivation of the surface pitch pattern of a phonological word is automatic (barring the effect of enclitics, see below): unaccented word-initial syllables as well as post-accent syllables are low-pitched, all other syllables are normally high-pitched (and falling when word-final).

Enclitics (suffixes at the phrasal level) present distinct pitch patterns. Enclitics fall under two subtypes, unaccented and accented. With unaccented enclitics, which include determiners (e.g. definite =maʔ; indefinite =caʔ; proximal demonstrative =koʔ), plurality morphemes (e.g. dual =niʔ; plural =ruʔ) and certain adverbials (e.g. =rɐn ‘even’), their actual pitch heights are simply carried over from the final syllables of their phonological hosts, as shown below (the pitch contour differences on the high-pitched enclitics in the latter two examples are due to an aforementioned phonetic realization rule, such that checked and non-checked syllables take high-level and high-falling pitch, respectively):
(4) \( ^\text{v\text{-}mo=ren} [\text{v}^\text{\text{m}o}\text{\text{ren}^\text{\text{t}}} ] \) ‘even my mother’
\( ^\text{v\text{-}je=ren} [\text{v}^\text{\text{je}^\text{\text{m}ren}^\text{\text{t}}} ] \) ‘even my elder brother/sister’
\( ^\text{v\text{-}l\text{\text{n}a?=ren}} [\text{v}^\text{\text{l\text{n}a}^\text{\text{m}ren}^\text{\text{m}}} ] \) ‘even my child’
cf. \( ^\text{v\text{-}l\text{\text{n}a?=re?}} [\text{v}^\text{\text{l\text{n}a}^\text{\text{m}re}^\text{\text{m}}} ] \) ‘my child and associates’

Accented enclitics, which are always low-pitched due to the realization of the accent on the previous host syllable, include the ergative-instrumental case =’kə as well as locative case forms in synchronic variation with possessed forms of relator nouns they are grammaticalized from; e.g. =’ta ‘on top of’ < ’ta ‘topside of sth’ (DeLancey 1997; see also §3.4.1):^4

(5) a. \( ^\text{\text{j\text{o}lpe m\text{\text{oste}=n\text{\text{o}}} \text{\text{t\text{o}x\text{\text{em}}=\text{\text{t}}}\text{\text{-ta}} \text{\text{t-s\text{\text{\text{o}}}\text{\text{-vre}}} \} \text{\text{3SG:POSS-top} \text{\text{PFV:UP-SPON-go}}} \text{\text{2}}} \) neighbor single.woman=DET verandah \( \text{\text{3SG:POSS-top} \text{\text{PFV:UP-SPON-go}}} \text{\text{2}} \)

~ b. \( ^\text{\text{j\text{o}lpe m\text{\text{oste}=n\text{\text{o}}} \text{\text{t\text{o}x\text{\text{em}}=\text{\text{t}}}} \text{\text{\text{a}} \text{\text{t-s\text{\text{\text{o}}}\text{\text{-vre}}} \} \text{\text{3SG:POSS-top} \text{\text{PFV:UP-SPON-go}}} \text{\text{2}} \)

“(I saw) our neighbor the single woman going up onto the verandah.” [Village witch, 8]

Accented enclitics in combination with an already accented host are deprived of their latent accent. For example, the accent of the ergative-instrumental case =’kə materializes on unaccented hosts, e.g. \( ^\text{v\text{-}l\text{\text{n}a?=k\text{\text{o}}} [\text{v}^\text{\text{l\text{n}a}^\text{\text{m}k\text{\text{\text{o}}}^\text{\text{t}}} ] \) ‘my child (ergative)’, \( ^\text{v\text{-}j\text{\text{e}=k\text{\text{o}}} [\text{v}^\text{\text{j\text{\text{e}^\text{\text{m}k\text{\text{\text{o}}}^\text{\text{t}}} ] \) ‘my elder sibling (ergative)’, but must yield to the accent of its phonological host, as in \( ^\text{\text{v\text{-}mo=k\text{\text{o}}} [\text{v}^\text{\text{m}o^\text{\text{m}k\text{\text{\text{o}}}^\text{\text{t}}} ] \) ‘my mother (ergative)’.

3 Morphology

3.1 Lexical categories

The major word classes in Tshobdun are nominals and verbs. Ideophones—sound-symbolic words which evoke a full range of evaluative and affective meanings realized to qualities, shapes, ______

^4 In what follows, the latent accent of accented enclitics is marked on the last syllable of the host word to aid the readability.
sounds and actions—constitute a lesser yet distinct lexical category by dint of their unique phonological and morphosyntactic properties (Sun & Shi 2004). Tshobdun (like other Rgyalrongic languages) boasts a great many monosyllabic ideophone roots and a rich set of morphological patterns, based on which ideophone words with fully specified Aktionsart meanings are derived. Ideophones typically serve as verbal adjuncts or complements, but productive morphological rules are available to transform them into true verbs denoting states or actions characterized by the corresponding ideophones. There are in addition a number of indeclinable minor form classes, including adverbials, interjections, classifiers, and discourse markers. As is typical in Sino-Tibetan language, attributive words are nominalized, relativized stative verbs in form, e.g. \(tʰaŋ \text{ ko} \text{n} \text{g} \text{ɛ} \text{(plateau NMLZ:SBJ-be.vast)}\) ‘vast plateau’. Only a handful of true sortal classifiers exist, such as \(ʁⁿ \text{ b} \text{ɣ} \text{ʔ}\) ‘classifier for long objects’, and numerals usually directly quantify their head nouns. A range of illocutionary-force meanings are coded by various discourse markers:

(6) a. \(kəko? \text{ ko} \text{r} \text{u?} \text{ f} \text{te?} \text{ ko}\)
    3SG Rgyalrong be:EMPH DM
    ‘So (I realize now that) she/he is Rgyalrong!’

b. \(kəko? \text{ ko} \text{r} \text{u?} \text{ f} \text{te?} \text{ mu}\)
    3SG Rgyalrong be:EMPH DM
    ‘She/he is Rgyalrong, isn’t she/he?’

c. \(kəko? \text{ ko} \text{r} \text{u?} \text{ f} \text{te?} \text{ ta?}\)
    3SG Rgyalrong be: EMPH DM
    ‘I am certain she/he is Rgyalrong.’

### 3.2 Word-formation mechanisms

A typical Tshobdun word is morphologically complex, comprising a stem plus a string of segmentable morphemes, which include compound or derivational elements, as well as inflectional affixes and enclitics.

Various morphological mechanisms are put to use in word formation, of which the most
prevalent are affixation and reduplication. The predominance of prefixes over suffixes is a notable feature. The majority of non-derived native nouns carry one of four nominal prefixes \(t\,ə\)-, \(t\,ə\)-, \(k\,ə\)-, and \(q\,ə\)-, the distribution of which is largely lexical. Verbal affixes, on the other hand, serve a primary function of implementing much of the derivational and inflectional morphology of the language. Reduplication is another key morphological device. The formation of reciprocal and intensive process verbs provides an example of partial reduplication, where the reduplicated syllable consists of the initial of the verb root plus the vowel \(-ə\), e.g. \((-mə\)-)\(ⁿ\)\(g\,ə\)\(-ⁿ\)\(ge\) ‘call each other’ from root \('ⁿ\)\(ge\) ‘call’; \(nə\)-\(v\,d\,ə\)-\(v\,d\)\(e\) ‘become better and better’ from root \(v\,d\)\(e\) ‘be good’. Full reduplication is drawn upon to form verbal iterative aspect, e.g. \(nv\)-\(sp\,ə\)-\(sp\)\(ə\) ‘keep moving (objects)’ with prefix \(nv\)- and root \(sp\,ə\) ‘move (an object)’. Reduplication also applies to lexical categories other than verbs, producing temporal adverbials (e.g. \(kʰe\)-\(s\,ŋ\,i\)-\(s\,ŋ\,i\) ‘day after day’ and \(s\,ŋ\,i\)-\(ku\)-\(s\,ŋ\,i\) ‘everyday’, from \(s\,ŋ\,i\) ‘day’), complex nominals (e.g. \(kw\,d\,z\,ə\)-\(l\,ŋ\,a\)-\(l\,ŋ\,a\) ‘parent and child’, from \(t\,w\)-\(l\,ŋ\,a\) ‘child’; \("b\,r\,i\,f\,u\) \(k\,o\)-\(k\,ə\)-\(k\,ə\,m\) ‘knife together with its sheath’, from \(t\,w\)-\(k\,ə\,m\) ‘pouch, container’) and above all, derived ideophones. From the ideophone root \(j\,ə\) denoting quietness, for example, myriad reduplication patterns yield a full set of derived ideophones (Sun & Shi 2004):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textbf{(7) \(j\,ə\)}} & \quad \text{‘IDPH for one-stroke actions performed in silence’} \\
\text{\(j\,ə\)-\(j\,ə\)} & \quad \text{‘IDPH for the state of silence’} \\
\text{\(nə\)-\(j\,ə\)-\(j\,ə\)} & \quad \text{‘IDPH for swift, continuous actions performed in silence’} \\
\text{\(j\,ə\)-\(r\,ə\)-\(j\,ə\)} & \quad \text{‘IDPH for rhythmic, continuous actions performed in silence’} \\
\text{\(j\,ə\)-\(n\,ə\)-\(j\,ə\)} & \quad \text{‘IDPH for rhythmic, iterative actions performed in silence’} \\
\text{\(j\,ə\)-\(ə\)} & \quad \text{‘IDPH for close-up, deliberate and continuous actions performed in silence’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Stem modification by means of consonantal alternation is utilized in the derivation of a number of lexical causatives, e.g. \(pr\,t\) ‘cause (a rope) to break’ vs. \("b\,r\,e\,t\) ‘(of a rope) break’. A striking type of inflectional stem alternation is second (or past) stem formation by glottality inversion (Sun 2000a; 2004), e.g. \(p\,j\,ə\,z\) ‘wipe [STEM\(_1\)]’, \(p\,h\,j\,ə\,z\) ‘wipe [STEM\(_2\)]’; \(s\,r\,o\,ŋ\) ‘guard [STEM\(_1\)]’, \(s\,r\,o\,ŋ\) ‘guard [STEM\(_2\)]’. The phenomenon of ablaut is equally remarkable. Playing a role in compound-noun (e.g. \(k\,e\) ‘house’, \(k\,e\)-\(r\,m\,i\) ‘house-name’) and compound-numeral (e.g. \(s\,q\,e\) ‘ten’, \(sq\)-
Part I. A synopsis of Tshobdun Rgyalrong grammar

mŋo ‘fifteen’) formation, ablaut is at full play in verb inflection (Sun 2004). One type of ablaut derives the past verb stem from the first (or base) stem, e.g. rpʰaltʃem ‘be in estrus [STEM1]’, rpʰaltʃemʔ ‘be in estrus [STEM2]’; wi ‘come [STEM1]’, weʔ ‘come [STEM2]’. Another type builds the third stem occurring in certain specific transitive contexts, such as the singular imperative, e.g. něji ‘wait’, nə-nəje ‘You [SG] wait for him/her!’; pe ‘do’, nə-pə ‘You [SG] do it!’.

Stems also undergo modification via accent adjustment, which assigns or removes accent depending on the construction. Accent modification also occurs sporadically in lexical derivation, e.g. nənəʔ ‘that’, nənəz ‘there’; tʃorʔ ‘be sour’, kətʃor ‘pickled turnip greens’. Systematic application of accent modification in Tshobdun grammar also occurs in the formation of vocatives (§3.4.1) and polar interrogatives (examples 27, 31, 40).

Nominal compounds may consist entirely of unaffixed roots, e.g. qəj-ɣveʔ ‘wheat awn’. More commonly, nominal prefixes of the initial compound components are retained, resulting in affixed compounds, e.g. te-se-roʔ ‘hemp stalk’, cf. te-seʔ ‘hemp’, te-roʔ ‘stalk’. Compounds containing more than two components are rare, e.g. rə-pye-loʔ (Chinese+fowl+nest) ‘hen house’. Verbal compounds of several types are attested, such as nə-ŋə-

3.3 Derivational morphology

Derivational processes are employed in abundance to form morphologically related words. With nominal roots, suffixation yields gender (male -pʰo, female ’-mo) and diminutive (-pu) forms, while denominalization is achieved by means of the verbalizing prefixes nə-/nə-, e.g. tʃaɲe ‘loach’, nə-tʃaɲe ‘catch loaches’; tə-ŋe ‘sun’, nə-ŋe ‘bask in the sun’; tə-

5 The derived (i.e. second and third) stems are differentiated by subscript numerals.

6 For a thorough treatment of derivational morphology in Tshobdun and other Rgyalrong languages, see Sun (2014b), Jacques (2008: §3; 2014).
e.g. `rtʃaype` ‘robber’, `nə-rtʃaype` ‘rob’; `tv-pu` ‘child’, `nv-pu` ‘treat like one’s child’. The other major type of derived word formed by shifting lexical categories is the deverbal noun. Action nominals take one of the two nominalizing prefixes, `kə-` (dynamic/human) and `kə-` (stative/non-human), e.g. `kə-ŋgi` ‘be poor’, `kv-ŋgi` ‘become poor’, `ko-xsorʔ` ‘give birth (as of bovines)’; `kv-sasce` ‘give birth (as of humans)’. Participant nominalization derives nouns referring to arguments of the source verbs. The prefix `kə-` produces nouns denoting S-role arguments of intransitive verbs, e.g. `kə-n^ngiʔ` ‘patient’ (< `n^ngiʔ` ‘ill’), `kə-timʔ` (< `timʔ` ‘be rich’) ‘rich person’, as well as A-role arguments of transitive verbs, e.g. `kə-marku` ‘thief’ (< `marku` ‘steal’). The prefix `kv-` turns transitive verb roots into deverbal nouns denoting P-role arguments, e.g. `kv-ndze` ‘food’ (< `n^dze` ‘eat’); `v-kv-rge` ‘one loved by me’ (< `rge` ‘love’). There is in addition a manner nominalizer `tə-` and an oblique (instrument/location/time) nominalizer `sə-` attached to past stems, e.g. `o-tə-rtfoneʔ` ‘the way she/he dances’ (< `rtfone` ‘dance’); `sə-sceʔ` ‘birthplace; birthday’ (< `sce` ‘give birth’); `sv-ndahtʰiʔ` ‘dining place’, ‘instrument with which to eat a meal’ (< `n^dətʰiʔ` ‘dine’).

Further derivational processes alters verb valence. In addition to analytical causatives, Tshobdun achieves causativization by means of valence-increasing causative prefixes `sə-`, `sv-`, `wə-`, and `ʃ-`, e.g. `smi` ‘be cooked’, `wə-smi` ‘cook [V]’; `tʰi` ‘drink’, `ʃ-tʰiʔ` ‘give to drink; suckle’.

On the other hand, a detransitivizing prefix turns a transitive verb into a corresponding intransitive, e.g. `ntfʰe` ‘kill’, `rə-ntfʰe` ‘do slaughtering’. Reflexive verb formation in the reflexive prefix `ʃ-` can be considered a type of detransitivizing derivation as reflexive verbs are low in transitivity, as evidence for example by the low-transitivity continuous marker they require, e.g. `tʰ-o-jʊ-tʃrəʔ-duʔ-ca` (CONT:LTR-INV-REFL-beat-MED) ‘s/he is beating him/herself’.

### 3.4 Inflectional morphology

#### 3.4.1 Nominal inflection

Nominals are inflected for number (dual =`niʔ`; plural =`rəʔ`), case, and possession. Number marking expresses associative plurals (e.g. `krəfi=raʔ` ‘Krashi and associates’) as well as additive plurals. As a head-marking language, Tshobdun makes relatively sparing use of nominal case. The two basic case forms, the ergative-instrumental =`kə` and the locative =`z`, are optional when
their absence does not lead to ambiguity. Nominals bearing patient, recipient, and theme roles are generally not case-marked. Case-marking morphology is heterogeneous, employing enclitics, prefixes, as well as stem modification by accent readjustment. A split ergative system obtains where the ergative =’kə is mandatory on an A argument only if it is outranked by the P argument on an empathy hierarchy: speaker > hearer > non-participant > non-human animate > inanimate (Kuno 1976; DeLancey 1981b; Sun & Shi 2002). Notably, the presence of an instrument participant (case-marked with the ergative-instrumental =’kə) requires the verb to be marked with a causative prefix:

\[(8) \text{ "dzə}=kə \ tə-sə-na=\text{dzúti} \]
\[\text{chopsticks=INS IMP-CAUS-eat.meal} \]
\[\text{‘Eat with chopsticks!’} \]

The local case marker =z expresses a generalized locational meaning, occurring in locative, ablative, as well as allative contexts. More precise locative senses are conveyed through the possessive prefix+relator noun (+local case) construction, e.g. tʃɔqtse ó-ta(=z) ‘on the table’, literally ‘table its-top(=LOC)’, often further grammaticalizing into an enclitic structure, e.g. tʃɔqtse=ta(=z) ‘on the table’. The most common relator nouns are ‘ta ‘space on/over/above’, ‘pʰi ‘space under/below/beneath’, ‘nəŋ ~ nəŋʔ ‘space inside’, pʰjiʔ ‘space outside’, vzər ‘space at the side of’, ‘ʁə (r) ‘space on the body/vertical side of’, kɔri ‘space in front of’, and qʰu ‘space at the back of’. Many non-locational grammatical markers are in possessed relator form, e.g. krv (comitative), ʁte/fɛɾ ‘on behalf of’, tənʔ ‘reason’, and pʰa (animate goal/source), as illustrated below:

\[(9) \text{ a. sonəm o-pʰa tʃəkʰu v-nə-tó-kʰɛ} \]
\[\text{Sonam 3SG:POSS-place cigarette IRR-IMP-2-hand.to3} \]
\[\text{‘Hand the cigarette to Sonam!’} \]
b. naʔ  tərjuʔ  me-kv-rge  o-tanʔ=ka

ANA  property  NEG-GP-like  3SG:POSS-reason=INS

kə-nlɔ-ay  ԡʔ
PFV:EAST-come.out2-1SG  be

“I came out east, because I do not like that property.” [Berotsana, 52]

Standards in comparative constructions take the comparative markers fɔ̀xte(naʔ) or fɔ̀xre(naʔ):

(10) qʰoʔ  o-jəlpe  kə-timʔ  fɔ̀xre
SEQ  3SG:POSS-neighbor  NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich  than

lə-tim  ԡʔ-cə
PFV-be.rich2  be-MED

“Afterwards, the poor man sold his gold, and became richer than his rich neighbor.” [The roc helped a poor man find gold, 29]

Standards of equative comparison, on the other hand, take the semblative jermer.

There is also a vocative case, marked suprasegmentally by accent; e.g. rtənlo (a man’s name) → rtənlo (vocative). Arguments bearing the beneficiary role are indicated by possessive prefixes on the noun head representing the object being created or manipulated for the person’s benefit, as in:

(11) o-χtu  rjəspe  ne-peʔ-ԡʔ-cə

3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting  quite.a.lot  PFV:TR-do2-3PL-MED

“And they did much sutra-chanting for him.” [Kyensen lost his soul, 21]

Possession is another major nominal inflectional category. Given two juxtaposed nouns in a possessive relation, the possessor noun is cross-referenced on the possessed noun by a possessive prefix, as in:
(12) \texttt{t\dot{\text{a}}jo=k\textcolor{red}{\text{o}}=nt\textcolor{red}{\text{ron}}} \quad \texttt{rgenmu=ni\textcolor{red}{\text{?}}} \quad \texttt{*dz\textcolor{red}{\text{o}}-k\textcolor{red}{\text{\%}}=z} \quad \texttt{\textcolor{red}{j\ddot{\text{o}}-te-\textcolor{red}{g\ddot{o}}z=ge}}

demon=ERG=also \quad \texttt{old.woman=DU} \quad \texttt{3DU:POSS-courtyard=LOC} \quad \texttt{AND-IPFV:UP-call}

“And the demon would also go to the old woman and her daughter’s courtyard and call them.” [Sekhamalosman, 5]

The possessive prefixes are listed in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Tshobdun possessive prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENERIC PERSON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tshobdun nouns draw an alienability distinction. An inalienable noun, a kinship or body-part term or an object of intimate personal use, must drop its nominal prefix (if any) before taking a possessive prefix. Contrast:

(13) \texttt{t\textcolor{red}{\text{o}}-lo} ‘milk’

\texttt{v-t\textcolor{red}{\text{o}}-lo} ‘milk owned by me (alienable)’

\texttt{\acute{e}-lo} ‘my own (mother’s) milk (inalienable)’

In another important usage, possessive prefixes denote actor or undergoer arguments in various types of syntactic structures, such as participant nominals (14a-b), complex transitive predicates (15), and purposives (see examples 33, 37 below):

(14) a. \texttt{\textcolor{red}{v}-k\textcolor{red}{\text{o}}-\textcolor{red}{\text{o}}-zd\textcolor{red}{\text{u}}=c\textcolor{red}{\text{o}}}

\texttt{\textcolor{red}{1SG:POSS:U-NMLZ:SBJ:ACCUSE=INDF \ exist}}

‘There is someone who accuses me (lit. An accuser of mine exists).’
(15) cʰɔrgópu o-mtʰu jɔ-ʃv ɲoʔ jv ne-sasiiʔ-ɲə-ɕə

“They thought, ‘The curse is about to fall on Khyergopu.’” [Khyergopu the trickster
teaches a chieftain how to tell lies, 33]

3.4.2 Verbal inflection

Verbs in Tshobdun are highly conjugated. Verb inflectional categories include person-number,
transitivity, tense-aspect, direction, orientation, evidentiality, and voice.

The person and number of core arguments are registered on the verb by affixes, as shown
in the following (intransitive) paradigm ($\Sigma =$ verb stem):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Tshobdun person-number markers for intransitive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD PERSON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same paradigm applies to transitive verbs with inanimate undergoers. In transitive
sentences involving animate undergoers, person marking observes the empathy hierarchy seen
above. In inner (1 ⇆ 2) and outer (3 ⇆ 3) configurations, the argument cross-referenced on the
verb is always P and A, respectively. In mixed (1/2 ⇆ 3) scenarios, the verb always indexes the
higher-ranking argument on the hierarchy. When the speaker is the P argument, the verb may
take an additional person marker representing an emphasized non-singular third-person A
argument, as shown by:
The category direction (‘direct’ vs. ‘inverse’) marks the relative place of A and P arguments on the empathy hierarchy (DeLancey 1981a). Direct scenarios are consistent with the hierarchy and receive no special marking. Inverse scenarios, where A is lower on the hierarchy than P, require the inverse marker o-. The two inner configurations also take distinct marking: 1→2 is represented by to- and 2→1 is represented by ko- (in variation with to-), which may be further analyzed as the prefix kə- (interchangeable here with tə-) combining with the inverse o-.

The Tshobdun person-marking system is typologically interesting in distinguishing a fourth person, namely the generic person (Sun 2014a). The generic-person markers, which occur in gnomic, generic sentences, stand in a paradigmatic relationship with the other inflectional person prefixes. The two generic-person indexes kə- and kə- represent volitional and non-volitional generic human subjects, respectively.7

Orientation-marking takes up a prominent place in Tshobdun grammar. Three distinct subsystems are at work, each with two opposing terms: vertical (up-down), riverine (upriver-downriver), and solar (east-west). The riverine terms ‘upriver’ and ‘downriver’ have acquired ‘into’ (< upriver into a valley) vs. ‘out of’ (< downriver out of a valley) as well as ‘obliquely upward (as if going upriver)’ vs. ‘obliquely downward (as if going downriver)’ meanings by metaphorical extension. The solar terms ‘eastward’ and ‘westward’ also have developed extended meanings ‘cislocative (toward center)’ vs. ‘translocative (away from center)’. In

7 A third GP prefix se- occurs with copular verbs.
addition to an array of orientation nominals (e.g. liʔ ‘(a certain) place upriver’; -lēco ‘a place upriver relative to a reference point’; fēliʔ ‘a more distant but visible place upriver’) and adverbials (e.g. lecba ‘towards upriver’), there is a full paradigm of verbal orientation prefixes, a basic set of which is given below:

Table 3. Tshobdun orientation prefixes (basic set)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UP</th>
<th>DOWN</th>
<th>UPRIVER</th>
<th>DOWNRIVER</th>
<th>EASTWARD</th>
<th>WESTWARD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tə-</td>
<td>nə-</td>
<td>le-</td>
<td>tʰə-</td>
<td>kə-</td>
<td>nə-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal orientation prefixes are obligatory for all perfective and imperative verb forms, coding aspect and imperativity in addition to spatial orientation per se. With non-motion verb, prefix selection is often dictated by pure convention; e.g. ‘upward’ with the verb ‘eat’, but ‘westward’ with the verb ‘drink’.

The verb is highly sensitive to transitivity. Besides ablaut, additional morphological devices are utilized to signal transitivity. In perfective sentences with third-person actors, transitivity is indicated by shifting v or a vocalism of orientation prefixes uniformly to e. In direct imperfective sentences with a singular non-first-person actor, the transitivity marker -jə is added to verb stems, e.g. ja-tə-qʰə?-jə ‘You will dislike it.’; with ablauting verbs such as ʔtʰi ‘drink’, this transitive marking is optional, e.g. ja-tə-thə(-jə) ‘You will drink it.’. For yet another transitivity-related distinction, see (18) below.

Tshobdun has grammaticalized absolute tense, distinguishing non-past (STEM₁ and also STEM₃ for certain transitive verbs) and past (STEM₂) stems in all verbs. The unmarked tense is the non-past which has gnomic, habitual, as well as future uses. There is also a prospective prefix ja- which, not bound to the moment of speech, may also indicate ‘future in the past’ and, with past stems, the meaning ‘almost’. The basic aspectual contrast is between imperfective and perfective, marked by different orientation/aspectual prefixes. The interaction between tense and aspect yields two verb forms built on STEM₂: a perfective denoting events viewed as a whole and processes or resultant states thereof, and a past imperfective denoting ongoing situations

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8 An exception detected so far is the non-alternating verb smo ‘exist at a location’.
existing prior to the moment of speech, marked with ne-. The contrast between perfective and past imperfective is shown below:

(18) a. for? ko? tə-n⁶gi-cə
    yesterday 3SG PFV-be.ill-MED
    ‘She/he became ill yesterday (PERFECTIVE).’

b. for? ko? nv-n⁶gi-cə
    yesterday 3SG IPFV:PST-be.ill-MED
    ‘She/he was ill yesterday (PAST IMPERFECTIVE).’

The past imperfective is in opposition to the present imperfective, the latter built by attaching to the non-past stems an orientation/aspectual prefix with a uniform vocalism -e. One function of the present imperfective is to encode habitual situations in the present or past:

(19) jəpəru? jə-k⁶e mədəci o-pʰəri=z
    1PL 1PL:POSS-house PN 3SG:POSS-opposite.side.of.river=LOC
    ’tsʰet ʰgɛ-loy-anj
    goat  IPFV-herd-1SG
    “I used to herd goats across the river from our house Mendeci.” [Retawe ‘Jamdbyangs killed a leopard, 2]

The perfective verb form also functions as a relative past in temporal (20) and conditional (21) clauses with future-time reference:

    3S PFV-wake.up after 1SG=also IRR-IMP-2→1-cause.to.wake.up-1SG
    ‘When he wakes up, wake me up also.’
In another usage, the perfective can co-occur with temporal adverbials referring to the present, serving in other words as a perfect, which relates completed situations to the moment of speech. The *experiential perfect*, on the other hand, is conveyed by the verb *ŋi? ‘taste; experience’ taking a complement clause. Yet another type of perfect, namely *perfect of persistent situations*, requires nonetheless the past imperfective; e.g. *nw-tʰi-ay* ‘I have been drinking’.

Several other aspectual categories figure in verb inflection, including two continuatives and a habitual. The continuatives are differentiated by relative transitivity: the high-transitivity continuative prefix *tʰa*- is attached to a variant of STEM₁, whereas the low-transitivity continuative prefix *tʰa*- requires STEM₂:

(22) a. *statʰɐr lɐju *vse*-pe/*tʰa*-pe?
    PN song CONT:HTR-do
    ‘Stathar is singing songs.’

b. *statʰar tʰa*-rlɐju/*vse*-rlɐju
    PN CONT:INTR-sing₂
    ‘Stathar is singing.’

Tshobdun has a straightforward evidential system featuring a single evidential—the mediative *-cəl-nəno* which can refer to knowledge about past situations acquired through hearsay or inference, as well as knowledge about present situations acquired through immediate perception (cf. Lazard 2009). Illocutionary force is expressed partly through verb inflection and partly through discourse markers. Examples of inflectionally coded illocutionary forces are polar questions formed via accent adjustment, and distal imperatives (seen above in 9a) and jussives and optatives formed with the irrealis prefix *v*- (Sun 2007).

An agentless passive verb form is also attested, made up of the prefix *v*- attached to STEM₁. This formation denotes a present state resulting from a past transitive event with an
unspecified agent, as in:

(23) komqʰu mɨju secuʔ mtsʰôt v-teʔ=kə nəʔ tò=nde

back.of door further key be many PASS-put=INS ANA IMP-take3

“Since many more keys are placed behind the door, take them!” [Sekhamalosman, 63]

4 Syntax

4.1 Syntactic relations

Nominal case marking and verbal person-marking, both operating on semantic and pragmatic principles, cannot give reliable clues regarding syntactic pivots in Tshobdun. Participant nominalization (§3.3), however, provides evidence for the neutralization of the actor and undergoer roles in an accusative (S/A vs. P) pattern, as the intransitive argument (S) and the transitive actor (A) are nominalized by the same prefix kə-, as opposed to the transitive undergoer (P) nominalized by a different prefix kɐ-. Moreover, the S/A subject also serves as a syntactic pivot, being the only NP position relativizable by finite nominalization (§4.5.2).

4.2 Constituent order

Within a nominal form, the morpheme slot sequence is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSESSIVE</th>
<th>PREFIX</th>
<th>NOMINAL PREFIX</th>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>NUMBER ENCLITIC</th>
<th>CASE ENCLITIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Verb forms permit a more elaborate sequence of morpheme slots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRR</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>AND</th>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>NMLZ</th>
<th>INV</th>
<th>REFL</th>
<th>CONT</th>
<th>HTR</th>
<th>SPON</th>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>MED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
That is, a conjugated verb stem may take prefixes in this order: irrealis + negator + andative + aspect/imperative + person + nominalizer + inverse + reflexive/high-transitivity continuative + spontaneous, and followed by person-number and mediative evidential suffixes.

The normal word order inside a nominal phrase is as follows, exemplified in (24):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE</th>
<th>POSSESSOR</th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>RELATIVIZED MODIFIER</th>
<th>NUMERAL-CLASSIFIER PHRASE</th>
<th>DETERMINER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kəkoʔ</td>
<td>ɐmuʔ</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>kə-vde</td>
<td>knez</td>
<td>tørpe=naʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(24) kəkoʔ ɐmuʔ fe kə-vde knez tørpe=naʔ

‘these two catties of good meat of mine’

The relativized modifier kə-vde ‘the good one’ in the foregoing example can also precede the head noun, denoting a partitive meaning ‘these two catties of good meat (i.e. out of all the meat) of mine’. If an external relative clause is further added, it must occur after the demonstrative slot.

Within a clause, the verb occupies final position. The word order of core arguments is pragmatically determined, with the most topical element appearing first. Temporal adverbials typically precede locational ones.

### 4.3 Major sentence types

The indicative sentence is the unmarked sentence type. Fully conjugated copulas (positive ŋoʔ, negative maʔ, emphatic/contrastive ʃieʔ) are obligatory in all equational clauses:
Part I. A synopsis of Tshobdun Rgyalrong grammar

(25) qʰoʔ ʰ̥gɔrl=naʔ ʰ̥nɔʔəs ʰ̥stʃʰe=naʔ
SEQ bald.person=DET there place=DET
tʃʰoʔ ʰ̥kʰ̥-tʰ̥im=caʔ ʰ̥nʊ-ŋo-ca
headman NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF IPFV:PST-be2-MED
“The bald person was a rich headman of that region.” [Khyergopu the trickster fooled a bald headman, 4]

Copulas are also employed to form sentence-focus (i.e. topicless) clauses where they, not surprisingly, show tense-aspect but not person-number distinctions.

(26) ʰ̥stʃʰé=pʰi ɾ̥furu ʰ̥kʰ̥-sɛmtʰɛɾ=caʔ ʰ̥tʰ̥-nlə ʰ̥ŋo-ca
earth=under bone NMLZ-be.surprising=INDF PFV:OUT-come.out2 be-MED
“A strange skeleton came up from the ground.” [A strange skeleton was excavated at Mbrata, 4]

The main existential verbs are toʔ (STEM2 to) and its negative form mɛʔ (STEM2 mɛʔ). In addition to predicking the existence of entities, they also express possession:

(27) ʰ̥nu qʰ̥wɛbruʔ ʰ̥kʰ̥-tsʰo=caʔ ʰ̥toʔ=kʰα
1SG:POSS male.yak NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDF exist=INS
naʔ ʰ̥nɛ-tʰ̥i-ʰ⁻bi-naʔ=k te-tsʰaʔ
ANA IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM PFV:TR-say2
“I have a fat male yak (lit. a fat male yak of mine exists). I will give that away to you.” [A personal account of life during the Cultural Revolution, 41]

An additional pair of existential verbs are found, imbued with an immediate evidential meaning: wɲo (STEM2 wɲoʔ) and its negative form mɲɛ (STEM2 mɲɛʔ). These verbs express sudden perception or realization of an event as it is happening, or an entity’s existence or disappearance:
To express the meaning ‘exist at a certain location’, a distinct locational verb smo is required for animate subjects (29a), whereas the ordinary existential verb toʔ is used for inanimate subjects (29b):

(29) a. sonam pəʃkʰo kʰənay tʰ=smo
    Sonam now boulder CONT:LTR-exist.at.a.location
'Sonam is at home now.'

b. qʰoʔ pʰovaŋ kʰ=to=nəʔ tʰ-nejiʔ-aj
    SEQ boulder NMLZ:SBJ-exist.at.a.location=DET PFV-wait-1SG
'And (I) waited in ambush at where a boulder was.' [Two most feared beasts in our land, 33]

On the other hand, Tshobdun does not differentiate existential verbs further for the purpose of nominal classification, a salient morphosyntactic trait found in many Qiangic and Burmic languages in the area.

Sentences with a topic-comment structure are prevalent, with the most widely used topic marker being the determiner nəʔ, as in (30), but a number of emphatic topicalizers are also used: =rcənə, =der, and =ŋónə.

(30) nənəʔ o-latʃʰe=nəʔ fa-kʰ-ro-nə
    that 3SG:POSS-object=TOP AND-IMP-fetch-2PL
'That stuff of his, go and fetch it!'

Negation is expressed mainly by the verbal prefixes mə- (imperfective), mə- (perfective and prohibitive), and mə- (high-transitivity continuative, habitual, and nonfinite). The copula ηoʔ and existential verb toʔ have distinct negative forms, respectively maʔ and me.
Interrogative sentences include the following subtypes: content questions, polar questions, alternative questions, and questions with positive/negative presupposition. Content questions contain various question words, which remain in situ. Pragmatically neutral polar questions are formed out of the corresponding statements by adding an accented prefix ꜖- to a monosyllabic verb form (31a), or simply accenting a polysyllabic verb form (31b):

(31) a. ꜖-re ꜖-qḫwi ꜖-nēyû ꜖-meju ꜖-kāne ꜖-nēyû
    bread more one.or.two 2SG:POSS Q-be.needed
    ‘Do you want some more bread?’

   b. tōyo=ો= занят josŋiʔ rτənnmuʔ ꜖-sɛscɨ ꜖-te-tʃə-=en=ɛŋ
    3SG:POSS-companion ghost=PL=ERG today wedding PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED=SUB
    ‘And when its companion ghosts asked it, ‘Was the wedding today enjoyable?’’ [A
ghost attended wedding, 4]

Alternative questions are marked by intonation plus a special interrogative particle soʔ. Questions with presuppositions are formed with the help of various discourse markers. The imperative verb form consists of a non-past stem with an imperative-orientation prefix and, where appropriate, a second person number suffix (dual ꜖-dzə; plural ꜖-nə). The prohibitive selects the negator ꜖-mə-. The prefix ꜖- marks the third-person imperative (v-ʃʊʔ ꜖ɪ nə ꜖-kə-qʰro ꜖-jq=ʃv ꜖-wi ꜖-tʃə ꜖-wi ꜖-tʃə ꜖-wi ‘Let him/her
eat it!’) as well as distal imperatives (v-ʃʊ ꜖ɪ ꜖-kə qʰ ro ꜖-jq=ʃv ꜖-wi ꜖-tʃə ꜖-wi ‘Come and meet me!’) where the action is not to be executed at the speech-act location. Interestingly, the person-marking prefixes (the second-person index ꜖- and the ꜖→1 configuration marker ꜖-kə-) show up only in prohibitive and distal imperatives. Hortatives are formed out of non-past stems with first person dual ꜖-tsə or plural ꜖-jə suffixes.
4.4 Clause coordination

Conjunctions that connect words at the phrase level may occasionally apply at the clausal level, as in:

(32) qʰoʔ ne-nescérʔ=ta=seʰənaʔ o-zi=rm jə-lw-lə
SEQ PFV-be.scared2=besides 3SG:POSS-nausea=even PROS-PFV-come.out2
“Not only was he scared, he almost threw up.” [Fishes in our country, 46]

Much more commonly, however, sequences of finite clauses are loosely connected by the sequentializer qʰoʔ or its emphatic form qʰónaʔ:

(33) kəkoʔ qa teʷdi qʰoʔ komʔ te-cu qʰoʔ
3SG hoe PFV:UP:TR-carry2 SEQ door PFV:TR-open2 SEQ
ťəjtfe=nay ko-rɛme jə-fəʔ
field=inside NMLZ:PURP-do.labor PFV-go2
‘He picked up the hoe, opened the door, and went off to do labor in the field.’

Simultaneous subevents making up a single complex event are expressed rather by serial verbs (34), or a converb (or verbal adverb) construction (see 36, 38 below):

(34) qʰoʔ ʃʃəɾylcʰonytʃen=nəʔ mə-ne-nejiʔ
SEQ roc=DET NEG-PFV:TR-wait.for2
qʰoʔ fla nə-quelʰbjəm jə-naʃʔ-cə
SEQ immediately PFV-fly2 PFV-go.back2-MED
“The roc did not wait for him, but quickly flew back.” [The roc helps a poor man find gold, 53]
4.5 Clause subordination

In Tshobdun, dependent clauses are formally distinct from independent clauses. Deranking in dependent clauses is achieved predominantly by nominalization. Nominalization can remove all or parts of the inflectional trappings of the verb, producing non-finite and (partially) finite nominalized clauses. Dependent clauses may also take a non-nominalized (i.e. independent sentence-like) form under certain conditions.

4.5.1 Non-finite subordinate clauses

Clauses headed by an infinitive verb form nominalized by the invariant prefix *k*- may function either as a complement to a complement-taking verb (Sun 2012: §3.4) as in (35), or as a converb, as in (36):

(35) ʃənəʔ vəmmtsʰéraŋ təjət kv-ntʃʔ=ntʃon mə-nə-noz

but PN down INF-come.out=still NEG-IPFV:PST-dare₂

“But Anamtsherang did not dare come down yet.” [Anamtsherang, 68]

(36) tʃəl kənbe mə-ʃu-ʔə mə-ʃu-ʔə

“Not saying anything at all, (the demon) went over and sat down by his side.” [Anamtsherang, 15]

Another notable non-finite clause type is the *purposive* structure nominalized by *k*-., functioning as an ‘essive adjunct’ (Jacques 2016: 225) to a venitive/andative verb:

(37) ʃə-ʃaʔro ʃə-ʃaʔro

1SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet IRR-IMP-2-come

‘Come and meet me (lit. Come as my welcomer)’

There is also a dedicated converb formation, comprising the prefix *sə*- and a reduplicated STEM₂,
which serves as a manner adverbial of the main verb:

\[(38) \quad \text{ô-}\text{ⁿge} \quad \text{su-}\text{ǹve\text{c\text{b\text{c\text{h\text{i}}}2}}} \quad \text{noofsəfsət} \quad \text{te-}\text{ⁿgeʔ-}\text{cə} \]

\[3\text{SG:POSS-clothes} \quad \text{CVB-be.wet\text{2:RDPL}} \quad \text{in.that.way} \quad \text{PFV:TR-put.on\text{2-MED}} \]

‘She/he put on her/his clothes while they were still wet.’

4.5.2 Finite subordinate clauses

Finite dependent clauses may function as arguments (complement clauses),\(^9\) modifiers of arguments (relative clauses), or sentential adjuncts (adverbial clauses). When nominalized, finite dependent clauses are inflectionally reduced with suppression of person-number, inverse, as well as evidential markings.

Complement clauses may occur in a fully finite, sentence-like form taking a determiner-turned subordinator =nəʔ, exemplified in (39) by the P-role complement clause of the cognition verb ‘know’:

\[(39) \quad \text{yvेंz=kə} \quad kʰe\text{ʔeʔ} \quad o-\text{ʔneʔ} \quad te-\text{ⁿdzeʔ}=nəʔ \quad vjiʔ \quad ’siz-aŋ \]

\[\text{hog.badger=ERG dog} \quad 3\text{SG:POSS-nose} \quad \text{PFV:TR-bite=DET} \quad 1\text{SG know-1SG} \]

‘I know that the hog badger bit the dog on the nose.’

Nominalized finite complement clauses are exemplified in (40) below, with a P-role complement to the perception verb ‘observe’ (Sun 2012: 482; note in particular the absence of person marking):

\[\quad \]

\(^9\) More details on complement clauses and complementizing strategies in Tshobdun are given in Sun (2012).
Relative clauses often, but not always, involves nominalization. The most common relativizing strategy is head-marked gapping. The following sentence exemplifies a head-internal, non-nominalized relative clause, where the relative head namirwi ‘maize seeds’ appears in the relative clause, leaving a gap in the main clause:

(41) [jesyiʔ ejiʔ namirwi tə-χtuʔ-an] Ø=naʔ Ø-vde-cə
the.other.day 1SG maize.seeds PFV-buyc2-1SG Ø=DET Q-be.good-MED
“The maize seeds that I bought the other day, are they good?” [A telephone conversation, 14]

Dependent-marked gapping is also very common:

(42) [forʔ Ø cm-nti-an] ðome=naʔ jv-weʔ-cə
yesterday Ø PFV-see2-1SG woman=DET PFV-come2-MED
‘The woman I saw yesterday has come.’

Relativization by means of finite nominalization is accessible only to the S/A subject of a clause. Given a transitive relative clause, the two nominalizers kə- and kə- mark distinct semantic roles of the subject: agent and patient. In the following (headless) relative clause, for example, the subject bears an agentive role in the clause, requiring the nominalizer kə-:

10 For a fuller treatment of Tshobdun relative clauses, see Sun (2006).
“They arrived upriver to the side of the one who was picking pears.” [Pear story, 27]

On the other hand, the nominalizer in the example below takes the form kə- (fused from kə- and the passive prefix v-), as the semantic undergoer ‘child’ of the verb rqɔʔ ‘embrace’ is here promoted to pivot (subject) status of the relative clause:

(44) [təŋaʔ tə-kə-rqɔ] = nəʔ
child PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ:U-embrace2=DET PFV-laugh2
‘The child who was embraced laughed.’

Transitive events predicated from the viewpoint of an animate undergoer argument, moreover, may also be expressed as self-caused ones, also relativizable by the subject nominalizer kə-:

(45) [ɔ-pe kə-kə-ojsərəqɔ]
təŋaʔ = nəʔ
child=DET
‘The child who got himself embraced by his father laughed.’

Adverbial clauses expressing temporal relations are typically not nominalized; they are marked by subordinating conjunctions showing various temporal meanings, most of which are grammaticalized from possessed nominal roots. These conjunctions often combine optionally with the subordinator =nəʔ and locative case =z; e.g. orjəŋʔnəʔz (< o-ŋʕaʔ =nəʔ =z 3SG:POSS-time=DET=LOC) ‘at the time when’. The meaning ‘as soon as’ is however coded in a special way by accented non-past verb stems plus the prefix ro-:
As discussed earlier in (21), conditional clauses may be couched in finite perfective form. A much more prevalent conditional structure involves an inflected non-past stem plus an irrealis prefix お勧め as well as a perfective prefix, in addition to the subordinator =nəʔ (47a); alternatively, the conditional form of the copula お勧め-go=nəʔ may follow a finite verb (47b):

(47) a. əsto v-na-ta-vzjaŋ=nəʔ  kəcʰiʔ  tv-ʰ biʔ
   hard   IRR-PFV-2-study=SUB   candy   1→2-give

b. əsto  ra-vzjaŋ  v-nə-go=nəʔ  kəcʰiʔ  tv-ʰ biʔ
   hard   2-study    IRR-PFV-be=SUB   candy   1→2-give

‘I will give you candy if you study hard.’

Adverbial clauses may also take the form of a finite clause marked by the instrumental-ergative case to express a logical link between two clauses (48a), or function as an existential-presentational clause (48b):

(48) a. əyu  qa-bruʔ  kə-tʃʰo=cəʔ  toʔ=kə
   1SG:POSS   male.yak   NMLZ:SBj-be=fat=INDF   exist=INS
   nəʔ  ne-tʰ bi-nəʔ=kə  te-tsəʔ
   ANA   IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM   PFV:TR-say2

   “Since I have a fat male yak, I will give that to you.” [A personal account of life during the Cultural Revolution, 41]
b. \textit{jle} \textit{o-kə-miʔ=naʔ?} \\
\textit{dzə} \ 3S:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-drive=DET \\
\textit{tʃuʔ mʃʰoldən te-kə-tsə tərmə=co təʔ=ka} \\
\textit{pn pn IPFV-GP-say man=INDF exist=INS} \\
\textit{nənəʔ=ko ke-neʔ nə-ŋə} \\
\textit{ANA=ERG IPFV:EAST-drive}_3 IPFV:PST-be_2 \\

“There was one dzo-herder from Cus Village by the name of Mcholdan, and he was driving (it) from behind.” \cite{Thrower of stones, 4}

Cause and purpose clauses can both take the complex marker \textit{otόnka}, while concession clauses are marked with \textit{=ntʃʔon(ka)}. 


Part II.

Texts

I. ANECDOTES

KYENSEN LOST HIS SOUL

cənsəʔ ovle nekəncʰemʔ ʁpe

Narrator: Yingyam

1. qveʰweriʔ títʰ=zcənsəʔ te-kə-tsə=cəʔ
   PN PN=LOC PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF
   vəzonu vdesqe jirmə jv-ka-uweʔ=caʔ təʔ=ka
   man forty about PFV-NMLZ-come2=INDF exist=INS
   There is a man called Kyensen from Tatho Hamlet at Kakhyoris Village, who is just about
to turn forty.

2. kə-syi=ce=naʔ tsʰovdən rgonbe¹²=z tʰə-vre-ca
   one-day=LOC:INDF=DET PN monastery=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-MED
   One day, he went downriver to Tshobdun Monastery.

3. qʰoʔ tərmokʰe jə-qínu jirmə ʁdenəʔ ma-le-nəweʔ-cə
   SEQ dusk PROS-be.dark about not.until NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-come.back2-MED
   And he did not come back upriver until it was going to be dark.

¹¹ Name of a hamlet in Kakhyoris Village.
¹² In Teutses Village, downriver along the Kholakji River from Kakhyoris Village.
4. \( qʰoʔ \) tétʰ \( \text{rá}yʰ \) \( dzem \) \( ó-pʰi=z \) \( ^{\text{dzem}=cəʔ} \) toʔ?
   \( \text{SEQ PN PN 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC bridge=INDF exist} \)
   \( qʰoʔ \) o-vzər=nuʔ retaʔ=ʁʔ toʔ?
   \( \text{SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET mill=PL exist} \)
   There is a bridge under the Rangndzem Slope at Tatho, and there is a mill beside it.

5. \( qʰoʔ \) sŋontsʰe=z \( qʰɐ \) nəʔ \( ^{\text{dzem}=t-a} \)
   \( \text{SEQ former.time=LOC ANA bridge 3SG:POSS-top} \)
   \( kəxtʃipu \) \( \text{knez } \) \( jərme } \) \( nə-enter \)
   child two about PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height2
   \( qʰoʔ \) tʰɭɨ \( nɨ \) \( -tʃʰoz-cə \)
   \( \text{SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-drown2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED} \)
   It is said that formerly there were about two children who fell from the bridge and drowned.

6. \( qʰoʔ \) cənʔənʔ kv-qənu çovčə kv-pə ne-je jərme=nəʔ?
   \( \text{SEQ PN INF-be.dark IDPH}^{13} \) \( \text{INF-do PFV:TR-begin2 about=SUB} \)
   \( ^{\text{dzem}=o-vzər } \) \( le-zyo \) \( t-cə \)
   bridge 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-MED
   Kyensen arrived at the edge of the bridge as the twilight was getting dim all around.

7. \( qʰoʔ \) təciʔ o-vzər pʰowən \( ó-ta \) tʰe-mpʰəri=nəʔ?
   \( \text{SEQ water 3SG:POSS-side boulder 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB} \)
   As he was glancing at the top of a boulder beside the river,

8. kəxtʃipu=cəʔ tətfu nəʔ soʔ \( tʰənej nəʔ \)
   \( \text{child=INDF boy be or girl be} \)
   \( \text{NEG-NMLZ-be.clear=INDF CONT:LTR-sit2} \)

---

13 A derived ideophone from root \( çəv \) describing a dim or murky state.
Part II. Texts

qʰoʔ təciʔ=naŋ "ge-mphɛri weyo-naŋə
SEQ water=inside IPFV:DOWN-look be.seen-MED

(he saw that) a child of uncertain sex sat there looking down at the river.

9. qʰoʔ stʰore=nəʔ
SEQ at.first=DET
kəxtʃipu=nəʔ fo=cəʔ əʔ=ka ne-sɔsi-cə
child=DET who=INDF be=DM PFV:TR-think2-MED

At first, he thought, “Who could the child be?”

10. qʰoʔ ɔ-pʰa tʰu=goz=ge-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-place PFV:DOWNRIVER-call.out2-MED
fənəʔ ʊdənbe o-kəlen tə-kə-peʔ ə=meʔ-cə
but at.all 3SG:POSS-reply PFV:NMLZ:SBJ-do2 IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED

And he called out downriver at (the child), but no one answered at all.

11. qʰoʔ nəjərmənəʔ mə-ka-vde kə-ŋəʔ=nəʔ
SEQ only.then NEG-NMLZ-be.good NMLZ-be=SUB
kə-sərtə ne-je-cə
INF-realize PFV:TR-begin2-MED

Only then did he begin to realize that it was something unclean.

12. qʰoʔ o-sni te-wɛxtw qʰoʔ kəxtʃipu=pʰa
SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart PFV:TR-cause.to.be.big2 SEQ child=place
nəjiʔ=ka njᵲʔ mə-ko-səyaʔ=ən=ka te-tsəʔ-cə
2SG=ERG 1SG NEG-2→1-frighten-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED

And he mustered up his courage and said to the child, “You don’t frighten me!”
13. qʰoʔ ʃkótse kásnez tʰe-wəɾʁət-ɔɣ
   SEQ stone several PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw2-MED
   And he threw several stones (at it).

14. qʰoʔ ʃlə lə-zyi
   SEQ quickly PFV:UPRIVER-turn.around2
   kə-nəʃə tə-ɾentsʰə=jənə?
   NMLZ:PURP-go.back PFV-try2=SUB
   lemestamnet o-vzəɾ qélé=kəsci lə-weʔ-ɔɣ
   suddenly 3SG:POSS-side wind=like PFV:UPRIVER-come2-MED
   Just when he quickly turned around and tried to go back, a wind-like thing suddenly came
   upriver (at him),

15. qʰoʔ qʰenəʔ qélé=kə nu-o-nəɾpəɾpo oʒɔɾʔ?
   SEQ ANA wind=ERG PFV:DOWN-INV-slam2:RDPL meanwhile
   rzéspe tə-o-nəɾmtsʰəmtsʰi-ɔɣ
   for.a.while PFV-INV-lead.along2:RDPL-MED
   qʰoʔ na-o-səɾde=kəsci-ɔɣ
   SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.be.drunk2=like-MED
   and while he was slammed down repeatedly by the wind, he was hauled along for quite
   a while as if he had been turned into a drunkard,

16. qʰoʔ noŋme nə-o-yɐ-te-ɔɣ
   SEQ only.then PFV:DOWN-INV-put2-MED
   and only then was he laid down.

17. qʰoʔ nəʔoséfət tʰopətʰolɛʔ^{14}=kə kʰinəŋ le-nəɾe-ɔɣ
   SEQ thus IDPH=INS home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back2-MED
   And he went back home in that drunkenly manner.

^{14} From ideophone root tʰev, describing a delirious state.
18. \( \text{ʃənəʔnəʔ} \text{əʃəqʰoʔkə-rə-ngi}-\text{te-je-co} \)
   but since.then INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin2-MED
   And since then, he began to become ill.

19. \( qʰoʔ \text{mpʰrumu} \text{kə-ro?=rə?=nə-cə} \)
   SEQ divination NMLZ:SBJ-make=PL PFV:TR-send.for2-3PL-MED
   And they (his folks) sent for diviners.

20. \( qʰoʔ \text{mpʰrumu} \text{kə-ro?=r̥?=kə} \text{ko?=kəmŋəm} \)
   SEQ divination NMLZ:SBJ-make=PL=ERG 3SG 3SG:POSS-illness
   o-vlə  ne-neʰemʔ-cə=kə
   3SG:POSS-soul IPFV:PST-wander2-MED=INS
   o-χtu  kə-pe  reʔ  te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
   3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
   And the diviners said that since his illness was due to his soul being lost, sutras must be
   chanted for him.

21. \( qʰoʔ \text{o-χtu} \text{r̥ispe ne-peʔ-nə-cə} \)
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting quite.a.lot PFV:TR-do2-3PL-MED
   And they did much sutra-chanting for him.

22. \( \text{ʃənəʔnə-kə-zi} \text{nu-meʔgoʔ-cə} \)
   but PFV-NMLZ-recover2 IPFV:PST-not.exist2 be-MED
   But (his illness) did not go away at all.

23. \( qʰoʔ \text{leʔ} \text{tsʰovdə} \text{rgombe mkʰwnboʔ vlovzjin te-kʰi-tsə=cə} \)
   SEQ again PN monastery abbot PN IPFV-GP-say=INDEF
   sprəsku  kə-ŋóte=cəʔ  tόʔ?=kə
   living.buddha NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDEF exist=INS
And as at the Tshobdun Monastery there was an abbot, a virtuous living Buddha by the name of Vlovzyin, so they went to send for him.

24. *qʰoʔ*  *mpʰrumu  te-səɣro-na-cə=naʔ*

SEQ divination  PFV:TR-cause.to.make2-3PL-MED=SUB

And when they asked him to make divination, Vlovzyin said (to Kyensen), “You ran into something unclean and not only that, you went ahead and provoked it.”

25. *qʰoʔ*  *nv-vlv  nv-ncʰemʔ-cə=kə*

SEQ 2SG:POSS-soul  IPFV:PST-wander2-MED=INS

“And since so you have lost your soul, one must perform soul-recalling,” he said.

26. *qʰoʔ*  *vlv^gəɣʔ?  kv-pe=naʔ?*

SEQ soul-recalling  GP-do=SUB

When performing soul-recalling, one very carefully weighs a piece of clothes of the soul-wanderer before performing the soul recalling.
27. ḷoʔ ṯmətəŋ? χtu=ɑɾ? ḷejoʔ?
SEQ soul-recalling sutra-chanting=PL IPFV-end
When the chanting of soul-recalling sutras is done,

28. ḷoʔ leʔ ḷeʔ tʒəge=ɾə? te-kv-skər
SEQ again ANA clothes=DET IPFV-GP-weigh
one weighs again those clothes.

29. ḷoʔ ɾjəme cʰeʔ tə-kv-skər?
SEQ weight before PFV-GP-weigh
ə-tsʰət ə-nə-nəʃəʃət=ɾə?
3SG:POSS-extent IRR-PFV-be.thus=SUB
ə-və əʃə ət=ɾə
3SG:POSS-weight before PFV-GP-weigh2
do-ʃət ə-nə=ɾə?
If the weight was just like when (the clothes) was weighed earlier, then the soul has not yet returned, it is believed.

30. ḷoʔ ɾjəme ɾə-tə te-kv-skər
SEQ weight 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-GP-weigh
cʰeʔ fʃətəʔ ə-tə-mtʰə=ɾə?
before than IRR-PFV:UP-be.higher.than=SUB
ə-və əʃə ə əʃə tʃə ɾə?
3SG:POSS-weight after PFV-GP-weigh
If one weighs and (the clothes) weighs more than before, then the soul is believed to have returned.
31. qʰoʔ vlovzin=ka
SEQ PN=ERG
cənɔnʔ vlvʰgɔyʔ xtu kʰpe nɛ-je-ɔ
PN soul-recalling sutra-chanting INF-do PFV:TR-begin2-MED
And Vlovzyin began to chant soul-recalling sutras for Kyensen.

32. stʰɔre ő^n=ru? te-sker?=nɛ-ɔ
first 3SG:POSS-clothes=PL PFV:TR-weigh2-3PL-MED
They first weighed some clothes of his.

33. qʰoʔ kʰ-syi jvrmv nu-raʒtu?=nɛ-ɔ
SEQ one-day about IPFV:PST-chant2-3PL-MED
And for about one whole day they were chanting sutras for him.

34. fɔnə ő^n=ge cʰeʔ tə-kʰ-sker?=nə?
but 3SG:POSS-clothes before PFV-NMLZ:SBJ=SUB
tə-kʰ-mtʰo?=ru? nʋ-mɛʔ-cə
PFV-NMLZ-be.heavy2=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
But the clothes that had been weighed before were not more heavy at all.

35. qʰoʔ leʔ kawnez-syi jvrmv nu-raʒtu?=nɛ-ɔ
SEQ again several-day about IPFV:PST-chant2-3PL-MED
And for about several days more they chanted.

36. qʰoʔ leʔ ő^n=ge te-sker?=nɛ-ɔ=nə?
SEQ again 3SG:POSS-clothes PFV:TR-weigh2-3PL-MED=SUB
ő^n=ge rjvme ta kʰ-saxsul tə-mtʰoʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-clothes weight in.truth NMLZ-be.clear PFV-be.heavy2-MED
And as they weighed his clothes again, his clothes really became clearly heavier.
37. qʰoʔ vlovzjín=kə tə-upəʔ ənə?
SEQ PN=ERG PFV-be.done2 be
 o-vlə jə-weʔ ənə? te-tsəʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-soul PFV-come2 be PFV:TR-say-MED
And Vlovzyin said, “It is done! His soul has returned.”

38. qʰoʔ nəʔofsəfsi jərmə o-kəməməʔ kə-zəʔ ne-je-cə
SEQ the.next.day about 3SG:POSS-illness INF-recover PFV:TR-begin-MED
And about the next day, his illness began to recover.

39. qʰoʔ rjéspe nə-tsoʔ=nə?
SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse2=SUB
 o-kəməməʔ ʃəjənʃə nə-zəʔ nə-təʔoz
3SG:POSS-illness completely PFV-recover2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
And in quite a while afterwards, his illness recovered completely.

40. pəʃkʰo=ntʃʰ on cənsən o-kəməməʔ=ruʔ "ge-mə
now=also PN 3SG:POSS-illness=PL IPFV-not.exist
Even today, Kyensen is without any illness.

41. qʰoʔ ənəʔofsəfsi jə-"ge-ən\̂ʃi" "ge-mtiʔ-əŋ "denə?
SEQ everywhere AND-IPFV-do.a.sideline IPFV-see-1SG for
əjiʔ o-jəlpe ʃəəmtʃəʔ te-kə-tsə=ənə? ənəʔ-əŋ
1SG 3SG:POSS-neighbor PN IPFV-GP-say=DET be-1SG
And I see him go about doing a sideline, for I am his neighbor called Chemchho.
HOW KYENSEN DIED THIS YEAR UNDER FALLING ROCKS

cənsənʔ tɛɾəmka təʊksəy qʰoʔ tʃʰə oséfsət nəkəmɛʔ oyпе

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. cənsənʔ te-kʊ-tsə=naʔ
   Kyensen IPFV-GP-say=DET
   qʰolɐciʔ nu-kə-to=caʔ yoʔ
   PN IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist2=INDF be
   qʰoʔ komqʰʊnəʔ qveʰweriʔ tɛɾʰɔ=z ko-nənma
   SEQ afterwards PN PN=LOC NMLZ:PURP-marry.into.wife’s.family
   tʰə-kə-weʔ=caʔ yoʔ
   PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come2=INDF be
   The man called Kyensen was one who came from Kholakyi Village and later married
   into Tatho Hamlet in Kakhyoris Village.

2. ka-ʃne-pe kə-rʊkʰe o-ʃdɛnbe
   one-two-year INF-build.house 3SG:POSS-preparation
   ŋntsəte ne-peʔ
   continuously PFV:TR-do2
   For the past one or two years he kept on making preparations for building (his) house.

3. qʰoʔ fonʃfe=scʰənaʔ fʃkətse rjëspe te-fsə-ca
   SEQ log=and rock quite.a.lot PFV:TR-gather2-MED
   And he gathered quite a lot of logs and rocks.
4. qʰoʔ ʃkótse əxtənəʔ
   SEQ rock basically
   mə́dɔci ʃəvdaʔ ə-qʰu ne-tʃe-ɔə
   Mendeci sacret.mountain 3SG:POSS-back IPFV:PST:TR-take.out2-MED
   And he collected the rocks mainly from the back of the sacret mountain\(^{15}\) of Mendeci Hamlet.

5. qʰoʔ məⁿdəcɛpu ʃsəm-təpu=ɾəʔ=kə ɛnsən=pʰa
   SEQ Mendeci.people three-family=PL=ERG Kyensen=place
   And the three families of the Mendeci Hamlet all said to Kyensen,

6. nɛkəʔ ʃəvdaʔ ə-ʃu
   that.near.you sacret.mountain 3SG:POSS-body
   ʃkótse mə-tə-tə-tʃe\_{2}
   rock NEG-IMP-2-take.out
   qʰoʔ mə-tə-nəɾfəʔ
   SEQ NEG-IMP-provoke\_{3}
   “Don’t collect rocks on that sacret mountain and provoke it,”

7. ³denəʔ nɛkəʔ ʃəvdaʔ=ɾəʔ
   for that.near.you sacret.mountain=DET
   ʃfikə o-ke-pele ə-kə-toʔ=ɾəʔ ɳəʔ
   very 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.troublesome NMLZ-exist=INDF be
   “as that sacret mountain is very troublesome to deal with,”

\(^{15}\) This refers to a mountain facing the Mendeci Hamlet beyond the Kholakyi Creek, ruled by a female mountain deity named lemunor *dzən, who allegedly often goes to the riverside to carry water in a gold water-barrel.
8. $qʰoʔ\ jɛjɾeq\ mədæcɛpu=rn\ mɛ-vde\ ntor$

SEQ 1PL Mendeci.people=PL NEG-be.good DM

$fənəʔ\ nɛmu=nfəon\ mɛ-kə-vde\ pɔ\ ɲoʔ$

but 2SG:POSS=also NEG-NMLZ-be.good become be

“it maybe bad not only for us Mendeci people, but for you also.”

9. $qʰoʔ\ nəjɛrmv=naʔ\ te-tə-znən\ mɛ-tsʰeʔ\ so\ te-tsəʔ-ɲə$

SEQ about.this.time=DET IPFV-2-stop NEG-be.proper DM PFV:TR-say2-3PL

“Won’t it be advisable if you stop doing this at about this time,” they said.

10. $fənəʔ\ cənɔʔ=ko\ vjiʔ\ kəpwʔ$

but Kyensen=ERG 1SG Han.Chinese

$ɾə16\ fte-əŋ\ koʔ\ ŋvdaʔ\ məlaʔ$

breed be:EMPH-1SG this secret.mountain perhaps

$vjiʔ\ é-tə\ o-kw-pe\ kə-toʔ\ mɛ$

1SG 1SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do NMLZ-exist not.exist

PFV:TR-say2-MED

But Kyensen said, “I have Chinese blood. Maybe this secret mountain cannot do anything to me.”

11. $jɛpe\ kə-pe=naʔ$

last.year one-year=DET

$ŋvdaʔ-qrʰu\ ʃkötse\ ne-tʃet\ oʃɛkə$

secret.mountain-back rock PFV:TR-take.out2 so.much

$tɛpɔr=ɾɛn\ ne-səweʔ\ ɲɔʔ-ɔə$

landslide=even PFV:TR:DOWN-cause.to.come2 be-MED

And in the whole last year, he did the rock-collecting behind the secret mountain so (earnestly) that he even caused landslides.

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16 Kyensen’s father was a Han Chinese, a red army soldier who stayed behind in Kholakyi Village.
12. \(q^{4}o\?\ m^{3}d^{2}c^{7}p^{4}=r^{3}?\)

SEQ Mendeci.people=PL
\(n^{6}-s^{3}m \ q^{7}k^{5} \ m^{6}-n^{3}v^{5} \ \eta^{9}=c^{9}\)

3PL:POSS-heart very NEG-IPFV-be.good be-MED

And the Mendeci people felt very uncomfortable (about this).

13. \(^{8}d^{6}n^{2}\?\ z^{9}v^{6}d^{7}a^{2}\)

for sacret.mountain
\(s^{7}t^{9}v^{7}b^{3}t^{3}t^{6}n \ k^{5}-n^{9}v^{3}f^{3} \ q^{4}o\?\ f^{5}k^{7}t^{3} \ k^{5}-t^{4}f^{3} t^{6}m^{9}=k^{9}\)

without.good.reason GP-provoke SEQ rock GP-take.out not.be=INS

For let alone wantonly provoking the sacret mountain and collecting rocks,

14. \(x^{9}f^{4}d^{5}n^{3}=n^{9}f^{9}v^{7} \ k^{5}-p^{4}n^{6}t \ k^{5}-w^{3}v^{9}=c^{9}\)

reed.stock=even GP-pick NMLZ-be.fearful=INDF
\(f^{5}t^{4} \ \eta^{9}\)

be:EMPH be

it is to be feared even to pick a reed stalk (in the sacret mountain).

15. \(q^{4}o\?\ c^{9}r^{9}s^{3}n^{9}=k^{9}\)

SEQ Kyensen=ERG
\(j^{5}-z^{9}v^{6}d^{7}a^{2}\) \(n^{6}k^{5}\) \(n^{6}-s^{3}j^{9}=n^{9}\)\(^{17}\)

1PL:POSS-sacret.mountain that.near.you IPFV-do\(_3\)=SUB
\(k^{6}m^{5}d^{3}\) \(j^{5}y^{u}\) \(m^{6}-k^{5}=v^{5}d^{3}=c^{9}\) \(l^{5}\)

all 1PL:POSS NEG-NMLZ-be.good=INDF happen
\(a^{7}n^{5}t^{3}t^{6} \ n^{6}-s^{3}s^{3}=n^{6} \ \eta^{9}=c^{9}\)

continuously PFV:TR-think\(_2\)3PL be-MED

And they kept thinking, “With Kyensen doing that to our sacret mountain, something bad will happen to all of us.”

\(^{17}\) Alternatively, one can use a nominalized form \(n^{6}-k^{5}=s^{3}j^{9}=n^{9}\).
16. qʰoʔ terezʔ losêqʰu sqéti jërme=naʔ
dot this.year post.New.Year tenth.day about=DET
And this year, around the tenth day of the New Year,

17. ćansônʔ=kə leʔ kantʰenʔ=raʔ teʰdi-cə
Kyensen=ERG again drill.rod=PL PFV:TR-take2-MED
qʰoʔ motʰotʂʰ=ta moʔdəci ʒəvdaʔ o-qʰu=z
SEQ motorcycle=top Mendeci sacret.mountain 3SG:POSS-back=LOC
ʃkótse kəʔ-ʧet teʰ-ere ʒəʔoʔ-cə
rock NMLZ:PURP-take.out2 PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2 be-MED
Kyensen again carried a drill rod and what not and rode his motorcycle downriver to the
back of the sacret mountain of Mendeci to collect rocks.

18. fanaʔ qʰoʔ tərməkʰe kw-ğim u te-je=ntfʰon
but SEQ dusk INF-darken PFV:TR-begin2=also
le-kə-nəwi nə-meʔ yoʔ-cə
IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-come.back IPFV:PST-not.exist2 be-MED
But he did not come back upriver even after dusk when it had begun to get dark.

19. qʰoʔ o-Ꙁɾeʔnʔ=ɾuʔ=kə o-kə-lesai
SEQ 3SG:POSS-family.member=PL=ERG 3SG:POSS:U-NMLZ:PURP-seek
teʰ-ere-nə-cə=naʔ?
PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-3PL-MED=SUB
When his family went downriver to look for him,

20. təmdənə pra nv-nəhɔt qʰoʔ nv-o-nextfuʔ
actually cliff PFV:DOWN-cave.in2 SEQ PFV:DOWN-INV-take.along2
ɔ-ɾnɔ=ɾɾən ʒə-nə
3SG:POSS-brains=even PFV-come.out2

18 A loanword from Chinese  jihadists (鋼鐵).
it turned out that a cliff face had collapsed and brought him down with it, and even spilled
his brains out, and he was found dead.

21. qʰoʔ  o-ŋe=kə?  χʃikə  ne-nescre?=nə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-family.member=PL very PFV-be.frightened2-3PL
qʰoʔ  nə-sni=rb?  nə-zdə=co
SEQ 3PL:POSS-heart=PL PFV-be.painful2-MED
His family got terrified and became very sad,

22. fənəʔ  ku-pe  ne-me?=co
but GP-do IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
but there was nothing one can do.

23. qʰoʔ  zdewe=rə?=kə
SEQ villager=PL=ERG
cənsenʔ  nə'=kə-set  ne-fšə-nə=nə?
Kyensen PFV:DOWN-NMLZ-die2 PFV:TR-hear2-3PL=SUB
When the villagers heard that Kyensen died (falling downhill),

24. qʰaʔ  mə
no wonder
"denəʔ  nəkəʔ  zəvəʔaʔ  kə-fšən=nə?
for that.near.you mountain.deity NMLZ:SBJ-be.fierce=DET
əntsətəse  fo-ne-nərtfe  ə=ko
continuously AND-IPFV:TR-provoke2 be=INS

19 Downward orientation is used here because Kyensen was brought down from a slope by the falling
trees, which killed him.
NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good-TOP happen be:EMPH

everywhere there were people who say, “No wonder! Something bad would surely happen, as he kept (going and) provoking such a fierce mountain deity.”

25. ʃə-nə-kə-fʃet=nə?
IRR-PFV-GP-recount=SUB

Speaking of (him),

26. consinʔ tərmə=nə?

Kyensen man=TOP

INF-do.labor NMLZ:SBJ-be.good.at SEQ conscientiousness NMLZ:SBJ-be.like

money INF-earn NMLZ:SBJ-be.able

3SG:POSS-name IPFV:PST-exist2

this man Kyensen had a reputation for being one who is skillful at doing labor, taking good care of his family, and capable of making money.

27. ʃənəʔ o-vóri ɔntsəyə ʃoχkor kə-ʃə=nəʔ

but 3SG:POSS-front that.much NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.straight=INDF

But he was not a very fortunate person.

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20 Referring to Kyensen.
28. qʰoʔ cʰeʔ-z
SEQ formerly
tójo ku-tʰəɣʔ  nu-kə-rni  mekətsʰet
ghost INF-encounter IPFV:PST-NMLZ-experience2 not.only
o-srcə?=rvn  jə-nv-nʰbət  nv-tʃəoz
3SG:POSS-life=even PROS-PFV:DOWN-collapse2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
At an earlier time, he had run into a ghost and almost lost his life.

29. katél a ko
this.time DM
kə-taŋ  ə-yu  nu-kə-dʒəɣʔ?
NMLZ-be.real 3SG:POSS NEG-NMLZ-be.right
nu-efsəsiʔ  ʃoʔ?
PFV:DOWN-go.all.the.way2 be
And this time, it was bad luck through and through for him.

30. nəʔ  nu-fsət  nv-tʃəoz
ANA IPFV:PST-be.like2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
That was what happened.
**Droma Froze Her Child to Death on the Hills**

"dzomkwa reʔgoz olyɔ? tesŋijɔm

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. jepwʰdʒi=ɭ jerm⁴

   year.before.the.last=LOC about

   It was roughly in the year before the last,

2. péjmoŋ o-koŋʔ apʃi kə np-e-l əŋ=goz olŋaʔ əŋesq əŋmə

   fritillary.bulb 3SG:POSS-price very IPFV:PST-come.out2 when

   when the prices of fritillary bulbs were very good.

3. tsʰovdən rgergon=scʰənəʔ kəxtʃipu

   PN elderly.person=and small.child

   INF-dig.for.fritillary.bulb NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=PL

   kʰenaŋ ne-nqʰopeʔ-nə kóma

   home PFV:TR-keep2-3PL except

   At Tshobdun, except for elderly people and small children who could not dig for fritillary bulbs and (stayed behind and) looked after the houses,

4. ʔə o-ri jəte-kə-cʰe=ruʔ

   ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=PL

   kəmdɨʔ reʰgo kə-npɛjmoŋ ən=bre-nə

   all hill NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb PFV:UPRIVER-go2-3PL

   everyone else who could barely make it all went uphill to the hills to dig for fritillary bulbs.
   Teutses Droma IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
   As there is someone called Droma at Teutses Village,

6. o-lỳa? snez nw-to
   3SG:POSS-child two IPFV:PST-exist2
   she had two children.

7. kà-xtʃi=na? kómyo jermv je-wə?
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET five about PFV-come2
   kà-xtʃi=na? ñsəm jermv je-wə?
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET three about PFV-come2
   The older one was about five years old, and the younger one was about three years old.

8. qʰə? ñsîka tsîja me-ne-wəkku?-ca
   SEQ very.much NEG-IPFV:PST-be.neat2-MED
   And they did not make much of a neat group.

9. ʃəna?=ntʃon o-tʃə? *boleʔ te-vəfket
   but=also 3SG:POSS-food.for.journey bull PFV:TR-load2
   qʰə? reŋgo kə-npêmoy
   SEQ hill NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb
   ʃəntsʌ-nteño ʃəʔ-čə
   PFV:UPRIVER-set.out2-3PL be-MED
   But she also loaded her food for the journey onto a bull, and they set out upriver for the
   hills to dig for fritillary bulbs.

    3SG:POSS-child NMLZ:SBJ-be.small one-CL=DET PFV:TR-carry.on.back2-MED
    She carried her younger child on her back,
11. \textit{kə-xteʔ=nəʔ} le-\textit{mṭ̣hi-cə}
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET PFV:UPRIVER:TR-lead.by.hand\textsubscript{2-MED}
   and led her older child upriver by hand.

12. \textit{qʰoʔ re\textsuperscript{e}go kə-npɛ́jmoγ}
   SEQ hill NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb
   \textit{o-sv-to=nəʔ} \textit{mə-le-zyn̥t=z}
   3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist\textsubscript{2}=DET NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-arrive\textsubscript{2}=LOC
   \textit{ke-qɛ̂nu te-je noʔ-cə}
   INF-darken PFV:TR-begin\textsubscript{2} be-MED
   They had not yet arrived at the place on the hills for digging fritillary bulbs when it
   already began to get dark.

13. \textit{qʰoʔ nəʔosɛ́fsət kəmtf\textsuperscript{a} le-\\textit{vre-nə-cə}}
   SEQ thus a.bit PFV:UPRIVER-go\textsubscript{2-3PL-MED}
   And they kept going upriver like this for a while.

14. \textit{fənəʔ uดนbe mə-na-semti-cə}
   but at.all NEG-PFV-be.able.to.see\textsubscript{2-MED}
   But nothing could be seen at all.

15. \textit{qʰoʔ təmu=rvʔ kəmtf\textsuperscript{a} ne-\textit{lɛt-cə}}
   SEQ rain=PL a.bit PFV:TR-release\textsubscript{2-MED}
   And some rain and what not came down.

16. \textit{qʰoʔ koʰboləʔ kolŋəlŋaʔ nə-ste=z}
   SEQ together.with.ox.and.child 3PL:POSS-where.something.is=LOC
   nəʔosɛ́fsət tə-nərmɛʔ-nə-cə
   thus PFV-spend.the.night\textsubscript{2-3PL-MED}
   And right there she rested for the night with the bull and the children.
17. qʰoʔ o-lŋaʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-child NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
ó-pʰəm ne-fomʔ-ca
3SG:POSS-bosom PFV:TR-cuddle2-MED
kə-xtəʔ=nəʔ o-zǵqʰu ke-səytʰu
NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 3SG:POSS-back PFV:CISLOC:TR-cause.to.cling2
qʰoʔ nə-rʷguʔ-nə-ca
SEQ IPFV:PST-sleep2-3PL-MED
And she cuddled her younger son in her bosom, and made the older child cling to her back, and they slept.

18. ʃə nəʔ o-zǵqʰu telŋaʔ=nəʔ
but 3SG:POSS-back child=DET
ne-neʔdíʔ-an te-tsəʔ-ca
IPFV-feel.cold-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED
But the child on her back said, “I feel cold!”

19. ʃə nəʔ ó-mo=nəʔ
but 3SG:POSS-mother=DET
χʃík ətsəʔ mu-ka-təŋ=caʔ fte?
very.much NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.clearheaded=INDF be:EMPH
But his mother was not a very clear-headed person,

20. qʰoʔ nəʔjirmə me-ne-nəmpəmberʔ-ca
SEQ that.much NEG-PFV:TR-take.seriously2-MED
and did not take him that seriously.

21. qʰoʔ nəʔofsəfsi le-fsi-ca=nəʔ
SEQ next.day PFV-dawn2-MED=SUB
And when dawn broke the next day,
22. o-ŋaʔ o-zgɐ́ qʰu n ɐ- kə-rəgu?=nə?
   3SG:POSS-child 3SG:POSS-back IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep2=DET
   nə-qpjom  wəjo-nəjo
   PFV-freeze2 be.seen-MED
   she found that the child of hers that was sleeping on her back had frozen to death.

23. qʰoʔ tə-rəytʃo-raingerprint
   SEQ PFV-scream2
   qʰoʔ o-snir=rv?  χʃikə nə-zday-cə
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart=PL very PFV-be.sorrowful2-MED
   And she screamed and was very sorrowful.

24. fənə? kə-pe nə-meʔ-cə
   but GP-do IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
   But there was nothing one could do.

25. v-nə-ŋo=nə?
   IRR-PFV-be=SUB
   Actually,

26. mer kolŋəŋaʔ "boleʔ te-rəgu
   night together.with.child bull IPFV-sleep
   qʰoʔ nə? o-po vzər v-lɨ-tsʰu=nə?
   SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-belly side IRR-PFV:IN-get.close.to=SUB
   qʰoʔ v-kə-rəgu-nə=nə?
   SEQ IRR-PFV-sleep-3PL=SUB
   if, as the bull slept, she had leaned with the children close to the belly of the bull and (then) gone to sleep,
27. **təlŋaʔ**  sət  **mə-nv-re-cə**
   
   child  die  NEG-IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED

   the child would not need to die.

28. **faŋəʔ  nəʔ  kə-fət  mə-te-tʃən-cə**
   
   but  ANA  INF-do.thus  NEG-PFV:TR-think.of2-MED

   But it did not occur to her to do thus.

29. **məjəu  mer  nə-qənuʔ  fteʔ-cə  "denəʔ**
   
   furthermore  night  IPFV:PST-be.dark2  be:EMPH-MED  for

   **təmdănəʔ  kə-loγ  kə-toʔ  o-vəɾ=tsə**
   
   in.fact  NMLZ:SBJ-herd  NMLZ:SBJ-exist  3SG:POSS-side=a.bit

   **lv-zyət-nə  nə-nə-cə**
   
   PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-3PL  IPFV:PST-be2-MED

   Moreover, it was also because it was dark at night, for they had actually arrived at the vicinity of where herders were (camped).

30. **faŋəʔ  mə-ne-mti-nə**
   
   but  NEG-PFV:TR-see2-3PL

   **qʰoʔ  ʃə-kw-nəkʔə  mə-nv-ʃəʔ-nə-cə**
   
   SEQ  AND-INF-stay.for.the.night  NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-3PL-MED

   But they did not see them, and were unable to go and stay (with them) for the night.

31. **qʰoʔ  səsəu  jì-mdə  jurmə=νəʔ**
   
   SEQ  noon  PROS-be.time  about=SUB

   And when it was almost noontime,
32. *tejitsípu*  
*ka-npéjmov=re?=kə*  
*nu-o-mti*  
**people.from.Teutses NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see2-MED**  
she was spotted by people from Teutses who were digging for fritillary bulbs.

33. *qʰoʔ * *təlŋaʔ*  
*o-jpov?=re?*  
*tʰe-suijwet-na=co*  
**SEQ child 3SG:POSS-corpse=PL PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring2-3PL-MED**  
And they brought back the child’s body and what not.

34. *qʰoʔ*  
*oʒorʔ*  
*těmo=nəʔ*  
*o-mkʰrəmʃɨt=reʔ*  
*ne-peʔ-ŋə=co*  
**SEQ meanwhile mother=DET 3SG:POSS-scolding=PL PFV:TR-do2-3PL-MED**  
Meanwhile, they gave the mother a scolding.

35. *qʰόnə*  
*təlŋaʔ*  
*ŋə-ka-set=nəʔ*  
*ne-sviðōt-nə*  
**SEQ child PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-die2=DET PFV:TR-bury2-3PL**  
And they buried the dead child.

36. *qʰoʔ*  
*nəʔ*  
*nu-fs ōt*  
*nu-ʃʰoz*  
**SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2**  
And that was what happened.

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21 Singular is used here as Droma is the only adult in full control of her behavior.
A STRANGE SKELETON WAS EXCAVATED AT MBRATA

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *ca*ṭʃəylo 
   *jɜrm*ve=cə=z
   the.year.1981 about=LOC:INDF=LOC
   Some time around the year 1981,

2. *tsʰovdən qʰo*lecɪpu *kʔ-nəʃɨni tərmə kʰo*ŋoltʃ ʃər ʃəlmə ɜrmə=cə?
   PN Kholakyi.person NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline man five-six about=INDF
   tɨwe kʰaʃ*pə o-lɪko
   PN PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place PN=LOC:INDF=LOC
   *"ge-rtfo*bej?-nə ɣo?-cə
   IPFV-build.road-3PL be-MED
   five or six men from Kholakyi Village of Tshobdun Township were doing sideline job
   building roads at Mbrata upriver from Tawe Village in Khangsar Township.

3. *qʰoʔ kə-səji=cə nə-*rtfo*bej-ŋə=nə?
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF IPFV:PST-build.road2-3PL=SUB
   One day, when they were building roads,

4. *sətfʰɛ=pʰi fɨru kə-su*mtsʰer=cə? tʰε-nlə ɣo?-cə
   earth=under bone NMLZ-be.surprising=INDF PFV:OUT-come.out2 be-MED
   a strange skeleton was dug up (lit. ‘came up’) from the ground.

5. *qʰoʔ kəŋwɔ te-nertɕʰjɛt-ŋə=nə?
   SEQ well PFV:TR-observe2-3PL=SUB
   As they took a good look at it,

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22 Amdo Tibetan <gya.gcig>. Tibetan numerals are used in naming calendar years.
6. \( kəʔbjo? \) \( o-ʃɨru \) \( fsât \) \( ηο?-cə \)  
   human 3SG:POSS-bone be.like be-MED  
   \( fənə? \) \( ə-q'ru \) \( kəmtʃa \) \( to? \) \( ηο?-cə \)  
   but 3SG:POSS-horn a.bit exist be-MED  
   and (they found that) it looked like a human skeleton, but it had some kind of horns.

7. \( o-łəspu=na? \) \( kəʔbjo? \) \( fəγtə \) \( xe? \) \( ηο?-cə \)  
   3SG:POSS-body=DET human than be.big be-MED  
   And its body was bigger than a human’s body.

8. \( qʰoʔ \) \( o-rwərə \) \( məkənəγʃəγ \) \( tjəntʃə=kəsci \) \( kə-təri \)  
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-necklace unusual battery=like one-string  
   \( n-səqwəwe \) \( ηο?-cə \)  
   PASS-cause.to.wear.around.neck be-MED  
   And an unusual necklace consisting of a string of battery-like objects had been put around its neck.

9. \( qʰoʔ \) \( o-γfi-mcer?=na? \) \( tərgi \) \( kə-ʃpejpom \) \( tə-weʔ \)  
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-thigh-interstice=DET fir NMLZ:SBJ-be.thick:RDPL PFV-come2  
   \( wəjo-ŋəjo \)  
   be.seen-MED  
   And a very thick fir tree could be seen growing up from between its legs.

10. \( qʰoʔ \) \( o-νəc=na? \)  
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET  
    \( leʔ \) \( jəte-ka-ʃtʃi=kəsci=caʔ? \) \( o-ʃɨru \) \( wəjo-ŋəjo \)  
    again COMP-NMLZ-be.small=like=INDF 3SG:POSS-bone be.seen-MED  
    And they found beside it what looked like a skeleton of a smaller creature of its kind.
11. \(qʰoʔ nə-kə-rtʃəhəj=rb?=kə\)
SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-build.road2=PL=ERG
\(koʔ kərbjoʔ o-ʃəru ə-kə-lə=kəsə=nəʔ \)
tfə ən
this human 3SG:POSS-bone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out2=like=DET what be
\(ne-səsi-nə-cə\)
PFV:TR-think2-3PL-MED
And the road builders wondered what this thing was that came out of the ground looking
like a human skeleton,

12. \(fənəʔ mə-te-neporoʔ-nə-cə\)
but NEG-PFV-safekeep2-3PL-MED
but they did not preserve it.

13. \(qʰoʔ o-ʃəru23=rvʔ \)
\(qʰoʔ qəməʔ=mənʔ ə-wərət-nə \)
SEQ river=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-throw2-3PL be:EMPH-MED
And they just gathered up the bones and what not in mud baskets and dumped them into
the river.

14. \(qʰoʔ kəməqənəʔ=z rdzən=naŋ ne-fə=-nə-cə\)
SEQ afterwards=LOC county=inside PFV:TR-hear2-3PL-MED
Afterwards, the county (government) heard about this,

\(23\) Collective form of \(ʃəru\).
\(24\) A Chinese loan denoting a bamboo dustpan used by road builders for transporting rocks and mud.
15.  qaʔ  fla  o-fër  tə-kə-lə
SEQ immediately 3SG:POSS-bone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out2
kə-toʔ=nəʔ=z  tə-øre-nə-cə
NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET=LOC PFV:UP-go2-3PL-MED
they went immediately uphill to where the skeleton had been excavated.

16.  faqaʔ  kə-rtsəbəjʔ=ɾəʔ=kə
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-build.road=PL=ERG
o-fër  tʰe-weřêt-nə  fiʔ-ə-cə=kə
3SG:POSS-bone PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw2-3PL be:EMPH-MED=INS
But since the road builders had already thrown the bones downriver,

17.  nə-ja  mə-jeʔ-weʔ-nəŋə
3PL:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come2-MED
they could not find them.

18.  qaʔ  nəʔ  nə-fsət  nə-tʃəz-cə
SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED
That was what happened.
VILLAGE WITCH
moste nekəsəndon? tonda?
Narrator: Bstanblo

1. cʰeʔ=z jəlpe moste smiənθər kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ?
   former.time=LOC neighbor single.woman PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF
   "ge-to? IPFV-exist
   We used to have a neighbor, a single woman by the name of Smanthar.

2. qʰoʔ zdewe=rəʔ=kə
   SEQ villager=PL=ERG
   qʰəʔ moste=nəʔ saʁdən ηoʔ tə-təɾə-no "ge-tʃəʔoz?
   ANA single.woman=DET be.possessed be IPFV-say-3PL IPFV-be.the.rule
   People in the village say that she is a possessed one.

3. qʰoʔ vjiʔ óntsəɾə v-kə-səɾtəʔ? "ge-mə orjάŋə
   SEQ 1SG that.much 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-realize IPFV-not.exist when
   When I was still not quite aware of things about the world,

4. kə-təfe=cə=naʔ?
   one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
   ə-pe "ge-nəgiʔ qʰoʔ ʃlιkə "ge-tʂu "ge-ŋoʔ orjάŋəʔ?
   1SG:POSS-father IPFV-be.ill SEQ very IPFV-be.serious IPFV-be when
   once when my father was ill and in a serious condition,

5. tərm̥okʰe=z ʃtʰət fo-təɾə-ni-əŋ
   dusk=LOC goat AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-drive-1SG
   I went to drive goats back home at dusk.
As I was about to drive them into the courtyard,

and as I was looking downriver,

I saw our neighbor the single woman going up onto the verandah,

and my mother had come downstairs from the house, and she and the woman passed by without seeing each other on the verandah,

and the woman went up into the house.

that near you single woman home why IPFV:UP-2-cause.to.go be for
And I yelled at my mom, saying, “Why do you let that single woman go up into our house? We do have an ill person at home!”

And my mother kept saying, “What are you talking about? Who went up to our house?”

And I thought, “Mom is just being difficult,”

and I drove the goats running downriver, and brought them to the courtyard,

and I repeatedly chided my mother,
16. *nəkəd* *moste*

that near you single woman

*kʰənəŋ* *tʰə* *te-tə-səyfe* *ne-re* *ŋo?* *tə-tsəʔ-əŋ*

house *why* IPFV-2-cause.to.go *IPFV:PST-be.necessary2* *be* *PFV-say2-1SG*

“Why did you have to let that single woman go up to our house,” I demanded.

17. *qʰoʔ* *vʲi-mo=kə* *tʰə* *te-tə-tsə* *ŋo?* *ⁿ* *dəŋə?

SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG *what* IPFV-2-say be for

*e-tókʰo* *te-kə-re* *mv* *te-tsəʔ*

1SG:POSS-upside PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ2 not.exist PFV:TR-say2

And my mother said, “What are you talking about? Nobody ever went up from where I am.”

18. *qʰoʔ* *vʲiʔ=kə* *mə-nə-nzənəgiʔ-əŋ*

SEQ 1SG=ERG NEG-PFV-believe2-1SG

*qʰoʔ* *flə* *kʰənəŋ* *ʃə-ʃə-mpʰəri-əŋ*

SEQ immediately house AND-PFV:UP-look2-1SG

I did not believe her, and quickly went upstairs to look in the house.

19. *fənaʔ* *te-kə-re* *kə-mtiʔ* *kənəle* *mv*

but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go2 NMLZ:SBJ:U-see EMPH not.exist

But the one who went upstairs could not be seen at all,

20. *qʰoʔ* *təmdánə* *v-mpə-ədi* *nəkəsə* *nə-ntʃərəʔ*

SEQ in.fact 1SG:POSS-eye-lower.edge thus PFV-appear2

*ʃə-eʔ-ɕə* *n* *dəŋə?* *kə-təʔ* *nə-ŋo=nəʔ* *maʔ-ɕə*

be:EMPH-MED for NMLZ:SBJ-be.real IPFV:PST-be2=SUB not.be-MED

and in fact, it only appeared like that under my eyes, for it was not real.
21. qʰoʔ ɐ́ pe kə-lden mə-ŋə-mdəʔ
SEQ 1SG:POSS-father NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity NEG-PFV-last
PFV-not.exist NEG-PFV-last2 be:EMPH
And before long, my father passed away.

22. moste nə-kə-saʔdonʔ? unez-tərem=nəʔ?
single.woman IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.posessed two-occasion=TOP
As for the second incident of the single woman being possessed,

23. jə-zdewe=nəŋ təljaʔ ʃompermə ʷdensəʔ?
1PL:POSS-villager=inside child child.of.three-years-old only
mə-jə-kə-weʔ=coʔ? əmejeʔ? nə-ʃpəz
NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come=INDF PFV-not.be.seen IPFV:PST-be.the.rule
a child in our village, no more than three years old, went missing.

24. qʰoʔ ʃəfəsəfisi ne-qaseʔ-nə
SEQ everywhere PFV:TR-seek-3PL
People searched everywhere,

25. fənəʔ ʃso-səŋi ʃso-rəŋaʔ ənə-təsəʔ ʷdensəʔ?
SEQ three-day three-night PFV-elapse only
nə-ja mə-jə-weʔ?
3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come
but they could not find him until three days and three nights later.

26. qʰoʔ nə-ja jə-ʃeʔ orjəŋə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-hand PFV-come when
And when they found him,
27. \( təlŋa?=nə? \) yréko ome \( kə^n-bri?=cə? \) ó-ta
child=DET ridge very NMLZ:SBJ-be.high=INDF 3SG:POSS-top
\( t^{b\-n\-nəʔ} \) ne-mti-nə-nəño
CONT:LTR-idle.about2 PFV:TR-see2-3PL-MED
they saw the child was playing on top of a very high ridge.

28. \( qʰoʔ \) \( nəʔ=naʔ^{25} \)
SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB
\( qʰoʔ \) təlŋa?=nəʔ \( qʰɨnəʔ=tsɨyə \) kə^n-briʔ \( yréko=ta \)
SEQ child=DET there=LOC so NMLZ:SBJ-be.high ridge=top
o-jiʔ jūste kw-fiʔ ʁənbe mə-cʰv
3SG:POSS-self alone NMLZ-go at.all NEG-be.able
Now it was ordinarily impossible for the child to get to the top of such a high ridge all by himself.

29. \( fənəʔ \) \( qʰoʔ \) təlŋaʔ ne-mti-nə orjənəʔ?
but SEQ child PFV:TR-see2-3PL when
o-jiʔ jūste \( t^{b\-n\-nəʔ} \)
3SG:POSS-self alone CONT:LTR-idle.about2
\( qʰoʔ \) mə-nə-fpaʔ mə-nə-mtserʔ ηəʔ=cə?
SEQ NEG-PFV-be.thirsty2 NEG-PFV-be.hungry2 be-MED
But when they saw the child, he was playing all by himself and was not thirsty or hungry.

30. \( qʰoʔ \) təlŋaʔ=pʰə kʰɔkʰo kw-wi tfʰə tə-tə-fsət ηəʔ?
SEQ child=place here INF-come what PFV-2-do.thus be
tə-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED=SUB
And when they asked the child, “How did you come up here?”

\(^{25}\) An idiomatic expression meaning ‘in the ordinary way of things’.
The child uttered the single woman’s name, saying, “She brought me (here) to play.”

And when they asked the single woman,

she said, “I did not take him up, I have no idea.” It was said.

The truth is, she did not really take him up.

But, apparently it was due to her being possessed.
36. le?  ka-tofe=ce=na?
   again  one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
   On another occasion,

37. jajoe?  jo-zdew=na
   1PL  1PL:POSS-villager=inside
   torme  *ge-ko-qerji?  kase=ce?  nvo-to-na
   man  IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt  several=INDF  IPFV:PST-exist2-3PL
   there were several young hunters in our village,

38. qho?  ko-sni=ce=na?  ja-nv-qerji-na
   SEQ  one-day=LOC:INDF=DET  AND-IPFV:PST-hunt2-3PL
   and one day they were going hunting,

39. qho?  for^gelipa  *dena?  kv-nazyt  ma-nv-c^o?-na
   SEQ  midnight  not.until  INF-arrive.back  NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-3PL
   and were not able to get back home until midnight.

40. qho?  qvo?  moste  o-komt^o
   SEQ  ANA  single.woman  3SG:POSS-courtyard
   fj^tn^nl=na  orjanes
   AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-pass2-3PL  when
   qvo?  moste=na?  koma^o  yft^ru  yvo-dzor  wajjo
   SEQ  single.woman=DET  courtyard  naked  CONT:LTR-stand2  be.seen
   When they were passing through the single woman’s courtyard, the woman was (seen)
   standing naked at her courtyard.

41. qho?  nv-kv-qerji=ra?=ko  nv-nescer?-na-c^o
   SEQ  IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt2=PL=ERG  PFV-be.scared2-3PL-MED
   They hunters became scared,
42. qʰoʔ nekónə tʃʰə tə-tsəv-pe ʃʰə
SEQ there what 2-CONT:HTR-do be
tə-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED=SUB
and when they said, “What are you doing over there?”

43. moste=nəʔ=kə
single.woman=DET=ERG
ʃdə tʃʰ-qəɾnɨ-anə ʃʰə? te-tsəʔ-cə
EXCL CONT:LTR-do.hunting2-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED
The single woman said, “Oh, I am hunting.”

44. qʰoʔ nə-kə-qəɾnɨ=ɾəʔ=kə
SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt2=PL=ERG
qʰəʔ moste=nəʔ te-nəʔ-daɾ-dəʔ-nəʔ
ANA single.woman=DET PFV:TR-scold2-3PL
kʰɪnəŋ ʃəʃ ʃə kə-rəɾəgu te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
home IMP:UPRIVER-go AND-IMP-go.to.bed PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
The hunters scolded the woman, and said, “Go home, and go to bed!”

45. qʰoʔ nəʔmənə fkəɾnəʃkəlu kʰɪnəŋ ʃə-vəɾ-cə
SEQ only.then IDPH home PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED
qʰəʔ ʃə-ɾəɾəɾəgu?-cə
SEQ AND-PFV-go to bed2-MED
nəʔ nə-ʃsət nə-tʃʰəʔ
ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
And only then, did she walk limpingly home upriver and went to bed. It happened like that.
46. `mer for*gelépʰa moste=kə tfʰa te-qerŋeʔ yoʔ =n=${*denə?
night midnight single.woman=ERG what IPFV-hunt3 be for
kə-séšiz nb-mɛʔ nb-tʃʰoz
NMLZ-be.known IPFV:PST-not.exist2 IPFV-be.the.rule2
And it was not known what the single woman was hunting at midnight.

47. leʔ kə-tafe=ce=ŋaʔ
again one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
On yet another occasion,

48. ja-zdewe=naŋ tetʃu kəɾdɔʔ=ɔʔ
1PL:POSS-villager=inside lad one=INDF
mdzórge=z fa-kə-kə-venmaʔ=ɔʔ
PN=LOC AND-PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-marry.into.wife’s.family2=INDF
tóʔ=ka losur orjáŋna kozdazdeʔ
exist=INS new.year when couple
kə-surtəʔ na-nowεʔ-ⁿdzə
NMLZ:PURP-visit.family PFV:WEST-come.back2-3DU
a young man in our village who had married into his wife’s family at Ruo’ergai went
back home with his spouse to visit their family during New Year.

49. qʰoʔ tərmókʰe qʰeʔ moste o-kómtʰə
SEQ dusk ANA single.woman 3SG:POSS-courtyard
fa-lt-ŋloʔ-ⁿdzə orjáŋna
AND-PFV:UPRIVER-pass2-3DU when
When they went upriver and passed the single woman’s courtyard at dusk,

50. qʰeʔ moste ne-tʰayʔ-ⁿdzə-ɔʔ
SEQ single.woman PFV:TR-meet2-2DU-MED
they met the single woman,
51. qʰoʔ əzorʔ  kʰəmtʃa  ne-wwevlevʔ-nə-cao
SEQ  in.the.meanwhile a.bit  IPFV:PST-chat2-3PL-MED
and meanwhile they chatted a little.

52. qʰoʔ  noŋménə  kʰénəŋ  le-naře-dzə-cao
SEQ  only.then  home  PFV:UPER-go.back3-3DU-MED
And then they went back home.

53. qʰoʔ  qʰuʔ  kə-sertəʔ  tə-kə-nəweʔ=niʔ
SEQ  ANA  NMLZ:PURP-visit.family  PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-come.back2=DU
mer  nə-nənpri-nə-cao²⁶
at.night  PFV-eat.supper2-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ  kə-r⁵⁸ đuə  tə-renmtʃa-nə-cao=nəʔ
SEQ  NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed  PFV-prepare2-3PL-MED=SUB
And when at night the two home-comers ate supper and prepared to go to bed (with the
other family members),

54. qʰuʔ  tarmə  ō-ryev  nʰromuʔ=nəʔ
ANA  lad  3SG:POSS-wife  Amdo.woman=DET
kə-nt⁵⁸ódə  o-koləŋəu  kə-me
INF-rave  3SG:POSS-order  INF-not.exist
kə-sno  o-t₉⁴ży=kašci  te-jə-cao
INF-be.crazy  3SG:POSS-manner=like  PFV:TR-begin2-MED
the lad’s Amdo wife began to rave and act in a orderless, crazy manner.

²⁶ The verb is marked plural despite the dual-number subject, as more than two participants are involved
in the supper-eating here.
55. \( qʰoʔ \ kəmaʔ=rεʔ=kə \)
   SEQ other=PL=ERG
   \( qʰoʔ \ "bɾəmuʔ=pʰə \ tʃə \ te-tə-poj \ ɭoʔ \ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nə? \)
   ANA Amdo.woman=place what IPFV-2-do3 be PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED=SUB
   When the others asked the Amdo woman, “What are you doing?”

56. \( qʰaʔ \ tørmókʰə \ v-tʰiko \)
   just.now dusk 1SG:POSS-downriver.side
   \( rəmətu \ nə-tʰəy-tsə=ɭə=ɭə \ pəfʰə-rəpəm \)
   old woman PFV-meet2-1DU=DET=ERG now-EMPH
   \( tʰə-wi \ nə-zədʒəq-pə-tsə \ te-tsəʔ \ ɭoʔ? \)
   IMP:DOWNRIVER-come IMP-have.potluck.party-1DU PFV-say2 be
   \( qʰoʔ \ fə-əŋ \ reʔ? \ te-tsəʔ? \)
   SEQ go-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say2
   She said, “The old woman downriver and I met each other just now at dusk, and she said, ‘Come downriver and let us have a potluck party,’ and so I must go!”

57. \( qʰoʔ \ o-ɭrəɾʔ=ɭə \ nəʔ? \ mə-ɭədʒəʔ-cə \ ne-əsəsi-ɭə \)
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=ERG ANA NEG-be.proper-MED PFV:TR-think2-3PL
   And her family thought, “That is not right,”

58. \( qʰoʔ \ fələ \ kəsɛkʰu \ ne-lət-ɭə \)
   SEQ immediately juniper.powder PFV:TR-release2-3PL
   \( qʰoʔ \ vɭɾʒe \ kəkəne \ ne-səqər-ɭə \)
   SEQ monk several PFV:TR-send.for2-3PL
   \( o-ɭtu \ kəməʃʔə \ ne-səpəʔ-cə \)
   3SG:POSS-chanting.sutra a.bit PFV:TR-cause.to.do2-3PL
   and they quickly burned sanctified juniper powder, and sent for several monks and made them chant some sutras for her.
59. \( q^{h}o \quad n\_\_of\_s\_z\_fsi \quad n\_\_zi \)
   SEQ  next.day  PFV-recover2
   \( q^{h}o \quad nb-k\_\_ma=\_n\_o \quad n\_\_fs\_t-c\_\_ \)
   SEQ  IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.not2=SUB  PFV-do.thus2-MED
   And her illness recovered the next day, as if nothing had happened.

60. \( q^{h}o \quad q^{h}e\_\_n\_\_o \quad o\_\_p\_\_a \)
   SEQ  ANA  3SG:POSS-place
   \( forma \quad t\_\_o \quad te-t\_\_poj \quad yo? \quad te-tsa\_\_n\_\_o \)
   last night  what  IPFV-2-do3  be  PFV:TR-say2-3PL
   \( q^{h}o \quad ne-r\_\_wet-n\_\_c\_\_o=n\_\_o \)
   SEQ  PFV:TR-ask2-3PL-MED=SUB
   And when they asked her, saying, “What were you doing last night?”

61. \( q^{h}e\_\_n\_\_o \quad mer \quad t\_\_o \quad ne-pe? \quad yo?=\_n\_\_o \)
   ANA  night  what  PFV:TR-do2  be=SUB
   \( o-kv-s\_\_si? \quad o-kv-t\_\_\_n\_\_o? \quad u\_\_\_\_\_\_nbe \quad mv-c\_\_ \)
   That one (the woman) could not think of or recall anything about what she had done that night.

62. \( n\_\_o \quad nb-f\_\_s\_t \quad nb-t\_\_o\_\_z \)
   ANA  IPFV:PST-be.like2  IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
   That was what happened, it is said.
THROWER OF STONES

*kññ/kótse*

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *sŋontsʰe=z məⁿdɔci=seⁿnano? tʃu? o-pʰirtʰe=nə?
former.time=LOC PN=and PN 3SG:POSS.space.in.between=DET
məⁿdɔcentʰe kə-rmiʔ=cə? tóʔ=kə
PN NMLZ-be.named=INDF exist=INS
te-κw-nenkʰyjʔ=nə? ta-kə-nə/kótse toʔ kú-tsə tʃ/ozʔ?
IPFV-GP-pass.by=SUB GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-throw.stone exist GP-say be.the.rule
There is a place named Mendecamthe between Mendeci Hamlet and Cus Village where it was rumored in the old days that if you pass by the place, something would throw stones at you.

2. *sŋi=ntʃʰon=nə? kə-əñ/kótse tsə-nə tʃ/ozʔ?

day=also=DET GP-INV-throw.stone say-3PL be.the.rule
They say that stones would be thrown at one even during the day.

3. *ŋiʔ unesqe jɛrmə jv-æʔ-æŋ orjàmə?

1SG twenty about PFV-come2-1SG when
*ntʃuʔ=z jle fə-kə-ro-æŋ
PN=LOC dzo AND-PFV:EAST-fetch2-1SG
Once when I was around twenty, I went east to bring back some dzo from Cus Village.

4. *jle o-kə-niʔ=nə?

tʃuʔ mtfōldən te-kú-tsə
dzo 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-drive=DET PN PN IPFV-GP-say
tərmə=cə? tóʔ=kə nənʔʔ=kə ke-nə? ne-nə
man=INDF exist=INS ANA=ERG IPFV:EAST-drive3 IPFV:PST-be2
The driver of the dzo was a Cus man named Mcholdan, and he was driving from behind.
5. qʰoʔ maʔdəcemtʰe lv-zyôt-tsə=nəʔ
   SEQ PN PFV:UPRIVER-2DU=SUB
tə-qənuʔ zgəʔzəʔəʔ nə-ŋo
   PFV-darken2 IDPH27 IPFV:PST-be2

   By the time we got upriver at Mendecamth, it had turned completely dark.

6. qʰoʔ rjóspə lv-wəʔ-tsə=nəʔ
   SEQ quite.a.while PFV:UPRIVER-come2-2PL=SUB

   And when we came quite a while farther upriver,

7. n-vaʔ-r=z fktəse lv-kə-wəret=cəʔ tóʔ=kə
   1SG:POSS-side=LOC stone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-throw2=INDF exist=INS

   there was someone who threw a stone upriver at the place around me,

8. o-ręʔəm=nəʔ?
   3SG:POSS-moment=DET

   and at that moment,

9. nəʔ mtʃoldən=nəʔ?
   ANA PN=TOP
tə-pərtʰə jə kə-təwuʔ-de mə=nəʔ?
   1DU:POSS-space.in.between dzo one-team-except not.exist=SUB

   “This man Mcholdan, why is he throwing stones? There is no more than a distance between a team of dzo between us,” I wondered.

27 Describing complete darkness.
10. $qʰoʔ$ tʃǐlv $mə-tə-tsəʔ-əŋ$
   SEQ anything NEG-PFV-say2-1SG
   And I didn’t say anything.

11. $qʰoʔ$ leʔ rjéspe $lw-veʔ-tsə$
   SEQ again quite.a.while PFV:UPRIVER-come2-1DU
   And we kept coming upriver for quite a while.

12. $qʰoʔ$ tʰɔjávra te-kə-tsə=cəʔ $tôʔ=kə$
   SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
   There was a place called Thoyavra,28

13. nənəz $lw-zyőit-tsə=nəʔ$
   there PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-1DU=SUB
   and as we arrived at that place,

14. leʔ v-vzər $rⁿgu ó-tə$
   again 1SG:POSS-side boulder 3SG:POSS-top
   $ʃkótse=rcənəʔ$ $ʃpét$ $tə-kə-satsəʔ=caʔ$ $tôʔ$
   stone=TOP:EMPH IDPH PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.say2=INDF exist
   on top of the boulder by my side there was again someone who (threw a stone and hit)
   the place near by me with a “Shpet”.29

15. $qʰoʔ$ o-réŋəm $mt[pʰoldən=pʰa ne-tə-sno$ $raŋ n^dənəʔ$
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment PN=place IPFV-2-be.crazy DM for
   At that moment, I said to Mcholdan, “Are you mad?”

28 Name of a landmark within Mendecamthe, literally ‘sign of good harvest’.
29 An ideophone mimicking the sound of something flat impacting a hard surface.
16. ʃkótse=kə  v-koʔ  tə-xsəɣ  ηə?
stone=INS 1SG:POSS-head 2-hit be
"deʔ ʃkótse  mə-le-tə-wirət  "denəʔ  tə-tsəʔ-əŋ=naʔ?
any.more stone NEG-IMP:UPRIVER-2-throw or else PFV-say-1SG=SUB
“The stones may hit my head! Don’t throw stones any more, or else!”

17. mtf\olden  xfiŋə  te-ntsʰəvʔ?
PN  very IPFV-be.nervous
Mcholdan was very flustered,

18. ŋiʔ  maʔ-əŋ  ηə?  jə
1SG be.not-1SG be DM
nəʔ  foxtəʔ  tə-omisíjɛz  tɛ-tsəʔ
ANA than IMP-hurry IPFV-say
and he was saying, “It is not me! Instead of (worrying about) that, just hurry on!”

19. oʒorʔ  tfʰ o tfo³⁰ té-tsə  jle  le-neʔ?
meanwhile EXCL IPFV-say dzo IPFV:UPRIVER-drive
Meanwhile, he was herding the dzo on, saying “Cho, Cho, Cho.”

20. qʰoʔ  noymenəʔ  ʃkótse  le-kə-wirət=naʔ?
SEQ only.then stone PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-throw=DET
mtf\olden  kə-maʔ=naʔ?  nə-səɾtəʔ-əŋ
PN NMLZ-not.be=DET PFV-realize-1SG
Only then did I realize that the one who had thrown stones was not Mcholdan.

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³⁰ Conventionalized sound used to urge cattle on, repeated here to vividly convey the flustered state Mcholdan was in.
21. qʰoʔ oʒor? məŋdɔcmtʰe=tsə tə-kə-nəʃkótse
   SEQ meanwhile PN=TOP:EMPH GP:POSS:U-NMLZ:SBJ-throw.stones
   kə-to? kə-tʃoz?=nəʔ v-sem jə-weʔ
   NMLZ-exist NMLZ-be.the.rule=SUB 1SG:POSS-heart PFV-come₂
Meanwhile, it dawned on me that the place Mendecamthe was indeed rumored to have
(mysterious) throwers of stones.

22. qʰoʔ v-komezer kəmtʃ'a nə-vmdzuʔ?
   SEQ 1SG:POSS-creepy.feeling a.bit PFV-stand.on.end₂
And I felt my hair stand on end a little bit.

23. qʰoʔ oʒor? lv-ojwəjez?-tsə ofētkə
   SEQ meanwhile PFV:UPRIVER-hurry₂-1DU so.much
   tʃə o-sέʃət məŋdɔci lv-zyɔt-tsə ʒoʔ=run
   what 3SG:POSS-way PN PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-1DU be=even
   mə-nəsərtə-aŋ
   NEG-PFV-realize₂-1SG
Meanwhile, we two rushed upriver so hurriedly that I didn’t even know how we got back
to Mendeci.

24. qʰoʔ nəʔ nɛ-ʃət ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ be-MED
That was what happened.
SHERAB SAW A GHOST

 Narrator: Stagthar

1. v-s? ʃər-s? te-kʰ-tsʰ=na?
   1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle  PN  IPFV-GP-say=DET
tsʰovdə vl猖ge nu-yo tʰoʔ?
   Tshobdun monk IPFV:PST-be2  be.the.rule
   My paternal uncle called Sherab was a monk at Tshobdun.

2. qʰoʔ kʰ-taʃe=ce=naʔ  zde nʰ-pʰa nu-nweʔ?-cə
   SEQ  one-time=LOC:INDF=DET  other  3PL:POSS-place  IPFV:PST-idel.about2-MED
   Once, he was visiting with some people,

3. qʰoʔ ʃorⁿɢel me  nɔmye
   SEQ  wee.hours.of.the.night  only.then
   o-tʰaʃfaʔ=z ke-nəre-cə
   3SG:POSS-monk’s.quarters=LOC PFV:EAST-go.back2-MED
   and did not return to his quarters until the wee hours of the night.

4. qʰoʔ mgonkʰaŋ kʰ-zyʔt jərmə=naʔ
   SEQ  protector’s.chamber31 PFV:EAST-arrive2  about=SUB
   ke-mpʰəri=naʔ  o-vəɾi=z vlbraco uzɛn=kə
   IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB  3SG:POSS-front=LOC monk  monk’s.cloak=INS
   o-koʔ  kʰ-səɾyloj=caʔ  nə-weʔ  nəʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-head NMLZ:SBJ:U-cover.with2=INDF PFV:WEST-come2  be-MED
   As he was about to get to the protectors’ chamber, taking a look, he saw a monk coming
   west whose head was covered in a monk’s cloak.

31 A special room inside a monastery devoted to worshipping protector deities (srung.ma).
5. $qʰoʔ \text{ fo-rv?} \text{ kə-gəzə-ge-ə}$  
SEQ Shesrab PFV:EAST-call$_2$-MED
Shesrab called at him,

6. $ʃə\text{ ku} \text{ for$_a^*$gel$_{p}^a=nəʔ} \text{ nət$'$ə} \text{ ə-fə \ əo}\text{ goz}\text{ge-c} \text{ ə}$  
over.there.in.the.east:VOC wee.hours.in.the.night=DET where 2-go be
PFV:TR-say$_2$-MED
“You over there in the east, where are you going in this wee hour,” he asked.

7. $ʃə\text{ o-kóri} \text{ ne-kə-wi=nəʔ=kə}$  
but 3SG:POSS-front IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-come=DET=ERG
$o\text{-len=nəʔ} \text{ ədənbe mə-te-pe? \ əo?-cə}$  
3SG:POSS-answer=DET at.all NEG-PFV:TR-say$_2$ be-MED
But the thing that was coming (west) did not answer him at all.

8. $qʰoʔ \text{ qʰenəʔ} \text{ o-vər} \text{ nə-zyòt} \text{ jərm=$nəʔ$}$  
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-side PFV:WEST-arrive$_2$ about=SUB
$\text{ ləməstamnet rŋəy}^32 \text{ əo-rzə-ə}$  
suddenly IDPH PFV-be.long$_3$-MED
But when it was about to get close, it all of a sudden grew tall.

9. $qʰoʔ \text{ o-qʰostot=nəʔ} \text{ nəm$km^h_e=nə=qə$} \text{ əz$\text{blɔt-ə}$}$  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-upper.body=DET sky=inside=LOC:INDF PFV:UP-disappear$_2$-MED
And its upper body disappeared into the sky,

10. $o-qʰ\text{ osmen?=nəʔ} \text{ səfə=nə=qənə$\text{blɔt-ə}$}$  
3SG:POSS-lower.body=DET ground=inside PFV:DOWN-disappear$_2$-MED
and its lower body disappeared into the ground.

$^32$ An ideophone root describing a single object being slender or long.
11. $qʰoʔ$ $ʃə$ $r$ $ɐ$ $v$ $ʔ$ $n$ $ɐ$ $-n$ $scer$ $ʔ$ $o$-$kəməzər$ $nv$-$vmdzu$?

SEQ PN IPFV:be.scared 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling IPFV:PST-sit

Shesrab was scared, and felt creepy.

12. $qʰoʔ$ $kə$-$r$ $ɐ$-$n$ $dʒ$ $á$-$n$ $dʒ$ $a$=$kə$ $ə$ $ə$=$kə$

SEQ INF-run.with.legs.high.in.air=like=INS

3SG:POSS-place.to.the.east monk 3SG:POSS-monk’s.quarters PFV:UP-go2-MED

And running with his legs high in the air, he dashed up a monk’s quarters to his east.

13. $qʰoʔ$ $nv$-$vescer$? $o$-$fət$=$kə$

SEQ IPFV:PST-be.scared 3SG:POSS-extent=INS

INF-talk=even NEG-PFV-be.able IPFV:PST-be.the.rule-MED

So scared he was that he could not even talk.

14. $qʰoʔ$ $ʃə$ $r$ $ɐ$ $v$ $ʔ$ $o$-$ʁ$ $úri$ $n$ $ə$-$kə$ $-w$ $ɛʔ$ =$nə$?

SEQ Shesrab 3SG:POSS-front PFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-come=DET

t$ə$=$nə$? $nv$-$tə$ $nv$-$ta$-$cə$

ghost=TOP IPFV:PST-be  IPFV:PST-be.certain-MED

And that which came up (west) before Shesrab was undoubtedly a ghost.

15. $qʰoʔ$ $ʃə$ $r$ $ɐ$ $v$ $ʔ$ $jə$-$pə$=$kə$=$nə$?

SEQ 1PL=ERG=TOP

As for us,

33 Possibly related to the ideophone root "$dʒə$, describing walking with two or more legs raised high in the air.
16. tāyo  "ge-kv-mti? qʰo? nə-xtv
ghost IPFV-GP-see SEQ PFV-be.big2
qʰónə tāyo o-kv-pe ne-mə
qʰoʔ me-ne-cʰv kē-tsə tʃ'oʔ?
SEQ NEG-IPFV-be.able GP-say be.the.rule
when we see (lit. one sees) a ghost, and it gets bigger, then the ghost can do little (harm)
and is not powerful, it is said.

17. fənəʔ o-χpér=kə tāyo  "ge-kv-mti?
but 3SG:POSS-supposition=INS ghost IPFV-GP-see
qʰoʔ v-mə-nə-nəxtʃıxtʃi reʔ?
SEQ IRR-NEG-PFV-be.smaller.and.smaller be.necessary
"denəʔ tāyo te-cʰv yoʔ kē-tsə tʃ'oʔ?
for ghost IPFV-be.capable be GP-say be.the.rule
But suppose one sees a ghost, it had better not get smaller and smaller, for then the ghost
is a powerful one, it is said.
Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. \(s^\text{pons}^s\text{e}=z\)
   former.time=LOC
   ts\text{ovd}_\text{e} n\text{ronbe}\text{34} vl\text{rgepu} = c\text{o}\? nv\text{-to } \eta\text{o}\?-c\text{a}

   Once upon a time, there was a young monk in the Tshobdun Monastery.

2. \(q^\text{o}\? osto  \text{xd}n\text{be me}^\text{-ge-rvzja}_\text{j} fa^\text{-ge-nemt}^\text{om} \eta\text{o}\?-c\text{a}\)
   SEQ well at.all NEG-IPFV-study AND-IPFV-roam.about be-MED

   He did not apply himself to his studies at all, but would just wander around.

3. \(q^\text{o}\? mer=n\text{a}\? \eta\text{tf}^\text{os}^\text{af}^\text{si} ne-k\text{o}-nem\text{orm}^\text{ome}\)
   SEQ night=DET everywhere IPFV-NMLZ-spend.the.night2:RDPL
   \(q^\text{o}\? o-k\text{v}-\text{wr} = \text{rv}\? \text{xd}n\text{be k\text{-mv}-c\text{a} } \text{ge-\etao}-c\text{a}\)

   At night he would spend the night anywhere, and he had no fear for anything at all.

4. \(q^\text{o}\? k\text{-tafe}=c\text{e}=n\text{a}\? l\text{use}=z \text{ka-mdz}_{\text{a}\text{l} \text{to-ere}-c\text{a}}\)
   SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET PN=LOC NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV-go2-MED

   Once, he went on a pilgrimage to Lhasa.

5. \(q^\text{o}\? mts\text{os}^\text{onbo}_\text{a}=s\text{e}_\text{a}\? \text{rdan}^\text{t}_\text{ff}\text{on}^\text{wr} o\text{-per}?=z\)
   SEQ PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-interstice=LOC
   \(t^\text{a}_\text{aj} \text{su}^\text{sto}_\text{y} \text{ome k\text{-ge}=c\text{a}? to? } \eta\text{o}\?-c\text{a}\)

   Between Lake Kokonor and Tanggula Mountain, there was a vast barren plateau.

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34 Situated in Teutses Village, this is one of the two monasteries in Tshobdun Township.
6. qʰoʔ kʰ-snì=ce=naʔ? qʰɛnɛʔ=z tʰ-zyóʔ-cə 
SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET there=LOC PFV:UP-arrive2-MED
One day, he arrived there.

7. qʰoʔ tʰ-qnuʔ-cə 
SEQ PFV-darken2-MED
It became dark.

8. qʰoʔ swrmɛʔ ne-qseʔ-cə=naʔ? 
SEQ sleeping.place PFV:TR-seek2-MED=SUB
tʰɑŋ ó-tə tɑŋtɑŋ kʰ-tɔʔ=cə? ne-mti-cə 
plateau 3SG:POSS-top pit NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF PFV:TR-see2-MED
And as he was looking for a place to sleep, he saw a pit on the plateau.

9. qʰoʔ tɑŋtɔŋ=naŋ rtʃeqe=rəʔ dəʔdəʔyəʔ pe ome sɛsɛət ɣəʔ-cə 
SEQ pit=inside grass=PL IDPH35 do very be.comfortable be-MED
The grass inside the pit was very comfortable.

10. qʰoʔ jomerʔ naʔ ó-nɑʔ 
SEQ tonight ANA 3SG:POSS-inside
ne-ke-nɔɾme reʔ-cə ne-sɛsi-cə 
IPFV-GP-spend.the.night be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think2-MED
“I must spend the night in it tonight,” he thought.

11. qʰoʔ nɔnə=z nə-ɔɾmɛʔ-cə 
SEQ there=LOC PFV-spend.the.night2-MED
And so he spent the night there.

35 Ideophone derived from root dəɣ, describing the state of being thick, cozy, and giving much warmth (as of bedding or similar material).
12. \( qʰoʔ \)  
\( mer \)  
\( kə-nə-r^a\text{gu}-cə=nə? \)  
SEQ night PFV-SPON-sleep2-MED=SUB  
\( o\text{-komwzer} \)  
\( æntsətse \)  
\( ne-mdzu \)  
\( ə\text{-r}ⁿ \)  
\( gu \)  
\( ə\text{c} \)  
\( =nəʔ \)  
3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling continuously IPFV-sit be-MED  
As he lied comfortably down to sleep at night, he was having a creeping feeling.

13. \( qʰoʔ \)  
\( tʃʰə \)  
\( ŋəʔ \)  
\( tʃʰə-ʃə \)  
\( ə\text{fsi} \)  
\( fə\text{-ge-r^a\text{gu}-aŋ} \)  
\( lden \)  
SEQ 1SG everywhere AND-IPFV-sleep-1SG exist.in.quantity  
\( fənaʔ \)  
\( v\text{-komwzer} \)  
\( umdzu \)  
\( mə-tʃəʔ \)  
but 1SG:POSS-creepy.feeling sit NEG-be.the.rule  
\( nəʔ \)  
\( fə=\text{cə}ʔ \)  
\( ə\text{-səsi-cə} \)  
ANA what=INDF be PFV:TR-think2-MED  
And he thought, “I frequently go and sleep everywhere, but I never felt creepy. What is going on?”

14. \( qʰoʔ \)  
\( tə-rəroʔ-cə \)  
SEQ PFV-get.up2-MED  
So he got up.

15. \( qʰoʔ \)  
\( ə\text{-kw}=z \)  
\( tsʰ\text{o\text{v}dən} \)  
\( rgon\text{be}=z \)  
SEQ 3SG-body=LOC PN monastery=LOC  
\( kəsək^b\text{u} \)  
\( te\text{-t}ⁿ\text{-cə} \)  
\( nb\text{-to-cə} \)  
juniper.powder\(^{36} \) PFV:TR-take2-MED IPFV:PST-exist2-MED  
He carried on his body some sanctified juniper twigs taken from the Tshobdun Monastery.

\(^{36}\) Pulverized dry juniper twigs mixed with barley grains, sanctified and given by lamas, to be burnt to drive away evil spirits.
16. \textit{qʰoʔ smi te-vlu-cə}
SEQ fire PFV:TR-burn2-MED
\textit{qʰoʔ kómtʃə ne-sekʰu?-cə=nəʔ}
SEQ some IPFV:TR:PST-cause.to.smoke.by.burning2-MED=SUB
When he built a fire and was burning some of them,

17. \textit{qêle=kəsci te-peʔ-cə}
wind=like PFV:UP-do2-MED
\textit{qʰoʔ qʰoʔnəʔ toŋtəŋ=nay təme=kəsci pʰəχʃwel jə-feʔ-cə}
SEQ ANA pit=inside woman=something.like IDPH\textsuperscript{37} PFV-go2-MED
something like a draft blew up, and in that pit, something shaped like a lanky and long-haired woman clad in a long robe stormed out.

18. \textit{qʰoʔ tʰáŋ=ta=rənəʔ}
SEQ plateau=top=EMPH
\textit{təme=cə? tə-kə-rayʃʃoʔ-baʔ nə-kə-veʔo?=cə?}
woman=INDF PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-scream\textsubscript{2} PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-weep\textsubscript{2}=INDF
\textit{ne-seχʃʃorŋə=cə}
PFV:TR-resound2-MED
And a screaming and weeping woman resounded the top of the plain.

19. \textit{qʰoʔ kómtʃə nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ çəŋçəŋ?\textsuperscript{38} nə-pe-cə}
SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse\textsubscript{2}=SUB IDPH PFV-do2-MED
After a while, it became completely quiet.

\textsuperscript{37} Derived ideophone from the root \textit{jʃwel}, describing a sudden single move made by someone or something lanky with long hair and limbs wearing long clothes.

\textsuperscript{38} Ideophone based on the root \textit{çəŋ}, describing the state of complete quietness.
20. qʰoʔ vlrge=nəʔ o-sem kə-vde kə-nə-rŋuʔ-cə
SEQ monk=DEF 3SG:POSS-heart NMLZ-be.good PFV-SPON-sleep2-MED
And he went to sleep with a peaceful heart.

21. qʰoʔ o-komvəzər=rəʔ ne-kə-vmdzu=nəʔ nə-meʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling=PL IPFV-NMLZ-sit=SUB PFV-not.exist2-MED
qʰoʔ nəʔ o-mer=nəʔə flika nə-nə-scət-cə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-night=DET very IPFV:PST-SPON-be.comfortable2-MED
His creepy feeling was gone, and he was very comfortable that night.

22. qʰoʔ qʰvənəʔ vlrge=nəʔ ləse=rəʔ
SEQ ANA monk=DET PN=PL
getʰ′afsoʃsi nə-nəmdʒəmdʒelʔ-cə
everywhere IPFV:PST-worship2:RDPL-MED
And the monk went on pilgrimages everywhere, to Lhasa and other places.

23. qʰoʔ tsʰovdən rgonbe nv-nəwəʔ-cə
SEQ PN monastery PFV:DOWN-come.back2-MED
And then he went back to Tshobdun Monastery.

24. qʰoʔ o-kofsoʃFoʔ tfoʰbeʃiʔ tʃə nv=kə-ʃət=rəʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-friend:RDPL road what IPFV:PST=NMLZ-be.like2=PL
kəmdɨʔ ne-ʃʃʊt-cə=nəʔ
e all PFV:TR-tell2-MED=SEQ
When he recounted everything that had happened on the road,
25. *rgonbe ó-naŋ*  
   monastery 3SG:POSS-inside lama=ERG  
   *tə⁻ne=z kəsikʰu kə⁻ʒroʔ e⁻nú⁻to*  
   GP:POSS-body=LOC juniper.powder NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine IRR-PFV-exist₂  
   *qʰónəʔ ŋuᵗʰə=z nə⁻kw⁻nnəʔre*  
   SEQ anywhere=LOC PFV-GP-go₂  
   *tə⁻pertʰet kə⁻me pʰen te⁻tsə⁻nə⁻cə*  
   GP:POSS-tribulation NMLZ-not.exist be.effective PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED  

the lama in the monastery said, “If one carries good juniper powder with one, one can be  
free from tribulations anywhere one goes.”

26. *kəkəʔ χpe=nəʔ kə⁻taʔ nə⁻kə⁻ŋo=cəʔ ŋoʔ*  
   this story=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.true IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be₂=INDF be  

This story is a true one.
SEMGAM THE SPIRITUAL MEDIUM

sémgem skərtən

Narrator: Yingyam

1. \textit{spontsʰe=z}  
former.time=LOC
\textit{kruʃizgən} skərtən=naʔ  sémgm kə-toʔ=caʔ  nə-ŋə-cə
PN medium=TOP PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be2-MED

Once there was a medium called Semgam in the Krashizgang Monastery.

2. \textit{qʰoʔ skərtən ne-kaʰ-pʰuŋpʰ=naʔ}  \textit{te-kaʰ-rufqəfu=caʔ}  
SEQ medium IPFV-GP-descend=SUB IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-scold:RDPL=INDF
\textit{qʰoʔ xʃikə kə-fsən=caʔ}  nə-ŋə-cə
SEQ very NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=INDF IPFV:PST-be2-MED

When (the guardian deity) descended upon him, he conducted himself in a very scolding and powerful way.

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39 Referring to the power, that such mediums allegedly have, to enter into a trance while the monks summon the particular guardian deity (\textit{soŋme}; WT <srung.ma>) of that monastery to descend (hence the verb ‘cause to descend’) and possess him. The medium, who can be an ordinary monk in the monastery, makes certain preparations, such as devining for suitable timing, chanting a specific type of sutra, etc. When the moment comes, he feels about to fall into a trance and his assistants help him get into a special kind of seat, and dress him with heavy medium’s helmet and clothing. He then walks about the central hall and gradually enters into a trance and the deity begins to possess him and speak through the medium, answering all kinds of questions posed to him or making announcements and admonitions.
3. qʰoʔ kʰ-taʃe=ce rgonpu?=rə nə-laʃe
SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF monastery.staff=PL 3PL:POSS-possession
zrəla?=scʰnaʔ kəmaʔ tfʰuxci?=cə nə-rila-cə
pail=and other something=INDF PFV-be.lost2-MED
On one occasion, a pail and something else that belonged to the monastery staff were missing.

4. qʰoʔ skərtən=kə tertʃən ó-ror te-mdzo te-vera=cə
SEQ medium=ERG flagpole 3SG:POSS-surface thistle PFV:TR-bind2-MED
So the medium bound some thistles onto the monastery flagpole.

5. qʰoʔ kəʃne-sɲi nə-tso?=nə nə-nev-cə
SEQ seven-day PFV-elapse2=SUB PFV-descend2-MED
A week passed, and (the guardian deity) descended upon him.

6. qʰoʔ nə-ka-mərkʊʔ=nə?
SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-steal2=DET
qəʰriʔ vdeʰdzom te-kə-tsə=cə təʔ=ka
PN PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
nə-vu norvu kə-rmi?=cə nə-to-cə
3PL:POSS-grandfather Norvu NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
nəʔ nə-ŋo tfʰozʔ-cə
ANA IPFV:PST-be2 be.the.rule-MED
Now as for the one who stole (the monastery objects), there is a woman called Qambri
Vdendzom who had a grandfather named Norvu, and this person was the thief, it is said.
When (the guardian deity) descended upon the medium in the central hall of the monastery, and when he went up to the side of the door drape and peeked in,

the spiritual medium immediately shot out an arrow at his head, and took out one of his eyes, it was said.

And since the Mkhargu headman was the ruler, he banned any further deity-summoning thereafter.

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40 The local headman of Mkhargu Village used to rule over all the villages in Tshobdun Township except Shazuo and Siniao, who in turn was subordinate to the Cogtse Chieftain.
10. \(qʰoʔ \ skarten \ o^{\text{a}}\text{ge}^{\text{e}}ge \ o-skəfə^e \text{ez}^?=^\text{re}^?\)
SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-clothing 3SG:POSS-deity.summoning.paraphernalia=PL
\(m Ł^b\text{erg}^u^p^u=kə \ fə-ne-ro-cə\)
Mkhargu.people=ERG AND-PFV:DOWN:TR-fetch\_2-MED
And the Mkhargu (headman) went and fetched (i.e. confiscated) the medium’s clothing and deity-summoning paraphernalia.

11. \(qʰoʔ \ təjtsi? \ rgonbe \ o-və^ər \ ffəm^k^ə^y \ te-pe^?=cə\)
SEQ PN monastery 3SG:POSS-side shrine PFV:TR-make\_2-MED
\(qʰoʔ \ nə?= nt^f^ə^on \ ne-ne^ə^b^ə^b^ə^v^?= \ f^t^e^? \ η^o^?=cə\)
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside 3SG:POSS-relic PFV:TR-put.into\_2-MED
And he built a small shrine beside Teutses Monastery, and put these objects inside as its religious relics.

12. \(qʰoʔ \ skarten \ nə?=^nt^f^ə^on \ ne-ne^ə^b^ə^b^ə^v^?= \ fi^e^? \ η^o^?=cə\)
SEQ medium ANA=still IPFV-descend:RDPL be:EMPH be-MED
But the (guardian deity) still kept descending upon the medium.

13. \(qʰoʔ \ nə^?=x^t\v^ə \ v^ə^r^ə^g^e\)
SEQ 3SG:HON:POSS-brother monk
\(ts^ə^v^d^ə^z \ rgonbe^=z \ nə^=^k^ə^nt^s^b^ə^c^ə^? \ n^v^=to^=c^ə\)
PN monastery=LOC IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.a.monk\_2=INDF IPFV:PST-exist\_2-MED
He had a brother who was a monk at Tshobdun Monastery at that time,

14. \(qʰoʔ \ ə^?=x^t\v^ə \ skarten^=p^ə^a \ mə-na^=to^=b^ə^v^?= \ "^d^e^n^ə^\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-brother medium=place NEG-IMP-2-descend or
\(g^ə^lt^f^ə \ tə^=f^f^ə^t \ η^ο^?=^g^e^=ts^ə \ η^ο^?=c^ə\)
law 2-break be IPFV-say be-MED
he kept saying to his brother, “Do not summon deities, or you will get in trouble with the law.”
15. ʃənəʔ=ntf¼on ne-ʃbən? fte? ʃəʔ-cə
   but=still IPFV:DOWN-descend be:EMPH be-MED
   But he still went right on summoning deities.

16. qʰoʔ mkʰʔɛrɡu ʈrəʔ=naʔ=kə ne-ʃizʔ-cə
   SEQ Mkhargu headman=DET=ERG PFV:TR-know2-MED
   qʰoʔ skɔɾtən=naʔ ne-ʃmeʔ-ʃa-cə
   SEQ medium=DET PFV:TR-catch2-3PL-MED
   And the Mkhargu headman found out about this, and had the medium arrested.

17. qʰoʔ ɾnîta⁴¹ ɾʃəʃle=z
   SEQ Rnata hedman’s.headquarters=LOC
   ɔ-ʃqɔɾ kɔ-xɔʔɛɣ ʈə-rvntsʰa-naʔ=ʃəʔ
   3SG:POSS-buttocks NMLZ:PURP-beat PFV-set.out2-3PL=just.when
   And just when they were going to flog his buttocks at the headman’s headquarters at Rtata,

18. rgon tʃwə=z ɾlɔŋɔʔ=kəʃci kə-wəʔ-cə
   PN⁴² pass=LOC sand.storm=like PFV:EAST-go2-MED
   something like a sandstorm blew eastward from the pass of Rgon Mountain,

19. qʰoʔ ɗətsunəʔ ʃəlɛ=kə
   SEQ gradually wind=ERG
   ɾnîta ɾʃəʃle "gol=rən ja-ʈə-tsəm-cə
   Rnata headman’s.headquarters slab.roofing=even PROS-PFV:TR-take.hither2-MED
   in a while, the wind almost blew away the slab roofing of the headman’s quarters even.

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⁴¹ Name of mountain pass between Teutses and Kakhyoris Villages, site of the Tshobdun headman’s headquarters.

⁴² Name of a mountain surrounded by Kakhyoris, Cus, Po’ge, and Kholakyi Villages.
20. *qʰoʔ skarten ó-fqor kē-xsəy ma-ne^-gru*
   SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-buttocks INF-beat NEG-IPFV:PST-manage₂
   kē-tsə tfʻozʔ-cə
   GP-say be.the.rule-MED
   And they did not get to flog the medium’s buttocks, it is said.

21. *oqʰunəʔ=ntʃʰon kə-nevʔ te-rəntsʰə yoʔ-cə*
   afterwards=still NMLZ:PURP-descend IPFV-get.ready.to be-MED
   After that, as he still would summon deities.

22. *qʰoʔ skarten ó-xtə rgonbe kə-ntsʰə?=naʔ=kə*
   SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-brother monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.a.monk=DET=ERG
   mkʰȅrgu təro?=kə nōtseqyi n=tʃʰetpe kō-tʃit
   Mkhargu headman=ERG so 2SG:POSS-punishment NMLZ:PURP-do
   te-rəntsʰə=ntʃʰon=naʔ me-tə-kʰut-cə=kə
   IPFV-be.about.to=still=SUB NEG-2-allow-MED=INS
   And the medium’s brother who was the monastery’s monk said, “With the Mkhargu
   headman trying to punish you so severely, you still won’t give up,”

23. *mkʰȅrgu təroʔ nə-rgonbe vləme st⁹ʔ kə-xtə?*
   Mkhargu headman 3PL:POSS-monastery lama most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
   kəldziʔ³³ vlovzaj mtsʰənleʔ⁴⁴ ó-pʰa fe-tsə
   PN 3SG:POSS-place go-1DU
   qʰoʔ fə-ʒuʔ-tsə=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
   SEQ AND-say-1DU=DM PFV:TR-say-MED
   “let us go and complain to Vlovzang Mtrhenle of Keldri, the highest lama of the
   monastery of the Mkhargu people,” he said.

³³ A house-name in Rngaba County.
⁴⁴ Name of a Gelukpa Reincarnate lama.
24. qʰoʔ ó-xtɛ=kə skɔrtɛn=naʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-brother=ERG medium=DET
kəldziʔ vloзвæŋ mtšʰønlɛʔ=pʰa te-tsom ŋoʔ-ca
PN=place PFV:TR-take.hither2 be-MED
And the brother took the medium to the lama Vloзвæŋ Mtrhenle of Keldri.

25. qʰoʔ vlûx=aʔ tʃʰə nɛ-kə-fsøt
SEQ lama=PL what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like2
nə-stʃʃʃøt ne-peʔ=ndʒə-ca
3PL:POSS-recount PFV:TR-do2-3DU-MED
And the two brothers recounted to him what had happened.

26. qʰoʔ vlûx=kə rtʊltʃaʔ te-ʃʃet-ca
SEQ lama=ERG horse.whip PFV:TR-take.out2-MED
qʰoʔ skɔrtɛn=pʰa nejiʔ tʃʰə ne-tə=boovʔ ŋoʔ?
SEQ medium=place 2SG what IPFV-2-descend be
"dže te-ŋoʔ so le te-ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-ca
demon 2-be or deity 2-be PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the lama took out a horsewhip and demanded, “What are you possessed by?
Are you a demon or are you a deity?”

27. qʰoʔ skɔrtɛn=kə njiʔ myзнbo kər ŋoʔ-æŋ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-çə
SEQ medium=ERG 1SG PN45 be-1SG PFV:TR-say2 be-MED
And the medium said, “I am Mgonbo Ker.”

28. qʰoʔ vlûmɛ=kə leʔ rtʊltʃaʔ te-jəʔ-ca
SEQ lama=ERG again horsewhip PFV:TR:UP-raise2-MED
And the lama again raised the horsewhip (and said),

45 Name of a guardian deity.
29. qʰoʔ neji? mgónbo kər tə-ma? kə
SEQ 2SG PN 2-not.be DM
tʃʰə tə-ŋoʔ=naʔ ost{o tə-tsə
what 2-be=SUB well IMP-say

“You are not Mgonbo Ker! Say truthfully what you really are!”

30. qʰoʔ skərtən=kə leʔ neji? mgónbo vzangṣiften ŋoʔ-ŋə
SEQ medium=ERG again 1SG PN be-1SG
te-tsəʔ nə-tʃʰoz-cə
PFV:TR-say2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED

And the medium again replied, saying, “I am Mgonbo Vzangtrichen himself.”

31. qʰoʔ vləme=kə
SEQ lama=ERG
kə-təʔ skərtən kə-ŋōlə kə-ŋoʔ=naʔ
NMLZ:SBJ-be.true medium NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous NMLZ-be=SUB
ne-sərtə-cə
PFV:TR-realize2-MED

And the lama realized that he was a true and good medium.

32. qʰoʔ skərtən=pʰa nə-tə-ŋo jəʔ? te-tsəʔ
SEQ medium=place IRR-PFV-2-be be.allowed PFV:TR-say2
And he said to the medium, “You are permitted to be what you are.”

46 Using this time the true (and less well-known) name of the same guardian deity.
33. qʰoʔ ne-kʰe-ⁿbəwʔ kə-joʔ
SEQ IPFV-GP-descend NMLZ:SBJ-be.permitted
mkʰɐ́rgu təroʔ te-kə-reʃqə me-kə-joyʔ jəye
PN headman IPFV-NMLZ:scold NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.allowed letter
nə-oʰ-biʰ-nədə-cə
PFV-INV-give2-3DU-MED
And the two of them were given an official letter which allowed the medium to perform deity summoning and forbade the Mkhargu headman from censuring him.

34. qʰoʔ noŋmeʔəʔ nə-nəweʔⁿədzə
SEQ only.then PFV-come.back2-3DU
Only then did the two brothers come back.

35. qʰoʔ skərten "geⁿbəwʔ əṇʔ-cə
SEQ medium IPFV-descend be-MED
qʰoʔ χʃikə "ge-fisən
SEQ very IPFV-be.powerful
And the medium would practice deity-summoning and he was very powerful.

36. qʰoʔ kəməɾku=ɾeʔ?
SEQ thief=PL
ʃla nə-rmiʔ te-poj "ge-tʃoʔə əṇʔ-cə
immediately 3PL:POSS-name IPFV-do3 IPFV-be.the.rule be-MED
And it is said that he would immediately call out the names of thieves.
37. qʰoʔ ʰge-ftsɛn  o-tőnʔ=ʔkə
SEQ IPFV-be.powerful 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
kʰənbəqʰuʔa  mdzoe  vlʌme  jontən  rjamsʰo=ʔkə  fke  stɛnəʔa  ne-te-ɕə
afterwards PN⁴⁷ lama PN=ERG edict PFV:TR-place2-MED
As he was so powerful, that afterwards Lama Yontan rGyamtsho of Ndroge Monastery
issued an edict,

38. qʰoʔ  nɔtsəjɨ  te-kə-ftsɛn  mə=ʔkə-joʔ
SEQ so IPFV-GP-be.powerful NEG=NMLZ-be.permitted
qʰoʔ  kʰərnkɨ  nə-rmiʔ  flanəʃla  te-kə-nərmɨʔ  mə-kə-joʔ
SEQ thief 3PL:POSS-name immediately IPFV-GP-call NEG-NMLZ-be.permitted
te-peʔ  nə-tsʰoz  nəʔ-ɕə
PFV:TR-make2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2 be-MED
to the effect that one should not to be so powerful, and should not call out names of
thieves right away, it is said.

39. qʰoʔ  ʰnəʃəqʰu  kə-ftsɛn=əʔa  kʰəmtɨʔa  nə-ɨʃə
SEQ henceforth NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=DET a.bit PFV-improve2
kə-tsə  nə-tsʰoz  nəʔ-ɕə
GP-say IPFV:PST-say2 be-MED
Since then, the powerful one improved his manner a little, it is said.

⁴⁷ Place in Lower Rngaba County with a Nyingmapa Monastery.
ASTACHU

vstatfu

Narrator: Yingyam

1. cʰeʔ=z sniʔ o-łęco twrjoʔ=z
   former.time=LOC PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.side PN=LOC
   vstatfu te-ké-tsaʔ=caʔ ne-to-caʔ
   PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   Once upon a time, there was a man named Astachu⁴⁸ at a place called Tarjo upriver from Rnyi Village.

2. qʰoʔ sŋaʔ kw-lat ome kə-mkʰozʔ=cəʔ ne-ŋo-cəʔ
   PN spell INF-cast very NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=INDF IPFV:PST-be2-MED
   He was a very skilled caster of spells.

3. qʰoʔ sniʔ=scʰənaʔ twrjoʔ o-pértə=naʔ
   SEQ PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-space.in.between=DET
   kəpəretaʔ⁴⁹ te-ké-tsaʔ=cəʔ tóʔ=kə
   PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
   Now, as there exists what is called a “Chinese mill” between Rnyi and Tarjo,

4. qʰənaʔ=z quməsmi=scʰənaʔ rkaŋlo=rvʔ
   ANA=LOC will.o’ the.wisp= and one.legged.demon=PL
   əntsətse kw-mtiʔ kə-toʔ=cəʔ ŋoʔ tfʰozʔ
   often GP-see NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF be be.the.rule
   at that place, one often sees will-o’-the-wisps, one-legged demons, and demons, it is said.

⁴⁸ Literally ‘son of the Asta household’.
⁴⁹ Name of an abandoned mill, allegedly haunted.
5. $qʰoʔ\text{ }kə-sŋi=ce\text{ }vstatfu\text{ }tsʰovdən\text{ }rgonbe\text{ }tʰ-v=ere$
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF PN PN monastery PFV:DOWNRIVER-go$_2$
   $qʰoʔ\text{ }kapretə?=z\text{ }ʃə-tʰv-nlo-cə=naʔ$
   SEQ PN=LOC AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-pass$_2$-MED=SUB
   One day, when Astachu passed the Chinese Mill on his way downriver to Tshobdun Monastery,

6. $tə̀jo=re?\text{ }tʰv-nɾesqw?-nə\text{ }wejo-nəjo$
   demon=PL CONT:LTR-hold.potluck.party$_2$-3PL be.found-MED
   he saw demons holding a potluck party.

7. $qʰoʔ\text{ }tə̀jo\text{ }kə-rdɔ?=nə?=kə\text{ }tə̀jo\text{ }kəma?=cə?\text{ }ó-pʰa$
   SEQ demon one-CL=DET=ERG demon other=INDF 3SG:POSS-place
   One demon said to another demon,

8. $nə-ʃñe\text{ }kə-rdɔ?\text{ }nə-o-sʰɾŋi-aŋ=nəʔ$
   2SG:POSS-hindleg one-CL IMP-INV-lend-1SG=SUB
   “Lend me one hindleg,”

9. $kâde\text{ }vstatfu\text{ }tsʰovdən\text{ }rgonbe\text{ }le?\text{ }lɛ-jwet=nəʔ$
   later PN PN monastery again IPFV:DOWNRIVER-turn.back=SUB
   “and when Astachu returns upriver from the Tshobdun Monastery later,“

10. $o-fñe=nəʔ\text{ }ne-tv-sʰjwet=kə\text{ }te-tsə?\text{ }ŋəʔ-cə$
    3SG:POSS-hindleg=DET IPFV-1$\rightarrow$2-return=DM PFV-say$_2$ be-MED
    “I will return to you one of his hindlegs,” it said.
11. qʰoʔ  vəstafu=nəʔ=kə  təjo=ɾəʔ  ne-secʰévləv-nə=ŋə?
SEQ PN=DET=ERG demon=PL IPFV-converse2-3PL=SUB
kəndi  ne-fstə-cə
all PFV:TR-hear2-MED
And Astachu heard all that the demons were chatting about.

12. qʰoʔ  vəstafu=kə  qəpicoʰρɪtʰɔtʰ  kə-spreʔ  te-myəʔ-cə
SEQ PN=ERG flint.pebble one-handful PFV:UP:TR-grab2-MED
qʰoʔ  sŋəʔ  ne-lət
SEQ spell PFV:TR-release2
He grabbed a handful of flint pebbles and cast spells on them.

13. qʰoʔ  təjo  tʰv-kə-nŋusqʔ-nə=ta  ke-wəret-cə
SEQ demon CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-hold.potluck.party-3PL=top PFV:TR-throw2-MED
And threw them at the partying demons.

14. qʰoʔ  təjo=ɾəʔ  nə-nuscerʔ-nə
SEQ demon=PL IPFV:PST-be.scared2-3PL
The demons were frightened,

15. qʰoʔ  tə-nŋuɬʰəʔi  o-fət=kə  tə-raʃʰzəɾdʒəʔ-nə-cə
SEQ NMLZ-escape:RDPL 3SG:POSS-extent=INS PFV-run.like.crazy2-3PL-MED
and fled in all directions in such a way that they ran like crazy men.

16. oʒorʔ  təjo  kəɾdoʔ=kə
meanwhile demon one-CL=ERG
lójo  lójo  v-pʰərtʃu  tə-təʰdi  te-tsəʔ-cə=ŋə?
PN:VOC PN:VOC 1SG:POSS-bowl PFV-2:Q-take2 PFV:TR-say2-MED=SUB
When one demon said (to another demon), “Lojo, Lojo, have you taken my bowl?”

50 The flint is widely used among the Rgyalrong to ward off evil spirits.
17.  tájo  lojoʔ  kə-rmiʔ=nəʔ=kə  
demon  PN  NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=DET=ERG  
nejiʔ  ne-pʰɔrtʃu=reʔ?  maʔ=kə  
2SG  2SG:POSS-bowl=PL  be.not=DM  
kə-nupʰi  kə-ŋòtv  ma-tʰv-cʰaʔ-an  te-tʃəʔ?  
INF-escape:RDPL  NMLZ-be.well  NEG-CONT:LTR-be.able2-1SG  PFV:TR-say2  
And the demon called Lojo said, “I can’t run fast enough, and can’t care less about your  
bowl!”

18.  qʰoʔ  rfiotjot  o-pʰirtʰə  
SEQ  split.second  3SG:POSS-space.in.between  
tájo=reʔ?  φuʔ  tə-kə-tʃə=nəʔ?  nə-fsət-nə-cə  
demon=PL  IPFV-IPFV-GP-say=DET  PFV-be.like2-3PL-MED  
qʰoʔ  nə-mwjeʔ-nə  ηəʔ-cə  
SEQ  PFV-be.not.found2-3PL  be-MED  
And in a split second, all the demons disappeared like a quick blow of air.

19.  leʔ  kə-torem=nəʔ?  
again  one-occasion=DET  
On another occasion,

20.  estaʔ  nə-ʃkokiʔ=nay  təki  "gé-ji-nə  
PN  3PL:POSS-vegetable.garden=inside  turnip  IPFV-plant-3PL  
qʰoʔ  xʃika  "ge-ʃroʔ  ηəʔ-cə  
SEQ  very  IPFV-be.of.fine.quality  be-MED  
the Asta family were growing turnips in their vegetable garden, and they were of very  
fine quality.

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51 The negative copula is used here idiomatically to mean ‘let alone, say nothing of’.
52 An ideophone imitating the sound of rapid blowing of air.
21. qʰoʔ  vəstəfu=kə  zde=kə  tóki  kv-o-mərkəu  ntor  ne-səsə?  
SEQ  PN=ERG  others=ERG  turnip  GP-INV-steal  DM  IPFV-think₃
And Astachu thought that people might steal the turnips from him,

22. qʰoʔ  ʰge-sóftə  ɣoʔ-cə  
SEQ  IPFV-mark  be-MED
and so he would make marks (on the turnip plants).

23. qʰoʔ  kə-sŋi=ce=nəʔ  fkokiʔ=nəŋ  o-tóki  
SEQ  one-day=LOC:INDF=DET  vegetable.garden=inside  3SG:POSS-turnip
kəmtəʔ  tə-kə-tfet-cə  toʔ  ɣoʔ-cə  
some  PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out2-MED  exist  be-MED
One day, there was someone who pulled up some of his turnips in the vegetable garden.

24. qʰoʔ  vəstəfu=nəʔ=kə  ne-mti  
SEQ  PN=DET=ERG  PFV:TR-see₂
And Astachu saw it,

25. qʰoʔ  tóki  tə-o-mərkəʔ-əŋ-naʔ-cə⁵³  ne-səsi  
SEQ  turnip  PFV-INV-steal₂-1SG-3PL-MED  PFV:TR-think₂
and he thought, “They stole the turnips!”

26. qʰoʔ  ʰʃfikə  tə-rəmuruʔ-cə  
SEQ  very  PFV-be.angry₂-MED
And he got very angry.

⁵³ Inverse viewpoint, with the indefinite agent (someone) represented by a third-person plural index on the verb.
27. $qʰoʔ$ $tə$-$kv$-$tfet$ $ó$-$ste$=$nəʔ$

SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.out 3SG:POSS-original.place=DET

$pʰə$-$rwu$ $ne$-$setseʔ$-$cə$

peg PFV:DOWN:TR-stick2-MED

He stuck a cursing peg$^{54}$ where (the turnips) were taken out,

28. $qʰoʔ$ $kʰə$-$nəŋ$ $tə$-$vərəre$

SEQ home PFV:UP-go.back2

and went back upstairs (in his) home.

29. $qʰoʔ$ $o$-$snəmʔ$=$pʰə$

SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=place

$vekiʔo$ $fko$kʔ$=$$z$ $jə$-$təki$

place.down.there vegetable.garden=LOC 1PL:POSS-turnip

tə$-kə$-$mərkəʔ$=$$cəʔ$  to$?-cə$=$kə$  $qʰəʔ$

PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:stake2=INDF exist-MED=INS ANA

ó$-ste$=$nəʔ$

$pʰə$-$rwu$=$cəʔ$  $nv$-$setseʔ$-$aŋ$  $te$-$tsəʔ$-$cə$

3SG:POSS-original.place=DET peg=INDF PFV:DOWN-stick2-1SG PFV-say2-MED

And said to his sister, “Someone stole turnips from our vegetable garden down there, so I stuck a cursing peg there (where the stolen turnips used to be),” he said.

30. $qʰoʔ$ $o$-$snəmʔ$=$nəʔ$=$$kə$  $nəʔ$  $tʰ$-$wz$  $nv$-$tə$-$setseʔ$  $ŋəʔ$  “$denəʔ$

SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=DET=ERG ANA why PFV-2-stick2 be for

$təki$  tə$-kə$-$fet$=$nəʔ$  $νιʔ$  $nv$-$fle$-$aŋ$  $te$-$tsəʔ$-$cə$

turnip PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:take2=DET 1SG IPFV:PST-BE:EMPH2-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED

His sister said, “Why did you stick (the cursing peg)? It was I who took the turnips!”

$^{54}$ A pointed stick used by people who practice the black magic of casting curses. Here, Astachu stuck the cursing peg where the missing turnips had been to curse whoever had stole them.
31. *qʰoʔ eʋ/statfu=nəʔ=kə o-snəmʔ=pʰa*
SEQ PN=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-sister=place

Astachu (said) to his sister, “Oh, no! Go down there immediately,”

32. *pʰə rwu fə-tʃt te-tsəʔ-cə*
cursing.peg quickly AND-IMP:UP-take.out PFV:TR-say2-MED

“And pull up the cursing peg right away!” he said.

33. *qʰoʔ o-snəmʔ=nəʔ *nɨt nə-ve*
SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=DET immediately PFV:DOWN-go

His sister went down immediately and pulled up the cursing peg.

34. *fənəʔ ő-ste te-ʃə ta-mtʃʰôt wəŋo-nəŋo*
but 3SG:POSS-original.place blood PFV-be.full2 be.found-MED

but where (the cursing peg) had been was filled with blood.

35. *qʰoʔ kə-lden mə-nə-tsoʔ*
SEQ NMLZ-be.much NEG-PFV-elapse2

təsnəmʔ=nəʔ stopŋˈbeletag nə-set nəʔ-cə
sister=DET without.good.reason PFV-die2 be-MED

Not much time afterwards, the sister died without apparent cause.

36. *nəʔ nə-fsət nə-tʃʰoz*
ANA IPFV:PST-be.like2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2

That was allegedly what happened (lit. how it was like).
**A HUNTER’S ENCOUNTER WITH A STRANGE BEAST**

Narrator: Stagthar

1. oʰúɾi=z lo kʰəŋtʰosqe-pe jʰrme=cə?
   formerly=LOC year fifty-sixty-year about=INDF
tsʰovdən qʰotfiʔ setfε=z
   PN PN place=LOC
   kə-tə?
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.true IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like2 story=INDF be

This appears to be a true story which happened about fifty-sixty years ago at Kholakyi Village in Tshobdun.

2. njiʔ n-ʒalpe lɔtʰwr kə-rmiʔ=cə?
   1SG 1SG:POSS-neighbor PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF
   1-ŋma kə-ɡunjiʔ ome kə-rge=cə? nə-ŋo-cə
   3SG:POSS-husband INF-hunt very NMLZ:SBJ-like=INDF IPFV:PST-be2-MED

   A neighbor of mine by the name of Lhothar had a husband who loved hunting very much.

3. kə-sunjiʔ=z lduʰguʔ-qʰu kə-ɡunjiʔ lə-vre-cə
   one-day=LOC PN-back NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED

   One day, he went hunting behind the Ldungu Mountain.

4. qʰoʔ pozvu=rnʔ te-fkor njoʔ-cə
   SEQ musket=PL PFV:TR-carry.on.back2 be-MED
   qʰoʔ naʒtʃen o-tserʔ=ce=z lə-zyʔt-cə
   SEQ virgin.forest 3SG:POSS-interstice=LOC:INDF=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-MED

He carried a musket and what not, and got upriver into the opening of a virgin forest.
5. \textit{qʰə? póltʰi=rəʔ te-fnət-əʔ}
\textsc{seq fuse=pl pfv:tr-light2-MED}
He lit the fuse (of his musket),

6. \textit{qʰə? sekotserʔ=z jərnəjər} \textsuperscript{55} redə ne-qəseʔ-əʔ
\textsc{seq underbrush=loc idph wild.beast pfv:tr-seek2-MED}
and stealthily began looking for wild animals in the underbrush.

7. \textit{káde jərmə o-léco=naʔ sekotserʔ=z}
\textsc{in.a.moment about 3sg:poss-upriver.place=det underbrush=loc}
\textit{tʰuxciʔ=caʔ naxtsʰənaxtsʰənəʔ} \textsuperscript{56}
\textsc{something=indf idph}
\textit{tʰv-kə-weʔ=caʔ ne-to-əʔ}
\textsc{cont:ltr-nmlz:sbj-come2=indf pfv:pst-exist2-MED}
In a moment, in the bush upriver something huge was moving noisily downriver toward him.

8. \textit{káde tʰv-nlə-cə}
\textsc{in.a.moment pfv:downriver-appear2-MED}
It emerged in the next moment.

9. \textit{qʰə? le-mpʰérni=naʔ}
\textsc{seq ipfv:upriver-look=sub}
As he was looking at it,

\textsuperscript{55} An extended ideophone based on the ideophone root \textit{جاَّر} ‘in a stealthy, gingerly manner’, meaning ‘move stealthily step by step’.

\textsuperscript{56} Ideophone root describing the sound of something big moving noisily among bushes or hay.
10. \( o\text{-}rmv=rv? \) \( kə\text{-}rzəɾzc \)
   \( 3\text{SG:POSS-hair=PL} \) \( \text{NMLZ:SBJ-be long:EMPH} \)
   \( o\text{-}rŋeʔ=rv?=ntf\text{on} \) \( krē\text{-}kanj \) \( jɛrmv \) \( kə\text{-}rzɛʔ=cə? \)
   \( 3\text{SG:POSS-face=PL=also} \) \( \text{cubit-one about} \) \( \text{NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=INDF} \)
   \( tʰv\text{-}wɛʔ\text{-}cə \)
   \( \text{PFV:DOWNRIVER-come}_2\text{-MED} \)
   it came downriver, its hair very long and its face about a cubit in length.

11. \( ne\text{-}mti \) \( tsomətso \)
   \( \text{PFV:TR-see}_2 \) hardly
   \( qʰoʔ=rcənə? \) \( nə\text{-}o\text{-}nest\text{or}ʔ? \) \( tə\text{-}o\text{-}mmtʃənʔ\text{-}cə \)
   \( \text{SEQ=EMPH} \) \( \text{PFV-INV-snatch}_2 \) \( \text{PFV-INV:UP-put.under.armpit}_2\text{-MED} \)
   He had barely seen the thing when he was seized and held under its armpit.

12. \( qʰoʔ \) \( ozor? \) \( sekotserʔ=z \) \( tə\text{-}o\text{-}səɾjəy \)
   \( \text{SEQ while} \) \( \text{underbrush=LOC} \) \( \text{PFV-INV-cause.to.run}_2 \)
   And he was made to run with it into the underbrush.

13. \( ozor? \) \( o\text{-}ja\text{-}ntsê=kə \) \( ō\text{-}ʒor=scʰənə? \)
   \( \text{while 3SG:POSS-hand-one.of.a.pair=INS} \) \( \text{3SG:POSS-buttocks=and} \)
   \( o\text{-}zgeʔ=rv? \) \( te\text{-}nexpəv? \) \( te\text{-}xsəɾv\text{-}cə \)
   \( 3\text{SG:POSS-back=PL} \) \( \text{PFV:TR-smack.with.palm}_2 \) \( \text{PFV:TR-hit}_2\text{-MED} \)
   All the while, it smacked him soundly on his buttocks and back with the other arm,

14. \( ō\text{-}ʒe=scʰənə? \) \( o\text{-}fe=rv? \) \( pʰòvʃet \) \( tʰe\text{-}lɛʔ\text{-}cə \)
   \( 3\text{SG:POSS-clothes=and} \) \( 3\text{SG:POSS-flesh=PL pieces} \) \( \text{PFV:TR-do}_2\text{-MED} \)
   and tore his clothes and flesh to shreds.
15. \( qʰoʔ \) feku
SEQ there.in.the.east
\( o-rŋeʔ=z \) koy-tsom-\( cə \)
3SG:POSS-face=LOC PFV:INV-take.thither2-MED
And he was taken away toward the face of the mountain across the gully.

16. \( qʰoʔ=ⁿdə \) \( tʃʰə \) te-kə-pe \( reʔ=kə \) ne-səsi-\( cə \)
SEQ=EMPH what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM PFV:TR-think2-MED
And he thought, “What should I do?”

17. \( nəʔ \) jermə=jənəʔ klorəʔ sloxpon te-tʃən-\( cə \)
ANA about=just.when suddenly PN PFV:TR-think.of2-MED
At just about that instant, he suddenly thought of Sloxpon the Savior Botissatva,

18. \( qʰoʔ \) u: sloxponpənəməbjoyniʔ te-tsəʔ-\( cə \)
SEQ EXCL PN PFV:TR-say2-MED
and called out, “Uh! Sloxpon Botissatva!”

19. nəqəʔ qʰʰənəʔ
at.that.moment there
\( ρəsəpʰəv \) \( tʰo-wərət-\( cə \) \)
beast=ERG IDPH PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-cast2-MED
At that instant, with a thump he was dropped down.

20. \( qʰoʔ \) ne-kə-nascerʔ o-səʃə=\( kə \) fla
SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.scared2 3SG:POSS-appearance=INS suddenly
\( le-nəzəyi-\( cə \) \)
PFV:UPRIVER-turn.back2-MED
As if frightened, it swiftly turned back,

\[57\] From the ideophone \( fpev \), describing the sound of something falling flat on the ground.
21. \textit{nələvələv\textsuperscript{58} kv-nəjwət le-je-cə}

IDPH INF-return PF:UPRIVER-begin\textsubscript{2}-MED

and began to go back upriver.

22. \textit{ryūspe ʃəku o-rjeʔ=naʔ=z tə-vre-cə}

quite.a.while there.in.the.east 3SG:POSS-slope=DET=LOC PFV:UP-go\textsubscript{2}-MED

After quite a while, it went up the face of the mountain in the east.

23. \textit{qʰoʔ kəqəryiʔ=naʔ qʰənəʔ ə-pʰə tə-goz*ge-cə}

SEQ hunter=DET ANA 3SG:POSS-place PFV-yell\textsubscript{2}-MED

And the hunter yelled up at it.

24. \textit{jə fiṭo cʰərgeh te-tsəʔ-cə}

EXCL that.up.there old.chap PFV:TR-say\textsubscript{2}-MED

“Hey, You old chap up there!”

25. \textit{nəʔ=scʰənəʔ redəʔ=kə nə-kə-tsiʔ=raʔ ʃət-kə}

ANA=EMPH wild.man=ERG PFV-NMLZ-understand\textsubscript{2}=PL be.like-because

fla nə-sməʔ-cə qʰoʔ tʰə-nqʰoroʔ-cə

immediately PFV-stop\textsubscript{2}-MED SEQ PF:DOWNRIVER-turn.head\textsubscript{2}-MED

At that moment, the beast seemed to understand him and it suddenly stopped and turned its head.

26. \textit{qʰoʔ kəqəryiʔ=naʔ nə-nuscerʔ-cə}

SEQ hunter=DET PFV-be.startled\textsubscript{2}-MED

The hunter was startled,

\textsuperscript{58} From the ideophone root \textit{jəv}, describing the manner or motion of something big, heavy, and hairy moving quickly forward.
27. *fla watfe-aŋ fieʔ ja kʰetso te-tsʔ-cə*
   immediately be.at.fault-1SG be:EMPH DM pardon PFV:TR-say2-MED
   and quickly said, “It is my fault! Pardon me!”

28. *redaʔ=naʔ leʔ ləʔoʔo⁵⁹ to-ʔenare-cə*
   beast=DET again IDPH PFV:UP-go.back2-MED
   And the beast again swiftly and awkwardly went back uphill.

29. *kaqerjiʔ kv-nófe mə-nəc⁰ʔə-cə*
   hunter INF-go.back NEG-be.able2-MED
   And the hunter was unable to go back.

30. *o-yənəʔ=sc⁰ʔənəʔ jəlpe təʔənyən=ruʔ=kə*
   3SG:POSS-family=and neighbor relative=PL=ERG
   *kaunaysu sji nəʔtʃəfsʃət ne-qəseʔ-na-cə*
   two-three day everywhere PFV:TR-look.for2-3PL-MED
   And his family, neighbors, and relatives looked for him everywhere for two or three days.

31. *qʰəʔ kəmaq⁰ʔunəʔ ne-mti-na-cə*
   SEQ at.last PFV:TR-see2-3PL-MED
   They found him at last.

32. *fənəʔ kv-məlmo kv-nku mə-nəc⁰ʔə-cə*
   but INF-move INF-walk NEG-be.able2-MED
   But he was unable to move or walk.

---

⁵⁹ An derived ideophone from the root *ləv*, describing something black and heavy.
33. *te-nepu-di-nə*  
PFV:TR-carry.together2-3PL  
*th-wôt-nə*  
PFV:UPRIVER:TR-bring.back2-3PL  
*nə-re-cə*  
IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED  

They had to carry him back together.

34. *qʰoʔ nəʔoqʰu kə-rzəʔ mə-nə-mdəʔ-cə*  
SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ-be.long NEG-PFV-last.a.long.time2-MED  
*qʰónə nə-set fiʔ-cə*  
SEQ:EMPH PFV-die2 be:EMPH-MED  

Not long afterwards, he died.
A BRIGHT-EYED CREATURE

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. 

Former time = LOC  one-day = LOC:INDF=TOP

gáva.laytw=scʰəneʔ  öl-la  qumbri? storji?=scʰə=ruʔ

PN=and  3SG:POSS-mother.in.law  PN=and=3PL

ranch  PFV:UPRIVER-g02=3PL-MED

One day in the past, Lugthar of Gava and his mother-in-law Qambri Storgyi went upriver to the ranch.

2. 

SEQ  night=DET  PN=and  PN=DU

scʔ.terjiʔ  öl=kʰe  kʰə-nərme  nə-bre=ngə-cə

PN  3SG:POSS-home  NMLZ:PURP-spend.the.night  PFV:DOWN-g02=3DU-MED

That night, Storgyi and Lugthar went downhill to spend the night at the home of Targyi of Se.

3. 

SEQ  PN=ERG  3DU:POSS-bed=DET  landing=LOC  PFV:TR-go2=3DU-MED

And Targyi of Se prepared their beds at the ladder landing.

---

60 Referring to a communal pasture shared between several villages in the Tshobdun Township.
4. qʰoʔ mer nɐ-r⁶ɡuʔ-r̥ dzə-ɕo=nəʔ

SEQ night IPFV:TR-sleep₂-3DU-MED=SUB

jemŋokʰe o-só dòcə=z some tăfʰi=kəsci

landing 3SG:POSS-westward.place=LOC straw grain.put.out.to.dry=like

ó-ta=nəʔ=z kʰe=qo=nəʔ dzə-te=cə

As they were sleeping at night, something was coming from west of the ladder landing making a continuous rustling sound as if moving on straws for drying.

5. qʰoʔ dëts=ɕoʔ ləytʰəʔ=niʔ dzə-pʰóge ke-r̥skɨ

SEQ in.a.while=TOP PN=DU 3DU:POSS-quilt INF-pull

tʰe-je-ɕo

PFV:TR-begin₂-MED

And it started to gradually pull Lugthar and the other person’s quilts downward.

6. qʰoʔ ləytʰəʔ o-koʔ fiʔ tʰe-jɕoʔ

SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-head immediately PFV:TR-raise₂

And Lugthar immediately raised his head.

7. qʰoʔ dzə-pʰóge ne-nəɡpʰet-ɕo

SEQ 3DU:POSS-quilt PFV:TR:pat₂-MED

And slapped on their quilt.

61 From ideophone root χ’tʰəv, describing a rustling sound.
8. \(\text{oŋor? tʰe-mpʰɛɾi=nəʔ} \text{ó-mŋa qʃjajqʃjajʔ}\)
   meanwhile IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH
   \(kə\text{-pe}=cəʔ \text{le-mpʰɛɾi wejə ne-mti-nəŋo}\)
   NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF IPFV:UPRIVER-look be.seen PFV:TR-see2-MED
   At the same time, he looked down and saw something with big and shining eyes looking at them.

9. \(\text{qʰoʔ detsətə jə-feʔ-nəŋo}\)
   SEQ gradually PFV-go2-MED
   At it gradually went away.

10. \(\text{qʰoʔ ləytfər=kə storjɪʔ ó-ŋa}\)
    SEQ PN=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place
    \(fla \text{ta-raro} \text{"denəʔ vəḥɪkə=z}\)
    immediately PFV-get.up2 for there.downriver.from.me=LOC
    \(tsə-mpɭe=z \text{ó-mŋa qʃjajqʃjajʔ}\)
    3DU:POSS-bottom.side.of.bed 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH
    \(kə\text{-pe}=cəʔ tsə-p⁵ɒge və-ɾəsiki ʒoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə\)
    NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF 1DU:POSS-quilt CONT:HTR-pull be PFV:TR-say2-MED
    And Lugthar said to Storgyi, “Get up quickly, for down there at the bottom of the bed, something with big and shining eyes big was pulling our quilt!”

11. \(\text{storjɪʔ=ka nukənəʔ lɪli mɛʃe te-tsəʔ-cə}\)
    PN=ERG that.near.you cat DM PFV:TR-say2-MED
    \(qʰoʔ o\text{-koʔ=ɾən me-tʃe-jəʔ-cə}\)
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-head=even NEG-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-raise2-MED
    Storgyi (just) said, “That thing there was a cat, wasn’t it,” and didn’t even raise her head (to look) downriver.

\[62\] An ideophone describing large eyes shining brightly.
And Lugthar had no choice but go back to sleep.

But that whole night he could not fall asleep at all.

That was what happened.
TWO MOST FEARED BEASTS IN OUR LAND

Narrator: Bkrashisdpal

1. \( jə \- səfə \- e=z \quad rədə \quad kə-tō?=nə \quad n\-tə-kū-təsə=nə? \)
   
   1PL POSS-place=LOC animal NMLZ:SBJ-exist=inside IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

   \( pʰərgət=seʰənə? \quad fktər=kəsə \quad kə-səsəyvər=nə? \quad mə \quad ənə? \)
   
   wild.boar=and serow=like NMLZ:SBJ-be.frightening=DET not.exist be

   In our country, when speaking of wild animals, nothing is feared as much as the wild boar and the serow.

2. \( qeʰərɨpu \quad tərmə \quad sqe? \quad jərmə \quad nə-to-jə \quad qʰo? \quad rjełtsu? \)
   
   Kakhyoris.people man ten about IPFV:PST-exist2-1PL SEQ PN

   \( qfō?=nəj \quad nə-nfujj=ənə \quad nə-təfəoz \)
   
   ravine=inside IPFV:PST-do.sideline.work2-1PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2

   Once about ten men of us from Kakhyoris Village were doing sideline work inside the Ya’erzu Ravine.\(^{63}\)

3. \( qʰo? \quad kə-sŋi=cɛ=nə? \quad nə-rəmə?=jə \)
   
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET IPFV:PST-do.labor2-1PL

   \( qʰo? \quad tərməkə \quad jə-poj \quad jərmə \quad qʰo? \quad jə-prəkə \)
   
   SEQ dusk PROS-do3 about SEQ 1PL:POSS-campsite

   \( o-sə-to=nə?=z \quad nə-nəwɛ?=jə \)
   
   3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist2=DET=LOC PFV:DOWN-come.back2-1PL

   One day, we were doing labor, and it was almost going to be dusk, and we came back to where our camping site was,

---

\(^{63}\) A village in Khangsar Township.
4. \( tʃoⁿbجزاء \ tʰe-mpʰɐ́ri-ay=nə? \)
   
   road IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look-1SG=SUB
   
   \( kʰe\z\)eʔ \( χsəm?=kə \)
   
   \( ʰdecʰopʰɐ́ri=z \)
   
   dog three=ERG other.side.of.river=LOC
   
   paste ome \( kə-xte?=cə? \)
   
   solitary.pig very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF
   
   \( le-χtxa-nə \)
   
   \( lv-weʔ-nə \)
   
   PFV:UPRIVER:TR-chase2-3PL PFV:UPRIVER-come2-3PL
   
   as I was looking at the road downriver, (I saw) three dogs coming upriver chasing a huge solitary pig on the other side of the river.

5. \( qʰoʔ \ osto ne-mpʰɐ́ri-jo=nə? \)
   
   SEQ properly IPFV:WEST-look-1PL=SUB
   
   \( pa \ tʰe-ma-co=ka \)
   
   \( pʰargot paste tʰe-ŋə-cə \)
   
   pig CONT:LTR-not.be2-MED=DM wild.boar solitary.pig CONT:LTR-be2-MED
   
   As we taking another good look at it, it was not a solitary pig, but a solitary wild boar.

6. \( qʰoʔ \ ʃkótse nə-nestʰorʔ-ay \ qʰoʔ \ pʰargot \)
   
   SEQ stone PFV-grab2-1SG SEQ wild.boar
   
   \( lv-ka-weʔ \)
   
   \( o-ŋuri=nə?=z \)
   
   \( nə-təre-ay \)
   
   PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come2 3SG:POSS-front=DET=LOC PFV:WEST-go2-1SG
   
   I grabbed a stone and went to the front of the wild boar that was coming upriver.

7. \( qʰoʔ \ kåde=nə? \ pʰargot v-ŋúri \ lv-weʔ \)
   
   SEQ in.a.while=DET wild.boar 1SG:POSS-front PFV:UPRIVER-come2
   
   \( o-ŋdʒwe?=rə? \)
   
   \( kə-rzəɾzə \)
   
   3SG:POSS-tusk=PL NMLZ:SBJ-be.long:REDP
   
   \( o-kʰə=nay \)
   
   \( nəʰ⁶⁴-tʃut \)
   
   3SG:POSS-mouth=inside IPFV:OUT-take.out

---

64 The west orientation is used to denote ‘outward’.

116
In a while the wild boar came upriver toward me, its long teeth revealed, (its eyes) apparently staring at me.

At that moment, I threw the rock at the wild boar with full force and it hit its shoulder.

But the wild boar did not mind it at all.

Its snout sideswiped my thigh with a heavy sound.

And hurled me downriver into an underbrush several fathoms far.

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65 An ideophone describing the sound of heavy impact.
12. \( qʰoʔ \) \( v-qʰu \) \( mɨj u\) \( wi\) \( "tor\) \( nə-səsi-ay\)

SEQ 1SG:POSS-back still come DM PFV-think\(_2\)1SG

“It will surely be coming after me still,” I thought.

13. \( foṇə? \) \( le-nqʰoro-ay=nəʔ\)

but IPFV:UPRIVER-turn.head-1SG=SUB

\( pʰaɾgʊt \) \( kʰeʃʔ=κə \) \( tʰ-o-χtə \) \( fiʔʔ-κə=κə\)

wild.boar dog=INS CONT:LTR-INV-chase\(_2\) be:EMPH-MED=INS

\( v-qʰu=nəʔ \) \( mə-tʰu-we? \)

1SG:POSS-back=DET NEG-PFV:DOWNRIVER-come\(_2\)

But, as I was turning around to look, the wild boar, being chased by the dogs, did not come after me.

14. \( foṇə? \) \( rjéspe \) \( nə-o-səɣver-ay\)

but quite.a.lot PFV-INV-frighten\(_2\)1SG

But I got scared quite a lot.

15. \( qʰoʔ \) \( pʰaɾgʊt=nəʔ \) \( lɨco \) \( le-əbloy \) \( fi\)

SEQ wild.boar=DET upriver.place PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into\(_2\) be:EMPH

And the wild boar went out of view somewhere upriver.

16. \( qʰoʔ \) \( mɨj u \) \( liʔ=ce\) \( təɣto=scʰənəʔ \) \( *gonaxpu=niʔ\)

SEQ futher upriver.place=LOC=LOC:INDF PN=and PN=DU

\( mə-raʃ/a-³dzə \) \( mə-ʃə\)

IPFV:PST-cut.plank\(_2\)3DU IPFV:PST-be\(_2\)

And, at a place further upriver, Togto and Ngonaxpa were making fir planks.
17. \(qʰoʔ \ le? \ *džə-tʰécọ \ pʰargot \ le-we?\)
SEQ again 3DU:POSS-downriver.place wild.boar PFV:UPRIVER-come₂
\(ne-mti-^*džə \ ŋoʔ-cə\)
PFV:TR-see₂-3DU be-MED
And they also saw that the wild boar had come upriver.

18. \(qʰoʔ \ tôyto=ka \ tərpe \ ne-neustʰorʔ-cə\)
SEQ PN=ERG ax PFV:TR-grab₂-MED
\(qʰoʔ \ o-tʰécọ \ tərkh⁶ \ kə-to^{66}=nəʔ\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-downriver.place ridge NMLZ:SBJ-be.located=DET
\(pʰargot \ te-kə-nləʔ? \ te-nejiʔ-cə\)
wild.boar IPFV:UP-NMLZ-come.out PFV:TR-wait₂-MED
Togto grabbed (his) ax and waited at a place downriver where there was a ridge for the wild boar to come up from it.

19. \(qʰoʔ \ pʰargot \ le-we?\)
SEQ wild.boar PFV:UPRIVER-come₂
And the wild boar came upriver.

20. \(qʰoʔ \ tərk⁶=ta \ ja-nło?=joŋə?\)
SEQ ridge=top PROS-come.out=just.when
\(tôyto=ka \ tərpe \ ne-lêt-cə?\)
PN=ERG ax PFV:DOWN:TR-do₂-MED
\(kə-xəy \ kə-ŋoʔ \ ma-ne-cʰəʔ-cə\)
INF-hit NMLZ-be NEG-PFV-be.able-MED
And just when it was about to come out from the top of the ridge, Togto struck his ax down and missed.

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\(^{66}\) Second stem of the verb \(toʔ\), here meaning ‘be located at a certain place’ rather than ‘exist’.
21. \( pʰargot \ tʃʰəsəst \ ηο? \ "deno? \)  
wild.boar how be for  
\( fla \ tə-nəmder?-cə \)  
immediately PFV:UP-jump\(^2\)-MED  
And the wild boar immediately leapt up somehow.

22. \( qʰo? \ o^-dʒwə?=kə \ tɔ̝xtʃ \ lə-o-nəpʰextfə? \)  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-tusk=INS PN PFV:UPRIVER-INV-sideswipe\(^2\) not.only  
\( o^-dʒwə?=kə \ o-skəsənəm \ osəsət \ te-sə-pʰə?-cə \)  
And its tusks not only sideswiped him but directly cut his pants open.

23. \( qʰo? \ pʰargot=nəʔ \ tʃʰə \ lə-nə-lɔ-cə \)  
SEQ wild.boar=DET upriver.side.of.road PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-exit\(^2\)-MED  
\( tɔ̝xtʃ=naʔ \ təɾkʰeʔ \ kə-to \ tʃʰədi=nəʔ \)  
PN=DET ridge NMLZ:SBJ-be.located downriver.side.of.road=DET  
\( tʰo-o-wəret-cə \)  
PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-throw\(^2\)-MED  
And the wild boar went its way up the upriver side of the road, knocking Togto down the downriver side of the road where the ridge was.

24. \( qʰo? \ pʰargot=nəʔ \)  
SEQ wild.boar=DET  
\( qfə \ tətəm=z \ lə-o-bloy \ ηο?-cə \)  
ravine acclivity=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into\(^2\) be-MED  
And the wild boar disappeared up into the side of the ravine.

25. \( nəʔ \ ne-fsət \ ne-tʃʰoz \)  
ANA IPFV:PST-be.like\(_2\) IPFV:PST-be.the.rule\(_2\)  
What happened was like that.
Part II. Texts

26. \( \text{kəməq'unə? } \) "ge-ka-qërgyʔ=raʔ=kə \quad \text{"ge-ffet-na}=na? \)
   afterwards \ IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt=PL=ERG \ IPFV-recount-3PL=SUB
   \( pʰ\text{argot } \) paste=naʔ \quad \chiʃkə \quad \text{susəγwr}
   wild.boar \ solitary.pig=top \ \text{very} \ \text{be.frightening}
   \( \text{kw-o-nt}^\text{f}e \) \( tf^\text{oz}? \) \( \text{ŋo}? \)
   GP-INV-kill \ be.the.rule \ be
   Afterwards those who used to hunt tell (us), “Solitary boars are very frightening and kill people.”

27. \( \text{"dzəji? } \) tōyto=scənaʔ \quad kɾəʃɨnpe=nι?
   \( 2\text{DU } \) Togto=and \ \ PN=DU
   \( pʰ\text{argot } \) paste=naʔ \quad \text{mv-ə-nəʃə-}dzə-cao
   wild.boar \ solitary.pig=DET \ \text{NEG-2-know.well-2DU-MED}
   \( \text{naʔ? } \) \( \text{te-tσəʔ-naʔ } \) \( \text{nv-tf}^\text{oz} \)
   ANA \ PFV:TR-say2-3PL \ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
   “Togto and Kreshaxpa, you do not know about solitary boars,” they said.

28. \( \text{leʔ } \) kə-təfe=ce
   again \ one-time=LOC:INDF
   \( jəpəʔ? \) qətʰ\text{weripu}=raʔ \quad z=buʔ \quad o-tʰɛco=naʔ?
   \( 1\text{PL } \) people.of.Qachweri=PL \ \ PN \ \ 3SG:POSS-downriver.place=DET
   \( \text{nv-rtf}^\text{o}^\text{buj-jə}=naʔ? \) \( kʰ\text{ezeʔ}=kə \) \( fək}^\text{ru} \)
   IPFV:PST-build.road2-1PL=SUB \ \ dog=ERG \ serow
   \( \text{te-χdə } \) tʰ\text{pt} \ \ τəciʔvəʔ \ \ tʰ\text{e-wót} \)
   PFV:TR-chase2 \ down \ riverside \ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring2
   Once again, when we Qachweri people were building roads at a place downriver from Zbu,
29. \( kʰeze?=kə \スキシュテ蝓 lateral \text{serow} \text{TR-chase}_2 \text{down riverside} \)

\( tʰe-\text{wôt} \)

PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-TR-bring_2

dogs chased a serow\(^{67}\) and brought it down to the riverside.

30. \( qʰoʔ \ kʰeze?=rv?=kə \スキシュテ蝓 te-ciʔ=naŋ \text{water} \text{inside} \text{TR-cause.to.jump}_2-3\text{PL} \)

And the dogs caused the serow to jump up into the water.

31. \( qʰoʔ \スキシュテ蝓=naʔ təciʔ=naŋ \text{large.river} \text{inside} \)

\( nə-nqʰɐlzyiyi \text{IPFV:PST-turn.round.and.round}_2 \) continuously

And the serow kept turning round and round in the large river.

32. \( qʰoʔ \ əji?=kə \斯基シュテ蝓=naŋ \text{stick} \text{TR-snatch}_2-\text{1SG} \)

\( qʰoʔ \ ㄢtʃʰəkəzər \text{INF-run} \text{PFV:DOWN-go}_2-\text{1SG} \)

I grabbed a stick, and went running to the riverside.

33. \( qʰoʔ \ pʰovan \ kə-to=naʔ tə-\text{nej}_2-\text{1SG} \)

And waited at where a boulder was.

---

\(^{67}\) Definiteness and number need not be specified here.
And as soon as the river water brought the serow to the side of the boulder, I hit it squarely on the side of its face with the stick.

And it again went back toward the center of the river.

And the water carried it downriver.

It came up the bank at a place downriver inaccessible to people.

And again it disappeared upriver into the underbrush.

That was what happened.
40. \(q^\circ\)o\(k^\de\)maq\(\hat{u}\)n\(\alpha\)  
SEQ afterwards  
\(kw^-qeryi\)  \(nv^-ka^-rni=ru?=k\circ\)  \(\text{Inf}-\text{hunt}\)  \(\text{IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.experienced}=\text{PL}=\text{ERG}\)  \(\text{IPFV-say}=\text{3PL}=\text{INS}\)  
\(fk^\nu\)ru  \(o^-k^\circ\)ri  \(kv^-r^\circ\)ay\(?\)  \(me^-\text{jen}\)  "den\(\alpha\)  
serow  \(3SG:\text{POSS-front}\)  \(\text{Inf-run}\)  \(\text{NEG-be.acceptable}\)  for  
Afterwards, those who are experienced in hunting say that it is ill-advised to run toward the serow.

41. o\(xp\)\(\text{\'e}r\)\(\text{\'e}\)k\(\alpha\)  \(fk^\nu\)ru  \(t^\text{\'e}k^\text{\'e}z\)\(\alpha\)  \(\text{o-me}\)  
for.example  serow  riverside  \(3SG:\text{POSS-foot}\)  
\(kw^-s^\text{\'e}tie\)  \(v^-nv^\text{-c}^\text{\'e}=n\alpha\)  
\(\text{Inf-stick.into}\)  \(\text{IRR-PFV-be.able}=\text{SUB}\)  
\(t^\text{\'e}\alpha m\)  \(\text{n\alpha m}\)\(\alpha\)\(d\)\(\alpha\)  \(k\circ y^-t^\text{\'e}\)\(u\)\(?\)  \(m^\text{\'e}k\)\(\text{\'e}\)\(ts\)\(\text{\'e}\)\(et\)  \(k\circ y^-\text{weri}\)\(?\)  \(\text{\'o}\)\(?\)  
upward  jump  \(\text{GP:INV-gore}\)  \(\text{not.only}\)  \(\text{GP:INV-pierce}\)  \(\text{be}\)  
For example, if the serow is able to stick its feet into (solid ground), it will jump up and gore and even pierce people.

42. \(q^\circ\)o\(?\)  \(kv^-nt\)\(\text{\'e}\)  \(v^-n\text{-\'e}=n\alpha\)\(?\)  
SEQ  \(\text{GP-kill}\)  \(\text{IRR-PFV-be=}\text{SUB}\)  
\(\text{\'e}n\)\(?\)  \(te^-kv^-so\)\(?\)  \(m\alpha\)\(?\)  
\(\text{ANA}\)  \(\text{IPFV-GP-do}\)  \(\text{not.be}\)  
If one wants to kill it, that is not the way to do it.

43. t\(\text{\'e}c\)\(\text{\'i}\)\(?\)  \(k\circ^-\text{\'e}rn\)\(\alpha\)=nu\(\gamma\)  \(ke^-\text{\'e}\)  
water  \(\text{NMLZ:SBJ-be.deep=}\text{inside}\)  \(\text{IPFV-go}\)  
\(q^\circ\)\(\text{\'o}\)\(\alpha\)\(?\)  \(t\(\text{\'e}c\)\(\text{\'i}\)=nu\(\gamma\)  \(ke^-kv^-\text{\'o}m\)\(\alpha\)\(d\)\(\alpha\)  
\(\text{SEQ:EMPH}\)  \(\text{water=}\text{inside}\)  \(\text{IPFV:TOWARD.RIVER.CENTER-GP-jump}\)  
\(\text{\'o}-q^\text{\'e}ru\)  \(^\text{\'e}g\)\(\text{\'e}^-k\)\(\text{\'e}^-\text{\'e}d\)\(\alpha\)  
\(3SG:\text{POSS-horn}\)  \(\text{IPFV-GP-hold}\)
Part II. Texts

44. $q^\theta o\? t\text{æc}i?=na\eta$ $n\text{o}d\text{æs}i\text{f}s\text{at}$ $^\text{ag-ke-so}nts^\text{b}v^\text{r}$

SEQ water=inside thus IPFV:DOWN-GP-cause.to.suffocate

When it goes into deep water, one jumps into the water and holds its horns, and suffocates
it in the water.

45. $q^\theta o\? \text{an}\? t\text{e-ke-so}?=n\text{a}?$ $sv^e\text{v}$ $q^\theta\text{on}\text{a}?$ $sv^e\text{v}$ $r\text{e}$?

SEQ that IPFV-GP-do=SUB be.doable then be.doable be.necessary

And if one can do it this way, it will work.

46. $\text{ft}k\text{uru}=n\text{a}$ $\text{dr}f\text{k}\text{a}$ $\text{o-}q^\text{h}r\text{u}$ $\text{vmtfs}\text{a}$ $\eta o$?

serow=TOP very 3SG:POSS-horn be.sharp-pointed be

Speaking of the serow, its horns are very sharp-pointed.

47. $\text{ft}k\text{uru}$ $\text{o-}q^\text{h}r\text{u}$ $\text{vmtfs}\text{a}$ $\text{m}v\text{k}\text{ot}^\text{s}^\text{et}$

serow 3SG:POSS-horn be.sharp-pointed not.only

$\text{dr}f\text{k}\text{a}$ $\text{svt}^\text{h}u$? $t^\text{h}o\text{z}$?

very do.goring.of.people be.the.rule

The serow not only has sharp-pointed horns, but is also prone to gore people.
That is the reason why one must say that the serow is a frightening and man-killer among the wild beasts.
Monks from Rgon Monastery Saved Lives


Narrator: Bstanblo

1. tware? los?r?q'u unesqeti jurm?=nə?
   last.year New.Year-back twentieth about=DET
   Last year, on about the twentieth day after New Year’s Day,

   PN PN PN NMLZ:SBJ:be.named=INDF=ERG
   PN=and PN space.in.between
   a man named Norvu from the Ma’erkang State Range was doing a sideline transporting
   people between Ma’erkang and the state-owned pasture in his car.

3. q'o? naʔ o-sŋi=nə?
   SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-day=DET
   On that day,

   PN=LOC car=inside people six PFV:TR-load2 not.only
   car.body=inside scrap.iron 3SG:POSS-be.full IDPH PFV:TR-load2-MED
   not only did he packed six people into the car at Kangsan he also loaded the body of the
   car high with scrap iron.

68 An ideophone describing a container being full to the brim.
5. \( qʰoʔ \) ʷʰerkʰem? ʷve-re ʷv-ŋo-cə
   SEQ PN PFV:DOWN-go₂ IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
   And he was driving down to Ma’erkang.

6. \( Ɪnəʔ ʷbəta \) ʷo-lēco=z
   but PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place=LOC
   
   But as there was a (section of) steep uphill road somewhere upriver from Qambeta,⁶⁹

7. \( tfʰətʰeʔ \) ʷnəz ʷv-zyôt=nəʔ
   car there PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive₂=SUB
   and when the car got there (going downriver),

8. \( o-fkor \) ʷv-rji? ʷoʃəkə
   3SG:POSS-load IPFV:PST-be.heavy₂ so.much
   o-koʔ ʷte-jəʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-heave₂-MED
   its load was so heavy that it lifted the head of the car,

9. \( qʰoʔ \) ʷtfʰədi ʷv-ŋbya ʷmekətʰət
   SEQ river.side.of.road PFV:DOWN-overturn₂ not.only
   qərəməʔ-ʷcəl ʷkə-zyôt-cə
   river-center PFV:CISLOC-arrive₂-MED
   (and the car) not only tumbled over the edge of the road, but it ended up in the center of
   the river.

⁶⁹ Name of the place where Rgon Monastery is located.
10.  
SEQ car driver PN=DET how be=DM
river.bank PFV:UP-come.out$_2$ IPFV:PST-be.able$_2$-MED
Somehow, Norvu the driver managed to make it to the bank of the river.

11.  
but other people PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain$_2$=PL
INF-come.out NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able$_2$-3PL-MED not.only
But the other people could not come out (of the river) and, furthermore,

12.  
small.child two 3DU:POSS-age=TOP ten.eleven about except
NEG-PFV-NMLZ:COME$_2$=DU
two small children who were barely ten or eleven years old crawled out onto the top of the car,

13.  
and they were holding onto the scrap iron for dear life.

14.  
SEQ PN=ERG NMLZ-take.out=PL various.methods PFV:TR-do$_2$-MED
Norvu thought up various ways of getting them out, but nothing worked.
15. qʰoʔ ne-sunyi=nəʔ
   SEQ IPFV-listen=SUB
   o-tʰéco qʰoʔ ɾgonbe=z
   3SG:POSS-downriver.place PN monastery=LOC
   yʰbi kʰ-esr-xsay o-zgre ne-fse ȵoʔ=ɕə
   drum NMLZ-CONT:HTR-beat 3SG:POSS-sound PFV:TR-hear2 be-MED
   Listening, he heard the sound of drums beating inside the monastery downriver at Qambeta.

16. qʰoʔ noŋme=nəʔ
   SEQ only.then=DET
   qʰoʔ ɾgonbe=z tʰ-e-kv-sv vlarge ʃo-ne-կvɬor?=nəʔ
   PN IPFV-GP-go monk AND-DOWNRIVER-GP-send.for=DET
   o-ʃem ʃv-wɛʔ=ɕə
   3SG:POSS-heart PFV-come2-MED
   And only then it occurred to him that one should go downriver to Qambeta and call the monks for help.

17. qʰoʔ fla kv-ɾjaʔ? qʰoʔ ɾgonbe=tʰ-vre
   SEQ quickly INF-run PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2
   And he quickly ran downriver to Qambeta.

18. qʰoʔ o-tʃʰatʃʰeʔ? ɾn-kə-ɾbya=nəʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-car PFV:DOWN-NMLZ-overturn2=DET
   vlarge=ɾv? ʃo-ne-ɾmtsi ȵoʔ=ɕə
   monk=PL AND-PFV:TR-tell2 be-MED
   and he went and told the monks that his car had overturned.
19. qʰoʔ nəʔorjánə=z ʔlërge ʔnesqe ʔrəmvə nə-smo-nə-ɔ
SEQ then=LOC monk twenty about IPFV:PST-be.present-3PL-MED
At that time, there were about twenty monks (there).

20. qʰoʔ ʃla tʃʰəʃʰeʔ nə-kə-ŋbya ʃə-təʔ=nəʔ=z
SEQ quickly car IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-overturn₂ NMLZ-exist=DET=LOC
kə-rjəʔ? lə-nə-nə-ca
INF-run PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3PL-MED
And immediately they ran upriver to where the car had overturned.

21. qʰoʔ ʃla təciʔ=nəŋ kə-fə=nəʔ
SEQ immediately river=inside INF-go=TOP
əntsəŋə kə-nəz nə-meʔ nəʔ-cə "denə?
that.much NMLZ:SBJ-dare₂ IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ be-MED for
But none of them really dared go right away into the river,

22. nəʔ ő-siz=nəʔ nə-wədʒiʔ ofəʔkə
ANA 3SG:POSS-morning=DET IPFV:PST-be.cold₂ so
qəʔnəmʔ=nəŋ pət nəʔəŋyəʔʔ tʰe-wət məkətsʰət
river=inside melting.ice IDPH PFV:TR-bring₂ not.only
for not only was it so cold that morning that melting ice flowed slowly downriver,

23. tʃʰəʃʰeʔ=nəʔ qəʔnəmʔ kə-ʔnə=təʔ kə-zəʔt nəʔ-cə
car=TOP river NMLZ-be.deep=inside=a.bit PFV:CISLOC-arrive₂ be-MED
the car had almost gone to the deep(est) part of the river.

70 An ideophone describing something mushy moving continuously.
24. qʰoʔ nəʔənəʔ vlɛɾɡe reʔtʰɔme tʰomɛt=nəʔ
SEQ at.that.moment monk PN=DET
o-ʁəzən=sɛnəʔ o-fɛntʰəvʔ=qəʔ ne-te-cə
3SG:POSS-monk’s.cloak=and 3SG:POSS-monk’s.skirt=PL PFV:TR:DOWN-put2-MED
qʰoʔ təciʔ=naŋ fə kə-ɾe-cə
SEQ water=inside immediately PFV:CISLOC-go2-MED
At that moment, the monk named Retawe Thomet laid down his cloak and skirt, and went
instantly into the water.

25. qʰoʔ nəʔoqʰʊnəʔ
SEQ then
leʔ vlɛɾɡe fəɾɛnʔ te-kə-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə
again monk PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
tʰomɛt o-qʰu mimi kə-ɾe-cə
PN 3SG:POSS-back right PFV:CISLOC-go2-MED
And then a monk named Sherav also went right into the river after Thomet.

26. qʰoʔ təciʔ ldɔʔ-ɾpa te-kə-zət jəɾəmɛnəʔ
SEQ water 3DU:POSS-shoulder IPFV-NMLZ-arrive almost
nɔŋme ldɛnəʔ tʰɔtsʰəʔ o-ɾəzə mə-kə-zətʰ-ɾdzə yəʔ-cə
not.until car 3SG:POSS-side NEG-NMLZ-arrive2-3DU be-MED
The two monks did not get to the side of the car until the water had reached almost as
high as their shoulders.

27. qʰoʔ stʰəɾe=nəʔ
SEQ first=TOP
tʰomɛt=kə kəɾəʃpu təciʔ=naŋ jə-kə-ɾeɾtəɾ
PN=ERG small.child river=inside PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-fall.from.height
First, Thomet passed the two small children who were just about to fall into the river and freeze through a human-chain, and got them out onto the river bank.

28. qʰoʔ leʔ
SEQ again
kaxteʔ kővdeʔ tfʰǎtšʰʔ=naj tʰw-kʰ-smo=rvʔ?
adult four car=inside CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present2=PL
kəmdʔiʔ养老服务 ne-nəmyəkʰi-nə
all thus PFV:TR-pass.along2-3PL
qʰoʔ tfʰəkər nə-tsət-ŋaŋəʔ-cə
SEQ river.bank PFV:TR-take.out2-3PL be-MED
And likewise they passed all the four adults that were trapped inside the car in bucket-brigade fashion and got them onto the river bank.

29. fənəʔ zimʔiʔ kw-qəpəmʔ nə-joy-nə=tsə? ŋoʔ-cə
but almost INF-freeze PFV-be.finished-3PL=a.bit be-MED
But (the rescued men) were almost completely frozen.

30. qʰoʔ tfʰəkər tʰw-kə-smo
SEQ river.bank CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present2
vlärgə kʰəpʰʔ=rvʔ=kə
monk some=PL=ERG
oʔ⁷²-vzəvər kéju ʃə-ne-nəŋəro-nə
3SG:POSS-surrounding firewood AND-PFV:TR-search2-3PL

⁷¹ An ideophone describing something dangling and moving nimbly about.

⁷² Referring to the river, hence singular number.
And some of the monks that had stayed at the riverbank went searching for firewood in
the surrounding area of the river and built a big campfire; furthermore, they took off their
jackets and draped them over (the rescued men).

31. \( qʰoʔ \ kʰepʰɛʔ=ɾɐʔ=kt \ qvʰəta=z \ təcəryəle \ ŋə-le-ro-ṇə \)
SEQ some=PL=ERG PN=LOC boiled.water AND-PFV:TR:UPRIVER-fetch2-3PL
\( qʰoʔ \ nə=ɾtə \ ne-ʃiʰi-ṇə \ ŋoʔ-ɕə \)
SEQ ANA=PL PFV:TR-give.to.drink2-3PL be-MED
And some other monks went to Qambeta to fetch hot water to give to them (i.e. the
rescued men) to drink.

32. \( qʰoʔ \ détsənə\ noŋənə\ kə-ŋədzyɾədʒəʔ\ te-je-ṇə-ṇəʃə \)
SEQ gradually only.then INF-be.normal PFV:TR-begin2-3PL-MED
Only then did they gradually begin to get back to normal.

33. \( qʰoʔ \ rjəșpe \ na-tsoʔ=naʔ \)
SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse2=SUB
After quite a while,

34. \( kʰaŋʃəɾpu=ɾt \ ne-fʃənə-ɕə \)
Khangshan.people=PL PFV:TR-hear2-3PL-MED
people in Kangshan Township heard about it.

35. \( qʰoʔ \ tʃəvənə\ kόŋɛ=ɾn?=kə=ntʃən \ ne-fʃənə-ɕə \)
SEQ Tshobdun township=PL=ERG=also PFV:TR-hear2-3PL-MED
And people in Tshobdun Township also heard about it.
36. qʰoʔ páoše kəʔbjoʔ
SEQ newspaper.agency person

rdėt nv-kə-nenkejɨ=ɾwʔ=kə nv-o-mti-ňa
by.chance IPFV:PST-NMLZ-walk.about=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see=PL=ERG

And this event was noted by newspaper reporters who happened to be in the area.

37. qʰoʔ kəʔbjoʔ na-mtsʰo-na-ɕa
SEQ person PFV-be.full=PL-MED

And people flocked about the scene.

38. qʰoʔ tsʰovdə kónjše=ɾwʔ=kə
SEQ PN township=PL=ERG

rgon vlwrgə=ɾwʔ xʃikə nv-o-wemu-ňa
PN monk=PL very IPFV:PST-INV-praise=PL=ERG

And the monks from the Rgon Monastery were highly praised by the Tshobdun Township government, (saying),

39. nɔɾ̥aʔ zde kátʃoy nəʔ3-sr̥ʔ tə-ša-ret-nə-ɕa
2PL others six 3SG:POSS-life PFV-2-save=PL-MED

vlwrgə=ɕaʔ nv-ə-ŋo qʰóŋoʔ nəʔ te-kə-ʃət reʔ ŋoʔ
monk=INDF IPFV:PST-GP-be PFV:EMPH ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus be.necessary be
jaʔəʔ kónjše=ntʃon ja-ŋosə kə-toʔ ne-peʔ ŋoʔ
1PL township=also 1PL:POSS-face NMLZ-exist PFV:TR-do be

te-šəʔ-na-ɕa
PFV:TR-say=PL-MED

“You saved six people’s lives. This is what one, being a monk at that time, should do.
And this also brought credit to our township,” they said.

73 Here the possessive agreement index can also occur in the singular form ə-.
40. \[qʰoʔ\] tʃeʔ sjópo ʃne-flkorʔ noy-ʰbi-na\渣
SEQ tea bamboo.basket two-CL PFV:INV-give2-3PL
mɐkótsʰet kormuʔ snɛ-ri noy-ʰbi-na-cə
not.only money two-hundred PFV:INV-give-3PL-MED
And they were awarded two carrying baskets of tea leaves as well as two hundred dollars cash.

41. \[qʰoʔ\] páoge tʃətse=kə
SEQ newspaper.reporter=ERG
kraʃizgan rgonbe vluɾge=ɾt? tʰomet=ʃɛɾəʔ ʃəɾəʔ=niʔ
PN monastery monk=PL PN=and PN=DU
kəɾʰboʔ o-ɾəʔ tə-ɾə-ret nv-ɾə-rkəʔ?
person 3SG:POSS-life PFV-NMLZ-save2 IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.capable2
tʃəʔ nv-ɾə-ʃət=nəʔ?
what IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like2=DET
kəɾmdʔ kə-ɾtaɾtu tʃʰəɾpəɾ=tə te-tʃət
all NMLZ-be.conscientious newspaper=top PFV:TR-take.out2
And the newspaper reporters published a detailed story in the newspaper about the Rgon Monastery monks Thomet and Sherav’s brave rescue of human lives.

42. \[qʰoʔ\] nəʔ nv-ʃət noʔ-cə
SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like2 be-MED
That was what happened.
OUR BLACK CAT

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. cʰeʔ=z jəɾoʔ? jə-kʰénay=z
   former.time=LOC 1PL 1PL:POSS-home=LOC
   lələna ome kə-xteʔ=cəʔ nu-n'go-jo
   black.cat very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-keep2-1PL
   nɐ-tʃʰoz
   IPFV:PST-be.the.rule

   We used to keep a very large black cat at our home.

2. "ge-xteʔ oʃētkə zimiʔ sqaʔ-təɾpe jəɾme nu-to
   IPFV-be.big so almost ten-catty almost IPFV:PST-exist

   It was so big that it weighed almost ten catties.

3. qʰoʔ kə-qəɾŋiʔ ʃfikə "ge-rkay
   SEQ INF-hunt very IPFV-be.good.at

   It was very good at hunting.

4. qʰoʔ təʃfəɾruʔ=cʰo
   SEQ upper.edge.of.field=LOC:INDF
   tsəɾot=kəsə dudut=kəsə ma*denəʔ rewan=kəsə
   pheasant=like turtledove=like or rabbit=like
   kəmŋem kə-qəɾŋiʔ "ge-cʰə
   often INF-hunt IPFV-be.able

   And it was often able to hunt down pheasants, turtledoves, rabbits, and the like around upper edges of fields.
5. \(nəʔ\) mekóts\^t\>

ANA not only

\(fis\^jul\=ntf\^on\) *ge-my\>

\(q\^o\) te-zra\^tf\^o\>ba?

weasel = also IPFV-catch

\(q\^o\) fis\^jul\=di=rn? ne-sesc\^esc\>

\(\text{"ge-}ŋ\text{o}\)

SEQ weasel-odor = PL IPFV-cause to emit smell IPFV-be

Not only that, it would also catch weasels, causing it to make a racket and give off a strong weasel odor.

6. \(q\^o\) ts\^et k\^lo\>

\(\text{"ge-}ŋ\text{o}\) j\>

SEQ goat herder IPFV-be 1PL

We are goat-herders.

7. \(q\^o\) r\^pre=zh

t\^setpu *ge-smo-ŋ\>

SEQ animal.pen = LOC kid IPFV-live 3PL

And goat kids lived in (our) animal pens.

8. xt\> r\^pre=na\>

t\^e-wi

wild.cat animal.pen = inside IPFV DONRIVER-come

\(q\^o\) t\^setpu te-\^dz\>

\(\text{"ge-tf}^o\>

SEQ kid IPFV-eat 3PL IPFV-be the rule

And wild cats would come downriver into the animal pen and eat the kids.

9. \(q\^o\) k\~ra-fe=ce=n\>

\(nji\)? t\^h\^c\>om n\~vre-ay=n\>

SEQ one-time = LOC IND DET 1SG deck PFV WEST go 2 1SG SUB

Once, when I went (west) to the deck,\(^74\)

\(^74\) A deck or outdoor floor attached to a house, connecting the first and second floors.
10. \(v\)-\(r\)\(i\)=\(z\) \(j\vo\)-\(l\)\(a\)=\(k\)\(a\)

1SG:POSS-front=LOC 1PL:POSS-black.cat=ERG

\(l\)\(i\)\(l\)\(i\) \(k\)\(o\)-\(p\)\(\'\)\(i\)? \(x\)\(t\)\(\v\)\(o\)\(x\)\(t\)=\(c\)\(\v\)

cat NMLZ:SBJ-be.grey IDPH\(^{75}\)=INDF

\(o\)-\(r\)\(q\) \(\v\)\(s\)v\(\_\)\(v\)\(c\) \(k\)\(e\)-\(\v\)\(\o\)\(t\) \(n\)\(v\)-\(m\)\(t\)=\(a\)\(y\)

3SG:POSS-neck CONT:THR-hold PFV:EAST:TR-bring\(_2\) PFV-see\(_2\)-1SG

up front, I saw our black cat bring back a grey cat, holding it by the neck.

11. \(q\)\(\o\)=\(o\)-\(r\)\(\v\)\(n\)\(m\) \(n\)\(v\)-\(n\)\(u\)\(s\)\(c\)\(r\)=\(a\)\(y\)

SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment IPFV:PST-be.startled\(_2\)-1SG

At that moment I was startled.

12. \(k\)\(o\)=\(l\)\(i\)=\(k\)\(o\) \(l\)\(i\) \(k\)\(v\)-\(\o\)\(d\)=\(n\)\(\o\)

this cat=ERG cat INF-eat=SUB

\(t\)\(\v\)\(e\)\(n\) \(t\)\(e\)-\(p\)\(o\)\(j\) \(m\)\(a\)\(s\)\(o\)\(k\)\(o\) \(n\)\(w\)-\(\v\)\(s\)\(s\)=\(a\)\(y\)

bad.omen IPFV-do\(_3\) DM PFV-think\(_2\)-1SG

I thought, “Is this cat showing a bad omen, eating another cat?”

13. \(q\)\(\o\)=\(v\)-\(m\)=\(p\)\(\o\)\(a\) \(f\)\(o\)-\(t\)\(a\)-\(t\)\(s\)=\(a\)\(y\)=\(n\)\(\o\)

SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place AND-PFV-say\(_2\)-1SG=SUB

When I went and told this to my mother,

14. \(v\)-\(m\) \(n\)\(w\)-\(\v\)\(\o\)\(n\) \(t\)\(\o\)-\(m\)\(p\)=\(r\)\(i\)=\(n\)\(\o\)

1SG:POSS-mother PFV-come\(_2\) PFV-look\(_2\)=SUB

\(n\)\(\v\)\(k\)\(\o\)\(n\)\(o\) \(l\)\(i\)=\(k\)\(o\) \(l\)\(i\) \(n\)\(e\)-\(\o\)\(f\)\(e\)? \(k\)\(\o\)-\(\v\)\(\o\)

that.near.you cat=ERG cat PFV:TR-kill\(_2\) NMLZ-be not.exist-MED

\(^{75}\) A derived ideophone describing a stout and muscular body.
"that.near.you wild.cat PFV:TR-kill be-MED IPFV-say
mother came over, took a look, (and said,) “That was not (our) cat killing a cat, that was
(our cat) killing a wild cat.”"

15. "qʰo? noŋmenəʔ?
SEQ only.then
jə-lili=kə xtu ku-ntfe kə-cʰu=nəʔ ne-soŋơ-ay
1PL:POSS-cat=ERG wild.cat 3SG:POSS-kill NMLZ-be.able=SUB PFV-realize2-1SG
Only then did I realize that our cat was able to kill wild cats.

SEQ cat=ERG wild.cat 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL eat3 not.be-MED
fənəʔ stüz "ge-nə-ntfe yəʔ-cə
but aimlessly IPFV-SPON-kill3 be-MED
The cat did not eat the flesh of wild cats, but just killed them aimlessly.

17. "qʰo? jə-lili kəmtfə "ge-rgot
SEQ 1PL:POSS-cat a.bit IPFV-be.wild
Our cat was a little bit wild,

18. "qʰo? kəmaqʰuŋəʔ rjetre=nay tsʰetpu=ruʔ ku-dze te-fe
SEQ afterwards sheepfold=inside kid=PL INF-eat PFV:TR-begin2
and afterwards, it began to eat the kids in the sheepfold.

19. "qʰo? kʰetafe=ruʔ
SEQ occasionally=PL
ne-ŋdu-ʃə fənəʔ=ntʃən me-ŋge-pʰen
IPFV-beat-1PL but=also NEG-IPFV-be.effective
And occasionally we would beat it, but it was also of no use.
20. \( qʰoʔ \) 中国市场 \( kʰo\text{-}pe=cəʔ \) 你说？
SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF PFV-not.exist2

Afterwards, there was nothing we could do.

21. \( qʰoʔ \) 你妈=kə
SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=ERG

that.near.you cat=DET leather.bag=inside IPFV-GP-put.in

And my mother said, “Unless one puts that cat into a leather bag and take it away to another place to release it, as it has begun to eat kids.”

22. \( qʰoʔ \) 我们=kə 你好=naʔ 你说？
SEQ 1SG=ERG 1PL:POSS-cat=DET leather.bag=inside PFV-put.in2-1SG

And I put our cat into a leather bag,

23. \( qʰoʔ \) 我们=te='tsi 你好=naʔ 你说？
SEQ PN PN place=DET=LOC

and went downriver to the place called Ndemngo in Teutses Village and released it.
24. \(qʰoʔ\) \(χsə̆m-pe\) \(jərmə\) \(nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ\)  
SEQ three-year around PFV:elapse_2=SUB  
jə-lili lemustampnet jə-nəzyot  
1PL:POSS-cat suddenly PFV:come.back_2  
About three years afterwards, our cat suddenly came back.

25. \(qʰoʔ\) \(təmdâŋə\)  
SEQ in.fact  
zde \(o-sutfʰe\) \(ʃə-nv-ldomʔ\)  
other 3SG:POSS-place AND-IPFV:PST-roam_2  
\(qʰoʔ\) \(ləlurgot\) \(nə-neʔ=ʃə\)  
SEQ feral.cat PFV-become_2-MED  
What happened was that it had gone away to wander in other places and became a feral cat.

26. \(qʰoʔ\) \(qeʰwertiʔ\) \(kʰrəwə\) \(te-kə-tsə=ʃə\)  
SEQ PN PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF  
\(kə-rəsfəozʔ\) \(kə-spe=ʃə\) \(tə=ʃə\)  
INF-castrate.animal NMLZ:SBJ-know.how=INDF exist=INS  
As there is a man named Khrewo at Kakhyoris Village who castrates animals,

27. \(qʰənə=ʃə\) \(jə-lili\) \(ne-mje-cə\) \(qʰoʔ\) \(ne-ʃfəoz-cə\)  
ANA=ERG 1PL:POSS-cat PFV:TR-catch_2-MED SEQ PFV:TR-castrate_2-MED  
and he caught our cat and castrated it.

28. \(qʰoʔ\) \(noŋmenəʔ\)  
SEQ only.then  
jəơənə? \(jə-pʰa\) \(ʃə-nə-zyot\) \(nə-tʃʰəoz\)  
1PL 1PL:POSS-place PFV:arrive.back_2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule_2  
And then our cat got back to us.
29. $qʰoʔ\text{nəqʰuqʰônaʔ}kʰínəʔ$  
SEQ thereafter home IPFV-stay

And the cat stayed at (our) home afterwards.

30. $qʰoʔ\text{tsʰetpu=rɐʔ}mə-\text{te=}dzə\text{qʰoʔ}mə-\text{te=}ncʰə\text{rtse}$  
SEQ kid=PL NEG-IPFV-eat3 SEQ NEG-IPFV-go.into.heat

And it did not eat kids, and did not go into heat.

31. $qʰoʔ\text{ja-lili=nəʔ}kə-\text{snr}v=cə?=nə^{76}$  
SEQ 1PL:POSS-cat=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.amusing=INDF=AFF IPFV-be

Our cat is an amusing one,

32. "$\text{denaʔ}mer\text{ηjiʔ}$  
for night 1SG 1SG:POSS-bosom=inside continuously

$kə-r^*\text{gu}tʰe-wi$  
NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed IPFV:IN-come IPFV-be

for it would come to sleep in my bosom at night.

33. $qʰoʔ\text{mer}\text{ηjiʔ}$  
SEQ night 1SG NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed=PL IPFV-be.late-1SG=SUB

And if I delayed going to bed,

34. $\text{skvəmŋəʔ=z}$  
stairway.edge=LOC IPFV:DOWN-call SEQ IPFV-weep IPFV-be

it would call down from the stairway edge and whimper.

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^{76} The clitic $=nə$ here conveys an affective meaning.
35. qʰoʔ tʰiːʔ=gam te-kʰɛ-fu me-kʰ-o-tso
   SEQ bed=inside IPFV:UP-INF-go NEG-GP-have.time
   tʰ-o-pʰəm=gam fʰa tʰ-e-wi *ge-nəʔ
   GP:POSS-bosom=inside quickly IPFV:IN-come IPFV-be
   And barely had one (i.e. I) gone into bed, it would quickly come into one’s (i.e. my) bosom.

36. qʰeɾtsu=gam *ge-vde fʰeʔ?
   winter=TOP IPFV-be.good be:EMPH
   In winter, (this) was good.

37. *dɛnəʔ ʰ-vʰəm=gam tʰ-e-wi
   for 1SG:POSS-bosom=inside IPFV:IN-come
   qʰoʔ eʔiʔ=kʰo ʰ-mtʰɛpʰjəʔ
   SEQ 1SG=ERG 1SG:POSS-foot.side.of.bed.place
   twaʔəsʔuʔ tʰ-e-lut-aŋ
   kicking IPFV:IN-release-1SG
   qʰoʔ ʰ-me ne-zwɛxset-aŋ *ge-nəʔ
   SEQ 1SG:POSS-foot IPFV-cause.to.make.warm-1SG IPFV-be
   For it would come into my bosom, and I would kick it toward the foot side of the bed and make it warm up my feet.

38. qʰoʔ nəʔ=ɾuʔ *ge-fsəʔ
   SEQ ANA=PL IPFV-do.thus
   And (what happened) was like this.
39. qʰoʔ nəʔ=kəʔə
   SEQ ANA=like
   ja-kʰənəŋ sqpe kəɾi jəɾme nu-to
   1PL:POSS-home ten.year some about IPFV:PST-live₂
And for more than about ten years it lived in our home.

40. qʰoʔ kəɾəqʰunəʔ nə-ɾətə
   SEQ afterwards IPFV:PST-be.old₂ so PFV-die₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
   Afterwards, it died of old age.

41. qʰoʔ jəɾəʔ jə-kʰ-tsə=nəʔ?
   SEQ IPL 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say=TOP
   lili kəɾŋəɾ-təɾpe fəɾa kəʔ-to?=nəʔ?
   cat nine-catty above NMLZ:SBJ-exist=SUB
   nəɾvu əʔ kʰ-tsə tʃʔoz?
   treasure be GP-say be.the.rule
   And, as a saying of ours goes, “A cat weighing more than nine catties is a treasure.”
**MONKEY**

**ɣzu**

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. \( t\text{ʃ}u?z \ rək'\text{ro}z? \ kə-rmi?cə? \ nv-to \)
   
   PN=LOC PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2
   
   There was a person called Rekroz at Chu Village.

2. \( qʰoʔ \ qw\text{nor}?z \ ɣzu \ ne-\text{mye}? \)
   
   SEQ hot.spring=LOC monkey PFV:TR-catch2
   
   \( qʰoʔ \ \text{ʃu}ʔ \ tʰe-wôt-cə \)
   
   SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring2-MED
   
   He had caught a monkey at the hot springs and brought it to Chu Village.

3. \( qʰoʔ \ v-\text{je} \ \text{ʃ}j\text{ʌ}xe=ca \ nv-to=kə \)
   
   SEQ 1SG:POSS-elder.sibling deceased.monk=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2=INS
   
   \( əj? \ k\text{w}-n\text{ɛ}\text{m}pi \ o-spe \ ozor? \ n^gogo?-\text{ay re?} \ te-tsə? \)
   
   1SG INF-observe 3SG:POSS-material meanwhile raise-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say2
   
   I had an elder brother (now deceased) who was a monk. He said, “I must keep it as an object of observation.”

4. \( qʰoʔ \ ɣzu=nə? \ mə\text{dɔci}=z \ nv-n^gogo-jə \)
   
   SEQ monkey=DET PN=LOC IPFV:PST-raise2-1PL
   
   So we kept the monkey at Mendeci.

5. \( qʰoʔ \ ɣzu=nə? \ te-rdəy? \)
   
   SEQ monkey=DET IPFV-be.homesick
   
   \( t\text{ɔrm}\text{ɔk}e \ ro\text{ŋr}e \ qʰoʔ \ q\text{wi}nəqwi \ t̥e-tsə \)
   
   SEQ dusk each SEQ IDPH IPFV-say
And the monkey was homesick, and when it was dusk it would call, “Quy! Quy!”, looking upriver in the direction of the hot spring.

We kept it for about ten days, and had it breaking loose, and in a while it went out of view at a place west of the house.

And we were thinking, “That monkey must be going to the underbrush to die there!”

But in truth it went west directly toward the place where it used to live, and got back to Chu.

And at Chu, Rekroz again caught it, and kept it for nine or ten days.
10. ʃənəʔ leʔ ne-fləw-naʔ-cə  
but again PFV:TR-let.loose-3PL-MED  
qʰonəʔ ysu kəmæq'unəʔ?  
SEQ:EMPH monkey afterwards  
qənəʔ le-nəzyöt ne-mti-nə  
hot.spring PFV:UPRIVER-arrive.back₂ PFV:TR-see-3PL be-MED  
But they let it slip loose again, and then afterwards (people) saw that the money had gone back to the hot spring.

11. nəʔ tʃʰəŋoʔ=nəʔ?  
ANA why be=TOP  
How is that?

12. yzu õ-ja tórno=kə nə-kə-seqkeʔ-cə  
monkey 3SG:POSS-hand parched.grain=ERG PFV-NMLZ-burn₂-MED  
qʰoʔ kə-ʒsel=cəʔ  
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.obvious=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂  
The monkey’s hand was clearly burnt by parched grains.

13. qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tôn?=kə yzu qənəʔ  
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS monkey hot.spring  
lə-kə-zyöt=nəʔ nə-ʒsel? nə-tʃʰoʔ  
PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-arrive₂=DET IPFV:PST-be.obvious₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂  
For that reason, it was clear that the monkey had returned upriver to the hot spring.

14. qʰoʔ yzu=nəʔ əntsəʔ tʰ疗法⁷⁷  
SEQ monkey=DET that.much CONT:LTR-be.clever₂ be-MED  
And the monkey is so smart!

⁷⁷ Continuous aspect is used here to make a vivid description of the smartness of the monkey.
15. *nəʔ nə-fsōt nə-tʃ⁰oz*

ANA  IPFV:PST-be.like₂  IPFV:PST-be.the rule₂

That was what happened.
HOW I KILLED TIBETAN EARED PHEASANTS WITH NOUSES

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. cʰeʔ=z  jəʔarə?  jə-ntʃʰe=z  qərme
   former.time=LOC  3PL  3PL:POSS-place=LOC  Tibetan.eared.pheasant
   kə-ntʃʰe=nəʔ?
   GP-kill=TOP
   Regarding how we kill Tibetan eared pheasants at our place,

2. təʃʰəɾi  maɾdənəʔ?  jəmskət=kə  təmkəɾiʔ=kə
   hempan.thread  or  wire=INS  noose=INS
   kə-sə-ntʃʰe  "gə-kʰut  tʃʰozʔ?
   GP-CAUS-kill  IPFV-be.feasible  be.the.rule
   we can kill them with nooses made of hempan threads or wires.

3. maɾdənəʔ?  təməɾiʔ?  te-kə-teʔ?
   or  leg.snare  UP-GP-put
   qʰəʔ?  kə-sə-ntʃʰe  "gə-kʰut  tʃʰozʔ?
   SEQ  GP-CAUS-kill  IPFV-be.feasible  be.the.rule
   Or, it is possible to set leg-snares and kill them with those.

4. eʔiʔ?  "gə-xəʔiʔ-ʌŋ  "gə-revəjəŋ-ʌŋ  oɾjəŋʔ?  jərme=kəʔ=z
   1SG  IPFV-be.small-1SG  IPFV-study-1SG  when  about=DET=LOC
   Around the time when I was small and still studying in school.
5. **ja-kʰelico\~z**  
1PL:POSS-back.of.house=LOC  
*qərne\* qərtsu=nə?z  "ge-we-nə  "ge-tʃʰoz?  
eared.pheasant winter=DET=LOC IPFV-come-3PL IPFV-be.the.rule  
Behind our house, eared pheasants would come down the hills in winter.

6. **qʰoʔ tərmókʰe=nəʔ qərne=raʔ**  
SEQ dusk=DET eared.pheasant=PL  
qʃoʔ=nəj  le-nəʃe-nə  
gully=inside IPFV:UPRIVER-go.back-3PL  
Then, at dusk, the eared pheasants would go back into the gully.

7. **qʰoʔ zdóŋbo kə-xte?=cəʔ  "ge-to?=kə**  
SEQ tree NMLZ-be.big=INDF IPFV-exist=INS  
naʔ-ó-ta  fa-te-nərme-nə  "ge-goʔ  
ANA-3SG:POSS-top AND-IPFV:UP-spend.the.night-3PL IPFV-be  
Then, they would go up a big tree and spend the night there.

8. **qʰoʔ kə-pe kə-ʃəfe qurtsu káju kə-nəzəeʔ orjáŋnəz**  
SEQ one-year one-time winter firewood GP-transport when  
At the time of the yearly stocking up of firewood in winter,

9. **kə-ṣγi=ce=nəʔ**  
one-day=LOC:INDF=DET  
v-yyraʔ=scʰe=nəʔ  kətəγre=z káju nu-nəzəv-jə=nəʔ  
1SG:POSS-family=and together=LOC firewood IPFV:PST-transport2-1PL=SUB  
one day when my family and I were transporting firewood,
10. qʰoʔ  sasuqʰu  nә-tsoʔ=naʔ
   SEQ  afternoon  PFV:elapse2=SUB
leʔ  jә-kʰәlico  rerɛʔ  fʃjufʃjuʔ278  ő-ʁɛʔ=naʔ=z
again  1PL:POSS-area.behind.house  mountain  IDPH  3SG:POSS-face=DET=LOC
ʼtsʰet  kә-yrәmʔ?  oséʃsәt=kә  nә-wәʔ?-nә  nә-mti-jә
  goat  NMLZ:SBJ-be.white  like=INS  PFV:DOWN-come2-3PL  PFV:see2-1PL
in the afternoon, on the greyish mountain face behind our house, we saw them coming
down again, white as goats.

11. qʰoʔ  leʔ  kʲůj u  kv-nәzweʔ  v-ŋjәt  mә-tә-weʔ?
   SEQ  still  firewood  INF-transport  1SG:POSS-heart  NEG-PFV:UP-come2
qʰoʔ  kʲәnәj  lu-ŋmәʔ-әŋ
   SEQ  home  PFV:UPRIVER-go.back2-1SG
qʰoʔ  fәmʃkәt  kә-jtsʰem=kә  tɛmktәʔ?  mtsʰәt  nә-poʔ-әŋ
   SEQ  wire  NMLZ:SBJ-be.thin=INS  noose  be.many  PFV-do2-1SG
Not wanting to stock up on firewood anymore, I went back home and made many nooses
with thin wire.

   SEQ  eared.pheasant=PL  than  1SG  PFV:UPRIVER-go.ahead.of2-1SG
fә-tә-pjolʔ-әŋ-nә
   AND-PFV:UP-make.detour2-1SG-3PL
qʰoʔ  qʃәmtu  lu-ŋә-әŋ
   SEQ  narrowest.part.in.gully  PFV:UPRIVER-go2-1SG
qʰoʔ  tɛmktәʔ?  mtsʰәt  tә-te-әŋ
   SEQ  noose  many  PFV-lay2-1SG
Then, making a detour, I went upriver ahead of the eared pheasants to where the gully
was at its narrowest, and set many nooses there.

278 A derived ideophone describing being grey and dusty.
I hid myself behind a tree somewhere upriver (from where the snares are) and waited for them.

Then, at dusk, just when it was going to get dark, the eared pheasants came upriver to where I layed the snares.

Then the leader pheasant, the one that went ahead of all the others, got its neck caught in a snare.

And right away, as it flapped its wings madly,
17. ozgêqʰu leʔ le-kə-wi qurme
3SG:POSS-back again IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come eared pheasant
ne=niʔ ta-nəmderʔ-nədzə qʰoʔ turʰgo
two=DU PFV:UP-jump₂-3DU SEQ snare
nə-kə-vre ə-ta=naʔ lv-ljet-nədzə
PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ 3SG:POSS-top DET PFV:UPRIVER-go.beyond₂-3DU
qʰoʔ nəʔ-olêco lv-vre-nədzə
SEQ ANA-3SG:POSS-place.upriver PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3DU
two of the pheasants that were also coming upriver leapt up and over the one that had
been caught in the snare and went further upriver from it.

18. fsənəʔ mijo turʰgo nə-to fieʔ=kə
but still snare IPFV:PST-exist₂ be:EMPH=INS
leʔ turʰgō=nəŋ fla lv-vre-nədzə
SEQ snare=inside immediately PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3DU
qʰoʔ kʰ-welpʰwolpʰev te-je-nədzə
SEQ INF-flap.wings PFV:TR-begin₂-3DU
But as there were other snares there, they were immediately caught in the snares also and
started to flap their wings.

19. qʰoʔ nəjermə=sʰənəʔ
SEQ about.that.time=SUB
kəmaʔ qurme nə-kə-riʔ=ɾəʔ?
other eared.pheasant PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain₂=PL
kənanesqe jurmə nə-to-naʔ=kə
twenty about IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL=INS
About that time, as there were about twenty other eared pheasants that remained,
20. *qʰoʔ nə-npʰa-nə*
   SEQ PFV-startle.and.flee2-3PL
   
   *qʰoʔ o-vər qʰoʔ kə-xiʔ=naŋ*
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-side gully NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=inside
   
   *tējət tʰ-qwilhjom-nə*
   down PFV:DOWNRIVER-fly2-3PL
   
   they became startled and fled, and flew downriver into a large gully at the side.

21. *qʰoʔ vjiʔ sekóqʰu=z fla tʰ-nlə-əŋ*
   SEQ 1SG back.of.tree=LOC quickly PFV:OUT-exit2-1SG
   
   *qʰoʔ qərme təmkeriʔ nə-kə-ərɛ=pʰə*
   SEQ eared.pheasant noose PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go2=place
   
   *nv-ərə-əŋ qʰoʔ tərəgó=naŋ qərme*
   PFV:DOWN-go2-1SG SEQ snare=inside eared.pheasant
   
   *nv-kə-ərə ɣsəmachʔ=ɾəʔ kəsəʔ=ɾəʔ nə-tʃɛʔ-əŋ*
   PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go2 three=PL alive=like PFV-take.out2-1SG
   
   And I quickly got out from the back of the tree, and went down to where the eared pheasants went down into the nooses, and caught alive the three eared pheasants that had been caught in the snares.

22. *qʰoʔ kv-qínə te-je*
   SEQ INF-get.dark PFV:TR-begin2
   
   It had gotten dark.

23. *qʰoʔ tə-jiʔ juste qʰoʔ=naŋ kəmtʃə suvəɾ fteʔ*
   SEQ GP:POSS-self alone gully=inside a.bit be.frightful be:EMPH
   
   *qʰoʔ kəʔnaŋ kv-rjəʔ nə-nətsom-əŋ*
   SEQ home INF-run PFV:DOWN-take.back2-1SG
   
   And it was a little frightening being alone by oneself inside the gully, so I took them back home running.
24. *qʰoʔ kʰʊŋaŋ ne-zyöṭ-ay=ŋəʔ?

SEQ home PFV:DOWN-arrive2-1SG=SUB

*ŋ-.mo=ŋə qvrme ne-ntfəʔ-ay=rə?=ŋə?

1SG:POSS-mother=ERG eared.pheasant PFV:kill2-1SG=PL=DET PFV:TR-see2=SUB

v-mkʰrəmʃi ʃ主营 ne-pe?

1SG:POSS-scolding very PFV:TR-do2

When I got back home and my mother saw the pheasants that I had killed, she gave me a severe scolding.

25. *tfə ʃənə?

why TOP

Why was that?

26. jəqwən jə-sttʃə jə-rvg=bə?=ŋə
g¹ PL PL:POSS-place PL:POSS-old.people=PL=ERG

pəyə=e=ʃənəʔ qəyweʔ kə-ntfəʔ ʃəispe ne-kə-pe=ŋə?

bird=and fish INF-kill sin IPFV-GP-do=SUB

ʃ主营 qʰv-ŋə tfəʔ
despite very hate-3PL be:the.rule

(That was because) the old folks at our place hate it very much for one to commit the sin of killing birds and fish.

27. *qʰoʔ v-je=rə?=ŋə

SEQ 1SG:POSS-elder.sibling=PL=ERG

ʃə kw-ŋə=ʒə=ʒə ʃəʔ=ŋə
despite meat INF-eat IPFV-like-3PL be:EMPH=INS

nəta qʰoʔ təzəʔ kəɾbjoʔ ʃəʔ=ŋə=ŋə

besides SEQ modern person be:EMPH-3PL=INS
As my elder siblings loved to eat meat and they were moreover modern-day people, so instead of scolding me they were very glad.

And at night, we boiled a whole pot of pheasant meat and ate to our hearts content.

What happened was like that.
RE TAW E 'JAMDBYANGS KILLED A LEOPARD

retawe "dzajaṅkə kəxse nukəntfʰeʔ xe

Narrator: Bkrashisdpal

1. cʰeʔ=z kəxse nə-kə-ntʃʰeʔ? "dzə-ʃʃiʃt=caʔ? "ge-pə-an=ka
   former.time=LOC leopard PFV-NMLZ-kill 2DU-story=INDF IPFV-do1-1SG=DM
   Let me recount for you two a story about killing a leopard in the past.

2. jəɟə rəʔ jə-kʰe mədəci o-pʰəri=z
   1PL 1PL:POSS-house PN 3SG:POSS-opposite.side.of.river=LOC
   'tsʰet "gə-loy-an
   goat IPFV-herd-1SG
   I used to herd goats across the river from our house Mendeci.

3. qʰoscʰənəʔ qurts=ce=nəʔ? 'tsʰet kə-təʃə nw-nəweʔ-nə
   SEQ winter=LOC:INDF=DET goat one-time PFV:DOWN-come.back2-3PL
   In a certain winter, once the goats were coming downhill back home,

4. qʰoʔ 'tsʰet kə-rəʔ=naʔ tǔtəm te-kə-fə=caʔ
   SEQ goat one-CL=TOP uphill IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go=INDF IDPH exist
   a goat was walking uphill, bobbing its head up and down,

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79 This story was recounted to me and my consultant Bstanblo by Kreshahpal (krəʃəχpəl), an elder brother of Bstanblo’s and eyewitness to the reported event.

80 Mendeci is the name of the stone house in which the story-teller’s family reside. At that time, he was herding a flock of goats across the Kholakyi River on the hillside opposite the house.

81 An ideophone denoting the way one walks with the head bobbing up and down.
5.  nəʔ  títom  te-kə-ʃə=nəʔ?  tʃʰə=cəʔ  nəʔ=kə
   that downhill  IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go=DET  what=INDF  be=DM
   nəʔ-səsi-aj=nəʔ?
   PFV-think2-1SG=SUB
   as I thought, “What is with that (goat) which is going uphill?”

6.  təmdánə  kóxse=kə  ne-ntʃəʔ?
   in.fact  leopard=ERG  PFV:TR-kill2
   qʰoʔ  o-rqe  keʰ2-rdi
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-neck  PFV:CISLOC:TR-hold2
   qʰoʔ  títom  te-tsom  nəʔ-ŋo-cə
   SEQ  uphill  PFV:UP:TR-take.thither2  IPFV:PST-be2-MED
   Actually, a leopard had killed it and was dragging it uphill by the neck.

7.  qʰoʔ  keʰ3-mpʰér-aj=nəʔ?
   SEQ  IPFV:EAST-look-1SG=SUB
   kóxse  spanτə?-mdəʔ  fteʔ-cə  qʰoʔ  ometsíji  mɛ-χswl-cə
   leopard  meadow-color  be:EMPH-MED  SEQ  so.much  NEG-be.clear-MED
   As I was looking east, (I saw that) the leopard was the color of the meadow (in winter),
   and was not much visible.

8.  qʰoʔ  ’tsʰet  kəmaʔ?=rvʔ?  nəʔ-nəwɛʔ?-nə
   SEQ  goat  other=PL  PFV:DOWN-come.back2-3PL
   kóxse=kə  nəʔ?  kə-rdəʔ  títom  te-tsom
   leopard=ERG  DET  one-CL  uphill  PFV:TR:UP-take.thither2
   And the other goats were coming back downhill, and the leopard took that one
   (goat) uphill.

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82 The eastward orientation is here used in its cislocative sense, referring to the leopard’s teeth locking
around the goat’s neck.

83 At that time in the story, the narrator was looking eastward at the hillside across the river.
9. \( qʰoʔ \) o-ɾɨŋəm=z v-veʔ ʷdzajəŋ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment=LOC 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN
\( kə-qrəŋji? \) χʃiə kə-rkaŋ
INF-hunt very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good.at
\( qʰoʔ \) nənəʔ v-veʔ
SEQ ANA 1SG:POSS-younger.sibling PN=ERG AND-PFV:UPRIVER-inform-1PL
(There was) a senior relative of mine by the name of 'Jamdbyangs, a very skilled hunter, and we immediately sent my younger brother Bstanblo to inform him about it.

10. \( qʰoʔ \) tomde fľa mv-cə
SEQ gun right.away not.exist-MED
There was no gun to be found right away.

11. \( qʰoʔ \) ɔ-ːpʰi ɔ-jalpe
SEQ 3SG:POSS-underside 3SG:POSS-neighbor
v-veʔ tfʻopoʔ te-kə-tsə toʔ
1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN IPFV-GP-say exist
Downhill from him lived a neighbor of his (’Jamdbyangs’s), an uncle of mine named Chopo.

12. \( qʰoʔ \) fəku k ŵ̃q̲e=z tomde ne-wôt tə-ŋnkətətɔy
SEQ there.in.the.east commune\(^{84}=\)LOC gun PFV:TR;WEST-bring₂ PFV-happen₂
It so happened that he had brought a gun from the commune government to the east.

13. \( qʰoʔ \) məv mv-meʔ
SEQ bullet IPFV:PST-not.exist₂
But there were no bullets.

\(^{84}\) This refers to the commune government located at Te’utses Village.
14. qʰoʔ tʰorʃʰ ʷʧʰor ʷʧʰor-ŋe poj ʷʧʰor-ŋe
SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=DET
tʰe we kóŋtsō
PN government.work IPFV-do IPFV:PST-be

And the man named Chorjan, he was working for the government at Tawe,

15. qʰoʔ nəʔ tʰə-nəweʔ?
SEQ ANA PFV:DOWNRIVER-come.back2
qʰoʔ ő-ʷər məv ʷmjo-ŋyɛʔ tsaxtsaʔ toʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-side bullet five-round just exist-MED

and he had come back downriver, and he had just five rounds with him.

16. qʰoʔ ʷdʒajəŋ ő-pʰə nəʔ ne-kʰi-cə
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place ANA PFV:TR-hand2-MED

And he gave those (bullets) to 'Jamdbyangs.

17. qʰoʔ ʷv-veʔ?
SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle85 PN=ERG
waukee tsʰəŋkəʃ ʃ i o-jəlpe=ʁv? te-rzde-cə
PN PN 3SG:POSS-neighbor=PL PFV:TR-ask.to.go.together2-MED
qʰoʔ tʰə-weʔ-nə
SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-come2-3PL

And my uncle 'Jamdbyangs summoned Tondrevthar and Tangkashi and other neighbors of his, and they all went downriver.

85 A term of respect for male people senior to oneself. 'Jamdbyangs was actually the narrator’s elder sister’s father-in-law.
18. qʰoʔ kʰɔxse=kə
SEQ leopard=ERG
ʃito tʰvwaʔmʔ=pʰi ’tsʰet te-tsom yoʔ?
up.there wild.cherry.tree=under goat PFV:TR:UP-take.thither<sub>2</sub> be
And the leopard was up there under a wild cherry tree, taking the goat uphill.

19. qʰoʔ o-ta ʃə tə-kə-nlɔ mə n”dənəʔ?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-top yet PFV:UP-NMLZ-come.out<sub>2</sub> not.exist for
setʃ’e nu-wuʃye nu-semti fte?=kə
place IPFV:PST-be.barren<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.seen<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH=INS
Yet it would not come out above it at all, as the land was barren and (it) was visible.

20. qʰoʔ v-vuʔ n”dzajanj=kə kʰɔxse 𝜙ə-te-fcə
SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN=ERG leopard AND-PFV:UP-skirt<sub>2</sub>
So my uncle ’Jamdbyangs went uphill and skirted the leopard.

21. qʰoʔ n”ge-mʰɔri=nəʔ?
SEQ IPFV:DOWN-look=SUB
kʰɔxse tʰe-nkʰɔmdʒat
leopard CONT:LTR-sit.on.haunches<sub>2</sub>
”dečʔo pʰiri kəɾʰjo?=ɾə nɔ-pʰa
westward that.side.of.river person=PL 3PL:POSS-place
nè-ro wejə
IPFV:WEST-look be.seen
When he was looking downward, he saw the leopard sitting on its haunches, looking westward at the people (across the river).
22. \( q^o \) t\(^h\)-ka-nk\(^h\)omdz\(j^q \)t \( \dot{oa}=n\)?
SEQ CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-sit.on.haunches 3SG:POSS-top=TOP
tomde ka-rd\(s\) ne-\(l\)\(\dot{e}\)t=\(n\)\(a\)
gun one-CL PFV:TR-release\(2=SUB\)
And, when he fired a shot at the one that sat on its haunches,

23. k\(ats\(\acute{a}p\(u \) k\(\acute{a}\)xs\(e \) t\(^h\)v\(v\)om? \(o^p\)i \(n\)\(\omega\)-\(n\)\(\omega\)
in.a.short.while leopard wild.cherry 3SG:POSS-underside PFV-come.out\(2\)
in a short while, the leopard emerged from under the wild cherry tree.

24. \( q^o \) t\(^h\)v\(v\)om? o\(^-d\)\(\acute{o}\)co=\(z\)
SEQ wild.cherry.tree 3SG:POSS-westward.place=LOC
q\(\acute{e}\)s\(\acute{n}\)a=\(c\)\(\omega \) to?=k\(\alpha\)
landslide-marred.patch=INDF exist=INS
There was a barren landslide-marred patch to the west of the wild cherry tree.

25. \( n\)\(\omega \) \(\dot{\omega}\)-\(u\)\(v\)r \(nv\)-\(v\)re=\(j\)\(\omega\)n\(\omega\)
ANA 3SG:POSS-surface PFV:DOWN-go\(2=just.when\)
\(le^d\) tomde ka-rd\(s\) ne-\(l\)\(\dot{e}\)t=\(n\)\(a\) te-\(xs\)\(\acute{a}\)y-\(c\)\(\omega\)=k\(\alpha\)
again gun one-CL PFV:TR-fire\(2=SUB\) PFV:TR-hit\(2=\)MED=INS
And just when (the leopard) went down over (the landslide-marred patch), he fired another shot and hit it.

26. t\(j\)\(o\)t \(nv\)-\(n\)\(\dot{a}\)md\(r\)\(\dot{\alpha}\) \(rc\)\(\dot{\alpha}\)n\(\omega\)
downward PFV:DOWN-jump\(2\) EMPH
\(p\)\(o\)q\(h\)e=\(c\)\(\omega\) \(nv\)-\(to=rc\)\(\dot{\alpha}\)n\(\omega\)
tree.stump=INDF IPFV:PST-to=EMPH
\(\dot{\omega}\)-\(u\)\(v\)r ke-\(r\)\(\alpha\)rt\(o\)tv\(\dot{\alpha}\) q\(\dot{\alpha}\)o? \(p\)\(o\)q\(h\)e kv-\(n\)\(\dot{\alpha}\)nts\(i\) te-\(je\)
3SG:POSS-surface PFV:CISLOC:TR-wind SEQ stump INF-gnaw PFV:TR-begin\(2\)
And it leapt downward and wound itself around a tree stump, and began to gnaw it, and made its tail thick and puffy.

And he fired another shot at the one that was gnawing the tree stump.

And (the leopard) rolled downward into the underbrush.

So, four rounds he had already fired.

And no more than one round was left.

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86 A derived ideophone describing something thick and puffy. This is owing to the hairs of the leopard’s tail standing on end.
31. náŋaʔ? leʔ kóxse kə-rdɔʔ nə-nlɔ
right.then again leopard one-CL PFV-come.out2
qʰoʔ qʰənəʔ o-hjaʔ ŋəʔ-cə nə-maŋuʔ-cə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-child be-MED PFV-be.latter2-MED

Right then, another leopard came out. It turned out to be the young of the previous leopard, and it came out later (than its mother).

32. leʔ nəʔ ó-tə tomde kə-rdɔʔ ne-lət
again ANA 3SG:POSS-top gun one-CL PFV:TR-shoot2

And he fired another shot at it.

33. fənəʔ te-xsəʔ səʔ me-te-xsəʔ=nəʔ əntsəʔə mə-na-gəleʔ?
but PFV:TR-hit2 Q NEG-PFV:TR-hit2=SUB that.much NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear2

But it was not that clear whether he hit it or not.

34. qʰoʔ ədecʰo=ce nə-nə87-əbloʔ fteʔ?
SEQ westward.place=LOC:INDF PFV-SPON-go.out.of.view2 be:EMPH

And it went out of view (to our dismay) somewhere to the west.

35. qʰoʔ məʔ nə-tsʰəʔ?
SEQ bullet PFV-be.used.up2

And the bullets were used up.

36. qʰoʔ kə-məko te-səsmɛʔt kóxse=nəʔ
SEQ NMLZ-be.first PFV:TR-wound2 leopard=DET
fɛki o-rjeʔ sekoʔ kə-rtsəʔ=caʔ toʔ=ka
up.there 3SG:POSS-rock.face underbrush NMLZ:SBJ-be.thick=INDF exist=INS

87 The emotive, spontaneous marker nə- here conveys the “willful” disappearance of the wounded leopard causing dismay to the narrator and the other onlookers.
And the leopard that he had previously wounded went into a dense underbrush at a rock face below (where it was hit).

And we men went uphill.

And as I took up an ax, and went running upriver,

my uncle 'Jamdbyangs said, “Don’t go upriver because the leopard will bite people!”

I had not been aware of the fact that the leopard would bite. But then I thought, “Yeah, he is right!”
41. qʰoʔ kʰoṃtʃʰa lə-vre-əŋ
   SEQ a.bit PFV:UPRIVER-go-2-1SG
   fənəʔ fla tʰe-jwet-əŋ sə?
   but immediateley PFV:UPRIVER-turn.back-1SG be:EMPH
   So I went upriver a little bit, and quickly turned back downriver.

42. qʰoʔ nəʔ "dzajaŋ=kə
   SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN=ERG
   kʰoxse tʰe-smo-ə té-tsə
   leopard CONT:LTR:Q-be.present-MED IPFV-say
   And my uncle ’Jamdbyangs was saying, “Is the leopard there?”

43. qʰoʔ əjiʔ=ko ke-mtiʔ məŋə
   SEQ 1SG=ERG NMLZ:SBJ:U-be.seen:NEG
   fənəʔ ˈlikʰo=z rgel-i=kəsci wəjo tə-tsəʔəŋ
   but 1SG:POSS-upriver.place=LOC cow.calf=like be.seen PFV-say2-1SG
   And I said, “It is gone, but I see something like a cow calf somewhere upriver.”

44. qʰoʔ leʔ kətaʔ le-mpʰerti-əŋ=nəʔ
   SEQ again truly IPFV:UPRIVER-look-1SG=SUB
   rgel-i maʔ-cə kʰoxse ɲoʔ-cə
   cow.calf not.be-MED leopard be-MED
   Looking carefully again, (I saw that the thing) was not a cow calf, but a leopard.

45. qʰoʔ kʰoxse=ntʃʰon tʰeʔ tʰe-mpʰerti
   SEQ leopard=also downriver IPFV:UPRIVER-look
   And the leopard was also looking downriver.
And my other companions were saying, “Don’t go upriver, or it will bite you!”

And I did not go upriver.

And my elder brother and Tondrethar went uphill above where the leopard was,

and rolled down falling rocks at the leopard,

and in this way drove the leopard downriver from under the underbrush.

And we all threw down stones, and killed it with the stones.
And, by Jove, the leopard was truly like a hero, and moreover even when it breathed its last, it made its eyes wide and staring.

Then, when it was about to breathe its last and die, Todrethar and I mounted the leopard,

meanwhile, we said, “Let’s have a try at riding a leopard!”

And afterwards, we took the leopard upriver to uncle ’Jamdbyangs’s house.

88 An exclamation uttered while taking an oath.
56. qʰoʔ  nə-jʰdʒət-jə
   SEQ  PFV-skin2-1PL
   And we skinned it.

57. qʰoʔ  kəɾʰbjoʔ  kənʰgət  nə-to-jə
   SEQ  person  nine  IPFV:PST-exist2-1PL
   There were nine of us.

58. qʰoʔ  kọɾve  o-spe
   SEQ  collar  3SG:POSS-material
   nəʔəʃən  kənʰgəɾʰbyeʔ  tʰə-tʃet-jə  qʰoʔ
   leopard.skin-collar.edge  nine-CL  PFV-take2-1PL  SEQ
   nə-nəkri-jə
   PFV-divide.among.oneselves2-1PL
   And we took out nine pieces of leopard-skin collar edge to make collars with, and we
   divided them among ourselves.

59. qʰoʔ  o-füru=nəʔ
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-bone=DET
   jəɾqəɾʔ  jə-tʌtwi  kəɾuʔ-ʃmənbe  nəʰbi-jə
   1PL  1PL:POSS-village  Tibetan.doctor  PFV-give2-1PL
   And we gave its bones to the Tibetan doctor in our village.

60. nəʔ  nə-fʃɔt  nə-tʃʰoz
   ANA  IPFV:PST-be.like2  IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
   What happened was like that.
Part II. Texts

THE RANGDZEM FAMILY KILLED A TIGER

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. sponṣʰe=z orje pe ʔ-vu jermu orjanʔ?
   formerly=LOC hundred year 1SG:POSS-grandparent about when
   A hundred years ago, at about my grandfather’s time,

2. qveʰweriʔ raŋⁿdzémpu te-kʰ-tsa=nəʔ?
   PN PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB
   kə-cʰɛlv kə-stʃɛʔʔ-ca
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.capable NMLZ:SBJ-be.prosperous-MED
   qʰoʔ o-turoʔ=raʔ? kəmtʃʰa kə-toʔ=caʔ?
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-official=PL some.kind NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF
   ne-ɲo-ca
   IPFV:PST-be2-MED
   there was once a family called Rangdzempu at Qaqiuli Village, (they were) capable and distinguished, and were officials of some kind.

3. qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ? raŋⁿdzémpu=ɾəʔ=kə *bri=caʔ?
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=SUB PN=PL=ERG horse=INDF
   moχtsu-mtʃʰe=z fə-le-kovʔ-ɲə=caʔ?=nəʔ?
   PN-mouth.of.valley=LOC AND-PFV:UPRIVER:TR-drive2-3PL=INDF=SUB
   One day, as the Rangdzempu people drove a horse upriver at the mouth of the valley Mohsu,

4. qʰoʔ tarmoʔe=z ɲə-meyʔ-ɲəʔo
   SEQ dusk=LOC PFV-not.be.seen2-MED
   the horse suddenly disappeared at dusk.
5. \( qʰoʔ \text{ fa-ne-quse?-nə-čə=nə?} \ nə-\text{bri} \ o-\text{f poke?} \)
   \( tə-kə̄-nə̄-dze? \ o-\text{ntʃentʃur?}=cə? \ \)wəjo-čə
   PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-eat2  3SG:POSS-scattered.remains=INDF  be.seen-MED
   When they went and searched for it, they found scattered remains of their horse.

6. \( qʰoʔ \ o-vəzər=z \ qəye \ o-rəzə? \ ome \ kə-xte?=cə? \)
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-side=LOC  tiger  3SG:POSS-track  very  NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF
   \( nə-lə \ \)wəjo-ŋəjo
   PFV-appear²  be.seen-MED
   And by its side, very big tiger-tracks appeared.

7. \( qʰoʔ \ nə̄-\text{brūdzi}=nə? \ tə-ne-\text{numtsəmts-i-nə-cə} \)
   SEQ  horse’s.skin=DET  PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-drag2-3PL-MED
   And they dragged the skin of the horse downriver,

8. \( qʰoʔ \ qʰəqʰu=z \ təri=tə \ te-\text{smūc-nə-ngəjo} \)
   SEQ  back.of.house=LOC  drying.rack=top  PFV:UP:TR-hang2-3PL-MED
   and hung it on the drying rack at the back of the house.

9. \( qʰoʔ \ mer=nə? \ qəye \ nə̄-\text{brūdzi} \ kə-nə̄-dze \ \)wi=kə
   SEQ  night=DET  tiger  horse’s.skin  NMLZ:PURP-eat  come=INS
   \( nə̄-\text{ge-ntʃe} \ \)re?-čə  ne-\text{sasi-nə-cə}
   IPFV-GP-kill  be.necessary-MED  PFV:TR-think²-3PL-MED
   “As the tiger is going to come at night to eat the horse’s skin, we must kill it,” they thought.
10. qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ tərmə kəl̥poʃəy pərtsəkó=ta
   SEQ night=DET man five.six roof.top=top
   pozvu ne-stuki-nə-cə
   musket PFV:DOWN:TR-point2-3PL-MED
At night, five to six men pointed their muskets down from the roof’s top,

11. qʰoʔ sliŋʷ=rs? xjava̮xjavə nə-to-cə
   SEQ moon=PL IDPH89 IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
there was a bleary moon (then).

12. qʰoʔ fóra̮ge jərmu
   SEQ midnight about
   quye kətə? n̥br̥edʒi kə̮dze jə-weʔ-cə
tiger truly horse.skin PURP-eat PFV-eat2-MED
And, at around midnight, the tiger truly came to eat the horse’s skin.

13. jənəʔ pozvu te-lət-nə-cə
just.at.that.moment musket PFV:TR-release2-3PL-MED
   qʰoʔ ke-sóxsəy nə-cə=ɾə-nə-cə
   SEQ INF-cause.to.hit IPFV:PST-be.able2-3PL-MED
At that moment, they fired their muskets, and managed to hit the tiger.

14. jənəʔ quye=rcənəʔ tə-nəmderʔ=nəʔ
but tiger=TOP:EMPH PFV:UP-jump2=SUB
   pərtsəko=z jə-ṭə-lə kə̮-tsə nə-ŋo-cə
   roof=LOC PROS-PFV:UP-come.out2 GP-say IPFV:PST-be2-MED
But when the tiger leapt up, it almost came over the top of the roof, it is said.

89 An ideophone describing a bleary state.
15. qʰoʔ kʰoqaʔunəʔ ne-ntʃeʔ-ɔ=ɔ
SEQ afterwards PFV:TR-kill2-3PL-MED
And afterwards, they killed it.

16. qʰoʔ qəje ʒʃkə ɲv-xtv ɲoʔ-ɔ=ɔ
SEQ tiger very IPFV:PST-big2 be2-MED
The tiger was huge.

17. qʰoʔ qʃi=ʃdi=ŋə qʃɔxtʃe ɾjɛlpo=pha
SEQ tiger.skin=DET PN chieftain=place
te-pʰəl?-ɔ=ə ɲv-tʃ⁶oz ɲoʔ-ɔ=ɔ
PFV:TR-present2-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2 be2-MED
And they presented the tiger’s skin to the chieftain of Cogtse, it is said.

18. qʰoʔ qʃɔxtʃe ɾjɛlpo=ka qʰə qʃi=ʃdi=ŋə
SEQ PN chieftain=ERG ANA tiger.skin=DET
leʔ kɾʃiz̥gəɾ³ rgonbe ɔ-pʰ⁶a te-ɔ=ɔ=ʃdi=ŋə
again PN monastery⁹⁰ 3SG:POSS-place PFV:TR-SPON-present2
And the Cogtse chieftain in turn presented the tiger skin to the Krashizgang Monastery,

19. qʰoʔ rgonbe smołem skɔɾtən ne-pʰəv?-ɔ=ə ɔɾjäŋnəʔ
SEQ monastery festival⁹¹ medium IPFV-descend-3PL when
o-sו-mdzuʔ te-sə-peʔ-ɔ=ə ɲoʔ tʃ⁶ozʔ
3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-sit2 PFV:TR-cause.to.make2-3PL be be.the.rule
and made it into a seat for the mediums when they went into a trance during at the
monastery Mask Dance Festival.

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⁹⁰ One of the two monasteries in Tshobdun Township. Practising the Nyingma sect, this time-honored
monastery is situated along the Kyomkyo River at some distance downriver from Cus Village.

⁹¹ Name of Masked Dance Festival, held from the twelfth to the sixteenth in February the lunar calendar.
20. \( q^\text{a}? \ qnej^\text{e}dзи=нə? \ pəfк^\text{o}=nф^\text{on} \)

ANA tiger.skin=DET now=even

rgonbe=рн? \ nɔJa \ tə^e-to

monastery=PL 3PL-POSS-hand CONT:LTR-exist2

This tigerskin is still at the possession of that monastery even today.

21. \( jepw^\text{e}dзи \ vji? \ kə-mdʒəl \ tə-εε-ən \ orjáŋnə=ntф^\text{on} \)

year.before.last 1SG NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV-go2-1SG when=even

q^\text{a}? \ qnej^\text{e}dзи \ wəjo

ANA tiger.skin be.seen

Even when I went to the monastery the year before last, I saw the tiger skin myself.

22. \( fоnə? \ o-rмw \ nə-n^\text{b}ət \)

but 3SG:POSS-hair PFV-be.worn2

o-tə^yле \ mə-na-чсəl?=təv?-cə

3SG:POSS-stripe NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear2=a.bit-MED

But its hair was worn and its stripes had become a little bit unclear.

23. \( q^\text{o}? \ rəнджэ̂мпу=рн? \ qеjε \ нə-kə-ntф^e?=нə? \)

SEQ PN=PL tiger PFV-NMLZ-kill2=DET

mə-nə-vдe? \ нə-тф^ə\/əz

NEG-IPFV:PST-be.good2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2

It is said that it is not good for the Rangdzem family to kill the tiger,

24. \( ^\text{н}dεnə? \ kəмаq^\text{у}нə? \ nə-ртəфэ^y? \ təv-nлл \)

SEQ afterwards 3PL:POSS-root PFV-come.out2

for afterwards their fortunes declined.
25. \( qʰoʔ \) nhrumu "ge-səyroʔ-na=nə?
   SEQ fortune IPFV-cause.to.tell-3PL=SUB
   And when they had their fortunes told,

26. \( qʰəʔ \) qe=naʔ jəlke kəsroŋ nə-ŋo-cə
   ANN tiger=TOP hamlet guardian IPFV:PST-be2-MED
   the tiger turned out to be the guardian of the (Ramdzem) hamlet.

27. fənəʔ ne-ntʃəʔ-nə
   but PFV:TR-kill2-3PL
   But they killed it,

28. \( qʰoʔ \) nə-γu nə-ŋu-dəʔʔ te-je
   SEQ 3PL:POSS-body NEG-INF-right PF:TR-begin2
   and things began to get rough for them,

29. \( qʰoʔ \) detsətsə nə-ŋəblət-nə
   SEQ gradually PFV-decline2-3PL
   and the family gradually declined.

30. \( qʰoʔ \) qəje ne-ntʃəʔ-ənə
   SEQ tiger PF:TR-kill2-3PL
   nəʔ nə-ŋu-dəʔʔ kə-tsə ŋəʔ təʔəzʔ
   ANN PFV-be.at.fault2 GP-say be be.the.rule
   And people say that it could all be attributed to their killing of the tiger.
WENCHUAN EARTHQUAKE

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. lo ŋni-stoŋ taŋ ymt sləwə kómŋo sqəmnéti
year two-thousand and eight month five twelve
qʰoʔ sásuqʰu tɔtsʰot unez=scʰənəʔ unezsəq-rce skerme
SEQ afternoon hour two=and twenty-eight minute
kə-zvət orjánʔəʔ
PFV-arrive2 when

At 2:28 PM in the afternoon, May 12, 2008,

2. ɐyíʔ slovtə=z kw-ntsʰoʔ jà-mda ne-ŋo
1SG school=LOC INF-assemble.class PROS-be.time IPFV:PST-be2
it was about time for me to teach a class.

3. qʰoʔ ɐyíʔ ɐ-ws-ntsʰoʔ slovkʰan=ŋəʔ
SEQ 1SG 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-assemble2 classroom=DET
χso-təxə ő-ta ne-ŋo
three-floor 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:PST-be2
And the classroom where I would teach was on the third floor.

4. qʰoʔ kom? o-vzər=ŋəʔ
SEQ door 3SG:POSS-side=DET
tême ḥgerqəŋn sviŋʃəʔ te-kə-tə=cnəʔ toʔ=kə
woman teacher Dbangshig IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
ŋəʔ=scʰənəʔ kʰvədəʔ nə-peʔ=tsə ḥənəʔ
DET=and chatting IPFV:PST-do2=1DU when
And as a female teacher called Dbangshig and I were chatting beside the (classroom) door, the earthquake started.

5. \textit{\textbf{tʰe-mpʰéri-aŋ=nəʔ}}
\textit{IPFV:WEST-look=SUB}
\textit{tjénfen=se^bənaʔ  \textit{a}gol=rw? \textit{kv-zmölmo}  te-je}
\textit{power.line=and tile=PL INF-cause.to.move PFV:TR-begin\textsubscript{2}}

Looking across, I saw that (the earthquake) started to cause the power lines and the tiles (of the building) to shake.

6. \textit{\textbf{qʰoʔ  kgerät  kvanįqʔ=pʰa}}
\textit{SEQ teacher Dbangshig=place}
\textit{vəlju  kv mólmə te-je  tə-ʦəʔ-aŋ=nəʔ}
\textit{earthquake INF-move PFV:TR-begin\textsubscript{2} PFV-say\textsubscript{2}-1SG=SUB}

And I said to Dbangshig, “The earth is quaking!”

7. \textit{\textbf{jə-zdeʔ  óntsayə ñáχo=rw? nu-tsɨʔ  mə}}
\textit{1PL:POSS-companion that.much realization=PL IPFV:PST-understand\textsubscript{2} not.exist}

Our colleague didn’t comprehend the situation so fully,

8. \textit{\textbf{tʃʰə  ηoʔ  tʃʰə  ηoʔ  jermə  tə-tsə  kòma}}
what be what be about IPFV-say only

and was just saying things like “What’s going on?” , “What’s going on?”

9. \textit{\textbf{qʰoʔ  ne-mpʰéri-aŋ=nəʔ}}
\textit{SEQ IPFV:WEST-look=SUB}
\textit{slome=rw? fqra?-nə-cə=kə}
\textit{student=PL be.clever-3PL-MED=INS}
And looking west (toward the students), (I saw) students, being smart, stuck their heads out the (classroom) doors and were getting ready to flee.

10. ʔoʔvlju ʃolane å=kə nɔ-sɔsi-aŋ
SEQ earthquake PROS-stop be:EMPH=DM PFV-think2-1SG
And I thought that the quake would soon stop.

11. ŋəʔ təmdəŋə
but in.the.end
fla kə-nəne=nə? maʔ-cə=kə
quickly NMLZ-stop=TOP not.be-MED=INS
And as the earthquake turned out not stopping soon at all,

12. ʔoʔsλɔme=ɾə? ɾa=pə
SEQ student=PL 3PL=place
"bett kə-rəŋyʔ-nə o-ɾəjiʔ ɾə-λəʔ-nə tə-tsiʔ-aŋ
immediately IMP:EAST-run-2PL 3SG:POSS-outside IMP:DOWN-exit-2PL PFV-say2-1SG
so I said to the students, “Run east (toward me and the stairs) and get out downstairs right away!”

13. ʔoʔsλɔme=ɾə? nəbunยาʔ92 rdoskəvʔ=ta nə-vəɾə-nə
SEQ student=PL IDPH stairs=top PFV:DOWN-go2-3PL
And the students went down the stairs in a swarm.

92 An ideophone denoting moving continuously in a swarm.
14. oṣor? n-vzə=rə?
meanwhile 1SG:POSS-side=PL
ŋergeren 也不能?=nə?=ntɓon ó-jə te-r-di-nə
teacher Dbangshig=DET=also 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-take2-3PL
qʰoʔ o-p’jiʔ nʊ-nlɔ-nə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside PFV:DOWN-exit2-3PL
Meanwhile, by my side, (the students) also took Teacher Dbangshig’s hand and they went downstairs (together).

15. qʰoʔ ó-tə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-top
vde-tə=xse=seʰəŋə? mŋo-tə=xse nʊ-kə-smo=rə?
four-storey=and five-storey IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present=3PL
téjət kw-nəm’dəmde=kəsə tsʰəŋkə=kə nʊ-we?=nə
down INF-jump:RDPL=like in.a.crowded.state=INS PFV:DOWN-come2-3PL
And, above them, those who were on the forth and fifth storeys came downstairs, all jumping about and pressed together.

16. qʰoʔ ne-səsiʔ-aŋ=nəʔ?
SEQ IPFV-think-1SG=SUB
kə-oŋsuʔəz ké-p’i reʔ ŋoʔ?
GP-hurry GP-escape be.necessary be
And I was thinking, “One must hurry and escape.”

17. ḟənəʔ tsʰəŋkə te-tʃəm=nəʔ nyləyте-nə mə-ŋdzəŋʔ?
but in.a.crowded.state be.excessive=SUB rub:RDPL-3PL NEG-be.right
“But if they are pressed too tight, they will tread each other. This is not right.”
18. qʰoʔ  oʒorʔ
SEQ meanwhile
χsaŋvaŋʔ  te-kʰ-tsə  ugergən  jv-zyót-cə
Gsangdbang IPFV-GP-say teacher PFV-arrive2-MED
At this time, a teacher called Gsangdbang arrived (on the scene).

19. qʰoʔ  tsəŋniʔ=kə  slome=reʔ  nà-pʰa
SEQ 1DU:EXCL=ERG student=PL 3PL:POSS-place
ke-oʃesêjəz  reʔ  ŋə?
INF-hurry be.necessary be
kə-ŋu=mo=et=saʔ  ke-pə  me-joʔ?
but INF-jump.about=and in.a.crowded.state INF-do NEG-be.allowed
ta-tsəʔ-tsə
PFV-say2-1DU
And the two of us said to the students, “You must hurry, but there is no jumping about or jostling.”

20. qʰoʔ  slome=reʔ  kəmdîʔ  kə-ʃpəlw
SEQ student=PL all NMLZ-be.swift
o-pʰjiʔ  kʰ-tʃet  ne-cʰəʔ-tsə
3SG:POSS-outside INF-take.out IPFV:PST-be.able2-1DU
And we managed to move all the students swiftly to the outside.

21. qʰoʔ  vəlju=nəʔ
SEQ earthquake=DET
kəʃnɛ-rcet  mjão  jʋrmɛnəʔ  ne-ʃɛlmo
seven-eight second about IPFV:PST-shake2
And the earthquake continued for seven-eight seconds.
22. qʰoʔ kʰepʰɛʔ=ɾʁʔ=ɾʁʔ
SEQ some=PL=ERG
valju ta-melmo valju yoʔ me-ne-sasi-nə=ɾʁʔ
earthquake PFV-shake2 earthquake be NEG-PFV:TR-think2-3PL=INS
And some did not realize that the shaking was an earthquake.

23. qèle kə-xteʔ=ɾʁʔ te-peʔ qʰoʔ *gol=ɾɾn
wind NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-do2 SEQ tile=even
te-sepəɾəcʰovʔ93 ne-səsi-nə yoʔ=ɾʁʔ
PFV:TR-cause.to.clank.together2 PFV:TR-think2-3PL be-MED
They thought a great gale blew and even caused the tiles (on the roof) to clank together.

24. təmdánə valju nu-ŋo yoʔ
in.the.end earthquake IPFV:PST-be2 be
In fact, it was the earthquake.

25. qʰoʔ slome nə-fwe kə-xtfiʔ=ɾʁʔ
SEQ student 3PL:POSS-age NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=PL
rjur=ɾənə nu-zyóʔ-nə=nəʔ?
schoolyrd=inside PFV:DOWN-arrive2-3PL=SUB
And when the younger students got down to the schoolyard,

26. nə-körnə tə-kə-zyi
3PL:POSS-brain PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-spin2
qʰoʔ nə-ziʔ=ɾɾn lə-kə-ɾə nu-ɾə
SEQ 3PL:POSS-nausea=even PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out2 IPFV:PST-exist2-3PL
there were those who felt dizzy and even vomited.

93 From the ideophone root reʰɔv, describing sounds of objects knocking against each other.
27. $qʰoʔ$ $jaŋəmʔ=ko$ $mo-tə-ⁿdəɣ$ $ju$
SEQ 1PL=ERG NEG-PFV-be.right2 DM
$qʰoʔ$ o-ŋəzər=cʰo $vəlju$ tə-məlmo taʔ na-səsi-jo
SEQ 3SG:POSS-vicinity=LOC:INDF earthquake PFV-shake2 DM PFV-think2-1PL
And we thought, “Something was wrong. An earthquake must have happened in our vicinity.”

28. $qʰoʔ$ $tjeŋəwaʔ$ $kə-nələlet$ tə-je-jo=naʔ
SEQ telephone INF-make:RDPL PFV-begin2-1PL=SUB
təmdaŋə wəntʃəwanʔ $vəlju$ tə-məlmo yoʔ te-tsə-nə
in.the.end Wenchuan earthquake PFV-shake2 be PFV:TR-say2-3PL
And when we went about making phone calls, it turned out that (they said) it was the big Wenchuan Earthquake.

29. $qʰoʔ$ $təsʰot$ $məo$ skerme $jərme$
SEQ time five minute about
tjeŋəwaʔ $kə-nələlet$ nə-kʰut
telephone GP-make:RDPL IPFV:PST-be.feasible2
$qʰoʔ$ kəmqʰúnaʔ $mə-nə-kʰut$ fɨeʔ
SEQ then=DET NEG-PFV-be.feasible2 be:EMPH
For up to five minutes, one could still make telephone calls, but afterwards it became impossible.

30. $qʰonəʔ$ wəntʰwanʔ $vəljuʔ$ $kə-tʰu$ tə-kə-məlmo
SEQ Wenchuan earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious PFV-NMLZ-shake2
$kə-joʔ=naʔ$ nə-sizʔ-jo
NMLZ-be=DET IPFV:PST-know2-1PL
And we found out that a serious earthquake had occurred in Wenchuan.
   but person how many PFV-NMLZ-die=and how
   nəʔ-kə-tʰuʔ=nəʔ? kʰ-siz mə-nə-kʰút
   PFV-NMLZ-be.serious=DET GP-know NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible
   But it was impossible to know how many people died, and how serious it was.

32. *qʰoʔ tʃɛnʒwaʔ=scʰəʔ* tʃɛnsə=ruʔ? mə-nə-kʰút fteʔ?
   SEQ telephone=and television=PL NEG-PFV-be.feasible be:EMPH
   And phones and televisions were out of service.

33. *qʰoʔ kʰepʰɛʔ=rəʔ=kə səwɔjɛntʃiʔ? te-cu-nə*
   SEQ some=PL=ERG radio PFV:TR-turn.on=3PL
   qʰoʔ nə-səŋiʔ-nə=nəʔ?
   SEQ IPFV:PST-listen=3PL=SUB
   wəntʃʰwənʔ wəlu ome kə-tʰuʔ=ɔʔ?
   Wenchuan earthquake very NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious=INDF
   tə-mlmo ŋoʔ-cə
   PFV-shake be-MED
   Some people had turned on radios and were listening, and (knew that) a serious earthquake occurred in Wenchuan.

34. *ⁿdənə? kəŋʰpəʔ=ka pə-ʧi te-kʰɛ-tʃə jeɾme*
   as Chinese=INS eight-degree IPFV-GP-say about
   kə-xtəʔ? tə-mlmo ŋoʔ-cə té-tʃə-nə
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV-shake be-MED IPFV-say=3PL
   As they say a magnitude 8 earthquake occurred according to the Chinese.
35. qʰoʔ o-rɪŋəm=nəʔ kʰepʰe?=ɾʔ=kə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-time=DET some=PL=ERG
ə́ntsəŋə ʋəlju ƙə-xteʔ ƙə-kə-ʃəlmo=nəʔ
that.much earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV-NMLZ-shake2=DET
skɛlpe jə-ntʃəɣʔ râŋ=ɾvn té-ɪsə-ŋə ńv-ŋo
destiny PROS-break DM=even IPFV-say-3PL IPFV:PST-be2

Right at that time, some people were even saying that now that such a great earthquake occurred, the world must be coming to an end.

36. qʰoʔ mbɛrkʰem?=we=ɾʔ ẓdewe ʃənəŋəŋo
SEQ 'Barkhams-people=PL village whichever
kʰənəŋ=ɾvn kw-fv mə-ŋə-sənə
home=even INF-go NEG-PFV-dare2

And people who live in 'Barkhams, no matter which village they are from, did not even dare to go home.

37. qʰoʔ o-ʃʔiʔ=z kʰo kw- şə=se̞nəʔ zgvr kw-ʃəɣʔ?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside=LOC makeshift.tent INF-do=and tent INF-pitch
o-ʃɪʃke te-ʃe-ŋə
3SG:POSS-preparation PFV:TR-begin2-3PL

And they began to make makeshift tents or pitch real tents outside.

38. qʰoʔ oʂɔʔ=tsə
SEQ meanwhile=TOP
ʋəlju ƙə-xtʃi=nəʔ ńv-ʃəlmo ʃəntsətʃe fiʔ=kə
earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET IPFV:PST-shake2 often be: EMPH=INS

All the while, as small earthquakes occurred often,
39. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(\text{jəŋrən}=?\text{ntʃəon}\)
   SEQ 1PL=also
   \(\text{slom}=\text{ra}\)  \(\text{tʃəŋcɪŋ}=?\text{ŋən} \text{spət}=\text{ta} \text{nu}=\text{səŋ}=?\text{gu}=?\text{jo}\)
   student=PL sport.field lawn=top IPFV:PST-cause.to.sleep2-1PL
   we also made the students sleep on the lawn of the sport field.

40. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(\text{mer}=\text{nə} \text{tə}=?\text{ŋə}=?\text{ge}=\text{let}=\text{nə}\)
   SEQ night=TOP rain=PL IPFV-do=SUB
   \(\text{o}=\text{vzə}=\text{tsə} \text{nə}=\text{səŋ}=\text{jo}\)
   3SG:POSS-side=a.bit PFV-move2-1PL
   At night, when it was raining, we moved (the students) a bit to the side.\(^{94}\)

41. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(\text{noos}=\text{sə} \text{ŋə}=\text{jo}\)
   SEQ in.this.way IPFV:PST-stay-1PL
   And we stayed (there) like that.

42. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(\text{kə}=\text{rəv}=?\text{ŋə}=\text{ta}=\text{zə}=\text{ŋə}=?\text{jo}\)
   SEQ INF-study=PL PFV-stop2-1PL
   And we stopped all studying activities.

43. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(\text{o}=\text{ŋə}=?\text{ŋə}=\text{ŋə}=\text{wə}=\text{nə}=\text{ŋə}=?\text{də}=\text{ŋə}=?\text{jo}\)
   SEQ meanwhile worry IPFV:PST-have2-1PL be for
   \(\text{went}=\text{bən} \text{ŋə}=\text{ŋə}=\text{ŋə}=\text{nə}=\text{stə}=\text{fi}=?\)
   Wenchuan road PFV:TR-block2 be:EMPH
   And meanwhile we were worried, as roads going to Wenchuan were blocked.

\(^{94}\) This refers to covered areas by the sport field.
And people thought that food and drinks will be lacking, so they began to show signs of buying a lot of food.

But it did not matter, as the roads going to the nomads’ land were open.

And people began to bring vegetables and various foods down from the Lanzhou direction.

Five days passed, and people were not able to clear the road going to Chengdu and Wenchuan.
48. ʃə nəʔⁿ bɐrkʰemʔ=scʰənəʔ wəntʃ²nánʔ-pʰjɔ tfəʰuʔ? lv-ʔmu
    but PN=and PN-direction road PFV:UPRIVER-open2
    But the road coming from 'Barkhams to Wenchuan opened up(river).

49. qʰoʔ wəntʃ²wanʔ-pʰjɔ
    SEQ Wenchuan-direction
    latʃʃəf⁶e kw-tsomʔ=ṇəʔ noŋme te-je-ṇə
    various.goods INF-take.hither=SUB not.until PFV:UP:TR-begin2-3PL
    Only then, did people begin to transport various goods up to Wenchuan.

50. kw-tsomʔ  o-tʃʰəɣə=nəʔ
    INF-take.hither 3SG:POSS-manner=TOP
    stʰəre tʃʰədᵘʔ=scʰənəʔ qệmdzⁱ-pʰjɔ qément⁴scʰənəʔ ṣb-repeat²-pʰjɔ
    first PN=and PN-direction PN=and PN-direction
    kwʰdže le-wôt-ṇə nʊ-ŋə
    food PFV:UPRIVER:TR-bring2-3PL IPFV:PST-be2
    As to how the transportation was done, they brought foods upriver first from Chengdu to
    Dkarmdzes Prefecture, and then from Dkarmdzes to Mbrkhams.

51. qʰoʔ wəntʃ²wínʔ-pʰjɔ kə-revzjaŋ nə-l₁denʔ=nə=kə
    SEQ PN-direction NMLZ:SBJ-study IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity2-3PL=INS
    qʰoʔ noŋme=nəʔ
    SEQ only.then=DET
    ṣb-repeat²-pʰjɔ tětʰəm kw-nləʔ le-je-ṇə
    'Barkhams-direction up INF-exit PFV:UPRIVER:TR-begin2-3PL
    Since students at Wenchuan were many, only then did they start to come out upriver to 'Barkhams.
52. \( kʰɛʔpʰɛʔ?=n\vec{r}? t\vec{f}ɔt\vec{g}ɛʔ?=n\vec{a}ŋ \ kʰɛʔpʰɛʔ?=n\vec{r}? \ r\vec{k}aŋt\vec{a}ŋ=k\vec{a}ŋ \ l\vec{v}-\vec{w}ɛʔ-n\vec{a} \)
   some=PL car=inside some=PL go.by.foot=like PFV:UPRIVER-come2-3PL
   Some of them came in cars, others by foot.

53. \( qʰoʔ \ mɛ-te-dʒəʔ?=n\vec{a}ŋ? \)
   SEQ NEG-IPFV-be.right=SUB
   \( k\vec{a}rⁿb\vec{j}o?=n\vec{a}ŋ? \ nɔ\vec{y}məŋaŋ? \ n\vec{a}-kʰɛŋde=k\vec{a}ŋ \ n\vec{e}-f\vec{v} \)
   person=TOP only.then 3PL:POSS-education=like IPFV-go
   And, it is only when things go wrong, that man learns a lesson.

54. \( qʰoʔ \ pʰɛntsʰəm \ k\vec{v}-\gamma\vec{γ} \)
   SEQ each.other GP-be.good.to:RDPL
   \( qʰoʔ \ k\vec{a}-\vec{s}siʔ? \ \vec{k}\vec{a}-\vec{l}d\vec{e}n \ \vec{n}\vec{e}-\vec{m} \ \vec{ŋ}\vec{o}-c\vec{o} \)
   SEQ NMLZ:SBJ:U-think NMLZ:much IPFV-not.exist be-MED
   And one becomes good to each other without thinking much about other things.

55. \( qʰoʔ \ n*bɛrkʰ'emwe=r\vec{a}?=k\vec{a} \ \vec{r}aŋf\vec{a}γ?=k\vec{a} \)
   SEQ 'Barkhams.people=PL=ERG one's.own.accord=INS
   \( t\vec{f}o^n\vec{b}nj? \ \vec{t}f\vec{a}f\vec{f}s\vec{a}fsi \ \vec{t}f\vec{e}? \ k\vec{a}-n\vec{a}-\vec{s}i\vec{e} [k\vec{a}ns\vec{i}lɛ] \)
   road everywhere tea NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-boil
   \( f\vec{i}f\vec{a}n \ k\vec{a}-n\vec{a}-\vec{s}i\vec{e} \ q\vec{ɛj}w\vec{i} \ k\vec{a}-\vec{n}o^-p\vec{e} \)
   gruel NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-boil bread NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-make
   \( qʰoʔ \ w\vec{a}nt\vec{f}²\vec{w}aŋ\vec{a}²-p\vec{b}j\vec{a} \ ne-m\vec{g}r\vec{on}?-n\vec{a} \)
   SEQ PN-direction PFV:TR-treat.with.food2-3PL
   The people of 'Barkhams, of their own accord, boiled tea, boiled gruel, made bread and
treated people (who came) from Wenchuan.

56. \( qʰoʔ \ f\vec{o}f\vec{a}k\vec{a}=r\vec{a}²? \ s\vec{d}n\vec{b}e \ mɛ-te-jz\vec{a}m-n\vec{a} \ n\vec{e}-\vec{n}o \)
   SEQ money=PL at.all NEG-PFV:TR-collect-3PL IPFV:PST-be2
   And they did not take money at all.
57. qʰoʔ wanʔ le-kə-wəʔ
SEQ PN PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come2
kʰepʰɛʔ=ʁuʔ fla ju-kə-enəre
some=PL immediately PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go2
qʰoʔ kʰepʰɛʔ=ʁuʔ kəne-ŋi=ʁuŋ nu-kə-smo nu-to-nə
SEQ some=PL several-day=even IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-stay IPFV:PST-exist2-3PL
Of those who came from Wenchuan, there were some who left immediately, and some
who stayed for several days even.

58. qʰoʔ kəmqʰu ne-ŋi-nə
SEQ afterwards IPFV:PST-listen2-3PL
wanʔ jinu=ṣcəŋəʔ petʃʰanʔ ʃ-pʃə
PN PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-direction
vəɭu ʃiksə nu-tʰuʔ
earthquake very IPFV:PST-be.serious2
Afterwards, people listened (and heard) that in the direction of Wenchuan, Yingxiu, and
Beichuan, the earthquake was very serious.

59. qʰoʔ kʰ=e=ʁuʔ ʃamdiʔ=tuʔ nu-nʰət
SEQ house=PL all=a.bit PFV:DOWN-collapse2
qʰoʔ ʃamboʔ mtsʰot nu-set-nə kʰ-tsə te-je-nə
SEQ person be.many PFV:DOWN-die2-3PL INF-say PFV:TR-begin2-3PL
They began to say that almost all the houses collapsed, and many people died.

60. qʰoʔ nəʔ nu-fsət nu-tʃʰoz-cə
SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED
That was what happened.
A BIOGRAPHY OF TEACHER SONAM

NARRATOR: Bstanblo

PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB PN NMLZ-exist

There was a person in Kakhyoris Village.

2. qʰo? nə-xths=nə?
SEQ IPFV:PST-be.small2=SUB

When he was young, he suffered hardship and poverty.

3. qʰo? sʰo-xthi? ó-mo nə-me?
SEQ NMLZ:OBL-be.small2:RDPL 3 SG:POSS-mother PFV-not.exist2

His mother died when he was small.

SEQ INF-become.monk=PL PFV-be.able2 about

A learned and highly respected lama from Tárva of Kakhyoris Village. He resided at Bkrashissgang Monastery.
When (he was) about the age suitable to become a monk, as there was a coeval of his from Kakhyoris Village called Gyamtsan, the two of them became disciples to a lama from Tarva.

5. qʰoʔ tfonan kʰ-vzjan kʰ-reʔ=ɾəʔ
SEQ Jonang.school GP-study NMLZ-be.necessary=PL
kʰmdiʔ ne-vzjanʔ məkʰtsʰet
all PFV:TR-study2 not.only
kʰ-vɾtʰən kʰ-reʔ=ɾəʔ=ɾʰon ne-vzjanʔ nʔəʔ
GP-practice.reclusive.meditation NMLZ-be.necessary=PL=aslo PFV:TR-study2 be
He not only learned everything there was to learn about Jonang Buddhism, but also studied what had to be learned about reclusive meditation.

6. qʰoʔ kʰmaqʰ’unə
SEQ afterwards
ʁɡelʔyːpʰ tsʰovdn.rgonbᵉ=naj kʰ-ntsʰʔ kʰ-ɾeɾe
Yellow.sect Tshobdun-monastery=inside NMLZ:PURP-join.a.monastery PFV-go2
qʰoʔ nʔnəz ne-ntsʰʔ
SEQ there IPFV:PST-join.a.monastery2
Afterwards, he went to join Yellow-Sect Tshobdun Monastery, and there he stayed.

7. qʰoʔ kʰmaqʰ’unə kʰnʔnʔ kʰv-zyːʔt
SEQ afterwards communists PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2
qʰoʔ kʰv-ntsʰʔ=ɾʔ mə-ə-ʃoɾ
SEQ INF-join.a.monastery=PL NEG-PFV-be.allowed2
Afterwards, (the Chinese) communists came (upriver), and going to monasteries and what not was forbidden.
And those that had become monks were forced to change all their clothing.

And they did labor in the field.

Some of the monks recanted their faith.

But since Fsotar was a virtuous one, he only changed his clothing, yet did not recant his faith at all.

The village cadres resorted to all methods to force him to recant.
13. \( tə́m \, ə́n \, ò-pʰəm \, fə-tʰə-lət-nə \, nə-ŋo \)
   woman=even 3SG:POSS-bosom go.and-IPFV-put-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂

\( fənə̀ \, o-zdəmpe \, kənbe \, mə-nə-ʃə \, kə-təs \, tə²oz \)?
   but 3SG:POSS-chastity at.all NEG-PFV-lose₂ GP-say be.the.rule

It is said that they used even to shove women into his bosom, but he never lost his chastity.

14. \( qʰə \, fsətər=na? \, kə-nəwərloŋ=cəʔ \, nə-ŋo \)
   SEQ PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-quick-tempered=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂

Fsotar was a quick-tempered person.

15. \( fənə̀ \, o-ʃəmmpə=rəʔ \, ʃə-kə-ʒro? \)
   but 3SG:POSS-thought=PL very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good

\( kəənəmmpə=cəʔ \, nə-ŋo \)
   pure-minded=INDF NMLZ:SBJ-be.good

But he was kind at heart and pure in his mind.

16. \( qʰə \, kəməqʰúŋə \, tətvi \)
   SEQ afterwards village

\( kənpu=rəʔ=kə \, tətvi \, o-pəkwəŋən \, tə-o-səpe? \)
   cadre=PL=ERG village 3SG:POSS-storekeeper PFV-INV-cause.to.make₂

Afterwards, the village cadres made him storekeeper of the village.

17. \( qʰə \, tətvi \, o-ʃəʔ=scʰənəʔ \, ò-jpo \, ʰge-ŋəpəɾojo \)
   SEQ village 3SG:POSS-property=and 3SG:POSS-foodstuff IPFV-look.after₃

\( qʰə \, ʃə-kə \, ʰge-təʔ \, ʰge-tə²oz? \)
   SEQ very IPFV-be.punctilious IPFV-be.the rule

And he would look after the property and foodstuff of the village, and as a rule, he was very punctilious.
18. \( q^h \circ \) kínpu kʰetəfe=nuʔ=reʔ? \\
SEQ cadre sometimes=DET=PL \\
fsotér=pʰa səqetsótsu spjəɾu? kʰ-ROADCAST dʒom \\
PN=place stealthily public.goods NMLZ:PURP-eat.with.hand \\
te-rēntsʰa-nə fə=nuə fsotəɾ=kə ʁdənbe \\
IPFV-prepare-3PL but PN=ERG at.all \\
nə=ja mə-kə-o-səstʰevʔ-nə nə-tʃʰoz \\
3PL:POSS-hand NEG-PFV:CISLOC-INV-cause.to.2PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule

Sometimes the cadres would try to embezzle public goods from Fsotar’s place in secret, 
but as a rule, they were not allowed to lay hands on them at all.

19. \( kəməvqʰúnə kínpu=ru? te-zrəmuru? \) \\
afterwards cadre=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.be.angry_2 \\
Afterwards, he enraged the cadres.

20. \( q^h \circ \) pokwínjen=ru? nə-o-səntəv \\
SEQ storekeeper=PL PFV:INV-cause.to.lay.down_2 \\
And he was forced to resign his post as storekeeper.

21. \( q^h \circ \) nə-rəmə? nə-nfũniʔ? \\
SEQ IPFV:PST-do.labor.in.field_2 IPFV:PST-do.sideline.job \\
And he did labor in the field and took sidelines.

22. \( q^h \circ \) kəməvqʰúnə tuzʔ=ru? kə-vde te-je \\
SEQ afterwards current.political.situation=PL INF-be.good PFV:TR-begin_2 \\
Afterwards, the political situation turned for the better.

23. \( q^h \circ \) kə-ntsʰə leʔ te-joy \\
SEQ GP-join.a.monastery again PFV-be.allowed_2 \\
And it was again permitted to join a monastery.
24. qʰʰオン? ʃोtn=ŋαʔ₉
   SEQ   PN=TOP
   ㄹʔ  vlɐɾɡiʰге  teʰгеʔ
   again    monks.robe   PFV:TR-wear₂
qʰοʔ  tsʰovdəŋ  rgonb=ز  kə-ntsʰɔ  kə-ʋɾe
SEQ   PN   monastery=LOC   NMLZ:PURP-join.a.monastery   PFV-go₂
And Fsotar again put on monk’s robe and joined Tshobdun Monastery.

25. qʰοʔ  o-mnitsʰe  nʊ-ntsʰɔ  oʒorʔ₉
   SEQ   3SG:POSS-life.time   IPFV:PST-join.a.monastery₂   meanwhile
nʊ-ɾɾvzjɐŋʔ  oʒorʔ  nʊ-ɾɛʔ̥ənʔ?
   IPFV:PST-study₂   meanwhile   IPFV:PST-practice.reclusive.meditation₂
And he stayed in a monastery all his life, studying and practising reclusive meditation.

26. qʰοʔ  tsʰoxfʰen  ʃʊmdʒut=ʃcʰəŋαʔ  vl smo
   SEQ   assembly.hall   leading.sutra.teacher=and   assembly.hall.lama
   əntsʰɔtse  ne-pełni?
   frequently   IPFV:TR-do₂
And he frequently served as leading sutra teacher and lama of the assembly hall.

27. qʰοʔ  kə-ntsʰɔʔ=ɾɾʔ  ne-kroʒʔ-ŋα=ŋαʔ₉⁹⁶
   SEQ   INF-convene.for.sutra.chanting=PL   IPFV-finish.class-3PL=SUB
   ɾɾ-słoðme  "ʝe-ɬdə=kə  "ʝe-sesɔxʃʃoť
   3SG:POSS-student   IPFV-exist.in.quantity=INS   IPFV-do.teaching
   "ʝe-ɾɾʔ  ɲəʔ?
   IPFV-be.necessary   be
And, after the sutra-chanting sessions were over, he had teaching to do as he had many students.

⁹⁶ Honorific use of plural marking.
In particular, first of all, there was our group of nine or ten (students).

So we were the first to be taught.

And, since that old monk was one who brought good luck (to other people),

all his first students were able to get government jobs.

And he also had many young monks as his students.

He was stern but caring.
34. qʰoʔ o-slome vlurge=ren=ntʃʰon
SEQ 3SG:POSS-student monk=even=also
ome ka-ŋolb to-kə-la ne-to-nə
very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become2 IPFV:PST-exist2-3PL
And even among his monk students, there were those who turned out very virtuous.

35. qʰoʔ zdewe=rɐʔ=kə=ntʃʰon ʃfikə "go-ntetpe
SEQ village.people=PL=ERG=also very IPFV:INV-believe.in
qʰoʔ "go-saypa?=tie?=kə
SEQ IPFV:INV-revere be:EMPH=INS
And as people in the village also believed in and revered him greatly,

36. təɾjuʔ=scʰənə foʔkər o-ka-nuʔboʔbiʔ
valuables=and money 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-give:RDPL
ntʃʰôt ʃteʔ
IPFV:PST-be many2 be:EMPH
there were many who (came from all over) to give him valuables and money.

37. fənaʔ o-ɾjuʔ=ɾeʔ rgonbé=ta
but 3SG:POSS-valuables=PL monastery=top
əntsôtse ne-lêt ʃteʔ kôma
frequently PFV:TR-put2 be:EMPH except
But except for constantly donating his valuables to the monastery,

38. o-yɾɾɾəʔ nə-ja kə-fkrev? me-ne-swyre "denəʔ
3SG:POSS-family 3PL:POSS-hand one-CL NEG-PFV:TR-cause.to.go2 for
o-yɾɾɾəʔ nə-pʰə
3SG:POSS-family 3PL:POSS-place
he did not let one bit (of it) go to the hands of his family. For he said to his folks,
39. koʔ  fkt³r²t=naʔ?

this something.undeserved=DET

naʔ-raqé=naŋ  v-ma-təv-fə

2PL:POSS-throat=inside  IRR-NEG-IMP:DOWNRIVER-go  for

“Do not let this undeserved thing go down your throats, otherwise;”

40. fsiʔ  ne-kʰ-set=naʔ?
in.the.future  IPFV-GP-die=SUB

tə-raqé=naŋ  kʰro  tʰæ-ke-lêt=ʃənəʔ?  nəxʔfəʔy?

GP:POSS-throat=inside  cast.iron  PFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-put2=and  be.like

“when you die in the future, it will feel like somebody has poured cast iron down your throats,” he often said.

41. qʰóŋəʔ  tʰrəŋ  o-kəmŋəʔ=ɾəʔ?  kʰemʃʰə

SEQ  often  3SG:POSS-illness=PL  a.bit  IPFV-exist

He often suffered a bit from illnesses.

42. ʃəʔ  bærkʰemʔ  kʰ-fə  fə-ke-sərʔəʔ=naʔ?

but  PN  INF-go  go.and-INF-cause.to.examine=SUB

me-ʃʰ-gé-kʰut  nənəʔ?

NEG-IPFV-allow  for

But he could not be persuaded to go to 'Barkhams to have himself examined,

43. o-kóru  ɣfikə  kə-rki=cəʔ?  "ge-fteʔ?

3SG:POSS-skull  very  NMLZ:SBJ-be.tough=INDF  IPFV-be:EMPH

he was a very strong-willed person.
44. *qʰoʔ* *jup-* *kʰ-ȵgiʔ* *te-* *je*

SEQ last.year INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin2

And last year, he became ill.

45. *qʰoʔ* *o-yrwɛʔ*=*scʰənaʔ* *o-slome=rv?=*kʰ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL=ERG

*mefsʰe* *nburkʰemʔ* *ʃa-te-səɾtə-nə=noʔ?*

by.force PN go.and-PFV:TR-examine2-3PL=SUB

net *kʰ-ŋm=nəʔ* *tə-myəm=cə*

illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=DET PFV-be.ill2=EV

When his family and students made him have a checkup at ’Barkhams, he had the malicious disease (cancer).

46. *qʰoʔ* *smɪnbe=kʰ*

SEQ doctor=ERG

ne-*kʰ* *kəlden* *mə-mdu* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ?*

that.near.you much NEG-last be PFV:TR-say2

And the doctor said, “This (patient) won’t last long now.”

47. *qʰoʔ* *o-jíʔ*=*ntʰon*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also

net *kʰ-ŋm* *tə-kʰ-myəm=nəʔ?* *ne-siz?* *ʃeʔ?*

illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad PFV-NMLZ-be.ill2=DET PFV:TR-know2 be:EMPH

And he himself also knew that he had cancer.

48. *qʰɔnəʔ* *o-yrwɛʔ*=*scʰənaʔ* *o-slome=rv?=nə=*pʰa*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL 3PL:POSS-place

*ŋiʔ* *ʃe-taŋ* *ʃoɣtənə* *ʃynəŋ* *rewortsɛɾŋa*=*scʰənaʔ?*

1SG die-1SG before China PN=and
And then he said to his family and students, “Before I die, I must take a pilgrimage to Wutai and Emei Mountains in China.”

49. qʰoʔ raŋpaʔ fo-ne-nwmdʒəmdʒel?
SEQ special go.and-PFV-take.various.pilgrimages
qʰoʔ fla nə-nəweʔ?
SEQ quickly PFV:DOWN-come.back
qʰoʔ tsʰovdoʔ ta-ənəre ʃieʔ?
SEQ PN PFV:UP-go.back be:EMPH
And he took various special pilgrimages, and quickly came back, and then went back to Tshobdun.

50. qʰoʔ o-ɣɾɾɾɾʔ=sebənəʔ o-słome=pʰa
SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=place
koʔ v-kə-ŋjomʔ=koʔ o-tsʰəɾə mv=kə
this 1SG:POSS-illness=this 3SG:POSS-manner not.exist=INS
“Since this illness of mine is not looking good,”

51. v-ɾɾɾɾʔu=sebənə v-latfʰa-tfʰe tʰemtfet=nəʔ?
1SG:POSS-property:RDPL=and 1SG:POSS-thing:RDPL all=DET
kəmdɨʔ ntsweʔ-əŋ yoʔ te-tsəʔ?
all sell-1SG be PFV:TR-say
“I will sell out all my valuables and belongings,” he said.

52. qʰonəʔ kə-ŋji=ce=nəʔ?
SEQ:EMPH one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
o-ɾɾɾɾʔu? o-latfʰa-tfʰe tʰemtfntənəʔ?
3SG:POSS-property:RDPL 3SG:POSS-thing:RDPL all:EMPH
And one day, he laid out all of his valuables and belongings on the courtyard in front of the sutra-chanting hall.

53. \( q'\text{o}\?\quad o\text{-}k\text{o}\?\quad k\text{æ}-b\text{ét}=ts\text{w}\quad \text{antsₚₜse}\quad ne\text{-}ntsw\text{w} \)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-price NMLZ:SBJ-be=a.bit continuously PFV:TR-sell₂
And he sold them out one by one at somewhat cheaper prices.

54. \( q'\text{o}\?\quad k\text{æp\text{c}}\?\quad \text{vlrge}=ru\? \)
SEQ some monk=PL
\begin{align*}
\text{kv-nàn-χtu} & \quad k\text{æ-sas}i\? \quad \text{na-fykor} \quad k\text{æ-mv}=ru\? \\
\text{INF-SPON-buy} & \quad \text{NMLZ:SBJ-think} \quad 3PL:POSS-money \quad \text{NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=PL} \\
k\text{æp\text{c}}\? & \quad \text{latf\text{e}=ru}\? \quad ne\text{-}rvb\text{i} \\
\text{some} & \quad \text{thing=PL} \quad \text{PFV:TR-give.away₂} \\
\end{align*}
And some monks would like to buy but did not have money, and he would give away a few things (to them).

55. \( q'\text{o}\?\quad o\text{-}t\text{såx\text{f}a}=ntf\text{on}\quad o\text{-}k\text{o}\?\quad k\text{æ}-b\text{ét} \)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-monks.quarters=also 3SG:POSS-price NMLZ:SBJ-be.cheap ne-ntsw\text{w} PFV:TR-sell₂
And he sold even his monk’s quarters at a cheap price.

56. \( q'\text{o}\?\quad k\text{æ-sni}\quad o\text{-}j\text{b\text{r}u\text{\}}}=ru\? \)
SEQ one-day 3SG:POSS-property:RDPL=PL
\begin{align*}
k\text{æmdi}\? & \quad \text{kv-ntswe}\? \quad ne\text{-}savj\text{c} \\
\text{all} & \quad \text{INF-sell} \quad \text{PFV:TR-finish₂} \\
\end{align*}
And in one day, he finished selling all his belongings and what not.
57.  qʰoʔ  o-sem  χʃikə  nə-vdeʔn
SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart  very  PFV-be.good2
And his heart was very contented.

58.  qʰoʔ  foχkor  nə-kə-lə=rvʔ  né-set-ənj  ozgɨqʰu
SEQ money  PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become2=PL  IPFV-die-1SG  after
kəmdi  rgonbé=ta  ku-let  reʔ  te-tseʔ
all  monastery=top  GP-put  be.necessary  PFV:TR-say2
And he said, “After I die, one has to donate all the money from the selling to the
monastery.”

59.  qʰoʔ  o-latʰe  ne-ntswe  noʔofsáfşi=nəʔn
SEQ 3SG:POSS-belongings  PFV:TR-sell2  next.morning=DET
rgonbé=naŋ  nə-ntsʰɔ.course  nəʔ-cə
monastery=inside  IPFV:PST-convene2-3PL  be-MED
The following morning after he had sold his belongings, they convened (to chant sutra).

60.  qʰoʔ  sasuqʰu  jvnw
SEQ  afternoon  about
qʰoʔ  o-tʂaʃʃáʔ=naŋ  lv-unə=e-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-monk’s.quarters=inside  PFV:IN-go.back2-MED
Sometime in the afternoon, he went back up to his quarters.

61.  qʰoʔ  o-mtf̥otchʔan=ə  tə-vmduʔn
SEQ 3SG:POSS-shrine=LOC  PFV-sit2
qʰoʔ  kv-ɾkʰdən  te-je
SEQ  INF-chant.short.sutra  PFV:TR-begin2
And he sat down at his shrine and started to chant short sutras.
62. *qʰoʔ*  *o-slome=rv*  *nə-pʰa*
   
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-student=PL 3PL:POSS-place
   
   *nəʔjerna*  *to-mda*  *ŋoʔ*
   
   about.this.time  PFV:be.time2 be
   
   *qʰoʔ*  *nəʔj=a*  *rm*  *ə*  *-mda*  *ŋoʔ*
   
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-student=PL 3PL:POSS-place
   
   And he said to his students, “It is about time now. Ask them to change my clothes.”

63. *qʰoʔ*  *ó-ge=rv*  *te-o-safcuʔ=an-ŋə*
   
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-clothing=PL IMP-INV-cause.to.change-1SG-3PL PFV:TR-say2
   
   And they changed his clothes, and started to chant sutras.

64. *o-ji?=ntə’on  vlrge=rv*  *nə-krərv*  *nv-ə̃don*  *ŋoʔ-cə*
   
   3SG:POSS-self=also monk=PL 3PL:POSS-company PFV:PST-chant2 be-MED
   
   And he himself was chanting sutras with the monks.

65. *kəməqʰín*  *kómtə*  *nv-kv-cʰv*  *te-je*
   
   afterwards  a.bit  NEG-INF-be.able PFV:TR-begin2
   
   Afterwards, he began to lose it.

66. *qʰoʔ*  *o-ko=rv*  *kv-pʰv=tsə*  *ne-je  ŋoʔ-cə*
   
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-head=PL INF-lower=a.bit PFV:TR-begin2 be-MED
   
   And his heads began to drop a bit.

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97 This refers to chanting the sutras for people who will soon transpire.
67. qʰoʔ kʰaŋəŋʰə nʊ̃ətəfət tənə tə-nəʔ-yə-nə-cə
SEQ afterwards thus bone PFV-sit2:HON-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ na-ŋə-nə ɵə-cə
SEQ PFV-pass.away2-3PL be-MED
And afterwards he passed away in a sitting position.

68. qʰoʔ vlɐɾə=ɾeʔ=ka rtṣerŋ=ɾeʔ te-səʔ-teʔ-nə
SEQ monk=PL=ERG high.monks.hat=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.wear2-3PL
And the monks put a high monk’s hat on him.

69. qʰoʔ ə-ste te-wə-vəʔ-ə-nə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-place.where.one.is PFV:TR-make.proper2-3PL
Then, they positioned him properly where he was.⁹⁸

70. qʰoʔ o-əməłəm=ɾəʔ tʃə ɾə-ɾə?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.for.delivering.the.deseased=PL what NMZL:SBJ-be.necessary
ne-ɾəʔ-nə ɵə-cə
PFV:TR-chant2-3PL be-MED
And chanted all the needed sutras to deliver the dead for him.

71. qʰoʔ ə-ŋə-nə
SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB
udon tə-nəʔ-yə-nə=ɾəʔ kəʃne-sətʃ fəɾəə
bone PFV-sit2:HON-3PL=SUB seven-day about
ne-kə-teʔ tʃə ɾəʔ ɵə-cə
IPFV-GP-put be.the.rule be-MED
In the ordinary course of events, those who die in a sitting posture are left unburied for seven days.

⁹⁸ Putting his remains on a small box, and setting his head upright.
72. ʃənəʔ skvər-təʔ skærmə=nəʔ vde-sŋi jemə 'denəʔ
but funeral auspicious.day=TOP four-day about except
ne-kw-teʔ me-nə=joy-ca
IPFV-GP-put NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed2-MED
But as for the auspicious day for the funeral, only four days of leaving the corpse unburied were allowed.

73. qʰoʔ nəʔ vde-sŋi ɜ-nəŋ skuadəŋ χfikə nə-xtʃiʔ?
SEQ ANA four-day 3SG:POSS-inside remains very PFV-be.small2
And during the four-day period, the remains became very small.

74. o-me=nəʔ o-la=rəvʔ χfikə
3SG:POSS-essense=TOP 3SG:POSS-body=PL very
kəxtʃiʔ=caʔ nə-ŋə
NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-be2
In fact, his body was originally very big.

75. ʃənəʔ ɜmdənə kəxtʃipu jemə 'denəʔ nə-məʔ-caʔ
but in.the.end small.child about except PFV-not.exist2-MED
But in the end it became no bigger than a small child.

76. qʰoʔ vlerge=ʃe=nəʔ o-slome=raʔ te-kv-mdʒəl kəma
SEQ monk=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL IPFV-NMLZ-worship except
kəmaʔ zde=rəvʔ te-kv-mdʒəl nə-nə=joy
other village.people=PL IPFV-NMLZ-worship NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed2
But except for monks and his students, people from the village were not allowed to worship it.
77. qʰoʔ  jərəʔ  kóntso  tə-kə-lə  o-slome=rəʔ
SEQ 1PL government.work PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-get2 3SG:POSS-student=PL
te-rezda�de-jə  qʰoʔ  tə-wə-rə
PFV:TR-invite.as.company:RDPL-1PL SEQ PFV:UP-go2-1PL
And we students of his who had found government work invited each other for company and went up (together) (to Tshobdun).

78. qʰoʔ  skuʔdəŋ  ne-mdzəl-jə
SEQ remains PFV-pay.obeisance.to2-1PL
qʰoʔ  jə-sni=rəʔ  χʃika  nə-zdəɣ
SEQ 1PL:POSS-heart=PL very PFV-be.sad2
And we paid obeisance to his remains, and we were so sad.

79. qʰoʔ  sqvrəʔ  orjəŋnaʔ?
SEQ funeral when
rgonbe=rəʔ=kə  stiʔ  vleme  kə-ʒroʔ  ne-ʃʃuʔ-nə=nə?
monastery=PL=INS most monk NMLZ:SBJ-be.good IPFV-die-3PL=SUB
o-vənʃraʔ  o-tə-lət=kəsə
3PL:POSS-cremation 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-perform2=like
kə-pe  reʔ?  te-təʔ-nə
GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say2-3PL
During the funeral, people from the monastery said that his cremation must be performed in a manner befitting the best monks that pass away.

80. qʰoʔ  naŋviʔ  ozgíʔunəʔ  vənʃraʔ  ne-lət-nə
SEQ PN after cremation PFV:TR-perform2-3PL
And they performed the cremation behind the Nangvi House.99

99 Name of Kirti Lama’s residence at the Tshobdun Monastery.
81. qʰoʔ rgonbe sprəsku stʰo kə-xteʔ=kə
SEQ monastery living.buddha most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=ERG
vlərge=reʔ na-ntsʰɔʔtəm te-liʔ
monk=PL 3PL:POSS-assembly.speech PFV:TR-do₂
And the biggest living Buddha at the monastery gave a speech to the monks.

82. qʰoʔ naʃraʔ vḷe=reʔ v-na-tə-revzjan
SEQ 2PL monk=PL IRR-IMP-2-study
“You monks must study hard.”

83. qʰoʔ tə-ruʔ=reʔ v-na-kə-fsʔ=nəʔ reʔ fiε?
SEQ GP:POSS-valuables=PL IRR-IMP-GP-earn=SUB be.necessary be:EMPH
“One must earn property,”

84. fənaʔ mdortse nv-weʔ=nəʔ
but essense PFV:DOWN-come₂=SUB
“but, above all,”

85. nv-liʔco vḷergen=nəʔ
2SG:POSS-upriver.place old.monk=DET
kə-fsət v-na-svəv=nəʔ vəʔ ge tanboʔ ɡoʔ?
INF-do.thus IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB number first be
te-ʃsonʔ=nəʔ⁹⁰ nv-ʧʃozn
PFV:TR-say₂:HON-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
“this old monk up there (near you), it would be the best thing if one can follow his example,” he said.

⁹⁰ Plural marking here indicates deference to the reincarnated Buddha.
A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF LIFE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Narrator: Retawe ’Jamdbyangs

1. $c^\circ e^z=wAnthawakémin\ orjáŋnəz$
   former.time=LOC cultural.revolution when

$tάtwi=nάŋ\ z3unu.pʰosw 처=\ f]\=\=\ kβ-nfúŋi$, *ge-tf’oz?
   village=inside young.man=PL go.and-GP-do.sideline IPFV-be.the.rule

Formerly, during the Cultural Revolution, it was customary for young men in the village to go and do sidelines.

2. $tάtwi=kά\ kβ-nfúŋi\ t=ō-wntjεt-jə$
   village=ERG NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline PFV-INV-select2-1PL

$qʰoʔ=se^{h}o^{a}ʔ\ surʃaŋ?\ tʰv-wre-jə$
   SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-1PL

We were selected by the village to do sidelines and went downriver to Sardzong.

3. $qʰoʔ=montsəkoy?\ te-kə-tsə=\ nάŋ\ nόnəz\ nɨ-smo-jə$
   SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=DET there IPFV:PST-stay-3PL

And we stayed at a place called Mentsekou.

4. $qʰoʔ\ tə̓srot\ kəsəvde-sle\ jərmə\ nɨ-peʔ-jə$
   SEQ charcoal three.four.month about IPFV:PST-make2-1PL

And we were making charcoal for about three to four months.

5. $jə-tsətʃaŋ=naʔ?\ tsʰrəngʃêfi\ nɨ-əŋo$
   1PL:POSS-section.leader=DET PN IPFV:PST-be2

And our section leader was Tsrangkashi.
6. ɐɟ i ʔ nə-futsuʃan ə-fpaz=caʔ ne-no
   1SG 1PL:POSS-vice.section.leader 3SG:POSS-makeshift=INDF IPFV:PST-be2
   And I was a makeshift of a vice-section leader.

7. qʰoʔ kənʃúni=nə?
   SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline=DET
   χošɔʒiŋ ɲaŋ kərdɔʃaŋ tshay phaŋlo leltuʃustəndən
   PN PN PN PN PN PN
   ʁgədəŋ rjúmtən ʰbəjkoslo mê=ruʔ ne-to-jə
   PN PN PN ANA=PL IPFV:PST-exist2-1PL
   And those who did sidelines were Xothreyan, Ngawang, Kerdeskyab, Tragpa, Fshanglo, Laluchu Standzen, Dgenden, Rgyamtsan, Mbeyko Smolam and so on.

8. qʰoʔ ɲv-ŋfúniʔ-jə
   SEQ IPFV:PST-do.sideline2-1PL
   And so we were doing sidelines.

9. qʰoʔ rjūspə nə-tsoʔ jəɾme
   SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse2 about
   jə-tsʰəjʔ=ruʔ nə-joʔ
   1PL:POSS-vegetables=PL PFV-be.completely.consumed
   j̥o-ndze=ruʔ tə-ɛɾkərkonʔ?
   1PL:POSS-food=PL PFV-be.scarce2
   After a while, our vegetables ran out, and out food became scarce.

10. qʰoʔ meɾ=nəʔ ʰkə-məɾku tʰə-ɛɾe-jə
    SEQ night=DET PURP-steal PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-1PL
    At night, we went downriver to steal.
11. qʰoʔ pétsŋ=seʰnaʔ njaŋyepe snez-fkor tə-mərkḷ-jo
SEQ bakchoy=and cabbage two-backload PFV-steal2-1PL
And we stole two backloads of bakchoy and cabbage.

12. qʰoʔ təfkor le-na-wət-jo
SEQ backload PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-bring2-1PL
And we brought the backloads upriver.

13. qʰoʔ Ɲotqʰoj nə-verʔ=ko
SEQ PN PFV-be.afraid2=INS
nə-pʰi Ɲe-tʃo
PFV-escape2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
And Xothreyan got afraid and ran away. It was thus.

14. nəʔ o-ri=raʔ əntsígə nə-na-verʔ-jo mo
ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=PL that.much PFV-SPON-be.afraid2-1PL not.exist
The rest (of us) were not so afraid.

15. qʰoʔ kaun-neŋi nə?=raʔ ne-ⁿdzeʔ-jo
SEQ a.couple.of-day ANA=PL IPFV:PST-eat2-1PL
And for the (next) couple of days we ate those (vegetables).

16. qʰoʔ nə-tsʰεʔ ʃrmə
SEQ PFV-be.over2 about
leʔ ƥswatinʔ\textsuperscript{101} tə-ⁿdi-jo jəŋjuʔ
again clasp.nail PFV-take2-1PL potato

\textsuperscript{101} From Chinese zhuaǎ̄ng (抓釘).
And they were almost all gone, and we again took up some clasp nails and went downriver to steal.

17. qʰoʔ *hējgosmolm=kə
SEQ PN=ERG
ŋiʔ ʈʂɐŋkaŋʔ mə-tə-ko-sɔɾdi-ŋə nəʔ=ˈdenəʔ
1SG standing.guard NEG-IMP-2→1-cause.to-take-1SG-3PL for
v-rne  mw-fəʔ? ŋoʔ=kə
1SG:POSS-ear NEG-hear be=DM
And Mbeyko Smolam said, “Don’t make me stand guard, because I am hard of hearing.”

18. ŋiʔ ʃəʔ-ʃə ʃə-tʃet-ŋə
1SG potato go.and-IPFV-take.out-1SG
kədəʔ? ʃə-ke-weʔ  ne-to
in.a.while PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come2 IPFV:PST-exist2
qʰoʔ ʃəʔ=ta
SEQ:EMPH 1SG:POSS-head=top
coʔ=ɾutʃot  v-tə-v-wiɾet-ŋə  təʾ-ʃə
top.rock sand and dirt IRR-PFV:DOWNIVER-2-throw-2PL IPFV-say
“I’ll go and dig for potatoes. If anyone should come, throw pebbles and sand at me,” he was saying.

19. qʰoʔ ʃəʔ=ɾənəʔ ʃətəɾ-ni ʈʂaŋkaŋʔ? ne-ə-di-ɾədəʔ
SEQ PN=and PN-DU standing.guard PFV:TR-take-2-3DU
qʰoʔ ʃəʔ-ʃəʔ ʃəʔ=ɾə ʃəʔ ʃətəɾ-jə
SEQ 1PL potato IPFV:PST-take.out2-1PL
So Rgyamtsan and Fsotar took guard, and we dug for potatoes.
20. \( qʰoʔ \)  |  \( le-nəwət-ja \)
---|---
SEQ  |  PFV:UPRIVER-bring.back\_2-1PL
\( jə-kə-fseʔ=ru? \)  |  \( nu-meʔ \)
1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-hear=PL  |  IPFV:PST-not.exist\_2
And we brought (potatoes) upriver, and no one discovered us.

21. \( qʰoʔ \)  |  \( le? \)  |  \( táŋrot=ru? \)  |  \( nu-peʔ-ja \)
---|---|---|---
SEQ  |  again  |  charcoal=PL  |  IPFV:PST-make\_2-1PL
And we went back to making charcoals.

22. \( qʰoʔ \)  |  \( táŋrot \)  |  \( o-kə-sâjkəv=nəʔ \)
---|---|---
SEQ  |  charcoal  |  3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-cover.with.material=DET
\( χoʔsʰjʊn=scʰənəʔ \)  |  \( ɲavən=niʔ \)  |  \( nu-ŋo-ⁿdzə \)
PN=and  |  PN=DU  |  IPFV:PST-be\_2-3DU
And Xothreyan and Ngawang were the ones who covered the (oak sticks) with (earth).

23. \( qʰoʔ \)  |  \( táŋrot \)  |  \( kə-sâjkəv=nəʔ \)  |  \( te-nərəzʔ-ⁿdzə \)  |  \( nu-ŋo \)
---|---|---|---|---
SEQ  |  charcoal  |  INF-cover.with.material=TOP  |  PFV:TR-take.turns\_2-3DU  |  IPFV:PST-be\_2
And the two of them took turns covering the (oak sticks) with (earth).

24. \( qʰoʔ \)  |  \( "ge-smo-ja \)  |  \( nu-ŋo \)
---|---|---
SEQ  |  IPFV-stay-1PL  |  IPFV:PST-be\_2
And we stayed (there like that).

25. \( ʃə \)  |  \( sn=caʔ=kə \)  |  \( jə-ⁿge \)  |  \( kəmŋəm \)  |  \( "ge-ⁿdzə \)
but  |  mouse=INDF=ERG  |  1PL:POSS-clothes  |  often  |  IPFV-eat\_3
But a mouse often bit our clothes.
26. \(qʰoʔ\) \(kʰ-tafe=ce\) \(nv-myeʔ-jə\)
SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF PFV-catch–1PL
And we caught it one time.

27. \(qʰoʔ\) \(mer=nəʔ\)
SEQ night=TOP
\(ó-ʁɐ~r~t\) \(ʃʰı́ ju\) \(tə-lēt-jə\) \(qʰoʔ\) \(ta-fnət-jə\)
3SG:POSS-body gasoline PFV-put–1PL SEQ PFV-light–1PL
\(qʰoʔ\) \(noʔsēfsət\) \(nə-lēt-jə=naʔ\)
SEQ thus PFV-release–1PL=SUB
At night, when we poured gasoline on its body, lit it up, and let it go like that.

28. \(sekóʔ=naŋ\) \(nə-pʰi\) \(qʰoʔ\) \(γ₃dzov~le-te\)
bush=inside PFV-escape–2 SEQ fire PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause–2
It ran off into the bushes and caused a fire.

29. \(qʰoʔ\) \(jaʃəwʔ=ka\) \(kα-nay^*dzόʃmev\) \(ta-strəjə\)
SEQ 1PL PFV-be.afraid–1INS INF.put.out.fire PFV-begin–1PL
We got scared, and began to put out the fire.

30. \(qʰoʔ\) \(ʃədʒi̊ dənəʔ\) \(ké-ʃmev\) \(mə-nv-cʰeʔ-jə\)
SEQ a.long.time not.until INF.put.out NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able–1PL
And did not manage to put it out until a long time afterwards.

31. \(qʰoʔ\) \(nə=rwʔ\) \(nv-fsət\)
SEQ ANA=PL IPFV:PST-be.like–2
This was what happened.
32. *qʰoʔ leʔ kʰmtʃa nə-tsoʔ jərən*

SEQ again a.bit PFV-elapse2 about

And after a while, we went again downriver to Sardzong.

33. *tʃʰə poʔ=scʰənəʔ tʰəmkʰʔ=nɨʔ kə-weʔ-dzə-cə*

SEQ PN=and PN=DU PFV:EAST-come2-3DU-MED

And Chopo and Thamkhi came over.

34. *ja-kwədze nə-məʔ yoʔ*

SEQ 1PL:POSS-food PFV-not.exist2 be

And we said (to them), “We have no food, and we are in a terrible shape.”

35. *tʃʰə ftʃʰə cənəʔ tʰəmkʰʔ=nɬʔ jə-pʰə*

SEQ PN=and PN=DU 1PL:POSS-place

And Chopo and Thamkhi expressed their sympathy to us.

36. *tʰəftʃʰəcə nə-oʰəbafʰi-jə*

SEQ simple PFV-INV-feed2-1PL

And they treated us to a simple meal, and said, “(We’ll) give you (our) village’s male common cattle!”
37. qʰoʔ tsəʔa rjémtsvn-ni qveʰwetri  lv-vre-tsə
SEQ  1DU  PN-DU  PN  PFV:UPRIVER-go2-1DU
qʰoʔ tàtwi oʰbole kómyo jürme nə-ôyʰbi-jo
SEQ village  3SG:POSS-male.common.cattle five about PFV-INV-give2-1PL
So Rgyamtsan and I went upriver to Qachweri Village and they gave us five of the
village’s male common cattle.

38. qʰoʔ tsəʔaniʔ=kə  "bole?  scwʰgo kə-tsom-tsə
SEQ  1DU=ERG male.common.cattle  PN  PFV:EAST-take2-1DU
Then the two of us took the male common cattle east to Scango.102

39. qʰoʔ scwʰgo zərætsʰɒmpʰe  ʰ-pʰa  tʰvre-tsə
SEQ  PN  PN  3SG:POSS-place  PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-1DU
And went downriver to (a person called) Scango Zharachomphe.

40. qʰoʔ zərætsʰɒmpʰe=kə  nji?  vlrəge=nə?
SEQ  PN=ERG  1SG  monk=TOP
"bole?  kə-ntswe?=nə?  mə-nítse  nyə?
male.common.cattle  GP-sell=SUB  NEG-be.fitting  be
And Zharachomphe said, “As a monk, it is not fitting for me to sell male common cattle,”

41. nyu  qveʰbruʔ  kə-tsʰo=cəʔ  toʔ=kə
1SG:POSS  male.yak  NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDEF  exist=INS
nəʔ  ne-təʰbi-nə=kə  te-tsəʔ
ANA  IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM  PFV:TR-say₂
“I have a fat male yak. I will give that away to you.”

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102 Name of a place near Sardzong Village in Tshobdun Township, now a village in Rkakhog (红原) County.
42. qʰnʔ nəʔ=rvʔ nə-oy-⁹bi-jə
SEQ ANA=PL PFV-INV-give₂-¹PL
fənaʔ ò-ʃə=rəʔ but 3SG:POSS-place=DET
ⁿboleʔ=čəʔ=rvʔ kə-rdə jürə nə-kʰi-tsə
male.common.cattle=INDF=PL one-CL about PFV-hand.to₂-¹DU
And he gave that (male yak) to us. But in return we handed a male common cattle to him.

43. qʰónəʔ qwʰbruʔ=sw⁹ənaʔ n⁹boleʔ=rvʔ
SEQ:EMPH male.yak=and male.common.cattle=PL
jə-sw-nfuniʔ kə-to=nəʔ nə-tsom-tsə
1PL:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-do.sideline₂ NMZL-be.located=DET PFV:WEST-take₂-¹DU
And we brought the male yak and the male common cattle to where we were doing sideline work.

44. felĩ spent5ʔ=ta lb-wôt-jə
upriver.place meadow=top PFV:UPRIVER-bring₂-¹PL
And we (all) brought them onto the meadow upriver.

45. qʰə? qwʰbruʔ=nəʔ səm kə-nf⁹e nə-ŋo-jə
SEQ yak=DET for.beef NMLZ-kill IPFV:PST-be₂-¹PL
qʰə? ķme=rvʔ tə-xferʔ-jə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-leg=PL PFV-wrap.string.around₂-¹PL
nə-ŋo=jənəʔ nə-nləy
IPFV:PST-be₂=just.when PFV-break.loose₂
We were going to kill the yak, and just when we were about to tie strings around its legs, it broke loose.
46. \[qʰoʔ\ kə-sɛtʃʰuʔ=\textit{ca}?\] \[\textit{nu-nə}=kə\]

SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to.gore.people=INDF IPFV:PST-be\textsubscript{2}=INS  
\[\textit{kə-ŋu-mətʃʰu fətʰitʰi}\] \[tʰvə-o-wəret\]

PN PFV-INV-gore\textsubscript{2} downriver.place:FAR.DIST PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-throw\textsubscript{2}

As (the yak) was prone to gore people, it butted Gdendon and hurled him far downriver.

47. \[qʰoʔ\ jə봐\textit{na}ʔ\] \[təver?=kə\]

SEQ 1PL fear=INS  
\[kəmbqʰů\textit{nə}\] \[tomde\] \[kə-ŋu-ʃtʰi-cə\]

afterwards gun INF-do INF-be.almost-MED  
\[\textit{nu-ʃtʰiʃətʰi}\] \[tʰμ\textit{-o-wəret}\]

in.that.manner PFV-butcher\textsubscript{2}-1PL

We got afraid and butchered it almost completely by firing guns.

48. \[qʰoʔ\] \[leʔ\ kəŋ\textit{eləser}\] \[tə-mdə\] \[jə\textit{me}=jəʊə?\]

SEQ again Chinese.New.Year PFV-time.for\textsubscript{2} about=just when  
\[sc\textit{vʰgo}\] \[le-\textit{weʔ}\]

PN PFV:UPRIVER-come\textsubscript{2}

\[qʰoʔ\] \[nə\textit{nəz}\] \[ozorʔ\] \[\textit{nu-nə\textit{loser}\textsubscript{2}-jə}\]

SEQ there meanwhile IPFV:PST-celebrate.New.Year\textsubscript{2}-1PL

And we went again to Scango just before the Chinese New Year and meanwhile spent the New Year there.

49. \[qʰoʔ\] \[sc\textit{vʰgo}\] \[pʰ\textit{oser}=\textit{ca}=kə\] \[q\textit{vʰbruʔ}\] \[te-\textit{mərk}\textit{ku}-cə=kə\]

SEQ PN young.man=INDF=ERG yak PFV:TR-steal\textsubscript{2}-MED=INS  
\[səq\textit{tsʰtʰu}\] \[ʃə\textit{narʔ}\] \[tə-ŋwətʰu\textsubscript{2}-jə\]

stealthily 1PL PFV-INV-sell\textsubscript{2}-1PL

A young man from Scango stole a yak, and sold it to us in secret.
50. qʰoʔ ɐɟiʔ qʰoʔ ryémtsen kepʰərcə=caʔ
SEQ 1SG SEQ PN and.group=INDF
mərdeʔ qʰoʔ=nəŋ skəm nu-wəməʔ-jo
PN gully=inside as.beef PFV-butchert2-1PL
And Rgyamtsan and I and some others butchered it for beef inside the Merda Gully.

51. qʰoʔ tʰemtem nu-raʃdʒat-jo=joʔaʔ
SEQ just.then IPFV:PST-do.skinning.and.dressing2-1PL=just.when
jə-qʰu rmde kɔmŋo jərmə nu-zyöt-nə
1PL:POSS-back tracker five about PFV-arrive2-3PL
Just when we were skinning and dressing, about five trackers arrived behind us.

52. qʰoʔ jəʔu rjēspe m-aʔ-æntseʔ?
SEQ 2PL:POSS quite.a.lot NEG-PFV-be.suitable2
And (the situation) was quite embarrassing for us.

53. qʰoʔ kádenə tfʰopoʔ o-γνv
SEQ in.a.while PN 3SG:POSS-relative
tsʰeko te-kv-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə scANGO
PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS PN
nu-ʃtʃaŋ nu-ŋo=kə naʔ nu-zyöt
3PL:POSS-Village.leader IPFV:PST-be2=INS ANA PFV-arrive2
And after a while, a relative of Chopo’s called Tsheko, who was leader of Scango Village, arrived.
54. \(qʰoʔ\) ma-\(ʁ\)du ma-\(ʁ\)du \(kəmdi\)?
SEQ NEG-matter NEG-matter all
\(kenəʃəʃə=scʰəna\) t\(wən\) f\(teʔ-jə-cə=kə\)\(^{103}\) n\(ə\) t\(ə̆t\)se
acquaintance=and relative be:EMPH-1PL-MED=DM ANA IPFV-say
And he was saying, “Doesn’t matter! Doesn’t matter! We all are acquaintances and relatives.”

55. \(qʰonə\) jə-\(skəm\) mə-na-o-\(nsək\)
SEQ:EMPH 1PL:POSS-beef NEG-PFV-INV-snatch.away
\(qʰo\) j\(ən\) k\(ə\)-n\(ə\jwet-na\)
SEQ 3PL PFV:EAST-return2-3PL
\(qʰo\) n\(ə\)=r\(ə\) n\(v\)-\(fsət\)
SEQ ANA=PL IPFV:PST-be.like\(_2\)
So he did not take away our beef, and they went back east. That was what happened.

56. le\(ʔ\) kə-\(taʃe=ce\) jəj\(ə\)re? k\(epʰərve=rv\)
again one-time=LOC:INDF 1PL and.group=PL
sc\(ə\)ŋo k\(ə\)-\(o\)-s\(ə\)y\(r\)e-j\(ə\)
PN PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.go2-1PL
\(qʰo\) k\(ən\)ʃe o-\(rj\)\(w\)re n\(v\)-\(pe\)-j\(ə\)
SEQ township 3SG::POSS-courtyard IPFV:PST-make2-1PL
Again one time, we were instructed to go east with some other people to Scango to make a courtyard for the commune.

57. \(qʰo\) k\(ən\)ʃe o-\(rj\)\(w\)re n\(v\)-\(pe\)-j\(ə\)
SEQ township 3SG:POSS-courtyard IPFV:PST-make2-1PL
\(qʰo\) p\(ə\)k\(ə\)nt\(ə\)y\(j\)u n\(v\)-\(pe\)-j\(ə\)
SEQ pillbox IPFV:PST-make2-1PL
(There,) we were building a courtyard for the township government and also pillboxes.

\(^{103}\) First-person plural marking is optional here.
58. qʰoʔ ʰbroʰpʰe=ɾuʔ=ka
SEQ nomad=PL=ERG
pʰakoŋteʰjyuʔ=naʔ  ome ʰgeʰqʰeʔ-naʔ
pillbox=DET very IPFV-hate-3PL
The nomads dislike pillboxes very much.

59. qʰoʔ ʰjə-ʰtʰjyuʔ ʰxʰəmʔ-ʰtafe=ɾən ʰtə-ʰpeʔ-ja
SEQ 1PL:POSS-pillbox three-time=even PFV-make-1PL
fənaʔ ʰnv-ʰtʰət
but PFV:DOWN-collapse2
And we built the pillbox three times, and it collapsed.

60. qʰoʔ ʰkeʰ-ʰɾizʰdu ʰkə-ʰmkʰezʔ?
SEQ INF-make.wall NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled
stʰbe=qʰoʔ ʰvʰdзоʔ=ɾəʔ ʰnv-to
PN=and PN=PL IPFV:PST-exist2
And there were Stanba and Andzen (among us) who were skilled in making walls.

61. qʰoʔ ʰkeʰ-ʰɾizʰdu ʰme ʰtə-ʰsəvʰ-ja
SEQ INF-make.wall very PFV-take.great.care2-1PL
fənaʔ?=ntfʰon ʰmə-ʰnv-ʰpʰenʔ?
but=still NEG-IPFV:PST-be.effective2
We took great care making the walls, but it didn’t work.

62. qʰoʔ ʰjaɾəʔ=ka ʰkόŋse=ɾʰa
SEQ 1PL=ERG township=place
ʰbroʰpʰe=ɾuʔ ʰjə-ʰzʰdu ʰɾəɲpaʔ ʰʰgeʰpʰət-naʔ
nomad=PL 1PL:POSS-wall on.purpose IPFV-cause.to.collapse-3PL
ŋoʔ=r\n tə-tsəʔ-jə nə-re
be=even PFV-say2-1PL IPFV:PST-be.necessary2

So we even had to tell the township, “The nomads are making our walls collapse on purpose.”

63. qʰoʔ kóngse súci=nə?
SEQ township party.secretary=DET
“berkʰemwe tʃʰaojufiʔ te-két-tsə=nə? nə-ŋo=kə
person.from.’Barkhams PN IPFV-GP-say=DET IPFV:PST-be2=INS
And the party secretary of the township was a person from ’Barkhams called Chaoyushi.

64. nə? nə-nəfseʔ-jə
ANA IPFV:PST-know2-1PL
qʰoʔ jɔ-ta ome nə-χʔ?
SEQ 1PL:POSS-top very IPFV:PST-be.kind2
And we knew him well, and he was very nice to us.

65. qʰoʔ tepi tʃʰərv=rə?
SEQ butter cheese=PL
o-kən? kə=ˌbɛt nə-o-sətuʔ-jə
3SG:POSS-price NMLZ:SBJ-be.low PFV-INV-sell2-1PL
And he sold us butter and cheese and what not at very low prices.

66. qʰoʔ kóngse wanšuʔ=nəʔ=kə nə-renʔ? zədəv osto
SEQ township clerk=DET=ERG 2PL wall well
mə-tə-tə-peʔ-ŋə ŋoʔ=kə nə-ŋre mə-kʰi-ŋaŋ te-tsəʔ?
NEG-PFV-2-make2-PL be=INS 2PL:POSS-wages NEG-give-1SG PFV:TR-say2
The township clerk said, “Since you failed to make the walls well, I will not pay your wages.”
67. qʰoʔ tsəʔ ϸəŋkəfi=niʔ=ko o-ɣrúmkə tə=di-tsə
SEQ 1DU PN=DU=ERG 3SG:POSS-wrist PFV-take2-1DU
qʰoʔ kəmtʃa=ruʔ tə=dnɾʔiʔ-tsə
SEQ a.bit=PL PFV-twist2-1DU
And Tshangkashi and I grabbed his wrist and twisted it a little,

68. qʰoʔ ja=<gre tfʃə mv-tə-kʰe reʔ?
SEQ 1PL:POSS-wages why NEG-2-give be.necessary
“Why must you not pay our wages?”

69. jə=ɾəʔ rə=kə jəyə tu=ŋuʔiʔ-tsə maʔ?
1PL self=ERG 1PL:POSS CONT:LTR-do.sideline2-1DU not.be
nəʔ təɬvi ɬyə tu=ŋuʔiʔ=ʃə fteʔ=ko
ANA village 3SG:POSS CONT:LTR-do.sideline2-1PL be:EMPH=INS
me-kë-kʰi me=ʃoyʔ=ruʔ tə-tsəʔ-tsə
NEG-GP-give NEG-be.allowed=PL PFV-say2-1DU
“Since we are doing sidelines for the village, it will not do not to pay,” we said.

70. qʰoʔ jə=ɾpʷqʰʔu=kəsə=nəʔ?
SEQ 1PL:POSS-backstage.supporter=like=DET
tfʔəwʃuʔiʔ nə-to fteʔ=ko
PN IPFV:PST-exist2 be:EMPH=INS
kəməʔuʔnə jə=⁵<gre=ruʔ ne-kʰi=nə
afterwards 1PL:POSS-wages=PL PFV:TR-give2-3PL
Since there was Chaoyushi to back us up, they eventually paid our wages.

71. qʰoʔ nə-nəweʔ=ʃə
SEQ PFV:WEST-come.back2-1PL
And we came back.
That was what happened.

And, just when (my eldest son) Mkhyorgyam was about to take a government job, we went to Ngareldengu upriver from the hot spring to dig for *Notopterygium* roots.

And again our food became scarce, and we went upriver and brought one of their bovines downriver.

And we butchered it for beef, and no one discovered us.
Once again, we went to dig for fritillary bulbs at Mtshokhe.  

When we finished digging for fritillary bulbs, we went uphill and stole a yak from the nomads, and brought it back.

And Khrewo and Sonam Targyi led (the yak) downriver.

Just when they got to Kyaterdo, it broke loose on them.

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104 Name of a place beside a small lake on the border between Tshobdun Township and Kirtima Village in Rngaba County.
80. \( q^o \) o-ʒⁿbraʔ=nə? "goskor o-riʔ ne-ŋo
SEQ 3SG:POSS-leash=DET meteor.hammer \( ^{105} \) 3SG:POSS-cord IPFV:PST-be2
It’s leash was the cord of a meteor hammer.

81. \( q^o \) qʰoʔbruʔ lé-pʰi=nə?
SEQ yak IPFV-escape=SUB
o-ŋo goskor rcʰaŋrcʰaŋrcʰaŋ ne-sátsə
3SG:POSS-meteor.hammer IDPH IPFV-cause.to.do
As the yak was escaping, the meteor hammer made continuous clinking sounds.

82. \( q^o \) kəmvqʰúnaʔ leʔ qʰoʔbruʔ ne-myʔ=ⁿdzə
SEQ afterwards again yak PFV:TR-catch2-3DU
qʰoʔ tátwi=kə skum ne-nə-wemeʔ-jo
SEQ village=ERG for.beef PFV-SPON-butcher2-1PL
Afterwards, the two of them caught the yak again.

83. \( q^o \) kəmvqʰunə tʰȋ̜d⁴juf⁴nkem in júntən
SEQ afterwards 1976.Counter. revolutionary movement
te-ká-tsə=cə? jw-weʔ=kə
IPFV-GP-say=INDF PFV-come2=INS
A movement called “1976 Counter-revolutionary Movement” started,

84. na-scon kə-to?
2PL:POSS-problem NMLZ:SBJ-exist
kə-səsiʔ kə-nsemŋən tʰemfset=ɾəʔ tə-o-səɣ=ⁿdzor-jo
GP-think GP-suspect all=PL PFV:UP-INV-cause.to.stand2-1PL
and they made all of us who people thought or suspected (lit. you) had problems stand up.

\( ^{105} \) A Tibetan-style weapon with a weight attached to a string, used to swing to keep fierce dogs at bay; cf. Amdo Tibetan <lcags.tho>. 
85. qʰoʔ cʰeʔ zɔʔ "ge-kʰ-mɔɾkʰu=rSetTexts
SEQ formerly bovine IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-steal=PL
kəmtʰiʔ nə-to-ja
all IPFV:PST-exist2-1PL
And all of us who used to steal bovines were there.

86. qʰoʔ oʒorʔ
SEQ meanwhile
səlaʃ̲ənʦə=ɾʔ=ɾʃʔon tə-o-səχʰdzɔɾ-nə
Four-Categories.people=PL=also PFV:UP-INV-cause.to.stand2-3PL
And meanwhile, people of the “Four-Categories”\textsuperscript{106} were also made to stand up.

87. qʰoʔ rjispe=ɾʔ kɔŋse tʃɪʃιʃ̲ənʦə=ɾʔ=kə
SEQ quite.a.while=PL township activist=PL=ERG
ja-kʰ-ɾɛʃʃetu tə-ɾɛntsʰə-na
1PL:POSS-NMLZ-cause.to.confess PFV-try2-3PL
And for a long time the activists of the township tried to make us confess.

88. qʰoʔ tʰtʰo sonəmtəɾjʔ=kə zɔʔ nə-kʰ-mɔɾkʰu?=ɾSetTexts
SEQ PN PN=ERG bovine IPFV:PST-NMLZ-steal2=PL
kəmtʰiʔ kə-ɾɛʃʃetu tə-ɾɛntsʰʔa
all NMLZ-confess PFV-try2
And Sonam Targyi from Tatho Hamlet were ready to confess how we used to steal bovines.

\textsuperscript{106} Four categories of people considered to be enemies of the revolution in China, including landlords, rich farmers, counter-revolutionaries, and “bad elements”.
89. \( \text{ʃənəʔ jəærəʔ=kə} \)  
but 1PL=ERG  
\( \text{jəærəʔ=ŋόnə ne-məɾku?-jə me} \)  
1PL=TOP:EMPH IPFV:PST-steal\(_1\)-1PL not.exist  
\( \text{neji? sonəmeʔtəɾji? tʃə ne-tə-məɾku? toʔ=nəʔ mə-siz-jə} \)  
2SG PN what IPFV:PST-2-steal\(_2\) exist=DET NEG-know-1PL  
But we (said), “As for us, we did not steal at all. As for whether you Sonam Targyi stole anything, we do not know.”

90. \( \text{təʔ qʰόnə} \)  
exist SEQ:EMPH  
\( \text{neji? kə-rdɔʔ=kə nənʃuɾtsəj reʔ *denəʔ} \)  
2SG one-CL=ERG be.responsible\(_3\) be.necessary for  
\( \text{jəærəʔ me-nəkweʔ-jə to-tsəʔ-jə} \)  
1PL NEG-be.concerned-1PL PFV-say\(_2\)-1PL  
“If you did, then you must be responsible for it alone. We will stay out of it,” we said.

91. \( \text{qʰόnəʔ me-ne-ɾeʃt qʰəʔ kəməqʰúŋə nə-oy-ʃəʔ-jə} \)  
SEQ:EMPH NEG-IPFV-confess\(_2\) SEQ afterwards PFV-INV-release\(_2\)-1PL  
So he did not confess. And afterwards, we were released.

92. \( \text{qʰəʔ nə-kə-pə=cəʔ nə-məʔ} \)  
SEQ 3PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist\(_2\)  
And there was nothing (they) could do.

93. \( \text{qʰəʔ kə-sasúqʰu=nəʔ səɾəʃəntsə} \)  
SEQ one-afternoon=DET Four.Categories  
\( \text{χοjɨŋə kəɾə̄cən=v=kə ne-nəɾəɾəɾduʔ-nə} \)  
PN and.group=INDF PFV:TR-beat\(_2\)-RDPL-3PL
And for one entire afternoon, they kept beating up “Four-Category” people like Hoyu’e and her group, and dragged them about.

94. $q^o\text{on}_\text{a}\?\text{ na}_\text{?=kasci}\text{ }nv-fs\dot{a}_t$
   SEQ:EMPH ANA-like IPFV:PST-be
   What happened what like that.

95. $j\text{a}_\text{w}_\text{a}_\text{=n}_\text{a}\?\text{ m}_\text{=na}_\text{-qudu}\?$
   1PL:POSS=TOP NEG-PFV:be.serious$_2$
   As for us, things were not too serious.

96. $q^o\text{o}\?\text{ na}_\text{?}\text{ nv-fs}\dot{a}_t\text{ }nv-\text{t}^\text{f}oz$
   SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like$_2$ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule$_2$
   And that was what happened.
II. LOCAL HISTORY AND CULTURE

RGYALRONG TIBETAN NAMES

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. kəruʔ rmiʔ
   Rgyalrong.Tibetan name=TOP
   Speaking of Rgyalrong Tibetan names,

2. tɛlgɨaʔ "ge-toʔ χso-sŋi jɨrmu ne-tso
   child IPFV:DOWN-exist three-day about IPFV-elapse
   qʰoʔ vlɛrge maʔdenəʔ vlmesprəsku ə-pəa
   SEQ monk or reincarnate.Buddha 3SG:POSS-place
   tɛlgɨaʔ o-rmiʔ ha-te-kv-sə-tʃət
   child 3SG:POSS-name AND-IPFV-GP-CAUS-take
   about three days after a child is born, one goes to a monk or a reincarnate Buddha, and
   asks him to name the child.

3. qʰoʔ tɛlfu stʔoʔ kə-xteʔ=naʔ
   SEQ son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
   vlɛrge o-spe ʔoʔ tʰozʔ=kə
   monk 3SG:POSS-material be be.the.rule=INS
   vlɛrge rmiʔ kʰ-tʃət reʔ ʔoʔ
   monk.name GP-take be.necessary be
   Since the eldest son is supposed to be a monk, it is necessary to take a name given by
   monks.
4. qʰoʔ o-rmiʔ  stʰoʔ  kə-mniʔ=nəʔ
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-name  most  NMLZ:SBJ-be.few=DET
   vde-tôke  toʔ  yoʔ
   four-syllable  exist  be
   His name should be at least four-syllables long.

5. qʰoʔ vlërge  o-spe=reʔ  maʔ?
   SEQ  monk  3SG:POSS-material=PL  not-be
   qʰônaʔ  o-rmiʔ  vde-tôke  kə-toʔ?
   SEQ:EMPH  3SG:POSS-name  four-syllable  POSS-exist
   tə-kw-ntfet=fə  kʰût
   PFV-GP-take2=also  be:feasible
   If he is not supposed to be a monk, then his name can also be four-syllables long.

6. maⁿ denəʔ  uve-tôke  nv-yo=fə  kʰût  fteʔ?
   or  two-syllable  IPFV:PST-be2=also  be:feasible  be:EMPH
   Or (the name) can also be two-syllables long.

7. qʰoʔ kəru-rmiʔ?
   SEQ  Rgyalrong.Tibetan-name  IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
   o-rmiʔ  stʰo  o-kôri=nəʔ?
   3SG:POSS-name  most  3SG:POSS-front=DET
   o-kʰifu  o-rmiʔ  te-kw-pe  yoʔ?
   3SG:POSS-house.name  3SG:POSS-name  IPFV-GP-say be
   o-zqʰqʰunaʔ?  noŋme  o-rmiʔ  kə-taʔ  te-kʰ-tsə?
   3SG:POSS-after  only.then  3SG:POSS-name  NMLZ:SBJ-be.real  IPFV-GP-say
   Speaking of Rgyalrong Tibetan names, the first is one’s house-name, and only afterwards is one’s real name.
To give an example, my name is Bstanblo.

But on formal occasions, it is necessary to say my house’s name first.

And only afterwards comes my real name: Mendeci Bstanblo.

Except when there are (people bearing) identical names, then people use the house names.
13. *tərmī? vde-təke kə-to?=ntʃʰon zdumŋaŋ te-kə-pe*

name four-syllable NMLZ:SBJ-exist=also shortened.name IPFV-GP-say

With four-syllable names also, one uses shortened names.

14. *o-χper=kə v-tə-kʊ-tʂə=nə?*

3SG:POSS-example=INS IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

"ŋərmet ʊdţrʒe tərmī?=nə? "ŋərdə

PN PN name=DET PN

ma⁷denə? o-rmi? le-kə-miko ma⁷denə?

or 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.former or

le-kə-mŋqʰu te-kʊ-tʂə tsəŋtə? ŋə?

IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.latter IPFV-GP-say just be

To give an example, from the name Ngyurmet Dorje, one can say (the blended form) Ngyurdo or just the first (Ngyurmet) or latter (Dorje) part of the name.

15. *ⁿbɾoχpe v-tə-kʊ-tʂə=nə?*

nomad IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

kə-təŋ nə-rmi?=nə? raŋraŋ tsʰowe

NMLZ:SBJ-be.formal 3PL:POSS-name=DET separately tribe

o-rmi?=cəʔ? toʔ ŋə?=kə

3SG:POSS-name=INDF exist be=INS

nənəʔ stʰore te-kə-pe

that first IPFV-GP-say

As for the nomads, since their formal names contain the names of their respective tribes, one says those first.


SEQ after.that only.then NMLZ:SBJ-be.real GP:POSS-name=DET IPFV-GP-say

And only after that does one say one’s real names.
17. \[ o-\mathrm{\ddot{o}per}=kə \quad v-\mathrm{tə-\ddot{kə-tsə}}=nə? \]
\[ 3\text{SG:POSS-example=INS} \quad \text{IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB} \]
\[ tsʰowe \quad ma\text{\textasciitilde{d}}enaŋ \quad \chi\text{\textasciitilde{r}}es\text{\textasciitilde{a}}ŋ \quad kə-tsə \quad to? \quad nəʔ? \]
tribe PN or PN GP-say exist be

For example, there are tribes that are called Dbashitshang or Xoratshang.

18. \[ qʰoʔ \quad nə-rmi?=nə? \]
\[ 3\text{PL:POSS-name=DET} \]
\[ le? \quad ma\text{\textasciitilde{d}}enaŋ \quad \chi\text{\textasciitilde{r}}es\text{\textasciitilde{a}}ŋ \quad pʰ\text{\textasciitilde{ont}}s\text{\textasciitilde{a}}ŋ \]
also Dbashi.blo.bzang or Xora.phun.tshogs
\[ nə?=kəsə \quad te-kə-tsə \quad nəʔ? \quad tfəoz? \]
\[ \text{ANA=}\text{like IPFV-GP-say be be.the.rule} \]

And their names would be called Dbashi Lobzang or Xora Phuntshogs and the like.

19. \[ jənəʔ \quad rjōntunəʔ \quad tsʰowe \quad o-rmiʔ? \quad kv-pe=ntf\text{\textasciitilde{on}} \quad ma-reʔ? \]
but often tribe 3SG:POSS-name GP-make=also NEG-be.necessary

But often the tribe’s name is also not necessary.

20. \[ qʰoʔ \quad o-rmiʔ? \quad ts\text{\textasciitilde{a}}xtsaʔ? \quad te-kv-pe \quad nəʔ? \quad tfəozʔ? \]
\[ 3\text{SG:POSS-name only IPFV-GP-say be be.the.rule} \]

And as a rule one calls them only by their personal names.

21. \[ jaʔənəʔ \quad kuruʔ? \quad kər\text{\textasciitilde{bjo}}ʔ? \quad nə-set \quad ozgéq\text{\textasciitilde{u}}? \]
\[ 1\text{PL} \quad \text{Rgyalrong.Tibetan person IPFV-die afterwards} \]
\[ qʰoʔ \quad o-rmiʔ? \quad kv-nēst\text{\textasciitilde{or}} kv-pe \quad mə-tfəozʔ? \]
\[ 3\text{SG:POSS-name GP-grab GP-say NEG-be.the.rule} \]

After people die, we Rgyalrong Tibetans are not supposed to mention their names directly and rashly.
22. *ṃṇəʔ* na-ka-set o-rmiʔ kv-pe *nw-ṇo=ntʃʰon*

Even if one has to say the names of deceased laypeople,

23. *stʰɔre nə-ka-set tɔrmə=nəʔ "duspe te-kə-tsə*

first PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die₂ man=DET Ndasp₁⁰⁷ IPFV-GP-say

*qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-ku-pe*

SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say

one first calls a deceased man “Ndasp”, and then says his name.

24. *qʰoʔ nə-ka-set tόme=nəʔ "dusme te-kə-tsə*

SEQ PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die₂ man=DET Ndasm₁⁰⁸ IPFV-GP-say

*qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-ku-pe*

SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say

And one calls a deceased woman “Ndasm”, and then says her name.

25. *qʰoʔ vlürge nə-ka-χʃa o-rmiʔ kv-pe *nw-ṇo=ntʃʰon*

SEQ monk PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die₂:HON 3SG:POSS-name GP-say IPFV:PST-be₂=also

Also, if one is to say the name of a deceased monk,

26. *stʰɔre sfaxpe te-kə-tsə*

first Gshegspa¹⁰⁹ IPFV-GP-say

*qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-ku-pe tf⁰ozʔ*

SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say be.the.rule

as a rule, one first says “Gshegspa” and then says his name.

¹⁰⁷ WT ‘<’das.pa> ‘the deceased’.

¹⁰⁸ WT ‘<’das.ma> ‘the deceased (female)’.

¹⁰⁹ WT ‘<gshegs.pa> ‘the deceased [HON]’.
27. *ma²de³qʰonə² tɑ̃-jiʔ⁴ tɑ̃-yən₂ tf²ə⁹ kə-ŋoʔ⁴=ŋə⁴ te-kə-tsə⁸*
   or GP:POSS-self GP:POSS-relation what NMZL-be=DET IPFV-GP-say
   *ma²de³qʰonə² kʰermiʔ⁴ te-kə-pe⁸*
   or house.name IPFV-GP-say

Or one spells out one’s relation with the deceased person, or says his house name.

28. *qʰoʔ³ noŋme⁴=nəʔ⁴ *despe³ *desme⁸ fʃəxpe⁸ te-kə-tsə⁸*
   SEQ only.then=DET Ndaspe Ndasma Gshegspa IPFV-GP-say

And then says Ndaspe, Ndasme, or Gshegspa.

29. *o-ʃper⁴=kə³ v-vəʔ⁸ *despe³*
   3SG:POSS-example=INS 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle Ndaspa
   *vé-mo³ *desme³*
   1SG:POSS-mother Ndasma
   *vé-rpu⁷ fʃəxpe³*
   1SG:POSS-maternal.uncle Gshegspa
   *mandenəʔ⁴ retawe⁸ *despe³ nə-šisəʔ⁴ te-kə-tsə⁸ tf⁴ozʔ⁸*
   or PN Ndaspa and.so.on IPFV-GP-say be.the.rule

For example, one customarily says, my paternal uncle Ndaspa, my mother Ndasma, my maternal uncle Gshegspa, or Retawe Ndaspa, and so on.
DOGS WE TIBETANS KEEP

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *spjər kəru? ja-kʰeze? v-ne-kw-jjut=nə?
   in.general Tibetan IPL:POSS-dog IRR-PFV-GP-narrate=SUB
   *mə-kə-náxtʃəy ʃəm? ʃərm ʃəʔ=ə
   NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same three about exist-MED
   Generally speaking, we Tibetan have about three different kinds of dogs.

   ANA three what be IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
   As to what the three kinds of dogs are,

3. *roŋʔ o-ʃtʃə
drinking.area 3SG:POSS-land
   ᶙaŋpaʔ kʰeze? kə-ʃə=kə toʔ ʃəʔ
dspecial dog NMLZ:SBJ-do.chasing=INDF exist be
   there is a special kind of hunting dog in the land of the agricultural Tibetans.

4. *brəzpe o-ʃtʃə=ə zgoχiʔ o-spe
   nomad 3SG:POSS-land=LOC watch.dog 3SG:POSS-material
   ḥwo=seʔanə? rwehbrəʔ toʔ ʃəʔ
dog-like and “four-eyed.dog” exist be
   And in the land of the nomadic Tibetans, there are the Tibetan mastiff and the so-called
   “four-eyed dog”, which serve as watch dogs.
5.  $qʰo$? $^{*}bροχεʰiʔ=ṣcʰonəʔ$ $roγcʰiʔ$
   SEQ dog.of.nomadic.area=and dog.of.agricultural.area
   $mɛʔ-κʔ-νάχτʃəγ=ɛʔ$ $tοʔ=ɛʔ$
   NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same=INDF exist=TOP
   As for the differences between dogs of nomadic and agricultural areas,

6.  $^{*}bροχεʰiʔ$ $xṭɛʔ$ $χʃo$ $qʰo$? $wɛʔɛר$ $ŋoʔ$
   dog.of.nomadic.area be.big be.brawny SEQ be.intimidating be
   $fɛnəʔ$ $όντσέγ$ $mɛʔ-ɛʃpɛle$ $ŋoʔ$
   but that.much NEG-be.nimble be
dogs of nomadic areas are big, brawny, and intimidating, but they are not that agile.

7.  $^{*}bροχεʰiʔ$ $lɛwọ$ $tαγɛ=ɛʔ$
    Tibetan.mastiff pure.bred=DET
    $^{*}bροχpɛ$ $κόλoγ$ $nα-ɛʃtʃʔɛ=z$ $kαʔ-ɛʔ$ $ŋoʔ$
    nomad herder 3PL:POSS-place=LOC NMLZ-exist be
    Pure-bred Tibetan mastiffs are found in the land of the nomadic herders.

8.  $fɛnəʔ$ $χfίkə$ $rκoŋ$ $tʃοʔz$?
    but very be.rare be.the.rule
    But they are very rare.

9.  $qʰo$? $lɛwọ=ɛʔ$
    $rɛlι$ $jɛɾmə$ $xṭɛʔ$ $tαʔ$
    SEQ Tibetan.mastiff=DET heifer about be.big be.certain
    And, to be sure, the Tibetan mastiff is about as big as a heifer.

10.  $χfίkə$ $χʃo=ṣcʰonəʔ$ $fτsɛn$ $kʊʔ-ɛsə$ $tʃοʔz$?
    very be.brawny=and be.fierce GP-say be.the.rule
    And they are very brawny and fierce.
11. *lewo oxtena?*

Tibetan mastiff in the main

\( zɔʔ kəloy=sc^bənəʔ qəyi? kəloy nə-prəke=z kê-vra-nə \)

bovine herder and sheep herder 3PL:POSS-camp.site=LOC IPFV-tie.up-3PL

In the main, Tibetan mastiffs are tied up at the camping areas of cowherd-ers and sheep-herders.

12. *qʰoʔ kəməɾku=sc^bənəʔ ʁʃiɾ'dzən me-kə-wi*

SEQ thief and carnivore NEG-NMLZ-come

\( nəʔ o-spe yəʔ \)

ANA 3SG:POSS-material be

Their function is to prevent thieves and carnivores from coming.

13. *qʰoʔ qəyi? kəloy nə-lewo*

SEQ sheep herder 3PL:POSS-Tibetan mastiff

\( nąŋzgo fison \)

especially be.fierce

And Tibetan mastiffs owned by sheep-herders are especially fierce.


3PL:POSS-camp.site IRR-PFV:UPRIVER-GP-go SEQ IRR-PFV-break.loose=SUB

\( kə-taŋ kə-oy'-dze \)

NMLZ-be.clear GP-INV-bite

If one goes upriver to their camping areas, and if they break loose, then one will surely get bitten.

15. *te-kə-nwéje ne-kə-ʁədu=ntʃən ʒntsəpə me-pʰən*

IPFV-GP-fight.back IPFV-GP-beat=also that.much NEG-be.effective

Even if one fights back and beats them, it is not of much use.
16. `v-né-ŋo=nəʔ  v-ne-sbcʰv=nəʔ
    IRR-PFV-be=SUB IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB
In fact, if this (i.e. fending off the attack) is to be feasible,

17. o-rne  knez=nəʔ  ne-kv-něstʰor
    3SG:POSS-ear two=DET IPFV-GP-grab
qʰoʔ  o-koʔ  "ge-kv-znēkotsəʔ?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-GP-push.into.ground
one must grab both of its (i.e. an attacking dog’s) ears and push its head into the ground,

18. qʰoʔ  o-vdaxpo  ma-jv-weʔ  mepértʰv
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-owner NEG-PFV-come2 not.until
"ge-kə-nʰi  tfʰozʔ?
IPFV:DOWN-GP-hold be.the.rule
and hold it down until its owner comes.

19. qʰoʔ  míju  qejʔ  kóloʔ  nə-kʰεzəʔ?
    SEQ further sheep herder 3PL:POSS-dog
mer=nəʔ  ne-lət-nə
night=DET IPFV-release-3PL
Moreover, the sheep herders release their dogs at night,

20. qʰoʔ  nə-rvare  te-srop  kəmərkə  mə-kə-wi =scʰənəʔ?
    SEQ 3PL:POSS-sheepfold IPFV-guard thief NEG-NMLZ-come =and
spjaŋku  qeperʔ=ɾeʔ  mə-kə-wi  te-poj  ʔoʔ?
wolf  dhole=PL NEG-NMLZ-come IPFV-do3 be
and (the dogs) guard their sheepfolds and prevent thieves, wolves, dholes, and what not from coming.
21. \( o \text{-} x \text{per} = k \partial \)
3SG:POSS-example=INS

For example,

22. \( q \text{eji} \quad v \text{-} n \partial \text{-} e \text{dor} = n \partial ? \)

sheep IRR-PFV-be.dispersed=SUB

tejzom? qʰo? ke-skor
IPFV-gather SEQ IPFV-surround
qʰo? me-kə-nef´sə =scʰənə? me-kə-rla? te-poj ṇo?
SEQ NEG-NMLZ-go.away =and NEG-NMLZ-be.lost IPFV-do₃ be

if the sheep should become dispersed (the dogs) would gather them and then run around them, so they would not go astray and become lost.

23. qʰo? kʰepʰε? kʰeze?=rv?
SEQ some dog=PL

3SG:POSS-bluffing=PL very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big

té-mdə=naʔ? o-sni kə-xtfi toʔ tfʰozʔ
IPFV-be.time=SUB 3SG:POSS-heart NMLZ-be.small exist be.the.rule

Some of these dogs are great bluffers, but get cowardly when the time (of confrontation) comes.

24. nánzgo "goskor te-kʰ-tʃet maⁿdenə?
especially meteor.hammer IPFV-GP-take or

kə-nvʰbjoʔ=caʔ? tjo-ja-kwə v-nə-to
NMLZ:SBJ-shine=INDF GP:POSS-hand-surface IRR-PFV-exist

qʰónə kv-soɣyvr "bêt fteʔ?
SEQ GP-frighten be.easy be:EMPH

Especially if one has in one’s hand a swinging hammer or a shining object, then it is easy for one to frighten them.
25. ʃənəʔ o-vdagpo=nə? ɕʃikə kə-saŋpa?=cə?
   but 3SG:POSS-master=DET very NMLZ:SBJ-respect=INDF
   But they respect their masters a lot.

26. mɐkɔtsʰet tɔrja v-na-rzɛ?=nə?
   not.only time IRR-PFV-be.long=SUB
   təzdeʔ nejtsʰu ʃəʔ
companion serve.as be
   Moreover, they keep one company if one feels lonely.

27. tə-ka-nûkʰoj v-nê-to=nə? kv-o-qor ɬə?
   GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-bully IRR-PFV-exist=SUB GP-INV-help be
   And they will come to one’s assistance if one is being bullied.

28. tsʰet=kə ɲenkʰə v-nb-ka-tʰəy?=nə?
   not.only danger IRR-PFV-GP:NVOL-meet=SUB
   tə-srcə?=ɾun kə-ret ɕʰv ɬə?
   GP:POSS-life=even INF-save be.able be
   Furthermore, if one runs into danger, they can even save one’s life.

29. qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tən?=kə lɛwo=nə?
   SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS Tibetan.mastiff=DET
   kəɾʰbjoʔ o-cvv?=ɾun=nəʔ rtʂəʔ-nə
   person 3SG:POSS-rank=even=DET count.as-3PL
   qʰoʔ ɕʃikə zneje-nə ʃteʔ?
   SEQ very cherish-3PL be:EMPH
   For these reasons, they (their masters) regard them almost as humans, and cherish them a great deal.
30. \( q^h_o \) oxt\( e \) *broxe o-set\( e \)
SEQ in.the.main nomad 3SG:POSS-land
\( k\ao – n\e m\o \) \( k\ao – t\a \) \( r\amu ^b r\a y ^d = n\a \)
NMLZ:SBJ-be.in.the.majority NMLZ:SBJ-exist four.eyed.dog=DET
mer=\( n\a \) \( \chi f\e k \) \( \nu ^d t\e \) \( t\a o z \)
night=TOP very bark be.the.rule
As for the “four-eyed” dogs, most of which are found in the land of the nomads, they as a rule bark a lot at night.

31. \( n\a \) \( t\a o z \) \( \eta o ^d = n\a \)
ANA why be=TOP
As for why that is so,

32. \( r\amu ^b r\a y ^d = n\a \)
“four-eyed” dog=TOP
\( t\a o = n t\a o n \) \( m\e \) \( t\a o z \) \( k\e – t\e \) \( \eta o \)
ghost=too see3 be.the.rule GP-say be
the four-eyed dogs see ghosts too, it is said.

33. \( \eta p o n ^s ^d = z \) \( k\a – t\a p u \) \( u z e m e ^c = c \)
former.time=LOC one-family married.couple=INDF
\( n\e – t o ^d z\e \) \( \eta o ^d – c \)
IPFV:PST-exist2-2DU be-MED
Once, there were a married couple in a family,

34. \( ^d z\e – k\o m t ^h ^c = n\a \) \( r\amu ^b r\a y ^d = c \) \( ^\eta g e – v r\e ^d z\e \) \( \eta o ^d – c \)
3DU:POSS-courtyard=DET four-eyed.dog=INDF IPFV-bind-3DU be-MED
they kept a “four-eyed” dog tethered to their courtyard.
35. qʰoʔ mer te[priqʰu jermv kv-ʔdzat te-jnʔ?
SEQ night time.after.supper about INF-bark IPFV-begin₃
And at night about after supper, it would begin to bark.

36. qʰoʔ mə-lv-fsiʔ mepirtʰu "ge-ʔdzat ṭoʔ-cə
SEQ NEG-PFV-dawn₂ not.until IPFV-bark be-MED
And it would keep barking until dawn.

37. qʰoʔ ó-ta vdaŋpo=nĩʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-top master=DU
u[denbe me-"ge-znɔjv ṭoʔ-cə
at.all NEG-IPFV-cause.to.fall.asleep be-MED
And would not let the two masters upstairs fall asleep at all.

38. qʰoʔ jaʔ rỳspe na-tsoʔ=nəʔ?
SEQ time quite.a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB
After quite a while,

39. tínma=nəʔ=kə
husband=DET=INS
the husband (said),

40. nəʔ ke[zeʔ mer kəmju=t me-[kə-ʔdzat
ANA dog night always IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-bark
ta-kornuʔ ke-kə-cuʔ=nəʔ=kə
GP:POSS-disturbance IPFV:IN-NMLZ:SBJ-open=DET=INS
me-[kə-o-znɔjv-cə=kə
NEG:IPFV-GP-INV-cause.to.fall.asleep-MED=INS
“As that dog is one whose constant barking jars on one’s ears and prevents one from
going to sleep,”
41. $fsə\text{fsi} \ ə^\text{ta}=nə?$ \  $k^b\text{eze}\?\  fə^\text{wa-nwəwəŋə}c$ \ $ŋo\?$  
   tomorrow 3SG:POSS-top=TOP dog AND-GP-drive.away be  
   “tomorrow, one (i.e. I) will go and drive the dog away!”

42. $o^zde?=p^\text{a}$ \  $te-tsə?-cə$  
   3SG:POSS-spouse=place PFV:TR-say2-MED  
   He said thus to his wife.

43. $q^\text{ho}\?\  o^zde?=nə?=kə$  
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET=INS  
   $mər$ \  $k^b\text{eze}\?\  te-kə-ˈdəzət=nə?$  
   night dog IPFV-NMLZ-bark=SUB  
   $t^b\text{v}-kə-\text{re-cə}$ \  $ŋo\?\  ntəɾjə$  
   CONT:LTR-NMLZ-be.necessary2-MED be DM  
   $ne-kə-mv=nə?$ \  $mə-vde\  ntər\  te-tsə?-cə$  
   IPFV-NMLZ-not.exist=SUB NEG-be.good DM PFV:TR-say2-MED  
   And his wife said, “Perhaps the dog barks at night for a reason. Maybe it is not good not to have (it barking at night).”

44. $fənəʔ\?\  tə-nma\  mə-nv-kʰut-cə$  
   but husband NEG-IPFV:PST-allow2-MED  
   But the husband would not listen.

45. $q^\text{ho}\?\  nəofsə\text{fsi}=nə?$ \  $^\text{dəzə-k}^b\text{eze}\?\  fə-ne-nwəwəŋə?-cə$  
   SEQ next.day=DET 3DU:POSS-dog AND-PFV-drive.away2-MED  
   The next day, he went and got rid of their dog.
That night, they slept.

The dog’s barking was gone, and they were comfortable.

But when day was about to break,

in the courtyard, something was causing the door to make noises.

As they listened,

in a moment, a man wearing a hat came upstairs to a place near the (first-floor) landing,
52. qʰoʔ ɕfikə nə-ko-mqeʔ=kəsa
SEQ very IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.tired2=like
oʔzoʔə xəcʰəcʰu te-tsəʔ?
meanwhile IDPH PFV:TR-say2
uttering a panting sound as if he was very tired,

53. qʰoʔ nə--menəʔ? ɲoʔ-cao
SEQ PFV-not.be.seen2 be-MED
and then he disappeared.

54. nəʃəqʰuqʰoʔ kədzəməzdeʔ=niʔ
afterwards couple=DU
ᵗə-rəʔpe ڑə-sceʔ ɲoʔ-cao
3DU:POSS-suspicion PFV-grow2 be-MED
And the couple began to have misgivings.

55. qʰoʔ nəʔofsəsi=nəʔ ˈtɨnma=nəʔ ˈkə=nəgiʔ te-je
SEQ next.day=DET husband=DET INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin2
And the next day, the husband began to get sick.

56. qʰonə ˈkə-lden mə-na-tsoʔ?
SEQ:EMPH NMLZ-exist.in.quantity NEG-PFV-elapse2
qʰoʔ nə-set ɲoʔ-cao
SEQ PFV-die2 be-MED
And he died not long afterwards.

57. nəʔ o-tənʔ=koʔ
ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
ɾwebrəvʔ ˈmər te-koʔ-iədzət=nəʔ?
four.eyed.dog night IPFV-NMLZ-bark=SUB
Therefore, it is not proper to go and drive away a “four-eyed” dog which barks at night,

58. "denə? tājo te-nē'dzət
for ghost IPFV-bark.at
qʰoʔ mr-kə-wi te-poj tfʰozʔ kē-tsə ηəʔ-cə
SEQ NEG-NMLZ-come IPFV-do3 be.the.rule GP-say be-MED
for it is said that it is barking at ghosts and preventing them from coming.

59. qʰoʔ roŋʔ o-setf'e kə-rəχta kʰezeʔ=naʔ
SEQ farming.area 3SG:POSS-land NMLZ:SBJ-do.chasing dog=TOP
As for hunting dogs in the land of agricultural Tibetans,

60. xtʃi mr-mtʰo ʔntsəʔə me-ʃəo
be.small NEG-be.strong that.much NEG-be.brawny
fənəʔ xʃikə nʰjəmʔ qʰoʔ nʃpəlv tfʰozʔ ηə?
but very be.quick SEQ be.agile be.the.rule be
they are as a rule small, weak, and not that brawny, but very quick and agile.

61. redaʔ te-χtəʔ=naʔ redaʔ n'ge-ntenʔ
game.animal IPFV-chase=SUB game.animal IPFV-see3
maʔ ηəʔ fənəʔ o-lədi n'ge-fʃəʔ ηə?
not.be be but 3SG:POSS-scent IPFV-perceive3 be
When they chase game animals, it is not the case that they see the game animals but rather
they smell their scent.
62. mek̂otsʰet χso-sgi jermə nə-kə-tso? reda?
not.only three-day about PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse2 game.animal nə-kə-nkeʔ=ntʰon o-ldiʔ fswʔ yoʔ?
IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-walk2=also 3SG:POSS-scent perceive3 be
Moreover, they can even pick up scent left by animals that have walked by three days before.

63. qʰoʔ o-χper
SEQ 3SG:POSS-example
For example,

64. redaʔ o-ldi some ne-fsw fteʔ?
game.animal 3SG:POSS-scent be.fresh IPFV-perceive3 be:EMPH qʰoʔa kv-χtaʔ te-ʃʔ?
SEQ:EMPH INF-chase IPFV-begin3 qʰoʔ rjóʔdʒat te-let yoʔ?
SEQ running.barking IPFV:UP-release be
when they pick up fresh scent of game animals, they give chase right away, giving “on-the-run” barks.

65. qʰoʔ redaʔ ne-səytfʰet
SEQ game.animal IPFV-cause.to.become.exhausted qʰoʔ prá=nay maʔdenəʔ sekʔ=ta te-səyʃə
SEQ steep.rocky.area=inside or tree=top IPFV:UP-cause.to.go
And they exhaust the game animals, and force them to go into a steep rocky area or up a tree.
66. qʰoʔ təfcət te-rkoj
SEQ cornering IPFV-do₃
qʰoʔ təfcəɾ'dzət te-lət ŋoʔ
SEQ cornering.barking IPFV:UP-release be
And have them (thus) cornered. And they give “cornering” barks.

67. qʰoʔ kəqerɣiʔ=ɾeʔ=kə
SEQ hunter=PL=ERG
kʰezeʔ o-táⁿ-dzət
dog 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-bark IPFV-observe-3PL
And the hunters observe how the dogs bark.

68. qʰoʔ rjɔyⁿ-dzət te-lət=nəʔ
SEQ running-bark IPFV:UP-release=SUB
nəⁿ-stə te-mdzu-nə qʰoʔ ne-núji-nə
3PL:POSS-where.something.is IPFV-sit-3PL SEQ IPFV-wait-3PL
When the dogs give “on-the-run” barks, they just sit and wait where they are.

69. təfcəɾ'dzət te-lət=nəʔ
cornering.bark IPFV:UP-release=SUB
qʰoʔ təfcəɾ'dzət kə-usu-lət ə-pʃə=ɾə=nəʔ
SEQ cornering.bark NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-release 3SG:POSS-diection=DET
tomde maʔdenəʔ tefsəɾi təʰbre téⁿ-di-nə
gun or hempan. rope IPFV:UP-take-3PL
qʰoʔ redaʔ kə-nʃə jv-fə-nə ŋoʔ tfʒoʔ
SEQ game.animal NMLZ:PURP-kill IPFV-go-3PL be be.the.rule
When the dogs give “cornering” barks, they take up guns or hempan ropes and go in the direction of (the dogs) that are giving “cornering” barks to finish off the game animals.
FISHES IN OUR COUNTRY

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. jər we? jə-sut=ɲə qəwe? mjo-tərem jərme to?
   1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC fish five-CL about exist
   There are about five kinds of fish in our land.

2. qe=dzə qə? qsernə
taimen110 and Prenant’s schizothoracin111
lənswiʃu tʃapə jəpətsət jə?
naked.carp112 loach sisorid.catfish113 be
   They are the Sichuan taimen, the Prenant’s schizothoracin, the naked carp, the loach, and
   the sisorid catfish.

3. qə? qe=dzə=nə oxtə qəwepu te=dzə jə?
   SEQ taimen=TOP in.the.main young.fish IPFV-eat3 be
   The Sichuan taimens feed mainly on small fish.

4. qə? stə? kə-xtə?=nə?
   SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
   orje tərpe jərme to? kə-tsə tʃəoz?
hundred catty about exist GP-say be.the.rule
   The biggest of them can weigh one hundred catties, it is said.

110 A salmonidae fish (川陝哲羅鮭 Hucho bleekeri).
111 A cyprinid fish of the Schizothorax genus (齊口裂腹魚 Schizothorax prenanti).
112 A naked carp species (松潘裸鯉 Gymnocypris potanini Herzenstein).
113 A species of sisorid catfish (黃石爬鮡 Euchiloglanis kishinouyei Kimura).
5. $qʰoʔ\ o^{a}dʒwe?\ ldent\ \ χʃləmmtʃə\ ηŋ?$
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-tooth exist.in.quantity-besides very be.sharp be
   It not only has lots of teeth, the teeth are also very sharp.

6. $qʰoʔ\ qe˘dzə\ kê-tʃint=nə?$
   SEQ Sichuan.taimen GP-catch=TOP
   $oxtw\ fʃfə?\ qeqwepu\ te-kv-mni?$
   in.the.main summer young.fish IPFV-GP-prepare
   $qʰoʔ\ qerst\ t′e-wi=nə?$
   SEQ winter IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come=SUB
   $qʰoʔ\ qe˘dzə\ o-st-smo\ sə-te-kv-nqe˘dzə$
   SEQ Sichuan.taimen 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-live2 AND-IPFV-GP-catch.taimen
   $ŋoʔ\ tfəz?$
   be be.the.rule
   To catch Sichuan taimens, one prepares young fish in the summer, and when winter comes one goes taimen-fishing to where Sichuan taimens live.

7. $qʰoʔ\ o-χper=kə$
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-supposition=INS
   $sv-nqe˘dzə?=kə\ kv-sò^d=di\ v-ne-svc=ən=ə?$
   NMLZ:OBL-catch.taimen2=INS INF-CAUS-take IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB
   $fla\ kv-rêksi\ mfv-nun\ ”dənə?$
   immediately GP-pull NEG-be.acceptable for
   $χʃö=tanə?\ wwe˘miru\ fiε?=kə$
   be.brawny-besides be.bad.tempered be:EMPH=INS
   $tə-st-nqe˘dzə\ kv-o-səfluy?\ tfəz?$
   GP:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.taimen2 GP-INV-cause.to.lose be.the.rule
   Suppose one manages to hook a Sichuan taimen with the fishing rod, one must not pull it in right away as the brawny and bad-tempered fish will cause one to lose one’s fishing tackle.
8. qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
təciʔ=naŋ tʰe-rëșke orjáŋʔnəʔ tʰe-kə-lət
water=inside DOWNRIVER-pull when DOWNRIVER-GP-release
ne-smo orjáŋʔnəʔ le-kv-rëški
IPFV-stop when IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-pull
nəʔošéʃət ne-kv-sɔʃʃət
in.that.way IPFV-GP-cause.to.tire.out

Therefore, one lets go (the line) downriver when (the fish) pulls it downriver, and when it stops, pulls it in upriver. And in the way, one exhausts (the fish).

9. qʰoʔ təciʔvər ne-kv-rëški
SEQ river.bank IPFV-GP-pull
qʰoʔ o-pʰjɨʔ kɨ-tʃît fɔxtə=naʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside GP-take.out before=DET
stʰɾe fkoʃse=kə maɾdenəʔ rketu=kə o-kə te-kv-sɔ-ʃəʃəʔ
first stone=INS or club=INS 3SG:POSS-head IPFV-GP-CAUS-hit
qʰoʔ noŋme=nəʔ o-pʰjɨʔ te-kɨ-tʃît tfozʔ
SEQ only.then=TOP 3SG:POSS-outside IPFV:UP-GP-take.out be.the.rule

Before one pulls it to the riverbank and takes it out (of the water), one hits it on the head with a stone or a club, and only then does one land (the fish).

10. qʰoʔ te-kv-məɾpa=nəʔ
SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-carry.on.shoulder=SUB
o-jmʉ sʰutʃɛ=tə ᵃge-zyot ŋəʔ tfozʔ
3SG:POSS-tail ground=top IPFV:DOWN-arrive be be.the.rule

When one carries it up onto the shoulder, its tail reaches down to the ground.
11. qʰoʔ o-fe=nəʔ yɾəmʔ-la ɣʃikə mimʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET be.white-besides very be.tasty
Its flesh is white and very tasty.

12. joŋəʔ toʔaʔ təciʔ=naŋ tɨpʰo ʰge-lut-nə
but nowadays river=inside dynamite IPFV:DOWN-release-3PL
qʰonəʔ qeqweʔ=fə ke-nəmɨnɨ
SEQ fish=also INF-be.many:RDPL
qeqdze=fə ke-nəmɨnɨ ne-je
taiman=also INF-be.many:RDPL IPFV-begin
qʰoʔ əntsɨjə kʰ-tʃet nə-rkonʔ fteʔ
SEQ that.much NMLZ:SBJ:U-catch PFV-be.rare2 be:EMPH
But nowadays people drop dynamite into rivers, and fishes as well as taimens are becoming fewer and fewer, and those that got caught have become rather rare.

13. ɣserne=nəʔ?
Prenant’s schizothoracin=TOP
stʰoʔ kə-xte=nəʔ sqe-təɾpe jɛɾmɨ toʔ tʃozʔ
most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET ten-catty about exist be.the.rule
As for the Prenant’s schizothoracin, it weighs about ten catties at the most.

14. qʰoʔ o-fwe=ɾnʔ mə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-tooth=PL not.exist
o-zɡeʔ=naʔ jə=tʃəʔ ηoʔ
3SG:POSS-back=DET be.black=a.bit be
o-po=nəʔ qeqeʔ=tʃəʔ ηoʔ
3SG:POSS-belly=DET be.yellow=a.bit be
It has no teeth, its back is blackish, its belly is yellowish, and it has very pretty scales over its body.

15. qʰoʔ o-fe=nə le? yʁəm?-ta mim?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET again be.white-besides be.tasty
Its flesh is also white and tasty.

16. qʰoʔ o-fəru=nə ldèn=ta jitsʰem=tsə?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET exist.in.quantity=top be.thin=a.bit
kəⁿdze me-te-kə-wvve=nə?
INF-eat NEG-IPFV-GP-make.proper=SUB
tə-rqé=nəŋ ra tfʰoz?
GP:POSS-throat=inside be.stuck be.the.rule
Its bones are plenty and quite thin, and if one does not eat it properly, (the bones) will get stuck in one’s throat.

17. qʰoʔ oxtv=nə? nəmgón=nəŋ ldèn ŋo?
SEQ in.the.main=top big.river=inside exist.in.quantity be
In general, they are found in large numbers in big rivers.

18. qʰoʔ fifer? tʰ-e-zyot=nə?
SEQ summer IPFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive=SUB
tfʰələʔ=nəŋ títəm le-we-nə ŋo? tfʰoz?
creek=inside upward IPFV:UPRIVER-come-3PL be be.the.rule
When summer comes, they will swim upriver into the creeks.
19. $qʰoʔ$ stonke *"ge-jov*? $jum=naʔ$

SEQ fall IPFV-end about=TOP

Around the time when fall ends, they go back again downriver to the big rivers.

20. $kʰ-tʃut=naʔ$  $sv-nqɜwɪc$  $kʰɛɲəʔ$  $te-kʰ=di$

GP-catch=TOP NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish₂ fishing.rod IPFV-GP-take

SEQ 3SG:POSS-food 3SG:POSS-means worm=DET

To catch them, one takes a fishing rod, and earthworms or scuds to use as bait.

21. $qʰonəʔ$  $kʰ-tʃut$  *"bɛt*  $ʃeʔ$

SEQ:EMPH GP-catch be.easy be:EMPH

And then it is very easy to catch them.

22. $qʰoʔ$  $lənswiʔu=naʔ$

SEQ naked.carp=TOP

As for the naked carp, creeks teem with them.

23. $qʰoʔ$  $stʰoʔ$  $kʰ-xteʔ=naʔ$

SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET

At the biggest, it weighs about three catties.
24. \( qʰoʔ \)  o-\( z\)gë=n\( ο\)  \( na=tsε\)  o-po=n\( ο\)  yr̂m\( ð\)=tsε?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-back=DET be.black=a.bit 3SG:POSS-belly=DET be.white=a.bit
\( qʰoʔ \)  ó-\( x\)ε̃r=n\( ο\)  jù̃ñ  \( m\)v
SEQ 3SG:POSS-body=DET fish.scale not.exist

Its back is quite blackish, its belly whitish, and its body is without scales.

25. \( qʰoʔ \)  o-fë=n\( ο\)  le? \( yr̂m?\) -ta \( χf\)k\( õ\)  \( n\)pu
SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh again be.white-besides very be.tender
\( qʰoʔ \)  o-fȩ̈r\( õ\)  l\( d\)en \( m\)k\( õ\)t\( õ\)et \( jts\)em \( η\)o?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone exist.in.quantity not.only be.thin be

Its flesh is also white and very tender; its bones are many and thin.

26. \( qʰoʔ \)  te-kv-së\( l\)ë
SEQ IPFV-GP-boil
\( qʰoʔ \)  o-ci?=n\( ο\)  \( χf\)k\( õ\)  \( m\)m\( ð\)=ta
SEQ 3SG:POSS-soup=DET very be.tasty=besides
\( t\)ə-rt\( õ\)m  \( f\)v \( η\)o?
GP:POSS-tonic go be

One boils it, and the soup is very tasty and nutritious for one.

27. \( qʰoʔ \)  kë-t\( õ\)et=n\( ο\)  k\( õ\)n\( ŋ\)n\( õ\)  te-kv-n\( ð\)i
SEQ GP-catch=TOP fishing.rod IPFV-GP-take
\( qʰoʔ \)  o 스-n\( n\)q\( õ\)p\( w\)we  q\( õ\)ju  q\( õ\)j\( õ\)q\( ð\)e?=sc\( h\)n\( õ\)  c\( õ\)p\( ã\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish\( w\) worm earthworm=and scud
tε-kv-\( m\)n\( ð\)i?  q\( ō\)n\( ō\)  kë-t\( õ\)et \( n\)p\( õ\)\( õ\)bet  \( f\)l\( õ\)?
IPFV-GP-prepare SEQ:EMPH GP-catch be.easy be:EMPH

To catch them, one takes a fishing rod, prepares worms, earthworms, and scuds for bait, and it will be easy to catch them.
28. qʰoʔ qertsu tʰe-zyot=nəʔ
SEQ winter IPFV-arrive=SUB
pʰováŋ=pʰi ma=denəʔ təci?=nay cópʰe=pʰi nûmkʰvr
boulder=under or water=inside slab=under fish.community
ke-poj qʰoʔ te-zgom-nəʔ nəʔ tfʰozʔ?
IPFV:CISLOC-do3 SEQ IPFV-hibernate-3PL be be.the.rule
And when winter arrives, the fish (gather to) form “fish communities” and hibernate.

29. tfane=nəʔ nwmgon scʰəʔ tfʰolaʔ?=nay komdiʔ toʔ fieʔ?
loach=TOP big.river and creek=inside all exist be:EMPH
As for the loach, it lives both in big rivers and in creeks.

30. qʰoʔ o-mdɔʔ=nəʔ γfikə nə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=DET very be.black
ó-ta=scʰənəʔ o-ymórme kaunγsə-ldʒe jermw toʔ?
3SG:POSS-top=and 3SG:POSS-moustache a.couple-CL about exist
Its color is very black, and moreover it has a couple of whiskers.

31. qʰoʔ kə-tʰwe jermw ”denəʔ me
SEQ one-span about except not.exist
It is no more than one (finger) span in length.

32. qʰoʔ ó-ʊɾɾ júnin=reʔ me fənəʔ caʰje toʔ?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-body fish.scale=PL not.exist but slime exist
qʰoʔ γfikə mnoʔ qʰoʔ tó-ja=nay ”gjiʔ fieʔ?
SEQ very be.slippery SEQ GP:POSS-hand=inside slide be:EMPH
Its body has slime but no scales; it is very slippery and slips from one’s hands.
33. qʰoʔ nənəʔ ranpaʔ fə-kə-tfet me
SEQ ANA specifically AND-NMLZ:SBJ-catch not.exist
óta o-ʃe "dze-ʃə me-tʃʰozʔ ʃə?
besides 3SG:POSS-flesh eat-1PL NEG-be.the.rule be
No one goes specifically to catch it, and besides, we generally do not eat its flesh.

34. qʰoʔ te-kə-nqewəʔ orjánʔnaʔ?
SEQ IPFV-GP-catch.fish when
tʃane kə-ʃtə me-nən
loach GP-catch NEG-be.acceptable
"denəʔ tə-swóri me-twstojʔ kə-tsə tʃʰozʔ?
for GP:POSS-front NEG-cause.to.be.straight GP-say be.the.rule
When one fishes, one must not catch it, for it is said that this will cause one to have bad luck.

35. nəʔ o-tnʔ=kə
ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
le-kə-ʃtə qʰoʔ o-koʔ "ge-kv-ʃ"du
qʰoʔ təciʔ=naŋ tʰə-kə-wəret tʃʰozʔ?
SEQ water=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-throw be.the.rule
Therefore, catching one, one as a rule clubs it on the head and throws it back into the water.

36. qʰoʔ fəpətsət=nəʔ?
SEQ sisorid.catfish=TOP
oxtə jənumgón=naŋ lDEN ʃə?
mainly big.river=inside exist.in.quantity be
As for the sisorid catfish, it is found mainly in big rivers.
37. *qʰoʔ tɕʰiʔ=naŋ*
   `SEQ river=inside`
   
   *cʰoʰe ó-pʰjì maʰDENə? pʰovəŋ ó-pʰjì=cʰo*
   `slab 3SG:POSS-underside or boulder 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC:INDF`
   
   *ne-smo ɲoʔ tfʰozʔ*
   `IPFV-live be be.the.rule`
   
   It lives under slabs or big rocks in the river.

38. *qʰoʔ stʰoʔ kʰo-xtecʔ=naʔ*
   `SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET`
   
   *χsəmʔ təɾpe jɛrmə tʰoʔ tfʰozʔ*
   `three catty about exist be.the.rule`
   
   At the biggest size, it weighs about three catties.

39. *qʰoʔ o-kʰe ʰʒɛʔ=ta o-koʔ ʰʃpʰeʃpʰe*
   `SEQ 3SG:POSS-mouth be.wide=besides 3SG:POSS-head be.flat`
   
   Its mouth is wide and its head is flattened.

40. *qʰoʔ o-mdɔʔ=naʔ ɲa=tʃʰʔ*
   `SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=DET be.black=a.bit`
   
   *qʰoʔ ʰʃʰuru jʊnɪn=reʔ mʊ*
   `SEQ 3SG:POSS-body scale=PL not.exist`
   
   Its color is rather black, and its body has no scales.

41. *qʰoʔ o-fǔɾu=naʔ qʰweʔ o-fǔɾu jɛrmə mʊ-ldən*
   `SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET fish 3SG:POSS-bone than NEG-exist.in.quantity`
   
   *qʰoʔ o-fe=naʔ ʰʃikə mɪmʔ mʊkʰtsʰɛt*
   `SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET very be.tasty not.only`
   
   *zḱʰan=naŋ ne-ntsweʔ=naʔ*
   `restaurant=inside IPFV-sell-3PL=SUB`
Its bones are not as many as other fish, and its flesh is very tasty and, moreover, fetches a high price when people sell them in restaurants.

42. qʰoʔ  tɔciʔ=naj
SEQ river=inside
zoʔ  oʃpovʔ  mədenəʔ
cattle 3SG:POSS-corpse or
kəɾbjoʔ  oʃpovʔ=kəsə  v-nē-to=nəʔ114
human 3SG:POSS-corpse=like IRR-PFV-exist=SUB
nəʔ  oʃe  ʃi kəɾdze  rge tʰozʔ
ANA 3SG:POSS-flesh very INF-eat like be.the.rule
If there are dead cattle or human corpses in the river, it loves to eat their flesh.

43. kə-təʃe=ce  jaʃeʔ  ja-sətfə=ə
one-time=LOC:INDF 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC
kə-nqəjweʔ  kə-rge=caʔ  tərmə  ne-nqəjwe=nəʔ
INF-catch.fish NMLZ:SBJ-like=INDF man IPFV:PST-catch.fish2=SUB
Once in our land, when a man who loved to fish was fishing,

44. ʃəpətsət  se-nqəjwe  ó-ste=nəʔ
sisorid.catfish NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish2 3SG:POSS-where.one.is=DET
əntsətse  ʃəpətsət  ʃənaʃla  tə-dze
continuously sisorid.catfish again.and.again IPFV-eat3
qʰoʔ  kåde  o-perʔ  mtsʰət  le-tset
SEQ in.a.while 3SG:POSS-interstice be.many PFV:UPRIVER:TR-catch2
sisorid catfish were biting one after another at the spot where he fished for sisorid catfish, and within a short while he caught many of them.

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114 Water-burial is still practiced sometimes in the Rgyalrong Tibetan country.
45.  

$q^\circ\sigma\ k\text{om}_{\text{ag}}\text{\'un}o\sigma$

SEQ afterwards

$o\text{-}s\text{-}n\text{q}_{\text{ey}}\text{we}=k\text{\'o}$

$q^\circ\sigma\ o\text{-}ste=\text{n}\text{\'e}\sigma$

$3\text{SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish}=\text{INS ANA} \quad 3\text{SG:POSS-where.something.is}=\text{DET}$

tovov? te-zreski $n\text{\text{-}t}f^\circ\text{\text{\'o}\z}$

corpse PFV:UP:TR-pull2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2

Afterwards, his fishing tackle pulled up a corpse where he was (fishing).

46.  

$q^\circ\sigma\ n\text{-}n\text{us}_{\text{c\text{'e}r}}?=t\text{a}=sc^\circ\text{\'o}\text{n}\text{\'e}\sigma$

$o\text{-}zi=\text{re}n \quad j\text{\text{-}lv\text{-}l}$

SEQ PFV-be.scared2=besides=and $3\text{SG:POSS-nausea}=\text{even PROS-PFV-come.out}$

Not only was he scared, he almost threw up.

47.  

$q^\circ\sigma\ o\text{-}s\text{-}n\text{q}_{\text{ey}}\text{we} \quad k\text{\'ej}_{\text{\text{\'o}\text{n}}}?=\text{re}?=sc^\circ\text{\'o}\text{n}\text{\'e}\sigma$

SEQ $3\text{SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish}=\text{PL}=$and

o-fep\text{\text{\'e}ts\text{\'o}t} \quad k\text{\text{\'o}mbdi} \quad tac\text{\text{-}i}=\text{na}j \quad ke\text{-}weret

$3\text{SG:POSS-sisorid.catfish all river}=\text{inside PFV:CISLOC:TR-throw}$

$n\text{\text{-}t}f^\circ\text{\text{\'o}\z}$

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2

And he took his fishing rod and all the catfish and threw all of them into the river.
WHAT WE EAT AND DRINK

tòrjən jakₕudze jakₕešinaʔ

Narrator: Bstanblo

1.  jitə́raj ə́rɟən jə-n dzëtı

1PL Tshobdun.people often 1PL:POSS-meal
tʃʰə te-kə-fsət o-ffetpe kv-let
what IPFV-NMLZ-be.like 3SG:POSS-recounting GP-do

Let me recount (lit. one recounts) what we Tshobdun people normally eat.

2.  zertʃe=nəʔ

breakfast=TOP

As for breakfast,

3.  stʰɔre ˈsiz təmtʃuʔ? te-kv-rvro

first morning IPFV-GP-get.up

first, one gets up in the morning,

4.  qʰoʔ tʃeʔ some te-kv-svle

SEQ tea new IPFV-GP-boil

and boils new tea.

5.  tʃeʔ te-le

tea IPFV-come.to.a.boil

tʃʰoʔ pʰərtʃu=naŋ rtʃeʃu tʃu 115 ʷge-kv-let
SEQ bowl=inside hot.tea IPFV-GP-put.in

When the tea comes to a boil, one pours it into the bowl,

115 Hot water poured into a bowl with which to mix tsampa dough; from Tibetan <rtsam.chu>.
6. \(qʰo\) ó-nañ tepi ʷge-ke-leṭ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside butter IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in
   and puts butter into it,

7. noŋme rtsambə ʷge-ke-leṭ qʰo? te-ke-rēpyi
   then tsampa IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in SEQ IPFV-GP-mix
   then adds tsampa flour and mix it.

8. qʰo? o-swəbrov tajni?
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-what.goes.with.main.food pickled.turnip.leaves
   pʰərtfu=nañ te-ke-rko
   bowl=inside IPFV-GP-put.into.container
   And then, one puts into the bowl pickled turnip leaves to go with the tsampa.

9. maⁿdenə? canʔ to?
   or pickles exist
   qʰônə canʔ te-ke-rko
   then pickles IPFV-GP-put.into.container
   Or, if pickles are available, one puts them in.

10. qʰo? rtsəmbə te-ke-ʷdze տօ?
    SEQ tsampa IPFV-GP-eat be
    And then one eats the tsampa.

11. těło toʔ qʰônə tsẽʔ=nañ těło te-ke-leṭ
    milk exist then tea=inside milk IPFV-GP-put.in
    If milk is available,\(^\text{116}\) then one can put milk into tea,

\(^{116}\)Traditionally, milk is available only in summer and fall when cows bear calves.
12. qʰoʔ vdetvr ne-kê-tʰi ηoʔ tʰozʔ
SEQ to.one’s.heart’s.content IPFV-GP-drink be be.the.rule
and drink it to one’s heart’s content. This is the custom.

13. kenēsv mandenəʔ losvr teqvr te-toʔ orjāŋʔnoʔ
rest.period or New Year leisure IPFV-exist when
Or, during resting periods on the farm or when there is leisure during New Year,

14. zertse ƙiʂaytfse te-ke-pe ηoʔ tʰozʔ
breakfast butter.tea IPFV-GP-make be be.the.rule
it is the custom to make churned butter tea for breakfast.

15. qʰoʔ sasu=ŋoʔ
SEQ lunch=DET
As for lunch,

16. turovʔ te-ke-sqv
pork IPFV-GP-boil
one boils (salted) pork.

17. qʰoʔ turovʔ né-smi
SEQ pork IPFV-be.cooked
When the meat is cooked,

18. turoveiʔ=nąŋ janjuʔ kâʔfor te-ke-sæpæpe
meat gravy=inside stir-fried.potatoes IPFV-GP-prepare
one prepares stir-fried potatoes in the meat gravy,
19. qʰoʔ tʰɐfke=nəŋ qéjwi tʰ-e-kʰ-po
   SEQ hearth=inside bread IPFV-GP-bake
   and bakes bread inside the hearth,

20. qʰoʔ qéjwi=xchəŋəʔ janjuʔ kɑ́tʃɔr te-kʰ-sdze
   SEQ bread=and potato.and.pickles.soup IPFV-GP-eat
   and then eats the bread with the potato and pickles soup.

21. qʰoʔ tɛrovʔ=nəʔ o-sɛʃətʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʰʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱʱUSART
25. qʰoʔ maθdenə? jəməkətʰi te-kw-səle
SEQ or maize gruel IPFV-GP-boil
Or one makes maize gruel.

26. mandenə? jəŋjuʔ te-kw-səq
or potato IPFV-GP-boil
Or one makes boiled potatoes.

27. qʰoʔ mandenə? mtsʰoloʔ-some te-kw-səle
SEQ or nettle-young IPFV-GP-boil
Or one makes young-nettle soup.117

28. mandenə? fe-pəjtsət te-kw-pe ηοʔ tʃʰozʔ
or steamed meat-bun with filling IPFV-GP-make be be.the.rule
Or one makes steamed buns with meat filling.

29. ne-kw-nepriʔ?
IPFV-GP-eat supper
qʰonə nonme ke-kw-nə-rəgu ηοʔ
SEQ: EMPH only.then IPFV-GP-SPON sleep be
One eats supper, and only then goes to the bed.

30. jaŋwaʔ jə-kw-nədze təjpo oxtə=nəʔ
1PL 1PL: POSS-NMLZ: SBJ:U eat grain in.the.main=DET
As for the main types of grains we eat,

117 A soup made from salt and tender nettle leaves.
31. qej? tefe fo rjeqej? törja
   wheat highland.barley buckwheat oats winter.wheat
   røre? sto rjeña?
   beans broad.beans white.beans
   jómec janju? tuse? tópi nôqemtset ño?
   maize potato hemp.seeds flax.seeds et.cetera be
   (they are) wheat, highland barley, buckwheat, oats, winter wheat, broad beans, white
   beans, beans, soy beans, maize, potato, hemp seeds, flax seeds, and so on.

32. jœ-tsøj? o-xtv=ño?
   1PL:POSS-vegetable 3SG:POSS-main=DET
   kórulęp³uy? kórulęp³uy? wosän lanje? tsanje?
   radish carrot asparagus.lettuce pumpkin squash
   praʃko dørku tʃaʃko tějmoy mts³olo?
   chive fiddlehead.fern wild.chive.sp. mushroom nettle
   Our main vegetables are radishes, carrots, asparagus lettuces, pumpkins, squashes,
   chives, fiddlehead ferns, wild chives, mushrooms, and nettles.

33. törjan jø-kwedze fe oxtv=ño?
   often 1PL:POSS-food meat in.the.main=DET
   As for the meats we often eat,

34. pafe=sêño? skémfe q⁴o? reda? o-safe k'bemtfa ño?
   pork=and beef SEQ wild.animal 3SG:POSS-various.meats a.bit be
   (these) are pork, beef, and to some extent meats of various wild animals.

35. q⁴o? pafe=ño? oxtv lezo? ne-pe-jø
   SEQ pork=DET in.the.main salted.pork IPFV-make-1PL
   q⁴o? mañdenø? tégor ne-pe-jø
   SEQ or salted.whole.pork.fat IPFV-make-1PL
And most of the pork we make into salted pork or salted whole pork fat, and a small part of the beef we make into dried beef.

And as for milk and butter, in the main, we raise and milk cows and that is where milk and butter comes from.

In the past, we did not eat fish and the like, but nowadays, we eat some fish.

Regarding our foods and drinks, that is more or less about it.
CHARACTERISTICS OF WOLVES AND DHOLES

spjankuscʰəʔə? qeperʔniʔ nʰdzəsʰɛɾɛzʔ

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. \( jəɾəʔ? \ jə-sutʰe=z \)
   1PL  1PL:POSS-place=LOC
   In our land,

2. \( sŋontsʰe-ɾəʔəm \ spjánku=scʰəʔə? \ qeperʔ \ ne-to \ kʰ-tso \ məkʰətsʰəʔ \)
   former.time-since wolf=and dhole IPFV:PST-exist2 GP-say not.only
   it is said that not only did there use to be both wolves and dholes,

3. \( sŋontsʰe=nəʔ \ təʔə \ foɾtəʔə? \ mɤjə \ nv-ldenʔ \)
   former.time=DET nowadays than further IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity2
   kʰ-tso  tʰozʔ?
   GP-say be.the.rule
   there were more of them at that time than nowadays.

4. \( oʃtəʔə? \ reʰgo=ɾə \ ne-nesməsmo-nə \ te-ʔvəɾɾiʔ-nə \ kʰmə \)
   in.the.main hill=LOC:INDF IPFV-stay-3PL IPFV-hunt-3PL besides
   cəmiʔ=nəʔ? \ ʔɔntəgi \ mə-wi-nə \ tʰozʔ?
   riverside.farmland=TOP so.much NEG-come-3PL be.the.rule
   They mainly stay and hunt on the hills and do not come to the riverside much.

5. \( tʰɾeɾzʔ=nəʔ? \ rgon \ ð-pʰjə \)
   this.year=TOP Rgon.Monastery 3SG:POSS-direction
   tʰv-ldenʔ-nə?
   CONT:LTR-exist.in.quantity2-3PL
   not.only
In this year, many of them are noted to the direction of Rgon and rumor has it that they bore their young there.

6. *spjanku=naʔ χʃikə ʃqraʔ ʃɨ-tsə ɲoʔ-cə*
   *wolf=TOP very be.clever GP-say be-MED*
   People say that wolves are very smart.

7. *naʔ ʃpə ɲoʔ  naʔ*
   *ANA why be DM*
   Why is it so?

8. *spjanku ne-rəlŋaʔ=naʔ*
   *wolf IPFV-bear.child=SUB*
   When wolves bear their young,

9. *o-vzəvzər ʃərne ɡəzəʔ=naʔ=ɾəd ɡə-te-ɾdzə*
   *3SG:POSS-side place.nearby cattle=DET=PL NEG-eat3*
   they do not eat the cattle near by.

10. *qəɾqə=ɾ ɡəɾko ʃə-ɾə-ɡə-ɾyaʔ ɡəʔoʔ*
    *far.place=LOC ridge AND-IPFV-cross SEQ*
    *nənaʔ=cəρ ɡəzəʔ ʃə-ɾə-te-ɾdzə*
    *there=LOC:INDF cattle AND-IPFV-eat3*
    But they go across distant ridges and eat the cattle there.

11. *qəʔoʔ ɲoŋɬəɾəʔ ʃə-ɾə-ɾəlŋa ne-ɾə-ɾəwəi ɲoʔ-cə*
    *SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-bear2 IPFV-come be-MED*
    And only then come back to the place where they breed their young.
12. nəʔ tfə v yəʔ nəʔ
ANA why be DM
Why is it so?

13. o-se-ralŋa o-vzvolución zəʔ *ge-ntʃəv
3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-bear.young 3SG:POSS-side cattle IPFV-kill3
joyʔ fənəʔ korŋjoʔ=kə o-sərtəʔ fteʔ
be.allowed but human=ERG INV-discover be:EMPH
Suppose they kill cattle close to the place where they bear their young, they will be discovered by people,

14. qʰoʔ kopupu o-qərŋiʔ
SEQ child.and.all INV-hunt
and they will be hunted together with their puppies.

15. nəʔ ne-naʃəʔ kū-tsə yəʔ tfəozʔ
ANA IPFV-worry GP-say be be.the.rule
That is what they are concerned about, it is said.

16. sŋontʃe=z *ge-ʃfət=nəʔ v-tə-kū-tsə=nəʔ
former.time=LOC IPFV-recount=SUB IRR-PFV-GP-say=TOP
To tell what used to be recounted in the past,

17. spjaŋku o-jįʔ jušte te-kə-nunŋkəŋjiʔ=nəʔ
wolf 3SG:POSS-self alone IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-move.about=DET
χʃika suʃəwər korŋjoʔ *dzə tfəozʔ yəʔ
very be.frightening human eat3 be.the.rule be
it is said that lone wolves that move about by themselves are very frightening and will eat people.
18. *spjaŋku? kašnɛxɔ́ndɛ*[^118] *te-kə-nenkeʔjìʔ=ɛnə?=ɛnu*

wolf a.couple IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-move.about=DET=PL

*Neg-be.frightening NEG-GP:U-eat GP-say be.the.rule be*

Whereas wolves that move about in small packs are not frightening and will not eat people, it is said.

19. *qʰoʔ qepeʔ=ɛnə? spjaŋku=ɛkʰənə? *dzo=me-sv-nəxjoj=ɛnə*

SEQ dhole=TOP wolf=and 3DU:POSS-NEG-NMLZ:OBL-be.same=DET

*χfíkə fsəʔ kũ-tsə ɲo?*

very be.gluttonous GP-say be

It is said that the differences between dholes and wolves are that the former are very gluttonous.

20. *qʰoʔ te-qerŋiʔ=ɛnə zəʔ te-nəxτəxτaʔ=ɛnə*

SEQ IPFV-hunt-3PL cattle IPFV-chase:RDPL-3PL

And when they hunt and chase cattle,

21. *qʰoʔ stʰəre ó-fqɔr ʔw=ɛnə_dze te-jeʔ=ɛnə*

SEQ first 3SG:POSS-buttocks INF-eat IPFV-begin-3PL

they begin eating it from the rear end,

22. *qʰoʔ koŋɛpɛʔ=ɛkʰənə? *ʃəlpoʔ ʃũɾ=ɛnu ḥe=ku-naŋəke*

SEQ excrement.and.all=and meat.chunk bone=PL NEG-CVB-chew

*osɨʃsət tə-e-molaʔ=ɛnə ɲoʔ kũ-tsə tʃoʔ*

thus IPFV-swallow-3PL be GP-say be.the.rule

and swallow whole chunks of flesh, bones, excrement and all, without even chewing, it, is said.

[^118]: Literally ‘one-two-three-four’.
22. qʰoʔ qepeʔ v-ne-kw-ntʰe=nəʔ

SEQ dhole IRR-PFV-GP-kill=SUB

If a dhole is killed,

23. o-kʰɔ́χpe=z ʃe=pəʔ kə-mdəmdìʔ

3SG:POSS-belly=LOC meat.chunk NMLZ:SBJ-be.whole

kə-təfe pɔ́jtsət ke-pə kə-ɾtaʔ=kesə one-time bread.with.filling GP-make NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough=like

ləʔ tʃʰozʔ kʰ-təʃə nəʔ come.out be.the.rule GP-say be

you find inside its belly whole chunks of meat enough to make a meal of bread with fillings, it is said.

24. qʰoʔ kawəʔ ja-wi jemə

SEQ Chinese.communists PROS-come about

qepeʔ kaxɔnɔvədə tə*ɡɔmnoʔ=z lə-veʔ-nə-cə
dhole a.couple.of PN=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-come2-3PL-MED

Around the time when the Chinese communists were about to come, a small pack of dholes came upriver to Tengemngo.\textsuperscript{119}

25. qʰoʔ selɔʔ jə-ŋe tʰe-kə-smə=nəʔ

SEQ pasture 1PL:POSS-cow CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-stay=DET

kə-rdəʔ=cəʔ te-χta-nə nəʔ-cə one-CL=INDF PFV:TR-chase2-3PL be-MED

And chased a certain cow of ours that was there on the pasture.

\textsuperscript{119} Name of a local rubble slide, a landmark not far downriver from Mendeci, Bstanblo’s home hamlet.
26. noorjāŋʔəŋ?
   at that time
   rdēt  v-mo  pʰuyjuʔ=z  tʰemphěri=nə?
   exactly 1SG:POSS-mother  PN=LOC  IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB
   nə?  ne-mti-cə
   ANA  PFV:TR-see2-MED
   At that very moment, my mother happened to take a look downriver from Phugyu¹²⁰ and saw this.

27. qʰoʔ  v-mo  kw-rayʃfoʰbaʔ=zscʰənəʔ  qəhijilo  te-pe?
   SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother  INF-yell=and  EXCL  PFV:TR-do2
   oʒorʔ  taŋgəmŋoʔ=z  kw-muyʔ  tʰ-vbre-cə
   meanwhile  PN=LOC  INF-run  PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-MED
   Mother started to yell and called out “Hey!” while she went running downriver toward Tengemngo.

28. taŋgəmŋoʔ=zscʰənəʔ  pʰuyjuʔ  o-pěrtʰe=nəʔ?
   PN=and  PN  3SG:POSS-space.in.between=TOP
   lewer  kə-rdoʔ  jerm=naʔ  toʔ?
   kilometer  one-CL  about=DET  exist
   There is about one kilometer between Tengemngo and Phugyu,

29. qʰoʔ  v-mo  taŋgəmŋoʔ  tʰ-vzyőt=nəʔ?
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother  PN  PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive2=SUB
   when my mother arrived at Tengemngo,

¹²⁰ Name of a specific mound near the hamlet fields.
  dhole=PL=ERG  cow=DET  3SG:POSS-buttocks=LOC
  *kə*=dze  *te-je-nə*  *mvkōtsʰat*
  INF-eat  PFV:TR-begin-3PL  not.only

the dholes had not only begun to eat the cow from its rear end,

31. *o-ko?=scʰo=na?  o-meléja  jermw-qa  kóma*
  3SG:POSS-head=and  3SG:POSS-limb  about-MED  except
  *kə-mdiʔ*  *ne-stʰat-nə*  *wejo*  *ŋoʔ-qa*
  NMLZ-be.all  PFV:TR-consume-3PL  be.seen  be-MED

but had almost consumed all of it except for the head and the limbs.

32. *qʰoʔ  qeper?  kar=boʔ=naʔ  óntṣya  me-ne-náʔve-jaʔ*
  SEQ  dhole  human=DET  that.much  NEG-IPFV-fear-3PL
  *nɔ-ta  sekoʔ=naŋ*  *tə-ʰbloŋ-nə*
  3PL:POSS-top  underbrush=inside  PFV:UP-go.out.of.view-3PL

The dholes, seemingly not much afraid of people, disappeared into the uphill underbrush.

33. *naʔ*  *nv-fsʰt*  *nv-tʃʰoz-qa*
  ANA  IPFV:PST-be.like2  IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED

What happened was like that, it is said.
Rgyalrong Soldiers Joined to Fight a War with a Foreign Country

Narrator: Stagthar

1.ampsʰə=z pot=scʰənaʔ potpoʔ=niʔ ne-mqə-nə orjánʔnaʔ

former.time=LOC Tibet=and Nepal=DU PFV-fight2-3PL when

Once when Tibet and Nepal (armies) fought against each other,

2. pot o-kmaʔ? zimiʔ? ma-jə-načʰəʔ-ne-nə

Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army almost NEG-PROS-be.able2-3PL

nw-tɓoz-cə

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED

the Tibetan army were almost going to lose, it is said.

3. qʰoʔ ləse=z rjong setʰə=z skəfə ne-səwot-nə

SEQ Lhasa=LOC Rgyalrong land=LOC word PFV:TR-cause.to.bring2-3PL

Words were sent from Lhasa to the Rgyalrong area,

4. rjongwe kmaʔ kə-fu reʔ

Rgyalrong.person army NMLZ-go be.necessary

tə-tsəʔ-nə yoʔ-cə

PFV:TR-say2-3PL be-MED

saying that the Rgyalrong people must join the army.

5. qʰoʔ rjong o-setʰə=z

SEQ Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land=LOC
tərmə kə-rkanə tə-ŋədəz-nə

man NMLZ:SBJ-be.strong PFV-gather2-3PL

And in the Rgyalrong country, strong men gathered up,
6. \( qʰoʔ kʰə rʃaŋ ó-ta \)  
SEQ carrying.rack 3SG:POSS-top  
\( təmɡriʔ=ṣcʰənəʔ \) \( lət \) \( pozvu teʰdi-nə \)  
spear=and long.knife musket PFV:TR:UP-carry2-3PL  
\( qʰoʔ nə-ntʃə-na \) \( ɲəʔ-cə \)  
SEQ PFV-depart2-3PL be-MED  
and packed spears, long swords, and muskets onto carrying racks and set off.

7. \( qʰoʔ təɣrərəʔ=kə kē-jwet məcʰə-nə ntor \)  
SEQ family=ERG INF-return NEG-be.able-3PL DM  
\( ne-səɨsi-nə=kə \)  
PFV:TR-think2-3PL=INS  
And as their family members thought that they would not be able to return,

8. \( yrēko=ta kərʰbjoʔ kʰe-rdəʔ ó-vre rdotʃə? ne-sətʃə? \)  
ridge=top person each-CL 3SG:POSS-share stele PFV:TR-stick2  
\( nə-tʃəoz \) \( ɲəʔ-cə \)  
IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2 be-MED  
and stuck a memorial stele for each of them on top of mountain ridges, it is said.

9. \( qʰoʔ rjaɾøŋ o-sətʃə tə-kə-vre \)  
SEQ Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go2  
\( უmaʔ=ɾvə \) \( ჭfikə \) \( ʂge-tsʰət-nə \) \( ɲəʔ-cə \)  
army=PL very IPFV-be.fierce-3PL be-MED  
And the soldiers that came (uphill) from Rgyalrong country were very fierce.

10. \( fənaʔ palpoʔ-pʰjə=ɾvə \) \( უləŋbɔtʃə უmaʔ \) \( ke-wot-nə \)  
SEQ Nepal-direction=PL elephant army IPFV:EAST-bring-3PL  
But the Nepalese side were bringing (eastward) an elephant army.
11. qʰoʔ  slaybötʰe  nəʷ-dʒwləʔʔ=ta  *brətfu
   SEQ  elephant  3PL:POSS-tusk=top  knife
   kə-vra=sənəʔ  nə-fne=kə
   NMLZ:SBJ:U-bind=and  3PL:POSS-nose=INS
   pot  kmaʔ=rvʔ  ne-znərəʔpoʔ-nə
   Tibet  soldier=PL  IPFV-cause.to.slam-3PL

   And the elephants slammed the Tibetan army around with the knives bound to the tusks
   and their noses,

12. qʰoʔ  pot  kmaʔ  ome  nə́γu  nu-neʔ?  ηoʔ-cə
   SEQ  Tibet  army  very  3PL:POSS  IPFV:PST-be.bad2  be-MED
   and the Tibetan army were in a very miserable state.

13. qʰoʔ  pot  kmaʔ  ó-nay  jəte-kə-fqraʔʔ=cəʔ?
   SEQ  Tibet  army  3SG:POSS-inside  COMP-NMLZ:SBJ:be.clever=INDF
   vloʃən  nəvocab-ənə
   resourceful.man  IPFV:PST-exist2-MED

   There was a clever and resourceful person in the Tibetan army.

14. qʰoʔ  qʰənəʔ=kə  təvlo  te-tsət  ηoʔ-cə
   SEQ  ANA=ERG  idea  PFV:TR-take.out2  be-MED
   And that man offered an idea.

15. qʰoʔ  zəŋʔ=kə  kəɾʰboʔ  o-rqʰoʔ=kəsə  ne-fənə
   SEQ  copper=INS  person  3SG:POSS-external.form=like  PFV:TR-forge2-3PL
   And they wrought copper into human shapes.
16. qʰoʔ nə? ō-nəŋ tisrot te-rko-nə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside charcoal PFV:TR-put.in2-3PL
qʰoʔ te-zwerneʔ-nə nəʔosēfsət ne-teʔ-nə yoʔ-cə
SEQ PFV:TR-redden2-3PL thus PFV:TR-put2-3PL be-MED
And they put charcoals into them, burnt them red-hot, and left them there.

17. qʰoʔ ʁlaŋbótʃʰ e ke-wi-nə
SEQ elephant IPFV:EAST-come-3PL
qʰoʔ nə-fne=kə zanʔ tə-kə-wrne=nə?
SEQ 3PL:POSS-nose=INS copper PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.red2=DET
te-sə-rqəʔ maʔədensə ke-sə-rtov yoʔ-cə
IPFV-CAUS-encircle or IPFV:CISLOC-CAUS-wrap be-MED
And the elephants would come and use their noses to pick up the red-hot copper figures or wrap around them.

18. fənəʔ zanʔ tə-kə-wrne kərbjoʔ nb-fle-cə
but copper PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.red2 person IPFV:PST-be:EMPH2-MED
But as (these human figures) were actually red-hot copper men,

19. qʰoʔ ʁlaŋbótʃʰ e nə-fne nv-fkə?
SEQ elephant 3PL:POSS-nose PFV-be.burnt
qʰoʔ nə-o-səypʰi-nə
SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.flee2-3PL
the elephants’ trunks got burnt and they were caused to flee.
20. qʰoʔ nəʃaqʰu qʰoʔ nə-o-znaʃtəʔ-nə
SEQ henceforth SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.learn.one’s.lesson2-3PL
qʰoʔ kv-səjwət mə-ne-kʰút
SEQ GP-cause.to.return NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂
From then on, they learned a lesson and refused to (be made to) return (to the battleground).

21. qʰoʔ nəʔəʃəqʰu qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu kʰə-o-znəʒəntəʔ-nə
SEQ henceforth SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.learn.one’s.lesson2-3PL
qʰoʔ kʰə-səjwət mə-ne-kʰút
SEQ GP-cause.to.return NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂
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qʰoʔ kʰə-səjwət mə-ne-kʰút
SEQ GP-cause.to.return NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂
From then on, they learned a lesson and refused to (be made to) return (to the battleground).
25. nəʔ tfən əʔ=əʔ
   ANA why be=TOP
   Why is that?

26. kəɾʰbjoʔ fe jəⁿ-dze-nə maʔ əʔ-cə
   person flesh PROS-eat-3PL not.be be-MED
   It was not that they were going to eat the human flesh.

27. fənəʔ pelpoʔ o-kmaʔ təpʰʒiz \textsuperscript{1} tʰn-ə-nəʃktroʔ
   SEQ Nepal 3SG:POSS-army in.secret CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-peek\textsubscript{2} nə-sə-səγəγɤyvr? əʔ əʔ-cə
   3PL:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-scare\textsubscript{2}:RDPL be be-MED
   But it was to give a scare to the Nepalese soldiers who were peeking at them in secret.

28. qʰoʔ pelpoʔ o-kmaʔ
   SEQ Nepal 3SG:POSS-army
   kə-nəʃktro kə-kə-wɛʔ-nə=ɾəʔ nə-jwɛt-nə
   NMLZ:PURP-peek PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come\textsubscript{2}:3PL=PL IPFV:WEST-return-3PL
   And the Nepalese soldiers that came to spy (on the Tibetans) would go back (westward),

29. qʰoʔ nə-zdeʔ=ɾəʔ=pʰə
   SEQ 3PL:POSS-comrade=PL=place
   koʔ pot o-kmaʔ mo-səγəγ-jo fteʔ taʔ-cə
   this Tibet 3SG:POSS-army NEG:INV-defeat-1PL be:EMPH be.certain-MED
   "denəʔ kəɾʰbjoʔ fe=ɾəʔ \textsuperscript{2} dze-nə-ɔə
   for person flesh=even eat-3PL-MED
   and said to their comrades, “We surely will not be able to defeat the Tibetan army, for they even eat human flesh!”
30. $qʰoʔ$ $nəʔə$ $kəmqʰunəʔ$

SEQ thus afterwards

$pot$ $o$-$kmaʔ$=$ruʔ$ $rjelkʰe$ $ne$-$tʰov$-$nə$ $ŋoʔ$-$cə$

Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army=PL victory PFV:TR-get-3PL be-MED

In that way the Tibetan army won the victory in the end.

31. $ʃən$ $pot$ $o$-$kmaʔ$ $mtsʰôt$ $nə$-$set$-$nə$

but Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army be-many PFV-die-3PL $nv$-$tʰ$-$oz$ $ŋoʔ$-$cə$

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2 be-MED

But many of the Tibetan soldiers were dead, it is said.

32. $náŋzgo$ $rjərəŋ$ $o$-$setfʰe$ $tə$-$kə$-$were$=$ruʔ$


NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity INF-return NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able-3PL $kə$-$tsə$ $tʰ$-$ozʔ$

GP-say be.the.rule

And, surely, many of those who came up from the Rgyalrong country were unable to return home, it is said.

33. $o$-$zper=ka$

3SG:POSS-example=INS $tsʰ$-$ovdan$ $qʰoləciʔ$ $setfʰe$ $v$-$tə$-$kə$-$tsə$=$nəʔ$

PN PN land IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

Take Kholakyi Village in Tshobdun Township for example,
34. *kəⁿbjoʔ* χsomʔ jermw ’denə?
    person three about except
    INF-return NEG-IPFV:be.able-3PL GP-say be.the.rule
    only about three people were able to return (alive), it is said.

35. *qʰoʔ* ʔ-št̪eqopy rjêlpoo=kə
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-local.person chieftain=ERG
    And the local chieftain (said to them),

36. *nəʔeʔ* nə-kə-jwet χsomʔ=nəʔ=ɾəʔ?
    2PL PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-return three=DET=PL
    “The three of you who returned (downhill),”

37. *nə-kə-tʂʰêt* ó-ta=z=scʰənəʔ?
    IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.fierce 3SG:POSS-top=LOC=and
    nə-tsənʔ nə-kə-to kə-jwet nə-kə-cʰəʔ?
    “who were brave, achieved your merits (in battles) and were able to come back.”

38. *nə-səqve=kəsə=nəʔ?
    2PL:POSS-reward=like=TOP
    tʃʰə ne-tə-nrewe-nə toʔ tɔ-tṣə-nəʔ
    what IPFV-2-hope-2PL exist IMP-say-2PL
    “As for your rewards, just name your wishes,”

39. *nəʔ* ó-ta kə-səyəʔ yəʔ te-tsəʔ-ɔə
    ANA 3SG:POSS-top GP-cause.to.hit be PFV:TR-say2-MED
    “and I shall fulfil them,” he said.
And one of them said, “As my field is a bit insufficient, give me some land.”

Another one of them said, “As for me, since I have been desiring to build a recreation room (in my house), let me build one!”

Why is it (that he should be making such a request)?

(Because) in the past, except for chieftains, feudal serfs were not allowed to build recreation rooms.

121 A room with a large window, built on the third floor.
44. \(qʰoʔ\ leʔ\ kəɾdɔʔ=nəʔ\)

SEQ again one-CL=DET

\(ŋiʔ\ ŋənə\ təɾi tʰɔyɛm\ kə-lɛt\ "ge-mqə=kə\)

1SG TOP:EMPH land.rent GP-pay IPFV-be.hard=INS

\(kəɾaŋʰu\ təɾi tʰɔyɛm\ kə-lɛt\ mə-kə-reʔ=caʔ\)

from.now.on land.rent GP-pay NEG-NMLZ-be.necessary=INDF

\(ne-nɾewe-an\ ŋə\ tə-tsə?-ca\)

IPFV-hope-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the other man said, “As for me, since paying land rent is hard, I hope to be exempt from ever paying land rent hereafter.”

45. \(qʰoʔ\ rjilpo=kə\ nə=raʔ\ kəmdɨʔ\)

SEQ chieftain=ERG ANA=PL all

\(wə\ nəyɪlska\ nəɾəʔ\ nə-ɾɨnʔ\ kə-toʔ\ tə-ŋoʔ-nə=ka\)

EXCL of.course 2PL 2PL:POSS-merit NMLZ-exist 2-be-2PL=INS

\(tə-tsə?-ca\)

PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the kind said to all (of them), “Yes, to be certain, for you are men of merits!”

46. \(qʰoʔ\ nəʔ\ məkəʦʰət\)

SEQ ANA not.only

\(nəʔ\ tə-kə-ʃət\ kə-joyʔ\)

ANA IPFV-NMLZ-do thus NMLZ:SBJ-be.allowed

\(nə-ʃəye\ ne-ʃət\ ŋəʔ-cə\)

3PL:POSS-letter PFV:TR-take.out2 be-MED

Moreover, he also issued official papers allowing them to do the above things.
47. əʔ nə jəye=nə kəmyə=nə əʔ əʔ nə
SEQ ANA paper=DET communist=PL PFV:UPRIVER-come=3PL
oqʰu=ntʃon kə-ərijjə nə-to-nə kə-tsə tfəozə
after=also NMLZ:SBJpossess PFV:PSTexist=3PL GP:say be.the.rule
And those who still possessed (such papers) could still be found even after the communists came, it is said.

48. qʰoʔ təjfe reʔ tə-kə-əʔ=nə?
SEQ field be.necessary PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:say=DET
o-jfe nə-xte nəʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-field PFV:be.big2 be-MED
The one who said he wanted farming land got bigger land,

49. fəŋaʔ təritʰoxtem kə-lut əɣu məju nə-mqəʔ nəʔ-cə
but land.rent GP:pay 3SG:POSS further PFV:be.hard2 be-MED
but the (increased) land rent was also harder on him.

50. fəxəŋ tʰə-kə-te=nəʔ
recreation.room PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:put=DET
o-mphjorʔ nə-to nəʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-be.beautiful2 PFV:PSTexist2 be-MED
fəŋaʔ ə-mnu=nəʔ nə-məʔ kə-tsə tfəozʔ-cə
but 3SG:POSS-practical.value=DET PFV:PSTnot.exist2 GP:say be-MED
The one who built the recreation room got a beautiful sight but lacks practical value, it is said.
51. qʰoʔ tôri tʰoχtəm ke-leʔ óɣu mə-nə-kə-re=nəʔ?
SEQ from.now.on GP-pay 3SG:POSS NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary2=DET
ó-mnu nb-to
3SG:POSS-practical.value IPFV:PST-exist2
stʰoʔ ne-fqra kʰ-tsə tʰozʔ-cə
most IPFV:PST-be.intelligent2 GP-say be-MED

And the one who did not have to pay any land rent got real benefit, and was the smartest of them all, it is said.

52. mêju leʔ rjéron uñaʔ tə-kə-veɾe
further also Rgyalrong army PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go2
ne-tsʰet-nə qʰoʔ na-tsəʔ?
IPFV:PST-be.brave2-3PL SEQ 3PL:POSS-merit
ne-to o-ʔən?=kə
IPFV:PST-exist2 3SG:POSS-reason=INS

Furthermore, because the Rgyalrongs who joined the army were brave and won merits,

53. pot rjélpə=kə
Tibet chieftain=ERG
rjéronuə ke-seʃtʃez?=scʰənəʔ? na-reʔ?
Rgyalrong.people NMLZ-favor=and 3PL:POSS-face
ke-wetoʔ o-ʔən?=kə
NMLZ-cause.to.have 3SG:POSS-reason=INS

the Tibetan King, owing to his favor granted to the Rgyalrong people and in order to honor them,
54. \textit{l}ese=\textit{z} \textit{ra}n\textit{pa'? }se\textit{f}\textit{e} te-\textit{revzo}

\textit{PN=LOC }specially \textit{place PFV:TR-set.aside}_2

\textit{q}'o? \textit{r}j\textit{v}r\textit{on} \textit{k}'\textit{a}n\textit{f}t\textit{s}en \textit{n}'o? \textit{te-ts}'o?

\textit{SEQ Rgyalrong quarters be PFV:TR-say}_2

has set aside some specific land at Lhasa and declared it the Rgyalrong quarters.

55. \textit{q}'o? \textit{oq}'u\textit{n}'o?

\textit{SEQ afterwards}

\textit{r}j\textit{er}ό\textit{nywe} \textit{fo }ne-\textit{k}'o-\textit{n}'\textit{e}n\textit{go}=\textit{co}?

\textit{Rgyalrong.person who }\textit{IPV:PST-NMLZ-be}_2:RDPL=\textit{INDF}

\textit{r}j\textit{v}ron \textit{k}'\textit{a}n\textit{f}t\textit{s}en=\textit{z }ne-\textit{k}'\textit{e}-\textit{nás}mo=\textit{na}?

\textit{Rgyalrong quarters=LOC IPFV-GP-stay=SUB}

And thereafter when any Rgyalrong person stays at the Rgyalrong quarters,

56. \textit{t}as\textit{ye}? \textit{to}? 

\textit{face exist}

\textit{mk}'ots\textit{vt }t\textit{e-\textit{k}'o-\textit{n}ərt\textit{fe}=\textit{ru}? }\textit{\textit{ud}\textit{v}n\textit{be }\textit{m}'v}

\textit{not.only PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-provoke}_2=\textit{PL at.all not.exist}

\textit{k}'\textit{e-ts}'o \textit{t}'\textit{oz?=\textit{c}'o}

\textit{GP-say be.the.rule-MED}

not only would he have face but no one would make trouble for him, it is said.
STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MKHARDGU AND PALA HEADMEN

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. \( kʰɐ́ \text{rgu} \) \( t \) \( æ \text{ro} \) \( ʔsɛʰ \) \( ə \text{n} \) \( p \) \( æ \text{ro} \) \( k \) \( æ \text{mk} \) \( æ \text{t} \) \\
former.time=LOC PN headman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 \\
\( o-\text{tsu} \) \( k \) \( n \) \( e \text{z} \) \( n \) \( v \)-to \( \eta \) \( o \)-ca \\
3SG:POSS-son two IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED \\
Once, there was a headman at Pala Village, he had two sons.

2. \( qʰoʔ \) \( χʃ \) \( ík \) \( ə \) \( n \) \( v \)-seez \( \eta \) \( o \)-ca \\
SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.prosperous2 be-MED \\
And he was very prosperous.

3. \( qʰoʔ \) \( tsʰovdə \) \( mkʰɐ́ \) \( r \) \( æ \text{ro} \) \( ʔ \) \( te-k \) \( æ \text{ro} \) \( n \) \( v \)-to \( \eta \) \( o \)-ca \\
SEQ PN headman IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED \\
And there was a headman of Kha’ergu Village’s at Tshobdun.

4. \( qʰoʔ \) \( χʃ \) \( ík \) \( ə \) \( n \)-f\( q \) \( æ \) \( qʰoʔ \) \( n \) \( v \)-zm\( ē \) \( f \) \( q \) \( æ \) \( q \) \( æ \) \( n \)-c\( a \) \\
SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.powerful2 SEQ IPFV:PST-be.domineering2 be-MED \\
He was very powerful and was domineering.

5. \( qʰoʔ \) \( tsʰovdə \) \( t \) \( jtsi \) \( ə \) \( ʒy \) \( ji \) \( n \) \( \delta \)-me \\
SEQ PN PN name.of.household 3PL:POSS-daughter \\
\( χʃ \) \( ík \) ə \( k \)-mp\( j \) \( ə \)-ca \( n \)-to \( \eta \) \( o \)-ca \\
very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED \\
There was a very beautiful daughter from the Chugyi House in Teutses Village of Tshobdun Township.
6. *qʰoʔ nəʔ ő-pʰa*
   SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place
   *pέλε tero?=scʰənəʔ  mkʰέrgu tero?*
   PN headman=and PN chieftain
   *ⁿdʒə-tʃu=nɨʔ sənoye=nəʔ * qʰəʔ  təme=nəʔ  ne-rgeʔ⁻ⁿdzə  ŋəʔ-cə*
   3DU:POSS-son=DU both=DET ANA woman=DET IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
   The Pala and Mkhardgu headmen’s sons both loved that woman,

7. *qʰoʔ kombqʰuⁿtməʔ?*
   SEQ afterwards
   *pʰəntˢʰən ʒəzdaŋ=scʰənəʔ  rotge  ke-pe*
   each.other jealousy=and jealousy NMLZ-do
   *qʰoʔ  təme  ke-nəʔdət  ke-tʃəʃi*
   SEQ woman INF-contend.for INF-do.sth.on.the.side
   afterwards, they were jealous of each other and also contended over the woman,

8. *qʰoʔ ᵁdzə-pʰirtʰə=nəʔ  ʷgurwe  tə-øre  ŋəʔ-cə*
   SEQ 3DU:POSS-space.in.between=DET conflict PFV:UP-go2 be-MED
   conflict arose between them.

9. *qʰoʔ mkʰέrgu tero?=nəʔ=kə*
   SEQ PN headman=DET=ERG
   *pέλε tero? ʷge-kv⁻ntʃʰə  ne-səsi  ŋəʔ-cə*
   PN headman IPFV-INF-kill PFV:TR-desire₂ be-MED
   And Mkhardgu headman wanted to kill the Pala headman.

10. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-vlo  ʷəntsʰətse  ne-peʔ-cə*
    SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-method constantly PFV:TR-do₂-MED
    And he was constantly scheming about it.
11. \(\text{qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=ᵽε=nəʔ}\)
   SEQ one-day=INDF=DET
   \(\text{pəlē təroʔ nə-zəʔ nə-rła-cə}\)
   PN headman 3PL:POSS-bovine PFV-be.lost2-MED
   One day, the Pala headman lost their cattle.

12. \(\text{qʰoʔ pəlē təroʔ o-tʃu stʰoʔ kə-xtəʔ=nəʔ=kə}\)
   SEQ PN headman 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG
   o-zdeʔ tørme kəsne te-di
   3SG:POSS-companion man a.couple PFV:TR-take2
   \(\text{qʰoʔ "broype o-sətfʰε=z}\)
   SEQ nomad 3SG:POSS-land=LOC
   zəʔ kə-nərtstəfʰot kə-vre-nə yəʔ-cə
   bovine NMLZ:PURP-retrieve.sth.stolen PFV:EAST-go-3PL be-MED
   And the Pala headman’s oldest son went east to the nomadic land with a couple of his men to retrieve the stolen cattle.

13. \(\text{qʰoʔ mҚʰɐ́rɡu təroʔ=kə ne-siz? yəʔ-cə}\)
   SEQ PN chieftain=ERG PFV:TR-know2 be-MED
   The Mkhardgu Chieftain found out about (this).

14. \(\text{qʰoʔ nəʔ "broype kə-kə-vre nə-zɡ̊eqʰu=nəʔ}\)
   SEQ ANA nomad PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-go2 3PL:POSS-back=DET
   \(\text{ʔmaʔ kən’gə-səʔ ke-tsom yəʔ-cə}\)
   soldier nine-ten PFV:TR:EAST-take.thither2 be-MED
   And he took with him nine or ten armed men in the wake of those who had gone east to the nomads.
And they waited for the Pala Chieftain’s son at a place on the Kholakyi Hill where there was a mountain pass and a place good for one to ambush people.

Just when the Pala headman (and others) were successful in retrieving (the stolen cattle), went back westward, and got to where the pass was,

the Mkhardgu soldiers who had come upriver deployed gunmen (there) and opened fire.

But Pala people immediately place NMLZ:SBJ-be.difficult.of.access hollow=like
ó-nəŋ ne-ere-nə-ɔ
3SG:POSS-inside PFV:DOWN-go2-3PL-MED
But the Pala people were swift, they immediately went down inside a hollow at a strategic location difficult of access.

19. qʰoʔ pʰentsʰən tomdə ne-mə-əlɛt-nə ənɔ?-cə
SEQ each.other gun IPFV:TR-RECIP-release2-3PL be-MED
And they kept shooting at each other.

20. ŋənɔʔ mkuɾgúpɨ=ɾe?=kə pelɛpɨ=nəʔ
but Mkhardgu.people=PL=ERG Pala.people=DET
kənbe kɛ-əʃə ən-ɛʔɔʔ-ənɔ?-cə
at.all INF-hit NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-3PL-MED
But the Mkhardgu people were not able to hit the Pala people at all.

21. qʰoʔ pelɛpɨ tɛɾəʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ
SEQ Pala.people headman 3SG:POSS-son=DET
o-tomde ne-ʃrə o-mdə ne-ldɛnʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-gun IPFV:PST-be.fine2 3SG:POSS-bullet IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity2-MED
ó-ta pove ne-ɾkuŋʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-top gunman IPFV:PST-be.skilled2-MED
qʰoʔ mkuɾgúpɨ kauɾnəʃəm=ɔʔ te-əʃəmɛt-nə ənɔ?-cə
SEQ Mkhardgu.people two-three=INDF PFV:TR-wound2-3PL be-MED
The Pala headman’s son had a better gun and many bullets, and in addition had more skilled gunmen and they wounded several Mkhardgu people.
Part II. Texts

22. qʰoʔ pʰentsʰən nəkəsə nu-fsət-nə
   SEQ each.other thus IPFV:PST-do.thus-3PL
   qʰoʔ fəqə-myət mə-nə-șaxselʔ-cə
   SEQ victory-defeat NEG-IPFV:PST-be.obvious2-MED
   And they went on (shooting) like that, and it was not obvious who were winning and who were losing.

23. qʰoʔ nəjermə péle tərotfu
   SEQ about.the.time PN chieftain’s.son
   o-vəɾ tʰə-kə-smo
   3SG:POSS-side CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present2
   o-jǐ o-kaʔbjoʔ-ciʔ=koʔ tə-o-sətomdeʔ-ciʔ
   3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-person=INDF=ERG PFV:INV-shoot.with.gun2-MED
   qʰoʔ nə-o-ntʃeʔ-ciʔ
   SEQ PFV-INV-kill2-MED
   Around this time, the Pala chieftain’s son was shot and killed by one of his own men who was beside him.

24. qʰoʔ pelīpu nu-ka-sentʃeʔ=naʔ=koʔ
   SEQ Pala.people PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do.killing.of.people2=DET=ERG
   o-tərotfu mkʰɛrgu122 ő-ja ne-nəsprət ɲəʔ-ciʔ
   3SG:POSS-chieftain’s.son PN 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-turn.in2 be-MED
   The Pala person who did the killing betrayed his own chieftain’s son into the hands of the Mkhardgu (Chieftain).

25. qʰoʔ mkʰɛrguʔ=ɾvʔ
   SEQ Mkhardgu.people=PL
   péle təroʔ o-tʃu kə-xteʔ=naʔ
   PN headman 3SG:POSS-son NMLZ-be.big=DET

122 Referring to the Mkhardgu Chieftain.
Thus PFV:TR-kill2-3PL be-MED

And in this way, the Mkhardgu people killed the Pala headman’s eldest son.

26. qʰoʔ leʔ mkʰirgu təroʔ=naʔ=kə
SEQ again PN headman=DET=ERG
pêle təroʔ=naʔ o-tsũ na-set mû-siz foɣte=z
PN headman=DET 3SG:POSS-son PFV-die NEG-know before=LOC
qʰoʔ fo-tʰe-sə-ge-cə
SEQ AND-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-CAUS-call2-MED

And again, the Mkhardgu Chieftain sent people to summon the Pala Chieftain downriver before he found out that his son had died.

27. qʰoʔ tondaʔ=cəʔ toʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ matter=INDF exist PFV:TR-say2-MED

And told him that there was a matter (to discuss).

28. qʰoʔ pêle təroʔ=naʔ=kə ne-nzəgiʔ-cə
SEQ PN headman=DET=ERG PFV:TR-believe2-MED

And the Pala headman believed him.

29. qʰoʔ mkʰirgu tɛroʔ=kə
SEQ PN chieftain=ERG
tɔɾmɛ unez tomde te-səʔdi-cə
man two gun PFV:TR-cause.to.take2-MED
qʰoʔ qbcʰwetrĩʔ məʔdɔci=z
SEQ PN PN=LOC
And the Mkhardgu chieftain ordered two men to carry guns and go downriver to meet him at Mendeci in Kakhyoris Village.

30. \( qʰoʔ \) le-wəʔ-na
   SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-come2-3PL

31. \( qʰoʔ \) ndem o-χcəl jermə kə-zyöɾt-cə=nə?
   SEQ bridge 3SG:POSS-middle about PFV:EAST-arrive2-MED=SUB

32. \( qʰoʔ \) təɾə?=nə? nəʔosieʃət nə-o-ntʃəʔ?
   SEQ PN headman=DET thus PFV-INV-kill2

123 A small hamlet in Kakhyoris Village, consisting of three households.

124 Name of a small place within Kakhyoris Village.
And the smallest son of the Pala headman was selling opium at a place called Pagko behind the Gmaxpon Mountain.

And he did not know that his father and elder brother had been killed after he had left.

And the Mkhardgu again dispatched about six men before he was aware of it.
And he made them go downriver to Pagko to kill the youngest son of the Pala Chieftain.

And the six men were sort of like kinsmen and neighbors of the Pala headman’s.

And they said to the Pala headman’s son, “It is the Mkhardgu headman who sent us downriver to have you killed,”

“we are sort of like your kinsmen and neighbors, but it has become disallowed for one not to kill you,”
40. qʰónə tʃʰə te-kə-pe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə ŋəʔ-cə

SEQ: EMPH what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say2-3PL be-MED

“so what should one do?” they said.

41. qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ pɨlə twrofə=naʔ=kə

SEQ ANA PN chieftain’.son=DET=ERG

mv-kdu mkʰergúpu=kə

NEG-be.serious Mkhardgu.people=ERG

jəəreʔ pelɪpu jə-rtsəmet tfët-nəʔ

1PL Pala.people 1PL:POSS-extermination take.out-MED

And the Pala chieftain’s son said, “Alright, so the Mkhardgu Chieftain will annihilate
us the Pala people,”

42. qʰoʔ mkʰérɡu=pʰa le-koy-tsəmʔ-əŋ=naʔ

SEQ PN=place IPFV:UPRIVER-2→1-take.thither2-1SG=SUB

fəə∅ sēt-əŋ fteʔ?

but die-1SG be:EMPH

“if you take me upriver to the Mkhardgu people, I will still die.”

43. qʰónə nəʒəɾəʔ=ntʃʰon

SEQ: EMPH 2PL=also

nəɾ-ja tə-tfët-nə mv-reʔ?

2PL:POSS-hand 2-take.out-2PL NEG-be.necessary

“So no need to raise your hands (against me),”

44. eʃiʔ qəɾpəmʔ=naŋ tʰe-ncəmdər-əŋ

1SG river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-drown.oneself-1SG

qʰəʔ naʔ fteʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə

SEQ ANA be:EMPH=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED

“I will just leap into the river and drown myself, and that will do it,” he said.
45. qʰoʔ kə-sxmtʃ’e tʰə-kə-v=e=rυʔ=kə
   SEQ NMLZ-do.killing PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go2=PL=ERG
   vde te-tsəʔ-nə-ɔə
   be.good PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
   And those who went downriver to do the killing said, “OK.”

46. qʰónə pèle terotʃu=nəʔ=kə
   SEQ:EMPH PN chieftain’s.son=DET=ERG
   pʰɛtsət=kə o-koʔ ə-mna=rvʔ te-nsəyloj
   handkerchief=INS 3SG:POSS-head 3SG:POSS-eye=PL PFV:TR-cover2
   qʰoʔ təciʔ=naŋ tʰə-nəmderʔ ə-nəʔ-ɔə
   SEQ water=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump2 be-MED
   And the Pala Chieftain’s son covered his head and eyes with a handkerchief and jumped into the river.

47. qʰónə nəʔoséʃsət=kə
   SEQ:EMPH thus=INS
   mkʰergúp=kə pelép=nəʔ o-rtəsəmət
   Mkhardgu.people=ERG Pala.people=DET 3SG:POSS-extermination
   te-tʃet-nə qʰoʔ nəʔ nəʔ-ʃat
   PFV:TR-take.out2-3PL SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus2
   nəʔ-tʃəz ə-ŋoʔ-ɔə
   IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2 be-MED
   And in this way the Mkhardgu (chieftain) exterminated the Pala (chieftain and his family). That was the way it happened, it is said.
The Bzhagbra Mountain is located somewhere on the border between Tshobdun and Kirtima.\(^{125}\)

The Bzhagbra Mountain is a very powerful mountain deity that (people from) Tshobdun, Pala, and Kirtima must all go and worship.

Beside the main peak of Bzhagbra Mountain (Deity) are found the Bkrashis and Smanpa mountain deities.

\(^{125}\) A Village in Rongwam (茸安) Township, southern Rngaba County.
4. \(qʰoʔ\) \(sŋontsʰe=nə\)
SEQ former.time=TOP
\(vʒári\) o-ko? \(te-ke-fə\)
PN 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:UP-GP-go
\(qʰoʔ\) \(ltusé-pʰjɔ\) \(te-ke-mpʰɛri=nə?\)
SEQ PN-direction IPFV:UP-GP-look=SUB
\(rtsepotôle\) o-kom? səmti? kê-tsə tfəoz?
Potala 3SG:POSS-door be.visible GP-say be.the.rule
It is said that in the past, when one ascended the peak of the Bzhagbra Mountain and
looked in the direction of Lhasa, the door of the Potala Palace was visible.

5. \(qʰoʔ\) o-kóri=nə?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-front=DET
\(mtsʰo\) ome kə-xte?=cə? jəmon kəβo-tfo-sqə jɛrmə
lake very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF mu five-six-ten about
kə-to?=cə? to?
NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF exist
And in front of it there is a very big lake with an area of about fifty-sixty \(mu\). \(^{126}\)

6. \(qʰoʔ\) mtsʰo o-vzər=nə?
SEQ lake 3SG:POSS-side=DET
tfə? kə-ʌmərù te-ke-te? \(qʰoʔ\) mtsʰo ke-ke-skor
tea one-pot IPFV-GP-make SEQ lake IPFV:CISLOC-GP-circle
\(qʰoʔ\) kə-tùskor te-ke-lət=nə?
SEQ one-circle IPFV-GP-do=SUB
noŋme tfə? kə-ʌmərù te-lɛ tfəoz? yo?
only.then tea one-pot IPFV-boil be.the.rule be
And when one prepares a pot of tea at the lakeside and then circles the lake, the pot of
tea does not come to a boil until one has completed a full circle, it is said.

\(^{126}\) A unit for measuring area, equals to 667 square meters.
7. $q^3o?\ nts^3o=n\ o\ vr\ m\  noy\?\ 127$

SEQ lake=DET be.blue IDPH

$o-vzarn=na?=rv\ o-q^n\ svmti$?

3SG:POSS-side=DET=PL 3SG:POSS-bottom be.visible

The lake is blue, and near its bank the bottom is visible,

8. $fanao?\ o-xe\=na?\ rna\ of\=t\=k\=na\ qwv\=n\=v$128

but 3SG:POSS-center=DET be.deep so be.black IDPH

$q^3o?\ t\=k\=omzern=rv\ ne-k\=smdz?\=na?$

SEQ GP:POSS-creepy.feeling=PL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.sit=INDF

$na?\ tf\oz?$

be be.the.rule

but the center of the lake it is so deep that it is black, and makes one feel creepy.

9. $s\=nts\e=n\ o\ mts^3o-vzarn$

former.time=DET lake-side

$z\=na?\ nv-k\=z\=di=na?\ nv-jo-c\=na=n\=a?$

cow IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-ride=INDF PFV:DOWN-drown=SUB

$k\oz\e?\ spa?\ o-p\=he\=ri$

together.with.cow PN 3SG:POSS-other.bank

$dnmtf\=z=zt\=n\=la\ k\=e-s\=na\ nv-tf\=oz-c\=a$

PN=LOC PFV:UP-come.out GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule-MED

In the past, someone riding a cow was drowned (in the lake) and (his corpse) came up at Demco on the other bank of the river in Rnyi Village.

127 Ideophone describing blue color.

128 Ideophone describing black color.

129 Name of a small place in Rnyi Village, formerly occupied by a single household, now site of the relocated Bkrashisgang Monastery.
10. \[nəʔ\ o-tənʔ=kə\]
   ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
   \[vzaremtʃʰo\ o-qʰv=naʔ\]
   dəmtʃo toʔ kē-tsə tfʰozʔ
   PN 3SG:POSS-bottom=DET PN exist GP-say be.the.rule
   That is because the bottom of the Bzhagbra Lake was located at Demco, it is said.

11. \[qʰoʔ\ cʰeʔ=z=naʔ\]
    mtsʰo o-虢v=nəʔ
    SEQ former.time=LOC=TOP lake 3SG:POSS-side=DET
    sŋontsʰe slukzon=scʰnaʔ rtfamʔ?
    former.time arm.guard=and iron.helmet
    \[qʰoʔ\ puzvu qʰoʔ tonʔ\]
    SEQ musket SEQ white.conch
    \[nəʔ=ruʔ ne-teʔ nə-vfʰoz\]
    ANA=PL PFV:TR-place2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
    Originally, old arm guards, an iron helmet, a musket, a white conch and what not were placed by the lake side.

12. \[ʃənəʔ toʒaʔ=naʔ\]
    sŋontsʰerųʔ nə$pʰu tē-tsə-naʔ=kə\]
    but nowadays=TOP antic be.valuable IPFV-say-3PL=INS
    But since people nowadays believe that antics are valuable,

13. \[kəmbqʰunəʔ\ tonʔ kóma\]
    afterwards white.conch except
    \[nəʔ o-ri=nəʔ na-rla fteʔ\]
    ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=DET PFV-be.lost2 be:EMPH
    so afterwards all except the white conch got lost.

14. \[qʰoʔ ʒəvdaʔ \ o-虢r smenrayʔ \ dzəməɾdzə toʔ=kə\]
    SEQ sacred.mountain 3SG:POSS-surface medicinal.herb of.all.kinds exist=INS
    And since there are all kinds of medicinal herbs (growing) on the sacred mountain,
15. \textit{smēnbe=rv? ẓəvda?=ur} \textit{fa-nəxmen-nə tfʰoz?}
\textit{doctor=PL sacred.mountain=body AND-collect.medicinal.herb-3PL be.the.rule}
doctors will go and collect medicinal herbs on the sacred mountain.

16. \textit{ʃənəʔ ʒəvdáʔ=ur} \textit{te-kə-fe=nəʔ}
\textit{but sacred.mountain=body IPFV:UP-GP-go=SUB}
k\textit{v-rə xfɔrˈbaʔ=scʰəʔ} \textit{qəqijəlo kv-pe mə-nən}
\textit{INF-shout=and EXCL INF-do NEG-be.doable}
But, when one goes up the sacred mountain, one must not shout or yell greetings,

17. \textit{"denəʔ ǯəmu tfʰokəsci nə-wəm=ntfʰon}
\textit{for weather however IPFV:PST-be.sunny=even}
\textit{mtsʰo=naŋ zʷdəm lɔrnələr₁₃₀ te-kə-nləʔ=caʔ} \textit{ʃɵʔ}
lake=inside cloud IDPH IPFV-NMLZ-come.out=INDF be
for even if the weather was sunny before, puffs of clouds will continue to rise out of the lake,

18. \textit{qʰəʔ tʰɔʔ-xəɾəʔ-ləʔ-xəm}
\textit{SEQ thunderbolt-thunder-lightning-three}
\textit{flə te-kə-pe=caʔ ʃɵʔ tfʰoz}
immediately IPFV-NMLZ-do=INDF be be.the.rule
and as a rule it will thunder and lightning right away.

\footnote{A derived ideophone from \textit{lor}, describing small, rounded objects or people.}
19. $qʰoʔ$ $pjə$ $və$ $və$ $jó$-$mda$ $jərmə=nəʔ$

SEQ Flower-Viewing.Festival\textsuperscript{131} PROS-be.time about=SUB
tsʰovdə $tejtsəpu=rv$?
PN people.from.Teutses=PL
ste? $kə$-$təpu=cəʔ$ $tərmə$ $kə$-$rdə$ $kə$-$rɛntsəa$ $reʔ$
each one-household=INDF man one-CL INF-provide be.necessary
$qʰoʔ$ $vʒári$ $kə$-$mtʃəot$ $le-kə$-$fu$ $ŋəʔ$
SEQ PN NMLZ:PURP-worship IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-go be

When the Flower-Viewing Festival is around the corner, each household at Teutses Village in Tsobdun must provide a male person and (together) they go upriver to worship the Bzhagbra Mountain (Deity).

20. $qʰoʔ$ $kəldʒəme$ $jə-kə$-$zyot=nəʔ=z$

SEQ PN PROS-GP-arrive=SUB=LOC
mtsʰokʰe $te-kə$-$tsə=cəʔ$ $toʔ=kə$
PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
nə_nə=z $prəke$ $te-kə$-$ndi$
there=LOC camp IPFV-GP-take

And where one is about to reach Kirtima there is a place called Mtshokha, and they (lit. one) make camp there,

21. $qʰoʔ$ $səm=rv$ "$gə-kə$-$wəme$ $qʰoʔ$ "$bɾɛɾəjə=rv$? te-kə$-$pe$

SEQ cattle=PL IPFV-GP-slaughter SEQ horse.race=PL IPFV-GP-do
$qʰoʔ$ $zəvdaʔ$ $fə-te-kə$-$mtʃəot$ $ŋəʔ$ $tʃəozʔ$
SEQ mountain.deity AND-IPFV-GP-worship be be.the.rule

they slaughter dry cows, hold horse races, and go uphill to worship the mountain deity.

\textsuperscript{131} An important traditional festival of the Rgyalrong Tibetans (in Situ Rgyalrong rzomṇōk), featuring mountain-deity worshipping amid various communal merry-making and outdoor activities, held between May and July in the Lunar Calendar.
And tell (the mountain deity) all that must be requested, and since the mountain deity is so powerful, it very commonly grants one’s requests, it is said.
Part II. Texts

HISTORY OF THE RNATA PALACE
rnéta rjulse loryu?

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. kofənumʔ=nəʔ rnéta rjulse=nəʔ
   former.time=TOP Rnata palace=TOP
   qvecʰweriʔ fotʰanʔ132=z nv-to ηοʔ-cə
   PN PN=LOC IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
   The chieftain’s palace at Rnata used to be located at Shotang Hamlet.

2. o-ŋóri tétʰo=nəʔ
   3SG:POSS-front flat.area.inside.ravine=DET
   o-rjulzoŋ nv-ŋo tʃʰozʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-chieftain.farming.land IPFV:PST-be2 be.the.rule-MED
   The flat area in front of it used to be the chieftain’s farming land.

3. qʰoʔ tʃʰoʔvŋ ome kə-xteʔ rʰv-weʔ
   SEQ flood very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:DOWNRIVER-come2
   qʰoʔ o-rjulzoŋ kəmdiʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-chieftain’s.farming.land all
   tʰe-nətsom tʃʰozʔ-cə
   PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither2 be.the.rule-med
   A big flood came and washed away all the chieftain’s farming land.

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132 A place in Kakhyoris Village of Tshobdun Township located on the banks of Kholakyi River, where ruins of a former school (built by the communists) are found, hence the Chinese-based name fotʰanʔ (學堂).
4. \(qʰoʔ\) \(r nëlpʰo=kə\)\(^{133}\) \(fsiʔ=nə\)
   SEQ chieftain=ERG future=DET
   \(koʔ\) \(təciʔ=kə\) \(v-rjulse=ntʰon\) \(natsomʔ-cə\) \(ne-səsi\)
   this river=ERG 1SG:POSS-palace=also take.thither-MED PFV:TR-think\(_2\)
   And the chieftain thought, “This flood will one day wash away my palace also.”

5. \(qʰoʔ\) \(rnitàtə=z\) \(o-rjulse\) \(te-sperʔ\) \(ŋoʔ-cə\)
   SEQ Rnata=LOC 3SG:POSS-palace PFV:UP:TR-move\(_2\) be-MED
   And he moved his palace uphill to Rnata.

6. "gé-fqv \(fieʔ-cə=kə\)
   IPFV-be.powerful be:EMPH-MED=INS
   As he was so powerful,

7. \(nkʰormaŋ\) \(ome\) \(kə-lデン\) \(te-jzom\)
   masses very NMLZ-exist.in.quantity PFV:TR-gather\(_2\)
   \(qʰoʔ\) \(ne-zɾɾməʔ\) \(fieʔ\) \(ŋoʔ-cə\)
   SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.labor\(_2\) be:EMPH be-MED
   he summoned lots of the masses and forced them to do labor.

8. \(χsəm-pe\) \(nə-tsəʔ\) \(jërmv=nə\)
   three-year PFV-elapse\(_2\) about=TOP
   \(rjulse\) \(vde-tíxse\) \(kə-toʔ\)
   palace four-storey NMLZ:SBJ-exist
   \(qʰoʔ\) \(ʡʃiʔ\) \(kə-zɾoʔ\) \(te-santsʰa-nə\) \(ŋoʔ-cə\)
   SEQ very NMLZ-be.fine PFV:TR-finish\(_2\)-3PL be-MED
   And in about three years’ time, they completed a fine palace of four storeys.

\(^{133}\) The chieftain’s name is now forgotten, but the palace was build under counsel from his brother, a powerful lama named snöbo snaymdzet.
Part II. Texts

9. qʰoʔ rjualše o-zgɛqʰu=nəʔ
SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-back=TOP
kʰropʰər=nəʔ mŋo-tɛxse nʇ-to ŋoʔ
stone.watch.tower=DET five-storey IPFV:PST-exist2 be
At Rnata, the palace had four storeys; at its back, there was a five-storey stone watch-
tower.

10. kʰropʰər o-zgɛqʰu=nəʔ
stone.watch.tower 3SG:POSS-back=TOP
mtsʰɔχ kɛ ome kə-ʒroʔ nʇ-to ŋoʔ-cə
assembly.hall very NMLZ-be.fine IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
And behind the stone watch-tower there was a very impressive assembly hall.

11. qʰoʔ rjualše kʰe-tɛxse=nəʔ ʰkʰorlo ʔntsátʃe nʇ-to
SEQ palace each-storey=TOP prayer.wheel all IPFV:PST-exist2
On each storey of the palace there were prayer wheels.

12. mkɔštsʰe fkwʰər swʰəɾ mtsʰɔt
not.only Kanjur Tanjur be.many
rjualše=nəŋ ne-zʰdeʔ134 ŋoʔ-cə
palace=inside IPFV:PST:TR-stack2 be-MED
Moreover, many volumes of Kanjur and Tanjur texts were stacked inside the palace.

13. qʰoʔ mtsʰɔχke stʃ=nəŋ
SEQ assembly.hall upper.level=inside
tsʃuwu nʇ-to ŋoʔ-cə
Sakyamuni.Buddha IPFV:PST-exist be-MED
And on the upper level of the assembly hall, there was a (statue of) the Sakyamuni
Buddha.

134 This verb form has an impersonal passive reading.
14. Tshobdun Rgyalrong Spoken Texts With a Grammatical Introduction

14. qʰoʔ  mé́ju  sku  "dzemə"dzə
SEQ further  Buddha.statue  various

mtsʰôt  nv-to  ɲoʔ-cə
be.many  IPFV:PST-exist  be-MED

And there were in addition many various statues of Buddha.

15. qʰoʔ  kerjaŋ  keʔtoŋ
SEQ  long.pillar  short.pillar

ó-ʁə  "brul³?  nb-ku-fkôt  nv-to  ɲoʔ-cə

And on the surfaces of the long and short pillars were carved dragons.

16. qʰoʔ  kom?=re?  χʃikə  kə-mpʰjor
SEQ  door=PL  very  NMLZ-be.beautiful

nv-ɲo  ɲoʔ  ɾʰozʔ-cə
IPFV:PST-be  be  be.the rule-MED

And the doors were very beautiful.

17. qʰoʔ  o-p'ji?=nə?
SEQ  3SG:POSS-outside=TOP

tə?  "kʰorlo  ke-tʰeskor  ke-fə  nv-ɲo  ɲoʔ-cə
again  praying.wheel  one-CL  IPFV:CISLOC-go  IPFV:PST-be  be-MED

And on the outside, there was another circle of praying wheels.

18. qʰoʔ  rṇəta  rjulse=nə?
SEQ  Rnata  palace=TOP

sgmentsʰe=z  o-terəsku  χʃikə  kə-zroʔ
former.time=LOC  3SG:POSS-giant.tangka  very  NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine
Part II. Texts

kəwde jermə nv-to ŋoʔ-cə
four about IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED

The Rnata Palace used to have about four fine-quality giant tangkas.

19. kəmdiʔ kəxtfeːdzɪ=kə tətsər nv-kə-te
all silken.thread=INS embroidery PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put2
antsətse nv-ŋo tʃʰozʔ-cə
all IPFV:PST-be2 be.the.rule-MED

And all of them had embroidery made of silk threads on them.

20. nənaʔ rənəŋ=z ʃə-lv-kə-χtuʔ
that PN=LOC AND-PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ:U-buy2 IPFV:PST-be2 be.the.rule-MED

Those (materials) people went and bought from China (back upriver).

21. o-fcə=nəʔ
3SG:POSS-exchange=TOP

In exchange,

22. rəntə kəɾʰjoʔ ʃə-lv-zrəʊgʊzęʔ=nəʔ
Rnata person IPFV-GP-cause.to.line.up=SUB
tetsom135 ʃə-lv-zyot nəʔ jermə kə-lden
Tatsom IPFV-NMLZ-arrive ANA about NMLZ-exist.in.quantity
ŋjɔʔ o-spe ne-kʰi tʃʰozʔ kə-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
servant 3SG:POSS-material PFV:TR-hand.to2 be.the.rule GP-say be-MED

(the chieftain) gave so many people away as servants that if one lined them up, the line would go from Rnata to Tatsom, it is said.

135 A river-crossing at Dadu River at Rnyi Village, about two kilometers from Rnata. This is also the current site of Bkrashisssgang Monastery.
23. qʰoʔ rjélp ɴaŋso ɴɡo ɡo ɴnaŋmdzat te-kʰ-e-tɕʰə=nəʔ?
SEQ chieftain PN 3SG:POSS say=DET

And the chieftain known as Nangso Snyongbo Snangmdzat was the chieftain of Rnata.

24. qʰoʔ ɡʃík ɡo ne-scez
SEQ very IPFV:PST:be.prosperous2
mɛkʰtsʰət o-ɾvaŋ ɡʃík ɡo ne-xtə ɡoʔ-cə
not.only 3SG:POSS-power very IPFV:PST:be.big2 be-MED

He was not only very prosperous but also very powerful.

25. qʰoʔ sómo tʃøytse rdzə=ca fõta rəpe fəsmət=nəʔ?
SEQ PN PN PN north.of PN south.of=DET
kəmdəʔ ne-ŋo mdzat ɡoʔ-cə
all IPFV:PST:rule.over2 be-MED

And he ruled over all the land north of Somang, Cogtse, and Rdzaong’gag and south of Rngaba.

26. qʰoʔ rjelse kʰaɾsəm o-rgonbe=nəʔ?
SEQ manor.of.the.three-chieftains136 3SG:POSS-monastery=DET
rṇiṭa nu-to
PN IPFV:PST:exist2
mɛkʰtsʰət kɾuʃiɾgən ɾgonbe nu-ɡo ɡoʔ-cə
not.only Zhaxirigang monastery IPFV:PST:be2 be-MED

And the monastery serving the manors of the three chieftains was at Rnata, and it was none other than the Bkrashissgang Monastery.137

136 Written Tibetan <khag.gsum> ‘three-division’, referring to the manor of Cogtse, Somang, and Rdzong’gag Chieftains, the three powerful feudal lords of this region.

137 An ancient monastery of the Jonangpa Sect, now over seven hundred years old.
And (the monks of the) Bkrashissgang Monastery did their religious services for the three chieftains.

And everyone downriver from Pala, including Khangshan, Wendez, Kato, Smonmo, and the Four Tribes and upriver from Mkhardgu all used to go uphill to Rnata Palace to turn in land rent.

Each year, the serfs must take turns bringing in firewood for the chieftain.

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138 Referring to Kakhyoris, Cus, and Po’ge Villages in present-day Tshobdun Township, an area within Khangsar Township.
30. \(qʰoʔ \ kəⁿ\-dʒoz \ χso-f kor?\)  
SEQ NMLZ: SBJ_be.coarse three-CL 139  
\(kəⁿ\-dev \ u-ne-fkor?\)  
NMLZ: SBJ_be.fine two-CL  
\(kə-lət \ nə-re \ ηo?-cə\)  
GP-put IPFV:PST-be.necessary2 be-MED  
And either three loads of thick firewood sticks or two loads of thin firewood sticks were required.

31. \(qʰoʔ \ ome \ nə-cʰələ? \ ηo?-cə\)  
SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.capable2 be-MED  
And he was very capable.

32. \(ʃə \ nəʔ \ kəm \ məqʰuqʰoʔ \ detsətsə \ kə-nəm \ ne-je\)  
but afterwards gradually INF-decline PFV:TR-begin2  
But afterwards his power began to gradually decline.

33. \(qʰoʔ \ kə-nəpəro \ kə-ŋolə \ mə-kw-chv \ ne-je\)  
SEQ INF-take.care.of NMLZ-be.well NEG-INF-be.able PFV:TR-begin2  
And he started to be unable to manage (his state affairs) well.

34. \(qʰónə \ kəməqʰünaʔ \ τʃōxtsə \ rjélpo \ tə-fqə? \ ηo?-cə\)  
SEQ:EMPH afterwards PN chieftain PFV-be.powerful2 be-MED  
Afterwards, the Cogtse Chieftain became powerful.

35. \(qʰoʔ \ kəməqʰənəʔ\)  
SEQ afterwards  
\(kəməqʰənəʔ? \ jə-zyot \ \text{communist=PL} \ PROS-arrive \ \text{about=TOP}\)  

139 Classifier for loads carried on back.
Afterwards, when the (Chinese) communists were about to arrive, the (statue of) Sakyamuni Buddha at Rnata was said to have shed tears.

36.  kʰeqʰu  qʰónə  kon uphold  le-zy=ôt
afterwards  SEQ:EMPH  communist  PFV:UPRIVER-come2
qʰónə  rni=ta  rjelše=nə?  te-tʃo?-nə  ʃo?-cə
SEQ:EMPH  PN  palace=DET  PFV:TR-burn2-3PL  be-MED

Afterwards, the communists came upriver and burned the Rnata Palace to the ground.

37.  qʰoʔ  rjelše  o-lorjəʔ  nə-kə-tṣaʔ?=nə?
SEQ  palace  3SG:POSS-history  PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse2=DET
stongtsa-pe  jermə  nə-tsoʔ?  tʃoʔ?  ʃo?-cə
thousand-year  about  PFV-elapse2  be.the.rule  be-MED

The history of the palace is said to span about one thousand years.
How Opium Came to Our Land

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. kofənaŋʔ əniʔ sqəmŋo sqəʃʃoʃ jərmə jə-weʔ-əŋ=nəʔ
   formerly 1SG fifteen sixteen about PFV-come2-1SG=SUB
   When I was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, these people began to be found in our land.

2. rənaŋ rdarɗaʔ kəpəʔ kə-ntəm
   PN individual Han.Chinese NMLZ:SBJ-be.wandering
   jəʃəɾʔ ʃə-ʃtʃʰ=ə z kə-tə? te-je məkətsʰət
   1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC INF-exist PFV:TR-begin2 not.only
   individual wandering Chinese persons began to be found in our land.

3. kʰepʰəʔ kə-n̥mna=-ɾəʔ kə-təʔ te-je
   some NMLZ:SBJ-marry.into.wife’s.family=PL INF-exist PFV:TR-begin2
   Some of them also began to marry into (local women’s) families.

4. qʰəʔ qʰəɾəʔ=-ɾəʔ=kə təkʰûɾwi te-wɔt-nə
   SEQ ANA=PL=ERG poppy.seed PFV:UP:TR-bring2-3PL
   And these people brought in opium seeds.

5. qʰəʔ s⁴ɾəɾəʔ jəɾəʔ ne-ji-nə
   SEQ at.first 3PL PFV:TR-plant2-3PL
   jəʃəɾʔ=nəʔ ʃla kə-ʃi mə-nv-specʔ-ʃə
   1PL=TOP immediately INF-plant NEG-IPFV:PST-know.how2-1PL
   At first, they alone planted (opium); and as for us, we did not know how to plant (opium) right away.

140 Around the year 1939.
6. qʰoʔ kəməqʰunəʔ kə-ji kə-spe te-je-jo
   SEQ afterwards INF-plant INF-know.how PFV:TR-begin2-3PL
   Afterwards, we began to know how to plant it.

7. qʰoʔ kəlŋo-pe jərmə nə-ji-jo
   SEQ five-year around IPFV:PST-plant2-1PL
   And for about five years we were planting it.

8. qʰoʔ tʃəx tʃə rəcʰə me-ne-jo
   SEQ PN chieftain=ERG 3SG:POSS-tax NEG-IPFV:PST-gather2
   And the Cogtse Chieftain did not levy tax.

9. ʃənəʔ leʔ kə-pe jərmə nə-tsoʔ
   but again one-year about PFV-elapse2
   qʰona o-cʰv kv-jzom? te-je
   then 3SG:POSS-tax INF-gather PFV:TR-begin2
   But about one year later, he began to levy tax.

10. rəljəp=kə jəjərə? jə-svθ'kə=ʒ
    chieftain=ERG 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC
    cʰv kə-jzom? kʰv-ɾdɔɾ-nez=kəsə te-ʃəwə
    tax NMLZ:SBJ-gather about-one-two=like PFV:UP-dispatch2
    And the chieftain dispatched about two tax collectors uphill to our land.

11. qʰoʔ təjəfe te-xfeʔ
    SEQ field PFV:TR-measure2
    And they measured the fields.
12. \(təkʰuŋa\) \(jə\)moŋ\(^{141}\) \(kə-\text{rd}ə=\text{nə}\)?
opium \(mu\) one-CL=TOP
\(təkʰuŋa\) \(mə\)-sraŋ \(jərmə\) \(te\)-jərn吗? \(nə-\text{ŋə}\)
opium five-tael about PFV:TR-gather\(_2\) IPFV:PST-be\(_2\)
And for each \(mu\) of (opium-growing) land, he levied tax of about five taels of opium.

13. \(qʰoʔ\) \(ʃə\)rve=r=\(kə\) ɲətʃ\(fə\)-ʃə filesystem ɭə\(r\)jə \(\text{letf}^e\) \(kə-\text{ʒə}\)?
SEQ Moslem=PL=ERG everywhere goods NMLZ-be.fine
\(pjə\)rə \(su\) \(srəm\) spoʃə \(mdə\)wulatʃ\(e\)
coral turquoise otter.skin amber weapon
\(ʒə\rjə\)? \(qə\)ri \(ʒə\)scə? \(ʒə\)zrola?
copperware copper.pot copper.ladle copper.bucket
\(qʰənə\) kəxtʃən ḥʃəkər jəŋəvə \(nə\) ləsecə? ne-\(nə\)wəwət-nə?
SEQ satin fedora ANA and.so.on PFV:TR-bring\(_2\).RDPL-3PL
And Moslems kept bringing in from all over the place fine goods, such as corals, turquoise, otter skins, amber, weapons, copperware (pots, ladles, buckets), satin, fedoras, and what not.

14. \(qʰoʔ\) \(təkʰuŋa\) \(te\)-ʃə=-\(nə\) \(nə-\text{ŋə}\)
SEQ opium IPFV-exchange\(_2\).3PL IPFV:PST-be\(_2\)
And these they were exchanging for opium.

15. \(qʰoʔ\) \(jə\)ŋənə? \(jə\)-\(ʃtʃə=e=z\) \(tʒə\)po-tʃə
going\(_2\) ɭə ʃəjə nə ɭə ʃəjə nə ɭə ʃəjə nə ɭə ʃəjə nə ɭə ʃəjə nə
SEQ 1 PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC grains-TOP
\(əntʃəʃə\) \(mə-nəpəu\)-cə
so.much NEG-fetch.good.price-MED
As for grains in our land, they do not fetch much of a good price.

\(^{141}\) From Chinese (一畝. 畝) \(mū\) is a unit of area equivalent roughly to 667 square meters.
16. qʰónə  təxtəʔ  kə-səʔəʔ  jərmə=coʔ
   SEQ:EMPH belly NMLZ:SBJ-feed about=INDF
   lətəʔ  te-ji-nə  kəma
crops PFV:TR-plant2-3PL except
So except for growing just enough crops to fill their bellies,

17. nəʔ  o-ri=nəʔ
   ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=DET
   kəmdiiʔ  təkʰəŋə  kə-ji  te-je-nə
class all opium INF-plant PFV:TR-begin2-3PL
people began to (use) all the remaining (land) for growing opium.

18. məkótsət  kʰepəʔ  tərmə=raʔ
   moreover some man=PL
   təkʰəŋə  kə-skiʔ  te-je-nə  nə-ŋə
   opium INF-smoke PFV:TR-begin2-3PL IPFV:PST-be2
And moreover, some of the men began to smoke opium.

19. qʰoʔ  təkʰəŋə  te-kə-skiʔ=raʔ=ntʃən
   SEQ opium IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-smoke=PL=also
   nə-ŋəʔ  te-ntsweʔ-nə  qʰoʔ  təkʰu  te-fceʔ
3PL:POSS-property IPFV:AWAY-sell-3PL SEQ opium IPFV-exchange
qʰoʔ  "ge-skiʔ-nə  nə-ŋə
SEQ IPFV-smoke-3PL IPFV:PST-be2
And the opium-smokers would also sell their properties in exchange for opium and they
kept smoking it.

20. kəmaqʰúnəʔ  təkʰəŋə  o-ʒənʔ  kə-ʒədʒə  te-je
   afterwards opium 3SG:POSS-yen INF-cling PFV:TR-begin2
Afterwards, a yen for opium began to take hold.
21. qʰoʔ na-mdɔʔ=ruʔ ku-ŋvn te-je
SEQ 3PL:POSS-complexion=PL INF-be.bad PFV:TR-begin
And their complexion began to turn bad.

22. qʰoʔ ku-rəmu me-ne-cʰə-ŋə
SEQ INF-do.labor NEG-IPFV-be.able-3PL
na-sqərəʔ=ruŋ ku-səsəʔ? me-ne-cʰə-ŋə nə-ŋə
3PL:POSS-belt=even INF-tighten NEG-IPFV-be.able-3PL IPFV:PST-be
They could not do labor, nor even tighten their own belts.

23. qʰoʔ nəkəsqə ku-nəldolden ne-je
SEQ thus INF-exist.in.quantity:RDPL PFV:TR-begin
And more and more people began to end up like that.

24. qʰoʔ tekʰənə=səŋ sqe-pe jərmə ne-ji-ŋə
SEQ opium=DET ten-year about IPFV:PST-plant2-3PL
For about ten years they were planting opium.

25. qʰoʔ konɲə ku-zyoʔt
SEQ communists PFV:UPRIVER-arrive
And then the communists arrived (coming upriver).

26. qʰoʔ konɲə=kə tekʰənə kə-ji mv-joyʔ "nəŋə?
SEQ communist=ERG opium INF-plant NEG-be.allowed for
kəɾbjoʔ səṃnət niʔ te-tsə
person ruin be IPFV-say
The communists were saying that growing opium was not allowed because (opium) ruins people.
27. qʰoʔ nəʔəqʰu tekʰuŋə kê-ji mə-nə-joy
SEQ from.then.on opium INF-plant NEG-PFV-be.allowed2
From then on, growing opium was forbidden.

28. qʰoʔ kə-skiʔ=ruʔ=ntʃ=on kə-skiʔ o-spe nə-meʔ?
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-smoke=PL=also INF-smoke 3SG:POSS-material PFV-not.exist2
And that which the opium-smokers’ smoke was also gone.

29. nəʔəqʰu qʰoʔ tekʰuŋə=nəʔ?
from.then.on SEQ opium=TOP
jə-setʃe=z nə-ʔblot nə-tʃəoz
1PL:POSS-place=LOC PFV-be.extinct2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
And from then on, opium disappeared from our land.

30. qʰoʔ tekʰuŋə kê-ji=nəʔ?
SEQ opium GP-plant=TOP
As for planting opium,

31. niːme o-tə-ji te-ku-пе
maize 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-plant IPFV-GP-do
one does it in the same way as one plants maize.

32. wowo tʰe-kə-lweʔ?
small.hole IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-dig142
One digs small holes.

142 Downriver orientation occurs here as the local seed-planters dig holes downwards from the top side of the fields.
33. qʰoʔ ò-nay
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside
   tekʰ́urwi kʰ-e-mtfṣ? kʰ-e-mtfṣ? ×ge-kt-let
   poppy.seed each-pinch each-pinch IPFV:DOWN-GP-put
And puts poppy seeds into them pinch by pinch.

34. mādnə? tʰejʔoʔ tʰe-kt-stukiʔ?
   or plough.groove IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-stretch.out
   qʰoʔ tekʰ́urwi tʰejʔoʔ=nay ×ge-kt-let
   SEQ poppy.seed plough.groove=inside IPFV:DOWN-GP-put
Or plough out grooves (in the field) and puts the poppy seeds in the grooves.

35. qʰoʔ te-kʰ-ji qʰoʔ kv-nypóro=nə?
   SEQ IPFV-GP-plant SEQ GP-care.for=TOP
   čθikə kə-mqe qʰoʔ
   very NMLZ:SBJ-be.tiring SEQ
   kə-uṣzuvʔ kə-reʔ=cəʔ əʔoʔ
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.attentive NMLZ-be.necessary=INDF be
Planting (poppies) and taking care of them takes a lot of tiring labor and attention.

36. sajniʔ=raʔ kədnbe Ðge-təʔ mə-kʰ-joyʔ=cəʔ əʔoʔ
   weed=PL at.all IPFV-exist NEG-NMLZ-be.allowed=INDF be
Weeds are not allowed to exist at all.

37. qʰoʔ kʰmtʃə tᵉ-xteʔ=nə?
   SEQ a.bit IPFV:UP-be.big=SUB
   te-kʰ-ntʃo te-kʰ-súwər
   IPFV-GP-loosen.earth IPFV-GP-heap.soil.around.roots
When (the poppy plants) grow up a little bit, one hoes the poppy field to loosen the earth, and heap soil around the roots.
38. qʰoʔ mɪjʊ te-xeʔ=nəʔ
   SEQ further IPFV:UP-be.big=SUB
   qʰoʔ o-mɛʔ kə-luʔ ne-ʃuʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower INF-bloom IPFV-begin3
When they grow up more, their flowers begin to bloom.

39. qʰoʔ o-mɛʔ=nəʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower=TOP
   kʰulə o-vzər mɛʔ o-lvəʔ kəsnaχəm
   seed.pod 3SG:POSS-rim flower 3SG:POSS-leaf several
   jərmə toʔ?
   about exist
As for their flowers, the buds have several petals (growing) at the rims.

40. qʰoʔ o-mdəʔ=nəʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=TOP
   kə-ɣrəm? kə-wəɾneʔ kə-q[rŋeʔ kə-wŋiʔ?
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.white NMLZ:SBJ-be.red NMLZ:SBJ-be.yellow NMLZ:SBJ-be.blue
   nəkəsə "dʒəmədʒə toʔ? nəʔ?
   thus all.kinds.of exist be
As for the colors, they may be white, red, yellow, and blue. There are all kinds of colors like these.

41. χʃika mpʃjɔr
   very be.beautiful
They are so beautiful.
42. \( qʰoʔ \) \( o-met \) \( "ge-n^b\text{or} \)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower IPFV-wither
\( qʰoʔ \) \( o-kʰulər \) \( ne-pʰyï \)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-seed.pod IPFV-be.grey
\( qʰoʔ \) \( kʰ-rtse \) \( té-mda \) \( ŋoʔ \)
SEQ INF-make.a.cut.on IPFV-be.time be

Their flowers wither, their seed pods turn grey, and it is time to make cuts on them.

43. \( \text{te-kʰ-rtse=naʔ} \)
IPFV-GP-make.a.cut.on=SUB
\( kʰulər?=naj \) \( télo=kəsə \) \( ne-nlə? \) \( ŋoʔ \)
seed.pod=inside milk=like IPFV-come.out be

When one makes a cut, a milk-like substance comes out from inside the seed pods.

44. \( təmu=ru? \) \( jə-let \) \( orjâŋ?naʔ \)
rain=PL PROS-rain when

When it is about to rain,

45. \( jə-kʰ-rtse \) \( mv-jun \) \( "dênəʔ \) \( télo=kəsə=naʔ \) \( χtfɛ \)
AND-GP-make.a.cut.on NEG-be.acceptable for milk=like=DET wash3
\( qʰoʔ \) \( kə-mv \) \( sepoj \) \( ŋoʔ \)
SEQ NMLZ-not.exist cause.to.become3 be

one must not go and cut the poppies for (rain) will wash away and cause the milk-like (sap) to be lost.

46. \( naʔ \) \( o-tôn?=kə \)
ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
\( sasuqʰu \) \( təmu=ru? \) \( mv-let \) \( qʰónə \) \( te-kʰ-rtse \)
afternoon rain=PL NEG-rain SEQ:EMPH IPFV-GP-make.a.cut.on

Therefore, when it does not rain in the afternoon, one does the cutting of the poppies.
At the most, one can as a rule make about twelve cuts on a poppy seed pod.

The next day, one goes downriver into the (poppy) field in the early frosty morning.

And something soft and tender like a caterpillar forms where one has made a cut on the poppy seed pod.

And one scrapes that into a bowl.

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143 An ideophone describing something slender and rounded.
51. $stʰo\ kʰ-e-cʰ=naʔ$
   most NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=TOP
   $kʰ-siz=naʔ\ kʰ-e-kʰ=na-ga-sraŋ\ jermə\ te-seto?-na\ tfʰoz?$
   one-morning=TOP about-nine-tael about IPFV-get-3PL be.the.rule
   In one morning, the most capable ones, they can get about nine tael of (raw opium).

52. $otsə=ruʔ\ kʰ-e-myosraŋ\ jermə\ te-seto?-na$
   ordinary.person=PL about-five-tael about IPFV-get-3PL
   And an ordinary (opium-gatherer) gets about five tael.

53. $qʰoʔ\ je-wot-na\ tfʰozʔ$
   SEQ IPFV-bring-3PL be.the.rule
   And they bring it back.

54. $qʰoʔ\ qʰe-neʔ\ ne-kʰ-fkʰi$
   SEQ ANA IPFV-GP-air.dry
   And one air-dries it.

55. $kv-rem=ruʔ\ ja-jeʔ\ jermə$
   INF-be.dry=PL PROS-begin3 about
   $fomskat\ jote-kʰ-jtʰ=em\ jermə$
   iron.wire COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.thin about
   $naʔ\ o-kʰ=ta\ təkʰu$
   ANA 3SG:POSS-head=top opium
   $ja-tə-kʰ-rem?=naʔ\ te-kə-teʔ$
   PROS-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.dry=DET IPFV-GP-put
   When it is beginning to get dry, one puts some opium that has almost become dry on
   the tip of thin wire,
56. qʰoʔ rkəwu ó-ta te-kw-nephya 1a tʰe-ku-wíyset
   SEQ butter.lamp 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:GP-turn.over IPFV:OUT-GP-heat.up
   and turns it around over a butter lamp to heat it up.

57. qʰoʔ tópo=kəsə ne-ku-pe
   SEQ mugwort.fluff=like IPFV-GP-do
   qʰoʔ fəmskat=nəʔ tʰe-ku-χʃə?
   SEQ wire=DET IPFV:OUT-GP-draw.out
   And one makes it into something like a mugwort fluff and then withdraw the wire.

58. qʰoʔ qʰeʔ tópo=kəsə ó-nay=nəʔ kʰonsjon nəʔ? 144
   SEQ ANA mugwort.fluff=like 3SG:POSS-inside=DET be.hollow be
   And that which looks like a mugwort fluff is hollow inside.

59. qʰoʔ tékʰu o-sv-ski raŋpaʔ toʔ=ko
   SEQ opium 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-smoke2 special exist=INS
   nəʔ ó-ta te-ku-teʔ qʰoʔ le₁⁴⁴-ku-npʰeyen
   ANA 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:GP-put SEQ IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-lie.on.one’s.side
   And as there is a special instrument for smoking opium, one puts the opium on top of it,
   and lies down on one’s side.

60. qʰoʔ tékʰu=nəʔ?
   SEQ opium=DET
   rkəwu ó-ta "ge-ku-səytəsʰu=tsə
   butter.lamp 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:GP-bring.close=a.bit
   And bring the opium a bit closer to the top of the butter lamp.

144 Upriver orientation is used here as the opium-smoker lies down toward the head (‘pillow-side’) of the bed.
61. qʰoʔ le-kʰ-yov ŋoʔ
SEQ IPFV:IN-GP-inhale be
And then one inhales.

62. nəʔọséšsat tıkʰu te-kw-skiʔ?
thus opium IPFV-GP-smoke
In that fashion, one smokes the opium.

63. qʰoʔ kw-skiʔ te-joyʔ=scʰɔnəʔ
SEQ INF-smoke IPFV-finish=SUB
kʰmtʃa ke-kw-r“gu qʰoʔ noŋme te-kv-rvɾo
a.bit IPFV-GP-sleep SEQ only.then IPFV:UP-GP-get.up
Having finished smoking opium, one sleeps for a while and then gets up.

64. qʰoʔ *ge-ʃʃet-nə ʃɪɛ? fənəʔ?
SEQ IPFV-tell-3PL be? EMPH but
tukʰuŋa kw-skiʔ *ge-joʔ?
opium INF-smoke IPFV:DOWN-finish
qʰoʔ tə-fɜɾu=rvn ne-kə-vde=cɔʔ ŋoʔ tsə-nə tfʰozʔ
SEQ GP:POSS-bone=even IPFV-NMLZ-be.good=INDF be say-3PL be.the rule
And people say that when one finishes smoking opium, one feels good even in one’s bones.
65. *qʰoʔ zgolʔ?=nɐŋ kəm̥əm təkʰu te-ke-skiʔ?=nəʔ*
SEQ room=inside often opium IPFV-GP-smoke=SUB
zgolʔ?=nɐŋ və "ge-ʁə-smo-ren=ntʃəʔn*
room=inside mouse IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-live=even=also
o-ʒəʔ kə dʒə goʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-yen IPFV-cling be-MED

If one often smokes inside a room, even mice which live in the room become addicted to opium.

66. *mekʰtsʰəʔ zgolʔ?=nɐŋ*
moreover room=inside
təkʰu kənnaʔso-sŋi v-mə-tə-ke-skiʔ?=nəʔ*
opium several-day IRR-NEG-PFV-GP-smoke=SUB

And furthermore, if one does not smoke in the room for a couple of days,

67. *və=ntʃəʔn təkʰu-ʒəʔ te-reɾɾo*
mouse=also opium-yen IPFV-get.up
qʰoʔ məkʰje rəkʰyə-di-ʁəɾ kə-ʁəɾdəɾdəɾ me-ne-cə
SEQ ceiling rafter-surface INF-hold.tight NEG-IPFV-be.able
qʰoʔ "ge-entʃəɾ tʃəʔ-cə
SEQ IPFV:DOWN-fall.from height be.the.rule-MED

the mice’s craving for opium also arises, and they cannot hold tight onto the ceiling rafters and they will fall down.

68. *nəʔ o-tən=kə*
ANA 3SG:POSS-cause=INS
təkʰyə?=nəʔ nəntʃəɾ tʰə-ʁəɾɛn-ŋoʔ
opium=DET that.much CONT:LTR-be.harmful-MED

From this (one can see) how harmful opium is.
WAR BETWEEN KHROCHU AND RMEBA CHIEFTAINS

Narrator: Stagthar

1. 

former.time=TOP Khrochu chieftain 3SG:POSS-farming.area.army=TOP
very IPFV-be.fierce.and.skillful.in.battle-3PL GP-say be.the.rule-MED

It is said that the farming-area army of the Khrochu chieftain were very fierce and skillful in battle.

2. Rmeba chieftain=TOP 3SG:POSS-nomadic.area.army=TOP

As for the Rmeba chieftain, and his nomadic-area army,

3. weapon very IPFV-be.fully.equipped=beside
cavalry very IPFV-be.powerful be-MED

they were armed to the teeth and their cavalry was also very powerful.

4. Once, the Khrochu and Rmeba chieftains fought with each other.

145 Referring to a chieftain in what is now Rkakhog County.
5. qʰoʔ kʰrutʃu rjëlpo=kə ume rjëlpo=ta
SEQ PN chieftain=ERG PN chieftain=top
roŋʃmaʔ le-tʃet ŋoʔ-cə
farming.area.army PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.out2 be-MED
And the Khrochu chieftain sent his farming-area army upriver to attack the Rmeba chieftain.

6. qʰoʔ khrutʃu roŋʃmaʔ=ʁəʔ
SEQ Khrochu farming.area.army=PL
spantʃʔ=ta kə-swebjəmʔ o-ʔənʔ=kə
gassland=top NMLZ-cause.to.be.speedy 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
nə-xtse "gə-tʃet-nə
3PL:POSS-shoe IPFV:DOWN-take.off-3pl
And in order to be swift the Khrochu farming-area soldiers would take off their shoes.

7. rkerʒən te-ŋkw-ŋə nə-mtʰə vzoste ne-tʃər-ŋə
bare.footed IPFV-walk-3PL 3PL:POSS-waist small.ax IPFV:DOWN-stick-3PL
nə-ja tənɛʰwe o-ju kə-rzəʔ te-ʰdi-ŋə
3PL:POSS-hand sickle 3SG:POSS-handle NMLZ:SBJ-be.long IPFV-take-3PL
They would walk barefooted, sticking small axes down their waists, and holding long-handled sickles in the hands.

8. qʰoʔ *brookmaʔ=sə 변əʔ te-mqəʔ-ŋə
SEQ nomadic.area.army=and IPFV-fight-3PL
And they would fight the nomadic-area soldiers.
9. \( qʰoʔ \) *broxma?=nə?  
SEQ nomadic.area.army=DET  
\(^{n}bri=ta \) \( tən^{b}we?=kə \) \( {ge-o-z-rəski-nə} \) \( ηο?-cə \)  
horse=top sickle=INS IPFV:DOWN-INV-CAUS-pull-3PL be-MED  
And the nomadic-area soldiers would be pulled down from the horses by the sickles.

10. \( qʰoʔ \) kʰrutʃu roxma?=rə?=kə  
SEQ PN farming.area.army=PL=ERG  
táŋχə \( kv-pe \) \( kv-tʃɔtsi=kə \)  
intimidating NMLZ-do NMLZ-d.sth.while.one.is.at.it=INS  
And the Khrochu farming-area soldiers, by way of intimidating (their enemies) while they were at it,

11. kərbjo? \(^{ge-ntʃe-nə} \)  
person IPFV-kill-3PL  
\( qʰoʔ \) nə-sni \( tə-tʃet \)  
SEQ 3PL:POSS-heart IPFV:UP-take.out-3PL  
\( qʰoʔ \) ka-knez \( ɪəkur \) \( te-^{d}zè-nə \) \( ηο?-cə \)  
SEQ one-two mouthful IPFV-eat-3PL be-MED  
would kill people, take out their hearts, and eat them up in one or two mouthfuls.

12. \( qʰoʔ \) kʰrutʃu roxma?=rə?  
SEQ PN farming.area.army=PL battle IPFV-be.fierce-3PL  
məkəts\( tə \) \( nə-vlot\( tə \) ev? \) \( əme \) \(^{ge-tə} \) \( ηο?-cə \)  
not.only 3PL:POSS-stratagem very IPFV-exist be-MED  
The army of the Khrochu farming-area were not just fierce in battle, but are also very guileful.
13. *kə-təfe=cə* te-pəʔ-nə *ortəŋə?* *sqi=z* *spantįʔ=ta*
   one-time=LOC:INDF battle PFV:TR-do2-3PL when day=LOC grassland=top
   *zger* *ome* *kə-ləden* 
   camp very NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity PFV:TR-pitch2-3PL-MED

   Once when they were doing battle, they set up many tents on the grassland during the day,

14. *mer* *qʰoʔ* *zgér=naŋ* *tətʃo* *te-fnət-nə*
   night SEQ camp=inside light PFV:TR-kindle2-3PL

   *qʰoʔ* *cjanʃjanʔ* ne-sətsəʔ-na-co
   SEQ IDPH PFV:TR-cause.to.say2-3PL-MED

   3PL cracks.and.crevices PFV-hide.oneself2-3PL-MED

   and at night, they lit lights inside the camps, making them very bright, and hid themselves in all kinds of cracks and crevices.

15. *qʰoʔ* *ume* *rjəlpo=kə*
   SEQ PN chieftain=ERG

   *mer* *zger* *tətʃo* *cjanʃjanʔ* tʰə-kə-peʔ
   night camp light IDPH CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-do2

   3SG:POSS-top cavalry PFV:DOWNRIVER-take.thither2-2PL be-MED

   And the Rmeba chieftain charged (his) cavalry downriver at the camps that were brightly lit with lights.

16. *fənəʔ* *zger* o-vər tʰə-z̥ italiane=nəʔ*
   but camp 3sg:poss-side pfv:downriver-arrive2-3pl=sub

   *qʰoʔ* kʰrutʃu *roŋmasəʔ=rəʔ*
   SEQ PN farming.area.army=PL

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^146 An ideophone describing brightness of lights.
But when they arrived downriver at the edge of the camps, the farming-area soldiers kept coming out from cracks and crevices,

17. \(qʰoʔ\) \(u\)me \(o^{+}brohmaʔ=\text{rv}\)?
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-nomadic.area.army=PL
\(nə-\chiə\) \(nb-o\text{-}y\text{-}te-nə\) \(nb\text{-}tʃʰoz-cə\)
3PL:POSS-defeat PFV-INV-put2-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED
and the Rmeba chieftain’s nomadic soldiers were dealt with a crushing defeat.

18. \(qʰoʔ\) \(nəʃəqʰu\) \(n^{b}brohmaʔ=nəʔ\)
SEQ henceforth nomadic.area.army=TOP
\(rοmμaʔ\) \(zʃɪə\) \(ne-kə-nə\text{-}ヴə=y=kə\)ə
farming.area.army very IPFV-NMLZ-fear=like
\(nε-pεʔ=nə\) \(tʃʰozʔ\) \(ŋoʔ-cə\)
PFV:TR-do2-3PL be.the.rule be-MED
From then on, this has apparently caused the nomadic-area army to become in great fear of the farming-area army.

19. \(o^{+}meke\) \(v-tə-kə- Ive讲话=nəʔ\)
3SG:POSS-essense IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
\(n^{b}broχpe=\text{rv}\) \(nə-tə\) \(rοmμaʔ\) \(v\text{-}Ive\)-kə-tfet=nəʔ?
nomad=PL 3PL:POSS-top farming.area.army IRR-PFV:UPRIVER-GP-take.out=SUB
The essense of this (fear) is, to send the farming-area army to attack the nomadic-area soldiers,
20. "broγxe=rv? me-neγte=bre mekøts=vt
nomad=PL NEG-be.lucky not.only
con γsom-pe jermw wi tse-na tfoz?
disaster three-year about come say-3PL be.the.rule
would not only be unlucky for the nomadic people, but there would also be three
consecutive years of disasters, it is said.
How the Tshobdun People Fought the Kirtima People over Pastures

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. tsʰovdenwe=snəʔ kəldʒämpfewe=rwʔ oxtw
   Tshobdun people=and Kirtima people=PL mostly

   rgonbe kə-nątʃfəʔ yaʔ
   monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.same be

   The Kirtima147 people and Tshobdun people share the same monastery.148

2. qʰoʔ pʰentsʰən jəlpə ɲəʔ-jo
   SEQ each other neighbor be-1PL
   And we are neighbors.

3. fənaʔ kəvdən-lo fʃer?=nəʔ=ʒ
   but ninety.seven-year summer=DET=LOC

   ɲʃikə sənəʔ kə-ɲən=cəʔ jə-te-pəʔ-ɲə
   very dispute over pasture NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious=INDF PROS-PFV:TR-do2-3PL

   But in the Summer of 1997 a serious dispute over pastures almost broke out between us.

4. ɲəʔ tʃwə ɲəʔ=nəʔ
   ANA why be=TOP
   And why was that?

147 Kirtima (kəldʒ ámb; WT <ki-rti.ma>) Village of Rongwam Township in southern Rngaba County.

148 Referring to the Tshobdun Monastery situated in Teutses Village. The communities served by this monastery traditionally include Teutses, Gtsotse, Kholakyi, and (in part) Kakhyoris Villages of Tshobdun Township and several hamlets in the Amdo Tibetan-speaking Kirtima Village in Rngaba County.
5.  $\text{îqontse-rəm} \quad \text{tsʰovdənew}=\text{ra} \quad \text{kəldzómwe} \quad \text{nə-sətʃʰɛ}=\text{ta}

former.time-since Tshobdun.people=PL PN 3PL:POSS-land=top

jə-ge-ŋə-péjmo-ja fte?

AND-IPFV-dig.for.fritillary.bulb-1PL be:EMPH

Since long long ago, we Tshobdun people have gone and dugged for fritillary bulbs on Kirtima land.


3PL=also 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=top cattle IPFV-herd be:EMPH

And they also have herded cattle on our land.

7.  pʰentsʰən=nə? temqə *ɡe-mə

each.other=DET quarrel IPFV-not.exist

sənə?  ɡe-mə
dispute.over.pasture IPFV-not.exist

Between us, there had been no quarrels and no disputes over pasture.

8.  fənaʔ? nəʔ o-pe=nəʔ

but ANA 3SG:POSS-year=DET

kəldzəmwe=raʔ  rcməʔiʔ  ɡnə-ri  jurə  tə-ŋədəz-ənə

Kirtima.people=PL rider two-hundred about PFV-gather2-3PL

But in that year, around two hundred horsemen among the Kirtima people gathered.

9.  qʰəʔ? jurəʔ? nə-sətʃʰɛ=ta

SEQ 3PL 3PL:POSS-land=top

Tsʰovdənew  tʰə-ŋə-nəpejmo?

Tshobdun.people CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb2
And they drove out each and everyone of the Tshobdun folks digging for fritillary bulbs on their land.

10. \(qʰoʔ\) \(tsʰ\)ovdənew=rv?

SEQ Tshobdun.people=PL

χʃíkə nə-mîru tə-ngu-cə

very 3PL:POSS-anger PFV-rise2-MED

And the Tshobdun people got very angry.

11. \(qʰoʔ\) \(tsʰ\)ovdən \(fənj\)? \(tvro?=rv?\)

SEQ PN township official=PL

nə-pîrtə kə-pe tə-runtsə-cə

3PL:POSS-arbitration NMLZ:PURP-do PFV-try2-MED

fənəʔ mə-nb-cəʔ-cə

but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-MED

The officials of Tshobdun Township tried to arbitrate, but they failed.

12. \(qʰoʔ\) tətwi kòtsəy jermu \(raŋ?=kə\) te-nəkroz-nə-cə

SEQ village six about self=ERG PFV:TR-discuss2-3PL-MED

And about six villages (within Tshobdun Township) discussed (the matter) among themselves.

13. \(qʰoʔ\) tərmə tʰemtʃet məwlu lətpə te-kə-ði

SEQ man all weapon IPFV-INF-take

qʰoʔ re=go melen kə-fə kə-re? maʔdenəʔ

SEQ hill by.necessity INF-go NMLZ-be.necessary or.else
And they commanded that all men (in these hamlets) should take up arms and march uphill to the hills or face punishment.

14. qʰoʔ tʰoʔ ᵑʰerwʰiʔ ᵑʰoʔ tʰoʔ ᵑʰoʔ ᵑʰoʔ ᵑʰoʔ ᵑʰoʔ
SEQ PN PN PN PN PN PN
And any men in Teutses, Kakhyoris, Gtsotse, Kholakyi, Cus, and Po’ge villages who were able took up their weapons and went up to the hills.

15. qʰoʔ tʰoʔ ᵑʰeʔ⁴⁴=ʃʰənʔ kʰoʔ ʃʰəmənwe
SEQ Tshobdun.people=and Kirtima.people
And the Tshobdun and Kirtima camps assembled close to a thousand people at their borders.

16. qʰoʔ tʰoʔ mə-kʰv-vde tʰeʔ ʃʰə
SEQ matter NEG-INF-be.good PFV:TR-begin2-MED
And the matter become serious.
17. \( qʰoʔ \)  \( kəldzəməwe=rəʔ=kə \)
SEQ    Kirtima.people=PL=ERG
\( stʰəre \)  \( pʰentsʰən \)  \( te-ka-nəkroz? \)  \( əʔ \)  \( te-tsaʔ-nə-cə \)
first each.other IPFV-GP-discuss be PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
And the Kirtima people said, “First, let us talk to each other.”

18. \( qʰoʔ \)  \( ozor? \)
SEQ    meanwhile
\( tsʰovdən \)  \( rgonbe \)  \( sprəsku \)  \( vloizjən \)
PN         monastery reincarnate.Buddha PN
\( nə-per? \)  \( kə-pe \)  \( ne-sqor-nə-cə \)
Meanwhile, they sent for reincarnate buddha Vlovzyen of Tshobdun Monastery to
arbitrate the dispute.

19. \( qʰoʔ \)  \( sentsʰem=z \)  \( zgər \)  \( ome \)  \( kə-xte? \)  \( ne-pʰəy-nə-cə \)
SEQ    boundary=LOC tent very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-pitch2-3PL-MED
And they pitched a huge tent at the boundary.

20. \( qʰoʔ \)  \( tsʰovdən \)  \( tətwi \)  \( kəfoɣ \)  \( lv-ka-wəre \)
SEQ    PN         village six PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go2
\( ō-nəŋ \)  \( r̥gərgon \)  \( jətə-ka-tsi \)
3SG:POSS-inside old.person COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-understand
\( tətwi \)  \( ŋomdzəɣ?=rəʔ=seʰənəʔ \)
village leader=PL=and
\( kəldzəməwe \)  \( rəcniʔı? \)  \( ənəsqe \)  \( jərmu \)  \( nə-ka-wəʔ-nə \)
Kirtima.people horseman twenty about PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come2-3PL
Part II. Texts

one-day PFV:TR-discuss2-3PL-MED

And the more knowledgeable elders from the six Tshobdun villages, village officials, and about twenty of the Kirtima horsemen who came westward discussed among themselves for a whole day.

21. qʰoʔ kʰəmqʰunʔ sprəsku ome tə-rafqəʔ-cə
SEQ afterwards reincarnate.buddha very PFV-do.scolding2-MED

Afterwards, the reincarnate buddha severely reprimanded the people.

22. sŋontsʰeʰbərmʰənyə kə-to? mɐkətsʰet
former.time kinsmen NMLZ:SBJ-exist not.only
nə-rgonbe kə-nʌχtəγ tʰə-tə-ŋo-ŋə ŋə?
2PL:POSS-monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.same CONT:LTR-2-be2-2PL be

(Saying) “You not only have kins among yourselves since olden times, but you are also members of the same monastery.”

23. sənəʔ kʰv-pe mə-tʰpəʔ=kə
pasture.dispute GP-do NEG-be.the.rule-DM

“The engaging in disputes for pastures is improper.”

24. koʃəqu tsʰəvənwe=ɾəʔ kəldʒəməwe o-svtʰé=ta
hereafter Tshobdun.people=PL Kirtima.people 3SG:POSS-land=top
te-kʰv-npɛjmoγ kə-joyʔ?
IPFV-GP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb NMLZ-be.allowed
qʰoʔ kəldʒəməre=ɾəʔ=ntʃʰon tsʰəvənə o-svtʰé=ta
SEQ Kirtima.people=PL=also PN 3SG:POSS-land=top
ne-kə-loy kə-joyʔ?
IPFV-GP-herd NMLZ-be.allowed
And he arbitrated the dispute, allowing Tshobdun people hereafter to dig for fritillary bulbs on Kirtima land, and also Kirtima people to herd cattle on Tshobdun land.

25. */qʰoʔ pʰentsʰə nəkəsə œ-ta təkroz nv-weʔ*

SEQ each.other thus 3SG:POSS-agreement PFV-come

*/qʰoʔ kə-mqeʔ ma-nv-re-cə " demás*

SEQ GP-fight NEG-IPFV:PST-be.necessary otherwise

And the two sides thus came to terms with each other, and one did not need to fight, for otherwise,

26. */v-tə-unqə?-nə v-nə-ŋə=ŋə?*

IRR-PFV-fight-3PL IRR-PFV-be=SUB

*/kəldʒəmwe=rə nə-χʔa? kə-ʃə-nə nə-ŋə-cə*

Kirtima.people=PL 3PL:POSS-great.defeat NMLZ-go-3PL IPFV:PST-be otherwise

if there had been a fight, the Kirtima people would have been trounced.

27. */" demás nə? ifʷ ηə? v-tə-kə-tsə=ŋə?*

for ANA what be IRR-PFV-say=SUB

For, if one thinks about it (lit. talks about it),

28. */tsʰovdənewe=rə kəɾbjoʔ nə-ləden?-nə ōtənə?*

Tshobdun.people=PL person IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity 3PL not.only

*/nə-ləden=rə  nowrap nə-vmətʰəmətʰəŋʔ-ŋə-cə*

3PL:POSS-weapn=PL very IPFV:PST-be.fully.equipped otherwise

the Tshobdun people outnumbered their opponents and were armed to the teeth,
29. qʰoʔ kər³bjoʔ na-χəʔ nə-χəʔ ʷge-χə-teʔ məkətsʰət
SEQ person 3PL:POSS-great.defeat IPFV-INF-place not.only
nə-seloyʔ=znə₃wosu¹⁴⁹ tʰe-χə-χtor
3PL:POSS-pasture=LOC urea IPFV-INF-scatter
qʰoʔ nə-zəʔ ʷge-χə-ntʃe=kəsə ta₃kroz nə-toʔ ʃeʔ-ʃə
SEQ 3PL:POSS-cattle IPFV-INF-kill=like dicussion IPFV:PST-exist₂ be:EMPH-MED
and they had plans to not only crush the (Kirtima) men but also to scatter urea on their
pastures to kill off their cattle.

¹⁴⁹ A loan from Chinese niàosù (尿素).
STORY-TELLING

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *sŋoŋtsʰe*=nə?
   former.time=TOP
   tjentəŋ?=scʰəna?  tjénsə=ra?  "ge-me
   electric.light=and  television=PL  IPFV-not.exist
   In the past, there were no electric lights and television.

2. qʰoʔ  mer  sv-nukəmən?=ra?  "ge-me
   SEQ  night  NMLZ:OBL-have.fun2:RDPL=PL  IPFV-not.exist
   At night, places for going about for fun was non-existent.

3. qʰoʔ  sŋi=nəʔ  ne-ku-rumə
   SEQ  day=TOP  IPFV-GP-do.labor
   mer=nəʔ  smi  te-ku-vlu?
   night=TOP  fire  IPFV-GP-build
   qʰoʔ  ke-ku-kʰerʔ
   SEQ  IPFV-GP-form.a.circle
   qʰoʔ  ke-ku-nəbjom
   SEQ  IPFV-GP-warm.oneself.by.fire
   People do labor during daytime, and at night, build a fire and surround it to warm themselves.

4. oʒorʔ  kæxeʔ=raʔ  χpe  "ge-ku-sə-ʃʃet  nu-tʃʰoz
   meanwhile  NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL  story  IPFV-GP-CAUS-tell  IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2
   In the mean time, they ask the elders to tell stories.

5. náŋzgo  "dʒowe  ka-nərmə=kaʃə=raʔ  v-né-to=nəʔ
   particularly  guest  NMLZ:SBJ-spend.the.night=like=PL  IRR-PFV-exist=SUB
   And, in particular, if there were guests who stayed overnight and the like,
6. *təpriʔ foχre kʰvvdɐʔ=ʁuʔ*  "ge-kw-pe
supper before chatting=PL IPFV-GP-do
people will chat before supper.

7. *qʰoʔ təpriqʰu=nəʔ?
SEQ time.after. supper=TOP
kəxtʃipu=ʁuʔ=kə *dzowe=nəʔ? χpe=ʁuʔ? "ge-ka-sə-ʃʃet "ge-tʃʰoz?
small.child=PL=ERG guest=DET story=PL IPFV-INF-CAUS-tell IPFV-be.the.rule
After supper, the small children will as a rule ask the guest to tell stories.

8. *qʰoʔ χpe kə-ʃʃet=nəʔ?=kə χpe "ge-ʃʃet orjánʔnəʔ?
SEQ story NMLZ:SBJ-tell=DET=ERG story IPFV-tell when
məlen kʰe-ʔóke kʰ-tsə "ge-joʔ? oqʰuqʰoʔ?
by.necessity each-sentence INF-say IPFV-end afterwards
jaŋ kʰ-tsə "ge-re?
EXCL INF-say IPFV-be.necessary
And the one telling stories is supposed to say “jaŋ” at the end of every sentence.

9. *kə-ʃʃ entrega=nəʔ?=kə
NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET=ERG
χpe kə-ʃʃet jaŋ te-tsə?=nəʔ?
story NMLZ:SBJ-tell EXCL IPFV-say=SUB
ʣ kʰ-tsə "ge-re?
EXCL INF-say IPFV-be.necessary
And the listeners are supposed to say ʣ when the storyteller says jaŋ.

10. *náŋzgo  mer ke-ku-rəgu=nəʔ?
in.particular night IPFV-GP-go.to.bed=SUB
məlen nákəsə kʰ-tsə "ge-re? "denəʔ?
by.necessity thus INF-say IPFV-be.necessary for
Especially when people go to bed at night, (storytelling) must be like that, as it is clear whether the listeners are listening closely or have fallen asleep.

When small children have a potluck and go to bed together at night, they must take turns telling stories.

And when they tell frightening ghost stories, one gets scared and buries one’s head (in the blanket).

Some elderly people who know how to read would look at books as they tell stories.
14. qʰoʔ kw-ʃʃt=ruʔ χʃikə te-sɔrʃəm-nə
SEQ NMZL:SBJ:U-tell=PL very IPFV-cause.to.be.vivid-3PL
qʰoʔ kə-sənji=nəʔ
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET
nə-sni ne-zdɔyʔ ne-vəvo-nə=ruʔ "ge-tʃozʔ?
3PL:POSS-heart IPFV-be.sad IPFV-weep-3PL=PL IPFV-be.the.rule
And they make their storytelling so vivid that the listeners feel sad and weep.

15. qʰoʔ mer kw-nəmɔy=ʃər te-reʔ orjáʔnəʔ
SEQ night INF-do.milling.at.night IPFV-be.necessary when
kʰɔrte pʰɛntsən te-kw-ɾəzɔʣde
friend mutually IPFV-GP-ask.to.accompany:RDPL
When it is necessary to do milling at night, friends ask each other for company.

16. qʰoʔ zdewέ=nəŋ
SEQ villager=inside
χpe stʰo kw-ʃʃt kə-mkʰəz=nəʔ ne-ke-sqorʔ
story most INF-tell NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET IPFV-GP-send.for
One sends for a villager who is the most skilled in telling stories.

17. qʰoʔ lwɔʔ=ruʔ te-kw-sqo retaʃajpaj=ruʔ te-kw-sule
SEQ salted.pork=PL IPFV-GP-boil noodle.soup=PL IPFV-GP-boil
twɔʔ=ruʔ ne-kə-ʃiʔi
boozε=PL IPFV-GP-give.to.drink
And one cooks salted pork and noodle soup for him, and gives him booze to drink.

18. qʰoʔ χpe "ge-kw-sə-ʃʃt "ge-tʃozʔ?
SEQ story IPFV-GP-CAUS-tell IPFV-be.the.rule
And ask him to tell stories.
COLLECTIVE VILLAGE MERRYMAKING

zdewe kṃṅṅkw

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. sŋoŋtsʰe rɐɲə zdewe kɐ-nːkɐ=nə?
f\,\,\,former.time since village.people GP-have.leisurely.fun=TOP
kʰe-pe ʁeʃe tɐrm Kɐ-ne-kɐ-nːkɐ tʃʰozʔ
each.year two.time about IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun be.the.rule
Regarding the ancient (tradition of) village merrymaking, (village) people as a rule enjoy leisurely fun (together) about twice each year.

2. kə-tʃe=nə? pjɔvevti məleŋ ne-nːkɐ-jə
one.time=TOP Flower-Viewing.Festival by.necessity IPFV-have.leisurely.fun-1PL
The first is the Flower-Viewing Festival during the Month of the Mouse of the Tibetan Calendar, when we must (gather to) enjoy leisurely fun.

3. qʰoʔ kə-tʃe=nə?
SEQ one.time=TOP
stonke=rʔ "ge-joyʔ tɐm=mʔ "ge-ɾdʒaʔ?
autumn=PL IPFV-end labor=PL IPFV-be.completed
As for the other (occasion), (it occurs when) autumn ends and labor in the field is done.

4. qʰoʔ kəpəɾtsəz zluʔə fʃuʔə rʃəstən
SEQ Chinese.calendar month tenth National.Day
jɐrməʔ ne-kə-nːkɐ tʃʰozʔ
about IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun be.the.rule
During October in the Chinese Calendar at around the National Day, we will (gather to) enjoy leisurely fun.
5. \( kb-n\text{é}vw=n\text{əʔ} \)
\( \text{INF-have.leisurely.fun=TOP} \)
\( st^\text{re} \ k\text{əpe}=n\text{ə} \ l\text{espe} \ k\text{awna}x\text{so} \ t\text{ópu}=c\text{ə} \ to?=k\text{ə} \)
first one-year=TOP organizer two.three family=INDF exist=INS

As to how this is carried out, first, as each year two or three families (draw lot) and serve as organizers,

6. \( n\text{nəʔ}=r\text{u}=k\text{ə} \ f\text{kòtp}e \ t^\text{̱e}-l\text{e}t-n\text{ə} \)
that=PL=ERG arrangement IPFV-make-3PL
\( q^\text{əo} \ t^\text{hɔscct} \ s\text{ŋi} \ kb-n\text{é}vw \ k\text{ə}-\text{ŋo}? \)
SEQ how.many day GP-have.leisurely.fun NMLZ-be
those (people) are to make arrangements as to how many days the merrymaking is to last,

7. \( q^\text{əo} \ kb-n\text{é}vw \ orj\text{àŋʔnəʔ} \ t^\text{̱o}f\text{t}f^\text{əo} \ k\text{w}dze \ k\text{ə}-t\text{o}? \)
SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun when what:PL food NMLZ-exist
\( q^\text{əo} \ m\text{èj}u \ kb-n\text{é}vw \ orj\text{àŋʔnəʔ} \)
SEQ further GP-have.leisurely.fun when
\( ^d\text{zə}y\text{le}m=r\text{u} \ t^\text{̱e}-f\text{k}\text{rem}-n\text{ə} \ \text{ŋo}? \)
regulation=PL IPFV-lay.down-3PL be
what kinds of food there should be, and furthermore they are to lay down the regulations (to observe) during merrymaking,

8. \( q^\text{əo} \ kb-n\text{é}vw \ t\text{é}-\text{mda} \ orj\text{àŋʔnəʔ} \)
SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun IPFV-be.time when
\( k^\text{v}e-t\text{ópu} \ k^\text{v}e-t\text{ópu} \ s\text{v}-n\text{πə}=z \)
each-family each-family NMLZ:OBL-have.leisurely.fun=LOC
\( z\text{ger} \ te-kv-s\text{səskor} \ ^{\text{a}g\text{e}-kv-p\text{ʰ}uy}? \)
tent IPFV-GP-cause.to.encircle IPFV-GP-pitch

When it is time to do merrymaking, each and every family pitches a tent, making a circle of tents.
9. qʰoʔ .lngpe=kə foykor ne-su²bór³bi
   SEQ  organzierung=ERG   money  IPFV-ask.around.for
qʰoʔ  oʒorʔ  zdewe=rnʔ=kə  foykor=se²hɔnəʔ  latʃatʃe
SEQ  meanwhile  people=PL=ERG   money=and  various.things
kə-nə-sù-ri  toʔ-nə  tʃieʔ=kə
NMLZ-SPON-donate  exist-3PL  be:EMPH=INS
And the helpers will go around collecting (donated) money, meanwhile there will surely
be people who donate money and various things.

10. qʰoʔ  skæm  kəŋtʃo  te-χtu-nə
   SEQ  beef.cattle  five-six  IPFV-buy-3PL
qʰoʔ  "ge-wənmʉ-nə
SEQ  IPFV-butcher-3PL
And they buy five or six beef cattle, and have them butchered.

11. qʰoʔ  kəcʰiʔ  twəʔ  kwɑtsə  χwəsəʔ=rnʔ  te-χtu-nə
   SEQ  candy  booze  melon.seed  peanut=PL  IPFV-buy-3PL
And they buy candy, booze, melon seeds, peanuts, and so on.

12. qʰoʔ  kw-néəə  orjəmʔəʔ  nəʔ=rnʔ  tʃe-kri-nə  nəʔ?
   SEQ  GP-have.leisurely.fun  when  ANA=PL  IPFV-distribute-3PL  be
And these they distribute during the merrymaking.

13. qʰoʔ  tátwi=kə  zəɾʃe=nnəʔ  χʃəʔʃəʔʃe  te-poʃ
   SEQ  village=ERG  breakfast=TOP  butter.tea  IPFV-make₃
sásu=se²hɔnəʔ  sasqʰu=nnəʔ  pʰɾʒoʔ  te-səlɛ  nəʔ?
noon=and  afternoon=TOP  beef.and.potatoes.soup  IPFV-boil₃  be
In the morning, the township (officials) make butter tea, and at noon and in the afternoon,
they make beef and potato soup.
14. qʰoʔ zərtʃə tfʰəzoʔ te-kə-ⁿ⁰di
SEQ morning teapot IPFV:UP-GP-take
qʰoʔ χtʂəytʃə ʃə-ke-kv-na-cuʔ
SEQ butter.tea AND-IPFV:CISLOC-SPON-receive

And, in the morning, they take the butter tea up, and people get around (the person with
the teapot) and hold out (their cups) to receive the butter tea.

15. qʰoʔ ne-kv-nzərtʃə
SEQ IPFV-GP-eat.breakfast
And then they eat breakfast.

16. qʰoʔ sàsu=ʃənəʔ sasqʰuʔ=ntf⁰n
SEQ noon=and afternoon=also
pʰəʒəʔ ʃəte kemru te-kə-ⁿ⁰di
beef.and.potato.stew aluminum.pot IPFV:UP-GP-take
qʰoʔ kʰinaj koɾ²boʔ tʃəscet kə-toʔ
SEQ home person how.many NMLZ-exist
o-tsʰet=nəʔ ʃə-ke-kv-na-cuʔ
3SG:POSS-measure=DET AND-IPFV:CISLOC-SPON-receive

And, at noon and in the afternoon also, beef stew is taken up in aluminum pots, and
people get around it to receive the soup depending on how many people there are in one’s
family.

17. qʰoʔ raŋraŋ zgəɾ=phʔi
SEQ individually tent=under
tə-ʃkə⁰ɡu.qəjwi=ʃənəʔ tə-ɮəʒoʔ=ʃənəʔ
GEN:POSS-baked.chive.bread=and GEN:POSS-salted.pork=and
And each (of the families) take out their own chive bread, salted pork and distilled booze,

18. $q^o\text{te-kv-na}^{zítvi} q^o \text{tw}^a?^{rv} ne-ké-t^i$  
SEQ IPFV-GP-eat.mealSEQ booze=PL IPFV-GP-drink  
$q^o \text{ne-kv-rasco}t^o =r^o$  
SEQ IPFV-GP-have.a.good.time be  
and they dine and drink booze, and have a good time.

19. $q^o k^epk^v?=rv pr\nu^a^y=te-pe-n\nu$  
SEQ some=PL tent.visiting IPFV-do-3PL  
$q^o \text{kət}^\text{ay}re \text{tw}a? n\text{é-t}i-n\nu$  
SEQ together booze IPFV-drink-3PL  
$k^evd\nu t^e-pe-n\nu q^o te-serv-n\nu =r^o$  
chatting IPFV-do-3PL SEQ IPFV-perform.amusing.act-3PL be  
And some people walk around visiting tents, drink booze together, chat, and perform amusing acts.

20. $kəxtipu=rv o^j k\text{kat}^\text{ay}re ne-n\nu-n\text{ék}^\text{v}-n\nu$  
child=PL separately together IPFV-SPON-have.leisurely.fun-3PL  
$q^o \text{ʃə-te-I}^\text{ʒa}=?-n\nu =r^o$  
SEQ AND-IPFV-do.mischief-3PL be  
And, separately (from adults), children have fun and do mischief together.
21. qʰoʔ  

SEQ  

Part II. Texts

This refers to group dancing in the Rgyalrong Tibetan style.
26. qʰoʔ maⁿ denə te-sayjfare-nə
SEQ or INF-wrestle IPFV-compete-3PL
maⁿ denə leju "ge-pe-nə
or song IPFV-make-3PL
compete in wrestling, or sing songs.

27. qʰoʔ mer=nə te-qinu=nə
SEQ night=DET IPFV-darken=SUB
kʰ-xte?=re? kʰínəŋ ne-nə-neʃʃə-nə
NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL home IPFV-SPON-leave-3PL
qʰoʔ zaza?=re? fo-ne-nʃʃi-nə
SEQ livestock=PL AND-IPFV-feed-3PL
And, when night darkens, the adults return home, to go feed the livestock.

28. qʰoʔ kʰxtʃipu=re? zgir=pʰi ne-ku-nqʰope
SEQ child=PL tent=under IPFV-GP-keep.house
And the children keep house under the tents.

29. qʰoʔ kʰxtʃipu kʰ-ngope=re?
SEQ child NMLZ:SBJ-keep.house=PL
kʰtʰyre ne-ku-nəʃə əzor?
together IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun meanwhile
χpe=re? ku-ʃʃət te-ku-nə-rərez? əŋə?
story=PL INF-tell IPFV-GP-take.turns be
And the children who keep house have fun among themselves, while take turns telling stories.

30. qʰoʔ ku-nəʃə=nə neʔ te-kʰ-ʃʃət-cə
SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun=TOP ANA IPFV-NMLZ-be.like-MED
And, regarding (village) merrymaking, it is like that.
31. qʰoʔ  kəŋŋo-tʃə-syɪ  jɛrmə  nɛ-ke-nɛw  tʃʰozʔ
SEQ  five-six-day  about  IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun  be.the.rule

As a rule, the merrymaking lasts for five to six days.
III. FOLKLORE

THE DELUGE (CREATION MYTH)\textsuperscript{151}

\textit{skêlpe tãkênsfwa y ñpe}

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. sỳôntsʰe=z
   former.time=LOC
   \(kə^dʒə^{-xt}ʃʰəɣχpe\)
   \(\text{COL-brother=INDF three IPFV:PST-exist2-3PL be-MED}\)
   In olden times, there were three brothers.

2. qʰoʔ \(t\text{we}\)  \(stʰoʔ\)  \(kə-xtʃ\text{if}ʔ=\text{nəʔ}\)
   SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
   \(r\text{əɣtʃ}n=\text{cəʔ}\)
   \(n\text{v-ŋo} \ ηo?\text{-cə}\)
   person.with.magic.powers=INDF IPFV:PST-be=ERG
   The youngest brother was a person with magic powers.

3. qʰoʔ \(kə-ŋuʔ=\text{ce}=\text{nəʔ}\)
   SEQ one-night=LOC:INDF=DET
   \(t\text{we}\)  \(stʰoʔ\)  \(kə-xtʃ\text{if}ʔ=\text{nəʔ}=kə\)
   young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG
   One night, the youngest brother (dreamed that),

\textsuperscript{151} Compare a similar deluge folklore told in Japhug Rgyalrong in Jacques & Chen (2010: 73–86). The two versions share an almost identical storyline, but complement each other in the details provided. For example, the Japhug version gives a clearer reason why the boy’s two elder brothers did not survive the deluge, whereas the Tshobdun version contains more episodes to develop the story, such as what happened to the boy after he was taken to the sky, what the immortal wife did after she returned to earth with the boy, and the consequences of the lie told by the crow.
4. **noŋme kəsne-rŋa?=nə?=z**
   just seven-night=DET=LOC
   **skêlpe ntfəy?=təci?=mtʃʔot ηo?=kə**
   destiny break water be.full be=INS
   “In just seven nights’ time, the world will be destroyed and flooded,”

5. **nə-kômtʰo nə-ye=nə? nə-ntʃʔe-nə**
   2PL:POSS-courtyard 2PL:POSS-cow=DET IMP-kill-2PL
   **qʰoʔ o-fe ʔdvnbe ma-ʔa-ʔo"dze-nə**
   SEQ 3PL:POSS-flesh at.all NEG-IMP-2-eat-2PL
   **qʰoʔ ʒ"bru tə-pe-nə**
   SEQ boat IMP-make-2PL
   “kill your cow in your courtyard but do not eat its meat at all, and make a boat.”

   ANA IPFV-NMLZ-say NMLZ:SBJ-be.like=INDF PFV:TR-dream.of2 be-MED
   He dreamed of someone who said the foregoing.

7. **qʰoʔ noofɭəfi=nə? o-jé=ni?="dzə-pʰə**
   SEQ next.morning=DET 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling=DU 3DU:POSS-place
   **o-jmi=nə? te-tsə?=ηo?-cə**
   3SG:POSS-dream=DET PFV:TR-say2 be-MED
   The next morning, he told his brothers his dream.

8. **fənə? təje=ni?=kə me-ne-nzəgi="dzə-cə**
   but elder.sibling=DU=ERG NEG-IPFV-believe-3DU-MED
   But the two brothers did not believe it.
9. qʰoʔ leʔ χso-raʔ na-tsoʔ=nəʔ
SEQ again three-night PFV:elapse2=SUB
twveʔ stʰoʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə
young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG
leʔ nākəsə ne-wəjmiʔ-nəʔə
again thus PFV:TR-dream2-MED
After three more nights passed, the youngest brother again dreamed the same dream.

10. qʰoʔ o-je=niʔ "dʒə-pəa leʔ te-tsaʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.brother=DU 3DU:POSS-place again PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he again told it to his two elder brothers.

11. qʰoʔ təje=niʔ tʰvətʃəʔ ne-nəzvəgiʔ-ʒə
SEQ elder.sibling=DU reluctantly PFV:TR-believe2-3DU
And the brothers believed him reluctantly.

12. qʰoʔ na-ŋe=nəʔ ne-ntʃəʔ-nə-cə
SEQ 3PL:POSS-cow=DET PFV:TR-kill2-3PL-MED
And they killed their cow.

13. qʰoʔ təje=niʔ=kə
SEQ elder.sibling=DU=ERG
a kōtsəjji ŋe kə-ʒroʔ
EXCL such cow NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine
"ŋe-kə-ntʃəʔ-e=nəʔ o-ʃə "mə-kə-nə=ŋədʒe=nəʔ?
IPFV-GP-kill=SUB 3SG:POSS-flesh NEG-GP-SPON-eat=SUB
stoŋbe fteʔ-kə
unacceptable be:EMPH-DM
And the two elder brothers said (to themselves), “Ah! It is unacceptable to kill such a fine cow and not eat its meat!”
14. \( qʰoʔ \) kəməqʰunəʔ nə-ŋe o-fe=nəʔ te-ⁿdzəʔⁿdzə-cə
   SEQ afterwards 3PL:POSS-cow 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET PFV:TR-eat2-3DU-MED
   And they ate their cow’s meat.

15. \( fənəʔ \) kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə mə-teⁿdzəʔⁿəŋo
   but NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-eat2-MED
   But the youngest brother did not eat it.

16. \( qʰoʔ \) kəfne-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ
   SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse2=SUB
   When seven nights passed,

17. \( sətʃʰe=z \) təciʔ kə-mtʃʰot te-je-nəŋo
   land=LOC water INF-be.full PFV:TR-begin2-MED
   water began to cover the land completely.

18. \( qʰoʔ \) təciʔ=nəʔ kʰextoⁿdi kʰ-zyot te-je=nəʔ
   SEQ water=DET verandah-edge INF-arrive PFV:TR-begin2=SUB
   nəⁿbru=nəʔ təciʔ=nəŋ ne-rkoʔ-nə-cə
   3PL:POSS-boat=DET water=inside PFV:TR-put.in2-3PL-MED
   And when the water began to reach the edge of the verandah of the house, they put their
   boat into the water,

19. \( qʰoʔ \) stʰore təje stʰoʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ ne-ʒⁿgoʔ-cə
   SEQ at.first elder.sibling most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET IPFV:PST-row2-MED
   at first, the eldest brother was rowing the boat,
20. ʃənəʔ tə-kw-tṣəʔ ő-ta
  but dream=inside PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say 3SG:POSS-top
ηʃefe te-kw=dze mə-nə-jəy əŋoʔ-cə
cow.meat IPFV:GP-eat NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed2 be-MED
ʃənəʔ te-v=dzeʔ-cə
  but PFV:TR-eat2-MED

but as was said in the dream, it was not allowed to eat the meat of the cow and he still ate it,

21. qʰónə kəmegʔunəʔ nə-ʃjo-nəŋo
  SEQ:EMPH afterwards PFV:DOWN-drown2-MED
  so he ended up falling into the water and drowned.

22. qʰoʔ leʔ təlezʔ=nəʔ əŋoʔ-cə
  SEQ again middle=DET IPFV:PST-row2-MED
ʃənəʔ=ntʃon o-je o-sífsət
  but=also 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling 3SG:POSS-manner
náŋtərkə nə-ʃjo-nəŋo
  likewise PFV:DOWN-drown2-MED

And then the second eldest brother was rowing, but in the same manner as his elder brother, he also fell into the water and drowned.

23. qʰoʔ təwəʔ stəʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ
  SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
əŋoʔ-cə əŋoʔ antšātse-nəŋo
IPFV:PST-row2 IPFV:PST-row2 continuously-MED

And the youngest brother kept on rowing and rowing,
24. \( qʰoʔ \) kʷəmqʰunəʔ təci? kʰ-ʁəo nə-je-nəŋo
   SEQ afterwards water INF-be.dry PFV:DOWN-begin2-MED
   afterwards, the water began to recede,\(^{152}\)

25. \( qʰoʔ \) žⁿbru=nəʔ vžári ó-ʁər le-te-nəŋo
   SEQ boat=DET PN 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UPRIVER-put2-MED
   and it left the boat stranded on the face of Mount Bzhagbra.

26. \( qʰoʔ \) kʰəmqʰunəʔ təci?=ʁu? nə-ʁəo
   SEQ afterwards water=PL PFV:DOWN-be.dry\(_2\)
   And afterwards, the flood receded.

27. \( qʰoʔ \) teveʔ stʰəʔ kʰ-xtfi?=nəʔ
   SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
   o-ʃiʔ jeste vžári=ta "ge-smo-nəŋo
   3SG:POSS-self alone PN=top IPFV-stay-MED
   And the youngest brother remained on Mount Bzhagbra all by himself.

28. \( qʰoʔ \) 'siz nəmkʰɛ=nəŋ '\qʰri=cəʔ χəmʔ "ge-we-nə
   SEQ morning sky=inside dove=INDF three IPFV:DOWN-come-3PL
   qʰoʔ vžəɾímtʰə o-ʁəv=nəʔ=z "ge-捺e-nə
   SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-side=DET=LOC IPFV-rest-3PL
   In the morning, three doves would come down from the sky, and they would rest by the side of Lake Bzhagbra.

\(^{152}\) Literally ‘began to dry downwards’. 
29. \(qʰoʔ\ 'qʰɾi=naŋ=nəʔ \ tôme \ ʒfĩkə \ kə-mpʰjor=cəʔ\)
SEQ dove=inside=DET woman very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF
\(kədʒəsqʰɐ \ ʒəm? \ ne-nloʔ-nə\)
sister three IPFV-come.out-3PL
And out of the doves three very beautiful women that were sisters would come out,

30. \(qʰoʔ\ mtsʰ=naŋ=cʰo \ "ge-raʃfəmáχti-nə\)
SEQ lake=inside=LOC:INDF IPFV-wash.this.and.that-3PL
\(qʰoʔ\ mtsʰo \ vzər=cʰo \ "ge-néwə-nə\)
SEQ lake side=LOC:INDF IPFV-loaf-3PL
and bathe in the lake, and spend relaxing time by the lakeside.

31. \(qʰoʔ\ tərmökʰe=nəʔ \ nə-qʰɾi=ge=raʔ\ te-n³ge-nə\)
SEQ dusk=DET 3PL:POSS-dove.skin=PL IPFV-put.on-3PL
\(qʰoʔ\ nmkʰ=naŋ \ te-nɔʃə-nə=reʔ \ "ge-mteʔ-nəŋo\)
SEQ sky=inside IPFV:UP-go.back-3PL=PL IPFV-see3-MED
And at dusk, they would put on their dove skins and return into the sky, and he would see all this happen.

32. \(qʰoʔ\ kə-sŋi=ce=nəʔ\)
SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
\(nmkʰ=naŋ \ kədʒəsqʰə \ ʒəm?=nə?=reʔ \ leʔ \ ne-weʔ-nə-cə\)
sky=inside sister three=DET=PL again PFV:DOWN-come2-3PL-MED
One day, the three sisters again came down from the sky.

33. \(qʰoʔ\ nə-qʰɾi=ge=naʔ \ ne-səntəv-nə-cə\)
SEQ 3PL:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-lay.down2-3PL-MED
\(qʰoʔ\ jəɾəʔ \ mtsʰ=naŋ \ ne-raʃfəmáχtiʔ-nə \ orjaŋʔ\)
SEQ 3PL lake=inside IPFV-bath2-3PL when
And when they laid down their dove skins and were bathing in the lake,
34. *qʰoʔ təfju=nəʔ səqətsutsu nə-ere-cə*
   ANA  lad=DET stealthily PFV:DOWN-go2-MED
   *qʰoʔ qʰrīⁿge stʰoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ te-tsʰɨt-cə*
   SEQ  dove.skin most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET PFV:TR-try.on2-MED
   *fənəʔ o-tsɛləʔ nə-ma-cə*
   but  3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-not.be2-MED

the lad went downhill stealthily, and tried on the largest dove skin, but it did not fit.

35. *qʰoʔ leʔ тəlezʔ qʰrīⁿge=nəʔ te-tsʰɨt-cə*
   SEQ  again medium dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-try.on2-MED
   *fənəʔ leʔ o-tsɛləʔ nə-ma-cə*
   but  again 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-not.be2-MED

And he tried on the medium-sized dove skin, but it again did not fit.

36. *qʰoʔ kəmbqʰúŋə stʰoʔ kə-xtʃiʔ*
   SEQ  afterwards most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small
   *qʰrīⁿge=nəʔ te-tsʰɨt-cə=nəʔ*
   dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-try.on2-MED=SUB
   *noŋmenəʔ o-tsɛləʔ nə-ŋo-cə*
   only.then 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-be2-MED

And afterwards, when he tried on the smallest dove skin, it finally fit.

37. *qʰoʔ tə-jiiʔ=nəʔ on=nəʔ*
   SEQ  GP:POSS-self=also=TOP
   *ne-kw-qəl*bjomʔ kəût ŋoʔ ntor ne-səsə-ciə*
   IPFV-GP-fly be.feasible be DM PFV:TR-think2-MED

And he thought to himself, “Would it be possible for one to fly (in it)?”
38. $qʰoʔ\ kə-qʰrlʰbjãmʔ\ tə-r̥u̥tsʰa-cə\ fənəʔ\ mə-nv-cʰʔ-cə$

SEQ NMLZ:PURP-fly PFV-make.ready2-MED but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-MED

And made ready to fly, but was unable to do so.

39. $qʰoʔ\ qʰɐʔ\ qʰr̥íⁿ\ ge=nəʔ\ ne-netsu-cə$

SEQ ANA dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-hide2-MED

And so he hid the dove skin.

40. $qʰoʔ\ tərmókʰe=z\ təje=niʔ$

SEQ dusk=LOC elder.sibling=DU

$n̥dzə-qʰr̥íⁿ\ ge=nəʔ\ te-nər̥geʔ=n̥dzə-cə$

3DU:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-put.back.on2-3DU-MED

$qʰoʔ\ nəmkʰè=nya\ tə-v̥n̥ore̥-n̥dzə-cə$

SEQ sky=inside PFV:UP-go.back-3DU-MED

At dusk, the two elder sisters put their dove skins back on and went back up into the sky.

41. $fənəʔ\ təsqʰ\ stʰoʔ\ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ$

but sister most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET

$mtʃʰo-vər\ aŋtsóțse\ o-qʰr̥íⁿ\ ge\ ne-geseʔ$

lake-side continuously 3SG:POSS-dove.skin PFV:TR-search2

$oʃ̥orʔ\ nv-vəvəʔ-cə$

meanwhile IPFV:PST-weep2-MED

But the youngest sister kept looking for her dove skin by the lakeside, weeping all the while.

42. $fənəʔ\ ə-ja\ mə-ʃv-weʔ-cə$

but 3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come2-MED

But she could not find it.
And the lad came out and (said to) the girl, “I know about your dove skin and I will return it to you, but in return you must take me to the sky also,” he said.

The girl said, “I may take you to the sky, but my folks will scold me,”

“but in return for your returning my dove skin back to me, I have no choice but take you up.”

But when we get to the sides of the moon and the stars, do not say Ojulu,”

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153 An exclamation uttered when one feels cold.
47. **tön** o-vzər te-zyot-tsə=naʔ vtsetso154 ma-tə-tə-tsə
sun 3SG:POSS-side IPFV:UP-arrive-1DU=SUB EXCL NEG-PFV-2-say
“and when we get to the side of the sun, do not cry Atsatso,”

for INF-take.thither NEG-1→2-be.able be PFV:TR-say2-MED
“for otherwise I will not be able to take you up,” she said.

49. **qʰoʔ** təfu=naʔ=kə wə te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ lad=DET=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the lad said, “Alright.”

50. **qʰoʔ** nəmkʰe te-tsom ən te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ sky PFV:TR-take.thither be-MED
And she took him up into the sky.

51. **ʃən**ən skərmə o-vzər te-zyot-“dzə=naʔ
but moon=and star 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive2-3DU=SUB
odʒudzu te-tsəʔ-cə
EXCL PFV:TR-say2-MED
But when the two of them got to the sides of the moon and the stars, he cried, “Ojuju!”

52. **tön** o-vzər te-zyot-“dzə=naʔ vtsetso te-tsəʔ-cə
sun 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive2-3DU=SUB EXCL PFV:TR-say2-MED
And when they got to the side of the sun, he cried, “Atsatso!”

154 An exclamation uttered when one feels hot.
And the girl dropped the lad unintentionally,

but the girl was an honest person, and she went back down.

And said to the lad, “When I tell you not to say Ojulu or Atsatso, that was what happens (if you do not listen).”

And she took the lad up into the sky again.

And this time, when the two of them got to the side of the moon and the stars, (the lad) managed not uttering any sound.
58. qʰoʔ nvmkʰe n-aoséfsɔt tə-zy̞tʰ-dzə-nəŋə
SEQ sky thus PFV:UP-arrive2-3DU-MED
And thus they arrived in the sky.

59. qʰoʔ nvmkʰe kə-smo=rə?
SEQ sky NMLZ:SBJ-dwell=PL
kʰɐ́ xpʰe tʰe-kv-lət ʷge-tʰozʔ ŋoʔ-çə
millstone IPFV:OUT-GP-do IPFV-be.the.rule be-MED
And those who live in the sky are said to use millstones.

60. qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ tə́ mɛ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə
SEQ ANA woman NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG
tə-kv-tsəm tɛtfu=nəʔ?
PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.thither₂ lad=DET
kʰɐ́ xpʰe o-vzəɾ ne-neɪtsu-cə
millstone 3SG:POSS-side PFV:TR-hide₂-MED
And the youngest woman hid the lad who had been taken up there beside the millstone.

61. nəʃəqʰu kʰɐ́ nəŋ kʰɐ́ xpʰe kw-lət tɛ-mda=nəʔ?
thereafter home millstone INF-apply IPFV-be.time=SUB
o-ʃiʔ əntsátsə ʷge-ogəxmləŋ ŋoʔ-çə
3SG:POSS-self constantly IPFV-cause.oneself.to.be.given.assignment be-MED
And thereafter when it was time to mill flour at home, she always volunteered for the work.

62. qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ tɛtfu=nəʔ? əntsátsə saŋtsùtsu ʷge-nʰgofʔ?
SEQ ANA lad=DET continuously in.secret IPFV-feed₃
ŋoʔ o-tə̞nʔ=kə o-ɾtsəmbvr=nəʔ?
be₃ SG:POSS-reason=INS 3SG:POSS-tsampa=DET
Part II. Texts

63. \(qʰoʔ\) \(o-je\) \(stʰoʔ\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling most
\(kə-xtə?=nə?=kə\) \(o-yrərə?=pʰa\)
NMLZ:SBJ=be.big=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-family=place
\(koʔ\) \(u-veʔ?=koʔ\)
this 1SG:POSS-younger.sister=this

\(rtsəmbv\) \(mə-ko-raʔ-cə\) \(əntsətə\) \(ne-nevwəwot=kə\)
tsampa NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough-MED often IPFV-bring:RDPL=INS
\(koʔ\) \(o-ke-n'gə?=cəʔ\) \(toʔ\) \(məso=kə\)
this 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-feed=INDF exist Q=DM

And the eldest sister said to her family, “This younger sister of mine, can it be that she has someone she is feeding, for she often brings home insufficient tsampa?”

64. \(josniʔ\) \(ŋənə\)
today TOP
\(ŋiʔ\) \(rtsəmbv\) \(kə-nkʰərpʰə\) \(fi-arə\) \(ŋoʔ\) \(te-tsəʔ-cə\)
1SG tsampa NMLZ:PURP-mill go-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED

“Today, I will go and mill tsampa myself,” she said.

65. \(qʰoʔ\) \(o-veʔ\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister NEG-IPFV:PST-allow2-MED

Her younger sister would not allow it.
66. ʃə nəʔ tɐ je=nəʔ mefsʰe jə-ŋv⁻nkʰexpʰeʔ-cə
   but elder.sibling=DET by.force AND-PFV:DOWN-mill2-MED
   But the elder sister willfully went down to mill tsampa.

67. qʰoʔ nə-ŋʰɐxpʰeʔ orján?nəʔ
    SEQ IPFV:PST-mill2 when
    tətsfu ó-ja ke-cu-cə=nəʔ
    lad 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:CISLOC:TR-hold2-MED=SUB
    fla təje=kə ne-nvesʰorʔ ne-ʰdi-cə
    SEQ elder.sibling=ERG PFV:TR-snatch2 IPFV:PST-hold2-MED
    When she was milling (tsampa), and when the lad reached out his hand toward the mill,
    the elder sister grabbed and held it,

68. qʰoʔ o-ʰrɛʔ=ɾəʔ
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-family.member=place
    v-veʔ kóksci tətsfu
    1SG:POSS-younger.sibling like.this lad
    o-kv-ŋ goʔ toʔ o-tön?=kə
    3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-feed exist 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
    and (she said to the family), “Since my younger sister has a lad who has been fed like
    this,”

69. jə-ɾtsɛmbe ma-kə-ɾtaʔ ne-nwwəwot ŋəʔ-cə
    1PL:POSS-tsampa NEG-NMLZ:SBJ:be.enough IPFV:bring:RDPL be-MED
    te-ʦəʔ te-ŋʔdʒu ŋəʔ-cə
    PFV:TR-say2 PFV:TR-accuse₂ be-MED
    “she has been bringing home insufficient tsampa,” she said, accusing her.
70. \( qʰọ \) tē-pe tē-mo=ni? \( χʃɨkə \) tə-rumuru?-\( ṡdzə-cao \)
SEQ father mother=DU very PFV-be.angry2-3DU-MED

The father and the mother got very angry.

71. \( qʰọ \) pʰentʰet kʰókʰo=z \( ṡdzə-sv-smo \)
SEQ from.now.on here=LOC 2DU:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.present2

tə-κə-me?=nə?
PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist=SUB be.like be

And they said, “From now on, it will be like as if there is no place for you two here,”

72. \( koʔ \) tətʃu=naʔ \( ƞɨtʰəz \) tə-tə-wōt \( ƞoŋə? \) nōnāz
this lad=DET where PFV:UP-2-bring2 TOP:EMPH there

\( ƞv-ʃu-\( ṡdzə \)
IMP:DOWN-go-2DU

“go down to which ever place you brought up this lad!”

73. \( ƞv-qʰrɨŋ\)ge=nəʔ \( tə^nbiʔ? \) \( ƞoʔ=\( ṡdənəʔ \) ta-\( məl^bɺməʔ \)
2SG:POSS-dove.skin=DET 1→2-give be=for 2-fly

\( re?=kə \)
be.necessary=INS

“We will give you your dove skin, as you need to fly.”

74. \( nəʔ \) kəmə \( χʃfərvu=kə \) pəf\( kʰo-raŋəm \) \( nu-nləʔ-\( ṡdzə \)
ANA except naked=INS now-EMPH IMP:DOWN-exit-2DU be.necessary

\( te-tsəʔ-\( ṡdzə-cao \)
PFV:TR-say2-3DU-MED

“Except for that, you two must get out right now, and go down to earth naked!”
75. qʰɔʔ qʰɐʔ tʰime=nəʔ ɕfikɔ o-sni nə-zday-cə
SEQ ANA woman=DET very 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful2-MED
And the woman felt very sad.

76. qʰɔʔ o-yrreʔ=pʰa
SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=place
doχtʃəɾ tʃəɾ=pha
koy-tʃi=t-əŋ ʃoχtnə nə-mdzotkʰo
2→1-expel-1SG before 2PL:POSS-storeroom
ó-nay lə-o-sɔye=t-əŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-inside IMP:UPRIVER-INV-cause.to.2SG PFV:TR-say2-MED
And she said to her family, “Before you expel me, let me go into your storeroom.”

77. qʰɔʔ ɕfɔrvu o-síʃsət=kə
SEQ naked 3SG:POSS-manner=INS
nə-mdzotkʰo=naŋ lə-o-sɔyële-cə
3PL:POSS-storeroom=inside PFV:UPRIVER-INV-cause.to.2SG MED
And so she was allowed to go naked into the storeroom.

78. qʰɔʔ ñɛʃpʰə kəʃmuʔ kəspɔʔ=nay
SEQ where hole hole=inside
oⁿ-dzruʔ o-mcerʔ ləsəʔ tɔɾwi te-netsu-cə
3SG:POSS-nail 3SG:POSS-interstice and.so.forth seed PFV:TR-hide2-MED
And she hid seeds in every crack and crevice of her body and even inside her nails.

79. qʰɔʔ o-qʰʁiʔge=nəʔ te-ŋəʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-put.on2-MED
twʃu=scʰənəʔ kʰo ɕtʃʰə=ce=nəʔ nə-ʃbuv-ŋdzə-cə
SEQ lad=and here place=LOC:INDF=DET PFV:DOWN-land2-3DU-MED
And she put on the dove skin, and landed with the lad somewhere near this place.
And because the woman was a female immortal, she was one with magic powers.

When the lad was going to bed at night, he seemed to hear as if many people were doing labor.

But when it dawned, there was not a single soul there.

And one day, a grand mansion of theirs suddenly came into existence.

And in like manner, their fields came into existence.
And they sowed in the fields the various kinds of seeds that she had brought down from heaven.

And plenty of things to eat and drink came into being.

But she forgot to bring down seeds for turnip tubers.

And she (said) to a crow, “Go up to the heaven and (say) to my mother: ‘I have forgotten to bring down turnip seeds, and I ask for some turnip seeds, please.’”
89. *qʰoʔ  oʒor?  ko?  teʔimewrloʔ=naʔ*
SEQ meanwhile this butter.hunk=DET
é-mo  o-skərme  ƞoʔ  v-tə-ʔə-tsə  te-tsəʔ-ca
3SG:POSS-mother 3SG:POSS-gift be IRR-IMP-2-say PFV:TR-say2-MED
And she said, “Meanwhile, this hunk of butter is a gift for my mother, you say it (to my mother)!”

90. *qʰoʔ  qərve  nəmkʰə  te-səyre-ca*
SEQ crow sky PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.go2-MED
And then she sent the crow up into the sky.

91. *qʰoʔ  qərve  tə-əre-ca*
SEQ crow PFV:UP-go2-MED
qʰoʔ  teʔi=ruʔ  təmo=pʰa  ne-kʰi-cə  təpri
SEQ butter=PL mother=place PFV:TR-hand.to2-MED message
te-nəmnet-ca
PFV:TR-repeat2-MED
The crow went up, and it handed the butter to the mother, and also conveyed the message to her.

92. *qʰoʔ  təmo=naʔ=kə  teʔi  mə-nəfsə  ƞoʔ-ca*
SEQ mother=DET=ERG butter NEG-be.familiar.with be-MED
The mother was not familiar with butter.

93. *qʰoʔ  qərve=pʰa*
SEQ crow=place
koʔ  kə-ʔdə=naʔ  tfəʔtekəso  ƞoʔ  te-tsəʔ-ca=naʔ
this GP-eat=TOP how be PFV:TR-say2-MED=SUB
When she said to the crow, “How does one eat this?”
94. *qerver=kə nekənaʔ smi=naŋ te-kʰ-po yoʔ te-tsəʔ*

The crow said, “One bakes that in the fire.”

95. *təmdánə qerver o-jiʔ=ntʃon in.truth crow 3SG:POSS-self=also tepi kv-džeʔ tfʰetkešoʔ kə-ŋoʔ mũ-siz nəʔ-cə* | butter GP-eat how NMLZ-be NEG-know be-MED qʰoʔ tətʃe te-peʔ-cə

In fact, the crow itself did not know how to eat the butter either, and just uttered a lie.

96. *qʰoʔ tepi smêšrot=ta te-poʔ-cə=nəʔ* | SEQ butter live.coal=top PFV:TR-bake2-MED=SUB

When she baked the butter on live coals,

97. *təpi=nəʔ təmtə to-lo-cə* | butter=DET foam PFV:UP-become2-MED

the butter turned into foams, and it melted down and disappeared into the live coals,

98. *kv-dže nə-meʔ-cə* | food PFV-not.exist2-MED

and nothing was left to eat.

99. *qʰoʔ təmo=nəʔ ɕfikə tə-remuruʔ-cə* | SEQ mother=DET very PFV-be.angry2-MED

And the mother got very angry.
100. \[qʰoʔ \quad ɪ-\text{me}=kə \quad v-\text{skərm}=nə?\]

SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter=ERG 1SG:POSS-gift=DET

\[nəkəsci \quad səwot=kə \quad te-tsə?-cə\]

thus cause.to.bring=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED

And (she said), “(How could) my daughter have this kind of gift brought to me!”

101. \[qʰoʔ \quad õ-\text{me}=yu \quad təkəri \quad te-\text{sepəpe}-cə\]

SEQ 3SG:POSS-daughter=POSS turnip.seed PFV:TR-prepare2-MED

And she prepared the turnip seeds for her daughter.

102. \[fənəʔ \quad o\text{zor}ʔ\]

SEQ meanwhile

\[koʔ\quad təki=nəʔ \quad fkor?=nəʔ \quad v\text{-nə-rji}\]

this turnip=TOP carry.on.back=SUB IRR-PFV-be.heavy

\[ⁿdə=\text{na}ʔ\quad təmto \quad v\text{-nə-poj} \quad te-tsəʔ\]

eat=TOP foam IRR-PFV-become3 PFV:TR-say2

\[qʰoʔ \quad nəkəsə \quad smolem \quad te-\text{udəv}-nəʔo\]

SEQ thus prayer PFV:TR-offer2-MED

Meanwhile, she made a curse thus, “Let this turnip be heavy when it is carried on back, and let it become foamy when it is eaten!”

103. \[qʰoʔ \quad v\text{-nə-ŋə}=nəʔ \quad nəm\text{tv}=z \quad təkəri\]

SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB sky=LOC turnip.seed

\[χʃikə \quad kə\text{-groʔ} \quad n^\text{ge-toʔ} \quad ηοʔ-cə \quad fənəʔ\]

very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine IPFV-exist be-MED but

\[nəkəsə \quad õ-\text{me}=yu \quad me-ne\text{-satsom-cə}\]

thus 3SG:POSS-daughter=POSS NEG-PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.take.thither2-MED

There would have been very fine turnip seeds in heaven, but she did not have those taken down to her daughter.
104. qʰoʔ  me-kʰa-vde=nə?
SEQ  NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=DET

te-kʰ=ān=əʔ
temte
IPFV:UP-GP-carry.on.back=TOP  NMLZ:SBJ-be.heavy
te-kʷ-dze=nə?  temte  ne-kʰ-poj=kə
IPFV:UP-GP-eat=TOP  foam  IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become3=INS
kʷ-dze  kə-mə
NMLZ:SBJ:U-eat  NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist

As for the inferior (turnips), they are heavy to carry on back and nothing to be eaten
owing to their being soggy.

105. toʒaʔ  ja-təki  nəkəsənaʔ  ne-səwōt-ŋo-ŋəŋo
nowadays 1PL:POSS-turnip thus PFV:DOWN-cause.to.bring2-MED
And she had (the crow) bring down to earth that which is like our turnips today.

106. qʰoʔ  nəʔ  oxtʰeʔəʔ
SEQ  ANA  mainly
qʰev=kə  kʰ-neprɪʔ  osto  me-te-so
crow=ERG  INF-deliver.message properly  NEG-PFV:TR-do2
nə-kʰ-dzeʔ?  ŋoʔ  kʰ-ʃʔoʔ  tfʰozʔ-cə
IPFV:PST-be.to.blame2 be  GP-say  be.the.rule-MED
And it is said that this was mainly because the crow did not deliver the message properly,
and so it was to blame.

107. qʰoʔ  qʰeʔ=niʔ  nəsəʃətkə  kʰəbjoʔ?  nə-šəmpʰerʔ=ədəʔ
SEQ  ANA=DU  thus  human  PFV:TR-propagate2=3DU
kʰ-ʃʔoʔ  ŋoʔ  tfʰozʔ-cə
GP-say  be  be.the.rule-MED
And it is said that in this way the two of them propagated the human race.
108. \( nəʔ \)  o-tón?=kə  \( pəʃkʰo \)  jà-pe  jà-mo=nəʔ
   ANA  3SG:POSS-reason=INS now 1PL:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-mother=DET
   kərdɔʔ  jteʔ
   one  be:EMPH

   Therefore, our forefathers now (lit. fathers and mothers) are one and the same.

109. jà-mo=nəʔ  nəmkʰéme
   1PL:POSS-mother=TOP female.immortal
   jà-pe=nəʔ  qʰeʔ  tətfu=nəʔ  ne-ŋo  tʰozʔ-cə
   1PL:POSS-father=TOP ANA lad=DET IPFV:PST-be2 be.the.rule-MED

   Our mother was the female immortal, and our father was that lad, it is said.
GOITER

tw*dzajalpeni? *dzasqzej nekoto cha

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. spontsʰe=z
   former.time=LOC
   "dzə-sqzej nev-kɔ-to=caʔ
   3DU:POSS-goiter IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist₂=INDF
   tw*dże-jalpe nev-to="dzə ʃəʔ-cə
   COL-neighbor IPFV:PST-exist₂=3DU be-MED
   Once there were two neighbors, both of whom had a goiter.

2. jəlte kə-rdəʔ=nəʔ  kə-timʔ=caʔ
   neighbor one-CL=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
   jəlte kə-rdəʔ=nəʔ  kə-nəgu=caʔ
   neighbor one-CL=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
   One of the neighbors was rich, and the other neighbor was poor.

3. qʰoʔ kəsŋi=cə=nəʔ  tərmokʰe
   SEQ day=LOC:INDF=DET dusk
   kə-nəgu  o-ŋe  mə-jə-weiʔ-cə
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor 3SG:POSS-cow NEG-PFV-come₂-MED
   One day at dusk, the poor one’s cow did not come back home.

4. qʰoʔ kə*gu=nəʔ=kə
   SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG
   qəʔ=naŋ  o-ŋe  fa-kə-qüse
   valley=inside 3SG:POSS-cow AND-NMLZ:PURP-seek
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And the poor one had to go upriver into the valley to look for it.

5. ʃənəʔ ə-ne ʃəntii ʃənəʔ-ʃənəʔ
   but 3SG:POSS-cow INF-see NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able-MED
   But he could not find his cow.

6. qʰoʔ ʃə-nəʔ-ʃənəʔ
   SEQ PFV-darken-MED
   qʰoʔ ʃə-nəʔ-ʃənəʔ
   SEQ night pine 3SG:POSS-underside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night-MED
   It became dark, and at night he rested for the day under a pine tree.

7. káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ ʃəyo ʃəməʔ ʃəj-wəʔ-nəʔ
   in.a.while PFV-elapse=SUB demon be.many PFV-come-MED
   After a while, many demons came.

8. qʰoʔ ʃə-nəʔ-ʃənəʔ
   SEQ PFV-INv-see-MED
   qʰoʔ ʃəyo=ɾʔ=kə ʃəpə=ɾʔ=kə ʃə-oγ-ʃəm-ʃənəʔ
   SEQ demon=PL=AGT boulder=under PFV:EAST-INv-take.thither-MED
   He got spotted and was taken east under a boulder by the demons.

9. qʰoʔ ʃəyo=ɾʔ ʃə-nəʔ-ɾʔ=ɾʔ-ʃənəʔ
   SEQ demon=PL IPFV:PST-hold.potluck.party-MED
   The demons were having a potluck party.
10. \( qʰοʔ \) \( fε \) ne-\( nɚkriʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ \)
    SEQ meat PFV:TR-distribute\(_2\)-3PL-MED=SUB
    \( nə-fe \) \( mə-nə-rta-cə \)
    3PL:POSS-meat NEG-be.enough\(_2\)-MED
    When they distributed meat among themselves, their meat was not enough to go around.

11. \( qʰοʔ \) t\( ə́ \) ɟ\( o \) k\( ə \)-rd\( ɔʔ \)=k\( ə \)
    SEQ demon one-CL=ERG
    \( nə-tʰɛco \) o-sq\( æz \)je \( nə-pʰət-nə \) te-ts\( ə \)=c\( ə \)
    2SG:POSS-downriver.place 3SG:POSS-goiter IMP-pluck\(_2\)-2PL PFV:TR-say\(_2\)-MED
    And one demon said, “That one down(river) there, pluck off his goiter!”

12. \( qʰοʔ \) o-sq\( æz \)je \( nε-pʰət-nə-cə \)
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-goiter PFV:TR-pluck\(_2\)-3PL-MED
    Then they plucked off his goiter.

13. \( qʰοʔ \) n\( ə\)došá\( ꞌ \)si=n\( ə \)\( t\( ə \)=r\( ə \)\ je-\( nəfɛʔ-nə-cə \)
    SEQ next.day=DET demon=PL PFV:go.back\(_3\)-3PL-MED
    The next morning, the demons all went away.

14. \( qʰοʔ \) \( qʰənəʔ \) o-r\( æ \)ge \( nε-nəməme=nə \)
    SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:TR-feel\(_2\)=SUB
    o-sq\( æz \)je \( kəmbe \ kə-tə? \ nə-meʔ-cə \)
    3SG:POSS-goiter EMPH NMLZ:SBJ-exist PFV:not.exist\(_2\)-MED
    When he felt his neck, (he found that) his goiter had completely disappeared.

15. \( qʰοʔ \) t\( ə-χe=kə \)
    SEQ NMLZ:be.happy=INS PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back\(_2\)-MED
    And he happily went back home.
16. \(q^o\)qo o-jalpe kə-tim?=kə ne-mti-cə=nə?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-neighbor NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=ERG PFV:TR-see2-MED=SUB
ko o-sqezə nə-meʔ-cə
ANA 3SG:POSS-goiter PFV:not.exist2-MED
what.on.earth IPFV-do be PFV:TR-think2-MED
The rich neighbor saw this and thought, “His goiter disappeared. How did he do it?”

17. \(q^o\)qo ne-rwet-cə=nə?
SEQ PFV:TR-ask2-MED=SUB
kə-gu=nə?=kə nəʔoformə tfə
NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG the.previous.night what
nu-kə-fsət=ruʔ kəmdιʔ nə-raffət-cə
IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like2=PL all PFV-recount2-MED
And when he asked (the poor neighbor), (the poor neighbor) told him everything that had happened the previous night.

18. \(q^o\)qo kə-tim?=nə?=kə \(\chi\)fi̍kə ne-nusme-cə
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=DET=AGT very PFV:TR-envy2-MED
qəʔə? wiʔ=ntf̍on nə? te-kə-fsət
SEQ 1SG=also ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus
reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə
be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think2-MED
And the rich one envied him very much and thought, “I must do likewise, too!”
19. \textit{qʰoʔ kʰʷ-timʔ=nəʔ nəʔafwemr=z qfoʔ=nay}
\textit{SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=DET the.following.night=LOC valley=inside}
\textit{ŋe kʰʷ-gʷe te-nafwaz? lʰ⁻wre-cə}
cow NMLZ-seek PFV:TR-pretend₂ PFV-UPRIVER-go₂-MED

The following night, the rich neighbor went into the valley, pretending to seek his cow.

20. \textit{qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ}
\textit{SEQ night=DET}
\textit{nəʔ tærgi ʰ⁻pʰi nə-nərm-e-cə}
ANA pine.tree 3SG:POSS-underside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night2-MED

And, at night, he rested for the night under that pine tree.

21. \textit{káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ tʰjo=ɾvʔ leʔ jv-wɛʔ-nə-cə}
a.while PFV:elapse₂=SUB demon=PL again PFV-come₂-3PL-MED
\textit{qʰoʔ prɒ=ɾʰi kʰ-oɟ-tsom-cə}
SEQ boulder=under PFV:EAST-INV-take₂-MED

After a while the demons came again, and he was taken away under the boulder.

22. \textit{qʰoʔ tʰjo=ɾvʔ leʔ nə-nɾeswəʔ-nə}
\textit{SEQ demon=PL again IPFV:PST-hold.potluck.party2-3PL}

Again, the demons were having a potluck party.

23. \textit{ʃe ne-nəkriʔ-nə=nəʔ}
meat PFV:TR-distribute₂-3PL-SUB
\textit{kʰ⁻tʰla koʔ ɲōnaʔ nə-fə nə-ɾiʔ-cə}
one-time TOP TOP:EMPH 3PL:POSS-meat PFV-be.left₂-MED

When they distributed meat, this time they had extra meat left.
24. qʰoʔ tájo kərdɔʔ=kə
   SEQ demon one=AGT
   nəkəʔ ʃe nə-koʔ-riʔ=nəʔ
   that.on.your.side meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left2=DET
   nə-ʔə̀co o-sq̣zdʒé=ta tʰ-ʔeilight-nə te-tsəʔ-ʃə
   2SG:POSS-downriver 3SG:POSS-goiter=on IMP-add.to-2PL PFV:TR-say2-MED
   One of the demons said, “That extra meat, add it onto the goiter of that one over there!”

25. qʰoʔ kəmaʔ tájo=ruʔ=ko vde te-tsəʔ-nə-ʃə
   SEQ other demon=PL=AGT good PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
   qʰoʔ qʰənəʔ tə-koʔ-təʔ kásənəʔ te-nəməʔ-nə-ʃə
   SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say2 thus PFV:TR-do2-3PL-MED
   The other demons said, “Good!” and did as he said.

26. qʰoʔ lə-fsi tájo=ruʔ jə-nəfeʔ-nə-ʃə=nəʔ
   SEQ PFV-dawn2 demon=PL PFV-go.back2-3PL-MED=SUB
   o-rqe te-rtə=nəʔ
   3SG:POSS-neck PFV:TR-examine2=SUB
   When the demons all went back at dawn, and when the rich one examined his neck,

27. o-sq̣zdʒé=ɾənəʔ tʰ-eʔ-fəxtenə ꘱n-ziʔə nə-xtv-ʃə
   3SG:POSS-goiter=TOP:EMPH former-COMP two-fold PFV-become.big2-MED
   his goiter had become twice as big as before.

28. qʰəʔ kʰronkʰ=ko kʰinəq tʰ-ʔə̀nəɾe nə-re-ʃə
   SEQ be.sad=INS home PFV-go.back2 IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED
   He had no choice but go back home in sadness.
29.  kəkoʔ  χpe=nəʔ  kəɾbjoʔ  náŋtsʰa
this story=TOP person among.each.other
ʒəzdaŋ  ku-ntʃi  me-ʃam=ⁿdenəʔ  təkrisgə
jealousy NMLZ-use NEG-be.acceptable=otherwise maybe
tə-ʃə  lem³dʒə  kə-fə  me  kə-ʦə  ɲəʔ-cə
GP:POSS-self:GEN smooth NMLZ-go not.exist GP-say be-MED

The (moral of the) story is that one must not be jealous of other people, otherwise unfavorable consequences may be brought upon oneself.
TWO POWERFUL MEN

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. \textit{\textit{spontsʰe}={z} \textit{yretsʰe}^{155}={z} \textit{yretsyu} \textit{te-ké-tsə}=cə?} \\
   former.time=LOC Gratse=LOC Gratsagzu IPFV-GP-say=INDF \\
   IPFV:PST-exist\textsubscript{2} be-MED \\
   Once upon a time, there was a person named Gratsagzu at Gratse.

2. \textit{qʰoləciʔ mdʒəldɛcət te-ke-tsə}=cə? \textit{nu-to} \textit{ŋoʔ-cə} \\
   PN=LOC PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist\textsubscript{2} be-MED \\
   And there was a person named Mjaldakjat at Mjaldi\textsuperscript{156} in Kholakyi Village.

3. \textit{qʰaʔ \textit{mv-kə-niɣʃəγ}=kə\textsubscript{ə}} \\
   SEQ NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same=like \\
   \textit{ⁿgé-γʃo-n'də} \textit{ŋoʔ tʃʰozʔ-cə} \\
   IPFV-be.brawny-2DU be be.the.rule-MED \\
   The two of them were extraordinarily strong and brawny.

4. \textit{qʰaʔ \textit{teme} ʃiʔa \textit{ⁿge-rkəŋ-n’də} \textit{ŋoʔ-cə}} \\
   SEQ man very IPFV-be.capable-3DU be-MED \\
   And they were very capable and resourceful men.

5. \textit{qʰaʔ \textit{mdʒəldɛcət}=nəʔ} \\
   SEQ PN=TOP \\
   As for Mjaldakjat,

\textsuperscript{155} Name of the confluence of Kholakyi River and Dadu River.

\textsuperscript{156} Name of a place within Kholakyi Village.
6. *sŋi* tajfe=nany *fa-ne-reme*
   day field=inside AND-IPFV-do.labor
during the day, he would go and do labor in the field,

7. *mer=nəʔ* ó-ja=ka *ne-sqə=dzə*
   night=DET 3SG:POSS-hand=INS IPFV-make.butter
   o-fqór=pʰi  tə=gerk
   3SG:POSS-buttocks=under skin IPFV:DOWN-put.into.container
   qʰoʔ *ge-sá-tsov*  nto=ca
   SEQ IPFV-CAUS-rub be-MED
   at night he would make butter with his hands, while rubbing raw skin inserted under his buttocks.

8. *nəkəə* kʰe-taʃe
   thus each-time
teme kʰe-bna=təŋu *ne-sə=grəv?*  nto=ca
   labor each-two-piece IPFV-accomplish be-MED
   In that way, he would accomplish two pieces of labor at one time.

9. *ɣrɔtsəwzu=ntʰon=nəʔ* le? *nəkəə* *ge-neʃəʃənt*  nto=ca
   Gratsagzu=also=TOP again thus IPFV-do.thus be-MED
   And as for Gratsagzu, he would also do (labor) in that way.

10. *qʰoʔ* kə-sŋi=ce=nəʔ  tə-umqə=dʒə=ca
    SEQ one-day=INDEF=TOP PFV-quarrel2-3DU-MED
    One day, the two of them got into a quarrel.

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157 The verb “put into container” here denotes putting the raw skin into the hollow under one’s seat.
11. qʰoʔ yʁeqsʔu tʰ-remuruʔ

Gratsagzu got angry,

12. qʰoʔ pʰowɐŋ retaʔ=kʰɔsə kʰ-xtəʔ

and he hurled a boulder the size of a mill at Mjaldakjat.

13. qʰoʔ nəʔ pʰowɐŋ=nəʔ?

And the boulder, he made it land upriver at a place called Rgjemdzor, close to Mjaldi, it is said.

14. qʰoʔ nəʔ pʰowɐŋ=nəʔ? pʰʃko=ntʃʰon kʰ-mtiʔ toʔ?

15. qʰoʔ mdzvldicet=ntʃʰon tʰ-remuruʔ?

Mjaldakjat also got angry,

158 Name of a place in Kholakyi Village.
SEQ also boulder mill=like NMLZ:SBJ-be.big

**yretsúgtzu ó-ta**  
tʰe-wrɛt  
ŋoʔ-cə

PN 3SG:POSS-top PFV:UPRIVER:UP-throw2 be-MED

and he also hurled a boulder the size of a millstone upriver at Gratsagzu.

17. **qʰoʔ nəʔ pʰoway=nəʔ**  
SEQ ANA boulder=DET

**yretse o-łeco mǐmi tfu? te-sɛy-fɛʔ**

PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place a.bit PN IPFV-NMLZ:OBL-go2

**kə-toʔ=nəʔ**  
tʰe-səzʒɔt  
ŋoʔ-cə

NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET PFV:UPRIVER:UP-cause.to.arrive2 be-MED

And the boulder, he made it land a little distance upriver from Gratse (where there was a side-road) going toward Cus.

18. **nəʔ pʰoway=nəʔ pəʃkʰo=ntʃ’on kə-mtiʔ toʔ tfʰozʔ**  
ANA boulder=DET now=also NMLZ:SBJ:U-see exist be.the.rule

**kə-tso ŋoʔ-cə**

GP-say be-MED

And that boulder can still be seen even today, it is said.
A GHOST ATTENDED WEDDING

Narrator: Lemi

1. tə́ ɟ o=c\rə\hən əʔ
   ghost=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   There was a ghost.

2. qʰoʔ  kə-s\rə\həni=cɛ=nəʔ
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
   kə-rər\rə\hənmuʔ  nə-k\rə\n
   person PURP-celebrate.wedding 3PL:POSS-company
   ojiʔ=ntʃ\rə\hən  nə-ne\rə\hə-\rə\n
   3SG=also IPFV:PST-idel.about2-MED
   One day, it idled about with people attending a wedding celebration.

3. qʰoʔ  mer  rtən\rə\həmuʔ  nə-\rə\həj\rə\n   SEQ night wedding PFV-end2
   qʰoʔ  kʰ\rə\hən\rə\nThe\rə\həreʔ-cə=nəʔ
   SEQ home PFV-go.back2-MED=SUB
   And, as it went back home after the wedding ended,

4. o-\rə\hə\rə\həʔ  tə́ ɟ o=ruʔ=kə
   3SG:POSS-companion ghost=PL=ERG
   jos\rə\həniʔ  rtən\rə\həmuʔ  nə-s\rə\hə\rə\həct
   today wedding IPFV:PST:Q-be.enjoyable2 PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED=SUB
   when its companion ghosts asked it saying, “Was the wedding today enjoyable?”
5. \textit{nv-ka-ʁɔrtənmu} \quad təj=ŋə?=kə

IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-attend.wedding \quad ghost=DET=ERG

And the ghost who attended the wedding said,

6. \textit{josŋiʔ} \quad rtənmuʔ \quad \χfıkə \quad nv-sescət

today \quad wedding \quad very \quad IPFV:PST-be.enjoyable_2

kədže \quad kɨtʰi=ʁəʔ \quad nv-ṃtsʰət

food \quad drink=PL \quad IPFV:PST-be.plenty_2

“The wedding today was very enjoyable, and the food and drinks were plenty.”

7. \textit{ʃənəʔ} \quad zəme \quad kə-ṣu̯pəʔ?=ŋəʔ

but \quad food \quad NMLZ:SBJ-prepare.many.things_2=DET

stəɾe \quad zəme \quad tə-ṣu̯pəʔ?=kə \quad nv-naʃəʃəj

first \quad food \quad NMLZ-prepare.many.things=INS \quad IPFV:PST-do.with.zest_2

“But the one who prepared food, he was at full steam preparing the food at the start.”

8. \textit{qʰoʔ} \quad kəmaqʰuʔnə \quad o-ʃaŋtweʔ \quad kolevʔ \quad o-mcerʔ \quad nv-erek

SEQ \quad afterwards \quad 3sg:poss-chopper \quad floor \quad 3sg:poss-crevice \quad pfv:down-go_2

qʰoʔ \quad kə-ṣu̯pəʔ?=ŋə?=kə \quad me-ne-səɾo

SEQ \quad NMLZ:SBJ-prepare.many.things_2=DET=ERG \quad NEG-PFV:TR-find_2

“Afterwards, his chopper fell into crevices on the floor, and he could not find it.”

9. \textit{qʰoʔ} \quad tʃaŋtweʔ?=ŋəʔ \quad təjo?=kə \quad jə-tsom \quad ŋoʔ \quad fte?=kə

SEQ \quad chopper=DET \quad ghost=ERG \quad PFV-take.away_2 \quad be \quad be:EMPH=DM

te-ṭsəʔ \quad qʰoʔ \quad nv-raʃqəʃəʔ?

PFV:TR-say \quad SEQ \quad IPFV:PST-do.scolding_2

ŋəʔ \quad ʃ-ta \quad te-te

1SG \quad 1SG:POSS-top \quad PFV:TR-put_2

“And he swore repeatedly, saying, ‘(Who) the ghost took away the chopper,’” and put the blame on me.
10. qʰoʔ nəʔ tsɑʔtsaʔ n-ko-nəmqeʔ kòma
SEQ ANA only ISG:POS-NMLZ:SBJ-scold except
noʔori nəʔ-kə-səsət nəʔ-meʔ te-tsəʔ
the.rest NEG-NMLZ-be.comfortable IPFV:PST-not.exist2 PFV:TR-say2

“Everything was enjoyable, except for that person who scolded me,” it said.
THE ROC HELPS A POOR MAN FIND GOLD

pjurglechonytshenka kʰa⁹guc'o xešer jangkaszavro

Narrator: Lemi

1. sʰontsʰe=z kʰa-timʔ=caʔ nɐ-to yoʔ-ca
   former.time=LOC NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
   kʰa⁹-gu=caʔ nɐ-to yoʔ-ca
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED

   Once upon a time, there were a rich man and a poor man.

2. qʰoʔ jəlpẽ "ge-ŋoʔ³-dzə yoʔ-ca
   SEQ neighbor IPFV-be-3DU be-MED
   The two of them were neighbors.

3. qʰoʔ kʰa-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
   kʰa-timʔ nɐ-ʁɔtɾuʔ yoʔ-ca
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich IPFV:PST-do.sutra.chanting2 be-MED

   One day, the rich man was having a sutra-chanting session (at home).

4. qʰoʔ kʰe-ʁɔtɾu=ʁeʔ jə-joʔ⁴ jəɾɾmø=ŋaʔ
   SEQ INF-do.sutra.chanting=PL PROS-finish about=SUB

   When the chanting was just about to come to an end,

5. kʰa⁹-gu=kə o-tʃu=pʰa
   NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=ERG 3SG:POSS-son=place
   1tʃu st⁶o kʰa-xtə kʰexто jə-tə-mpʰérɨ
   1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big:VOC roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look
   qʰoʔ jə-jəlpẽ=ʁeʔ=kə
   SEQ 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG
nê-pe         kô-pʰu         le-wi
2SG:POSS-father   PURP-beg.for.food   IMP:UPRIVER-come
te-kô-tsə=tsə   vré-to   te-tsəʔ-cə
IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB   Q-exist   PFV:TR-say2-MED
the poor man said to (one of) his sons, “My eldest son, you go up to the roof-top platform, and take a look, and see if our neighbors are saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

6.  qʰəʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ?        kʰexto        ʃə-to-mpʰerî-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=DET rooftop.platform   AND-PFV:UP-look2-MED
qʰəʔ nə-nəweʔ?  o-pe=pʰə
SEQ PFV:DOWN-come.back2  3SG:POSS-father=place
And his son went up to the roof-top platform, took a look, came back down, and (said) to his father,

7.  ê-pe         jə-jəlpe=rəʔ=ka
1SG:POSS-father   1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG
ʒet  te-tsə-nəʔ   jə-nəjəljojʔ-nəʔ¹⁵⁹  kôma
EXCL IPFV-say-3PL PROS-do.with.zest-3PL except
nê-pe         lé-pʰu         te-kô-tsə
2SG:POSS-father   IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food   IPFV-NMLZ-say
mə         te-tsəʔ-cə
not.exist   PFV:TR-say2-MED
“Father, our neighbors were zealously exclaiming ʒet. Aside from that, they were not saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

¹⁵⁹ Referring to a ritual toward the end of sutra chanting, while the monks call out “ʒet”, to summon the guardian deities.
8. qʰoʔ leʔ o-tfu tolezʔ ó-pʰa
   SEQ again 3SG:POSS-son middle 3SG:POSS-place
   ŋ-tfu tolez nũiʔ kʰexto jə-tə-mpʰěri
   1SG:POSS-son middle 2SG roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look
   ja-jəlpe=rəʔ=kə
   1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG
   nə-pe kʰ-pʰu lv-wi
   2SG:POSS-father PURP-beg.for.food IMP:UPRIVER-come
   te-kʰ-tsə=tsə vré-to te-tsəʔ-cə
   IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB Q-exist PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And he said again to his middle son, “My middle son, go up to the roof-top platform and
   take a look to see if our neighbors are saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

9. qʰoʔ o-tfu tolezʔ=naʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-son-to middle=DET
   kʰexto jə-tə-mpʰěri-cə
   roof-top.platform AND-IPFV:UP-look2-MED
   qʰoʔ leʔ nə-nəweʔ
   SEQ again PFV:DOWN-come.back2
   qʰoʔ ó-pe=pʰa
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=place
   His middle son went up to the roof-top platform, took a look, came back down, and (said)
   to his father,
Part II. Texts

10. ɐ́-pe jə-jalpe=rə? fsófsə və-və-wə-rət-nə kəmə
1SG:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL EXCL CONT:HTR-throw-3PL except
lé-pʰu te-kə-tsə mə te-tsə?-cə
IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food IFV-NMLZ-say not.exist IFV:TR-say2-MED
“Father, our neighbors were throwing tsampa offering while saying ‘Fso-fso’,¹⁶⁰ aside from that, they were not saying ‘Come and beg for food,’” he said.

11. leʔ o-tsɨ uʃu stʰoʔ kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ ə-pʰə
again 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET 3SG:POSS-place
v-tfu stʰoʔ kə-xtfi
1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be small:VOC
nejiʔ kʰɛxtə ʃə-ʃə-mpʰɛri
2SG roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look
jə-ʃalpe=rə?=kə nə-pe lé-pʰu
1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG 2SG:POSS-father IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food
te-kə-tsə=tsə vré-to te-tsə?-cə
IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB Q-exist PFV:TR-say2-MED
Again, he said to his smallest son, “My smallest son, go up to the roof-top platform and take a look to see if our neighbors are saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

12. qʰoʔ o-tfu stʰoʔ kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
kʰɛxtə ʃə-ʃə-mpʰɛri-cə
down-platform AND-PFV:UP-look2-MED
qʰoʔ leʔ nə-nəweʔ qʰoʔ ə-pʰə
SEQ again PF:DOWN-come.back2 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=place
His smallest son went up to the roof-top platform and took a look, came back down, and said to his father,

¹⁶⁰ An utterance of invitation to guardian deities.
13. ē-pe  jə-jəlpe=ru?  lərjêlo

1SG:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL EXCL

es-e-nə  kôma  nû-pe  lô-pʰu
CONT:HTR-do-3PL except 2SG:POSS-ather IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food
te-kâ-tsə  mv  te-tsəʔ-ca
IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say not.exist PFV:TR-say2-MED

“Father, our neighbors were (doing their closing ritual while) calling out ‘Larjalo’. Aside from that, they were not saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

14. qʰoʔ  kə-sgu=nəʔ=kə

SEQ  NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG

maʁdu  maʁdu=kə  zəscəʔ162  mv=nəʔ?
alright  alright=DM eating.happiness not.exist=SUB

fəscəʔ163  kv-nô-pe  ηoʔ  te-tsəʔ  ηoʔ-çə
firewood.happiness  GP-SPON-do be PFV:TR-say2 be-MED

“Allright, alright! If there isn’t going to be happy eating, I will at least get some happy firewood-burning,” the poor man said.

15. qʰoʔ  ó-mtʰe  tarpe  ne-tsəʔ-çə

SEQ  3SG:POSS-waist  ax  PFV:DOWN:TR-stick2-MED

qʰoʔ  felili  qfoʔ=naŋ=ce  lv-cre-çə
SEQ  upriver.yonder  ravine=inside=LOC:INDF  PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED

He stuck an ax in his belt (lit. in his waist), and went inside a yonder ravine upriver.

161 Exclamation (qi le jêlo) made collectively at the conclusion of the sutra chanting ceremony, meaning ‘We have won!’.

162 From Tibetan <za.skyid>.

163 From Tibetan <shing.skyid>, lit. ‘firewood-happiness’, referring to warm hearths with ample firewood that even paupers can afford to enjoy.
16. qʰoʔ zdóŋbo ome kə-xteʔ=caʔ ne-mti-caʔ
SEQ tree very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-see2-MED
qʰoʔ naʔ te-nəawuriʔ
SEQ ANA PFV:TR-confront2
qʰoʔ zdóŋbo=ʁɐ təɾpe kə-let te-je-caʔ
SEQ tree=body ax INF-apply PFV:TR-begin2-MED
He saw a very big tree, confronted it, and started to hew at the trunk.

17. qʰoʔ naʔ zdóŋbo=ta fʃərəlɛkənʃə=kəʔ
SEQ ANA tree=top roc=TOP
o-laʔ nə-to ŋoʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-nest IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
On top of that tree, the roc had its nest there.

18. qʰoʔ fʃərəlɛkənʃə=kə kə-ŋu=pəʔ
SEQ roc=ERG NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=place
nəkənaʔ zdóŋbo mə-nə-tə-pəʔt
that.near.you tree NEG-IMP-2-cut
⁴denəʔ vəⁿ-gəmʔ ta-ʃəɾe tə-cəʔəvʔ ŋoʔ kətʃə te-tsəʔ-caʔ
or 1SG:POSS-egg 2-throw 2-break be please PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the roc said to the poor man, “Please do not cut that tree there or you will throw out my eggs and break them.”

19. qʰoʔ kə-ŋu=nəʔ=kə ŋoʔ fənaʔ ʃiʔ ʃ-oʔdže
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG be but 1SG 1SG:POSS-eat
mə ŋoʔ qʰoʔ zəʃət mə=nəʔ ʃəʃət
not.exist be SEQ eating.happiness not.exist=SUB firewood.happiness
ne-pəʔ-əŋ qʰoʔ kiju né-pəʔt-əŋ
IPFV-do3-1SG SEQ firewood IPFV-cut-1SG
And the poor man said, “Alright, but I don’t have anything to eat. And if there is no happiness from eating, I must have happiness of a warm hearth! And so I want to cut some firewood.”

The roc said, “No problem! Come here tomorrow before the sun rises.”

“And I will take you inside a riverbank covered with gold cobbles.”

And the poor man said, “Alright!”

And the roc said, “Yes!”
Next morning before dawn, he went upriver, and the roc was indeed waiting for him on the tree.

And the roc carried him up onto its back, and took him to a far-off riverbank strewn with gold cobbles.

And it said to the poor man, “Hurry up and put the gold into your bag, for in a while nine suns will come out, one will not be able to go back, and one will be scorched.”

So the poor man made haste and loaded a bag full of gold.
27. $qʰoʔ\ fʃɐ\ rɟɐ\ lcoŋtʃ\ en=n\ əʔ=kt\ ɐ́\ nm\ -ʃɐ\ r=z$
   SEQ roc=DET=ERG sun NEG-rise=LOC kə-ⁿgu koxsɨxser=nə? tə-o-fkor-ca
   NMLZ:SBJ-be poor together.with.gold=DET PFV-INV-carry.on.back2-MED
   $qʰoʔ\ kə-o-sejwet-ca$
   SEQ PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.go.back2-MED
   And before the suns rose, the roc carried the poor man, gold and all, onto its back and brought him back.

28. $qʰoʔ\ kəⁿgu=nə?$
   SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET χser kə-təkəm te-nə-fkor-ca
gold one-bag PFV:TR-SPON-carry.on.back2-MED
   $qʰoʔ\ kʰənəŋ\ tə-ənəre-ca$
   SEQ home PFV-go.back2-MED
   And the poor man went uphill back home, carrying a bag of gold on his back.

29. $qʰoʔ\ nəʃəqʰu\ kəⁿgu=nə?\ əð-ser\ ne-nə-ntsəw-ca$
   SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET 3SG:POSS-gold PFV:TR-SPON-sell2-MED
   $qʰoʔ\ o-jəlpe\ kə-tim?=ft\ əfəre\ lv-tim\ əo?-ca$
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-neighbor NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich than PFV-be.rich2 be-MED
   Afterwards, the poor man sold his gold, and became richer than his rich neighbor.

30. $cʰə?\ ne-kə-tim=nə?\ detsətw\ nə-gu?=ko\ əo?-ca$
   formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich2=DET gradually PFV-be.poor2 be-MED
   And the neighbor who used to be rich gradually turned poor.
31. o-kerdze=ru? ryuspe ne-werkon? yo?-cə
   3SG:POSS-food=PL quite.a.lot PFV-be.scarce2 be-MED
   And his food became rather scarce.

32. qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=ce=nəʔ?
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
   zescət me=nəʔ?
   eating.happiness not.exist=SUB
   sescət ne-ker-nə-pə te-tə?=cə
   firewood.happiness IPFV-GP-SPON-do PFV:TR-say2-MED
   One day, he said, “If there is to be no happiness in eating, I must have happiness in a
   warm hearth!”

33. qʰoʔ qfoʔ=nany felili=ce
   SEQ ravine=inside upriver.yonder=LOC:INDF
   ka-nkju  lev-bre-cə
   PURP-gather.firewood PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED
   And he went to a far place upriver inside a ravine to gather firewood.

34. qʰoʔ rdvrdet leʔ sferpelcʰŋtʃen o-sw-relə
   SEQ by.chance again roc 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-use.as.nest2
   zdʰŋbo=pʰi  lev-zvöt-cə
   tree=under PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-MED
   And by a stroke of luck he got to the exact tree under which the roc had built its nest.

35. qʰoʔ əʔ te-nəwuriʔ-cə
   SEQ ANA PFV:TR-confront2-MED
   qʰoʔ zdʰŋbo=wr tarpe kv-lət te-je-cə=nəʔ?
   SEQ tree.trunk=body ax INF-do PFV:TR-begin2-MED=SUB
   And he faced it, and when he began to apply the ax to the tree trunk.
36. \( \text{ff} \text{h} \text{r} \text{y} \text{e} \text{l} \text{c} \text{h} \text{o} \text{n} \text{t} \text{f} \text{e} \text{n} = k \text{w} \) \( \text{h} \text{p} \text{i} \) \( \text{t} \text{r} \text{p} \text{e} \)

roc=ERG 3SG:POSS-underside ax

\( k \text{w} - \text{us} - \text{h} - \text{t} \) \( \text{h} \text{p} \text{i} \)

NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-apply 3SG:POSS-place

And the roc (said) to the one who was applying the ax underneath,

37. \( \text{k} \text{h} \text{t} \text{s} \text{o} \) \( \text{t} \text{r} \text{p} \text{e} \) \( \text{m} \text{a} - \text{k} \text{w} - \text{t} \text{a} - \text{h} - \text{t} \)

please ax NEG-IMP:CISLOC-2-apply

\( n \text{d} \text{e} \text{n} \text{a} \) \( n - \text{g} \text{a} \text{m} \) \( t \text{a} - \text{w} \text{i} \text{r} \text{w} \) \( t \text{o} - \text{c} \text{h} \text{o} \text{v} \) \( n \text{y} \) \( n \text{e} - \text{t} \text{s} \text{a} - \text{c} \text{o} \) or 1SG:POSS-egg 2-throw 2-break be PFV:TR-say2-MED

“Please don’t wield the ax or you will throw out and smash my eggs!”

38. \( q \text{h} \text{o} \) \( q \text{h} \text{m} \text{n} \text{a} \text{h} \text{k} \text{o} \) \( n \text{y} \) \( f \text{o} \text{n} \text{o} \) \( n \text{y} \text{i} \) \( q \text{f} \text{i} \text{k} \) \( n \text{u} - \text{a} \text{n} \) \( f \text{i} \text{t} \text{e} \)

SEQ ANA=ERG be but 1SG very be poor-1SG be:EMPH

\( q \text{h} \text{o} \text{n} \text{a} \) \( z \text{u} \text{s} \text{c} \text{o} \text{t} \) \( m \text{v} = n \text{a} \) \( f \text{u} \text{s} \text{c} \text{o} \text{t} \) \( n \text{e} - \text{p} \text{o} - \text{a} \text{n} \)

SEQ:EMPH eating.happiness not.exist=SUB firewood.happiness IPFV-do3-1SG ne-s\text{s}\text{a}si-a\text{n} y\text{o} te-t\text{s}a?-c\text{o}

IPFV-want-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the poor man said, “Alright, but I don’t have anything to eat. And if there is no happiness from eating, I must have happiness of a warm hearth!”

39. \( q \text{h} \text{o} \) \( \text{ff} \text{h} \text{r} \text{y} \text{e} \text{l} \text{c} \text{h} \text{o} \text{n} \text{t} \text{f} \text{e} \text{n} = k \text{w} \) \( m \text{a} - \text{u} \text{d} \text{u} = k \text{w} \) \( m \text{a} - \text{u} \text{d} \text{u} = k \text{w} \)

SEQ roc=ERG NEG-be.serious=DM NEG-be.serious=DM

“Come here tomorrow before the sun rises.”

40. \( t \text{o} - \text{g} \text{u} \) \( q \text{h} \text{o} \text{n} \text{a} \) \( v \text{l} \text{v} \text{v} \text{l} \text{o} \) \( t \text{e} - \text{k} \text{w} - \text{p} \text{e} \) \( f \text{i} \text{t} \text{e} \)

2-be.poor SEQ:EMPH solution IPFV-GP-do be:EMPH

The roc said, “No problem! No problem! If you are poor, I have a way.”
41. qʰoʔ  pəʃkʰo  tʰə-nóʃu
SEQ  now  IMP:DOWNRIVER-go.back
qʰoʔ  fəʃfsi  təmtʃuʔəzvnəʔ  tʰəŋə  me-ʃə
SEQ  tomorrow  dawn  sun  NEG-rise
orjáʔnaʔ  v-lə-tə-wi
when  IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-come
“Go back downriver now, and come back tomorrow at dawn before the sun rises.”

42. qʰoʔ  vjiʔ=kə  χser  cor⁹buʔ=nəŋ
SEQ  1SG=ERG  gold  cobble-covered.riverbank=inside
ne-tə-tsomʔ=kə  te-tsəʔ-cə
IPFV-1→2-take.thither=DM  PFV:TR-say2-MED
“And let me take you to a riverbank covered with gold pebbles,” it said.

43. qʰoʔ  tə-χεʔ=kə  kʰənəʔ  tʰə-nəre-cə
SEQ  PFV-be.happy²=INS  home  PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back²-MED
zdóŋbo=rəʔ  me-ne-pʰət-cə
tree=PL  NEG-PFV:TR-cut²-MED
And he happily went back home downriver and did not cut (any more) trees.

44. qʰoʔ  nəʔofʃfsi  təmtʃuʔəzvnəʔ  le-øre-cə
SEQ  next.day  dawn  PFV:UPRIVER-go²-MED
And the next day at dawn, he went upriver.

45. qʰoʔ  fəʃfrkʰəŋʃəʔ=kə  tə-o-fkor-cə
SEQ  roc=ERG  PFV:UP-INV-carry.on.back²-MED
qʰoʔ  fiɾdʰiʰdi]=cə
SEQ  far.westward=LOC:INDF
And the roc took him up on its back, and took him to a riverbank strewn with gold pebbles somewhere far to the west.

And the roc said, “Hurry up and put the gold into your bag and let’s leave, for in a while nine suns will come out, and it will not be possible for one to go back and one will be scorched.”

And the man was a very greedy person,

and he thought that it was not good to load his bag with small gold pieces,
49. \(qʰoʔ\) \(^*ge-c\)ej \(ŋoʔ-c\)ə  
SEQ IPFV-pour.out\_3 be-MED 
\(qʰoʔ\) le? \(kə\)-dʒoz \(te\)-rk\(oj=na\)ʔ  
SEQ again NMLZ:SBJ-be.in.large.pieces IPFV-put.in\_3\_=SUB  
and he kept pouring them out, and kept loading the large pieces,

50. le? \(^v\)-ne-\(mn\)əʔ ne-s\(əsc\)ʔ  
again IRR-PFV-be.filled.to.full.capacity IPFV-want\_3  
\(qʰoʔ\) \(^*ge-c\)ej \(ŋoʔ-c\)ə  
SEQ IPFV-pour.out\_3 be-MED  
and then he wanted (the bag) to be filled to full capacity and pouring out.

51. \(qʰoʔ\) \(na\)ʔ \(antsətse\) \(^nv-nvsh\)ʃəs\(ət\)cə  
SEQ ANA repeatedly IPFV:PST-do.thus\_2:RDPL-MED  
And he did that over and over again.

52. \(ntsʰaʔ\) \(^nv\)-meʔ o-perʔ  
set.out IPFV:PST-not.exist\_2 3SG:POSS-interval  
təŋə kəŋ\(ət\) kə-n\(l\)əʔ le-je-cə  
sun nine INF-come.out PFV:UPRIVER:TR-begin\_2-MED  
During the time he delayed to leave, the nine suns began to come out.

53. \(qʰoʔ\) \(^ffir\)ʃəl\(c\)̃ə\(ntʃən=na\)ʔ ma-ne-nejiʔ?  
SEQ roc=DET NEG-PFV:TR-wait.for\_2  
\(qʰoʔ\) f\(la\) \(nə-qləhjəm\) j\(v\)-naf\(ə\)ʔ-cə  
SEQ immediately PFV-fly\_2 PFV-go.back\_2-MED  
The roc did not wait for him, but quickly flew back.
54. \( qʰoʔ \ cʰɛʔ \ nə-ka-tim \ kərʰbjoʔ=nəʔ \)

SEQ formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich\_2 person=DET

\( kə-nəwɨ \ mə-nə-cʰəʔ \ təye=ɾəʔ \ ɾə-oy-tʃo-v-cə \)

INF-come.back NEG-PFV-be.able\_2 sun=PL PFV-INV-burn\_2-MED

And the one who used to be rich could not come back and was scorched by the suns.
ONE-ANTLER DEER

Narrator: ’Phrinlas

1. ịpọnts’e=z ọkwa’dʒə-jəlpe=caʔ ụnęż ọge-toʔ=ćdzə ọŋoʔ-ca

former.time=LOC COL-neighbor=INDEF two IPFV-exist=DU be-MED

Once upon a time, there lived two neighbor families.

2. ọkwa-təpu=nə? ọge-tim? ọŋoʔ-ca

one-family=TOP IPFV-be.rich be-MED

One family was rich, and the other family was poor.

3. ọqʰoʔ ọkwa-gu ọrgetpo-tfu=nə?

SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor old.man=DET

"ge-r=gu ọntsọtse ọŋoʔ-ca

IPFV-sleep IPFV-sleep continuously be-MED

The son of the old master of the poor family just slept and slept.

4. ọqʰoʔ ọqʰəʔ ọrgetpo=nə? o-ţfu=pʰa

SEQ ANA old.man=DET 3SG:POSS-son=place

tə-rero ọntsọyə mə-ŋə-tə-r=gu=ka

IMP-get.up that.much NEG-IMP-2-sleep=DM

And the old man (said) to his son, “Get up! Don’t sleep so much!”

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164 Also pronounced /ewore*bom/.
5. *näjɛɾmɛnə qʃoʔ=naŋ ɡértsez kɔ-ɡəɾɲi? le-tə-fv=tʃə*
   about.time gully=inside deer NMLZ:PURP-hunt IMP:UPRIVER-2-go=SUB
   vrɛ-ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
   Q-be PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “Isn’t it about time that you went into the gully to hunt for deer?” he said.

6. *qʰoʔ tətfu=naʔ=kə ɨʃənaʔ nəʔ "dur ŋəʔ-cə ne-səsɨ-cə*
   SEQ son=DET=ERG EXCL ANA TOP be-MED PFV:TR-think2-MED
   qʰoʔ ʋɛ te-tsəʔ
   SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say2
   The son thought, “Ah yes, he is right,” and said, “OK!”

7. *qʰoʔ ʈəɾɾəɾoʔ őn-bri=ɾuʔ ne-səwɨʃoske-cə*
   SEQ PFV-get.up2 3SG:POSS-horse=PL PFV:TR-harness2-MED
   qʰoʔ kɔ-ɡəɾɲiʔ ɿv-ntsʰaŋəʔ-cə
   SEQ NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UPRIVER-set.out2 be-MED
   He got up, harnessed his horse, and set out upriver to hunt.

8. *qʃoʔ=naŋ ome kɔ-əɾqʰe=ce ɿv-zyɨt-cə=nəʔ*
   gully=inside very NMLZ-be.distant=LOC:INDF PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-MED=SUB
   When he got to a certain distant place inside the gully,

9. *ɡértsez ő-qʰru kɔ-ɾdɔʔ nədɛʔ kɔ-mv=cəʔ*
   deer 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exit=INDF
   ne-mtɨ-cə qʰoʔ ne-ɾtʰɛʔ-cə
   PFV:TR-see2-MED SEQ PFV:TR-kill2-MED
   he saw a deer with only one antler, and he killed it.
10. \textit{qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ tʃə=nəʔ=ko}  \\
SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 1SG TOP  \\
3SG:POSS-luck 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:EXTENT-not.exist=TOP  \\
And the boy said, “Oh my! How unlucky I am!”

11. \textit{qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ tʃə=nəʔ=ko}  \\
SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 1SG TOP  \\
3SG:POSS-luck 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:EXTENT-not.exist=TOP  \\
As he skinned and butchered the deer, toads kept coming out from its abdominal cavity.

12. \textit{qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ tʃə=nəʔ=ko}  \\
SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 1SG TOP  \\
3SG:POSS-luck 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:EXTENT-not.exist=TOP  \\
And the boy said, “Oh my! How unlucky I am!”

13. \textit{qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ tʃə=nəʔ=ko}  \\
SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 1SG TOP  \\
3SG:POSS-luck 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:EXTENT-not.exist=TOP  \\
As he skinned and butchered the deer, toads kept coming out from its abdominal cavity.

14. \textit{qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ tʃə=nəʔ=ko}  \\
SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 1SG TOP  \\
3SG:POSS-luck 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:EXTENT-not.exist=TOP  \\
As he skinned and butchered the deer, toads kept coming out from its abdominal cavity.

14. \textit{təmdənə ne-ntʃʰe? qʰɐʔtʃə=nəʔ}  \\
in.truth PFV:TR-kill deer=DET  \\
3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity IPFV:DOWN-dig-1SG=SUB  \\
3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDEF  \\
“That when I go deer-hunting, it (turns out to be) one with only a single antler,”

14. \textit{təmdənə ne-ntʃʰe? qʰɐʔtʃə=nəʔ}  \\
in.truth PFV:TR-kill deer=DET  \\
3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity IPFV:DOWN-dig-1SG=SUB  \\
3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDEF  \\
“and when I dig into its belly, (it turns out to be) one out of which toads keep coming out of,” he thought.

14. \textit{təmdənə ne-ntʃʰe? qʰɐʔtʃə=nəʔ}  \\
in.truth PFV:TR-kill deer=DET  \\
3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity IPFV:DOWN-dig-1SG=SUB  \\
3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDEF  \\
“and when I dig into its belly, (it turns out to be) one out of which toads keep coming out of,” he thought.
15. qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ qʰɐ́rtsez=nəʔ te-nevaʔtəʔ?
SEQ ANA deer=DET PFV:TR-feel.suspicious.about2
qʰoʔ tʰɐ-wəret ne-vdeʔ-əʔ
SEQ PFV:TR-discard2 PFV:TR-leave.behind2-MED
He felt suspicious of the deer, dumped it, and left it behind.

16. qʰoʔ kʰɛ́nəŋ tʰɐ-nəʔ tʃoⁿbəʔ=nəʔ?
SEQ home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back2 way=DET
o-ʋóri=z jəlpe tʃufu=nəʔ?
3SG:POSS-front=LOC neighbor son=DET
kə-nkêju la-veʔ ne-tʰəɣ-əŋo
NMLZ:SBJ-cut.firewood PFV:UPRIVER-come2 PFV:TR-meet2-MED
On his way back home, he ran across his neighbor’s son who had gone up river to cut firewood.

17. qʰoʔ kə-timʔ tʃufu=pʰa
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich boy=place
josniʔ fə-ne-qərni-əŋ
today AND-IPFV:PST-hunt2-1SG
fənəʔ qʰirtsez ə-qʰru kə-rdəʔ ədəʔ kə-mv
but deer 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist
o-kʰoxpe=nəŋ qəfpe əntsātse
3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside toad continuously
ne=kə-nləʔ=caʔ ne-ntʃeʔ-əŋ əŋo?
IPFV=NMLZ:SBJ-come.out=INDF PFV-kill2-1SG be
And he said to the rich neighbor’s son, “I went hunting today, but I killed a deer that has only one antler and has toads coming out of it belly.”
18. qʰoʔ  nəʔ  mv=kə-tʃʰozʔ=cəʔ  vrɛʔ-ŋoʔ
   SEQ  ANA  NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule=INDF  Q:EMPH-be
tə-tʃəʔ  ne-ʁwet-naŋo
   PFV:TR-say2  PFV:TR-ask2-MED
   “It was uncanny, wasn’t it?,” he asked.

19. qʰoʔ  qʰəʔ  kə-ʃimʔ  təʃfu=nəʔ=kə  kə-ʃəguʔ=kə
   SEQ  ANA  NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich  son=DET=ERG  NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=ERG
   ne-ʃtʃəʔ  qərtsez=nəʔ  jəwornʃafəbom  tə-ŋo
   PFV:TR-kill2  deer=DET  one-antler.deer  CONT:LTR-be2
   qʰoʔ  tʰy-zro  tə-sərtə  ŋəʔ-cə
   SEQ  CONT”LTR-be.precious2  PFV:TR-discover2  be-MED
   And the rich boy realized that the poor boy had killed a one-antler deer which was
   precious,\textsuperscript{165}

20. fənaʔ  zəʔdanə  ofətkə
   but  jealousy  so
   nəkəʔəʔ  mv=kə-tʃʰozʔ=cəʔ  tʰən=cəʔ
   that.near.you  NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule=INDF  sign.of.bad.luck\textsuperscript{166}=INDF
   mv-tə-ʃtʃəʔ=ʃəʔ=ŋoʔ=kə
   PFV-2-kill2-MED=INS
   but he was so jealous (that he said), “Since you killed that uncanny thing, which was a
   sign of bad luck,”

\textsuperscript{165} Referring to the belief that one-antler deer are norvu (treasure).
\textsuperscript{166} Such as seeing a snake climbing a tree; a snake swallowing a rat, a toad, or another snake, a crow
   squawking on the roof, an empty carrying basket or barrel while going on a long journey, or a pregnant
   or defecating woman while going on a hunting trip.
21. \textit{tʰe-ta-nɒʃə=naʔ}

IPFV:UPRIVER-2-go.back=SUB

\textit{kʰənaj nő-pe rgətpmat=naʔ v-ta-tə-fkor?}

home 2SG:POSS-father old.man=DET IRR-IMP:UP-2-carry.on.back

\textit{qʰoʔ təciʔ=naj v-fə-tə-tə-wəɾət}

SEQ river=in IRR-AND-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-throw

“when you go back home, carry your old father at home on back, and throw him down
the river,”


or NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good very happen be PFV:TR-say2-MED

“otherwise, something really bad will happen,” he said.

23. \textit{kə-ʂu-tʃu=naʔ=kə jəje ne-səsi-cə}

NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor-boy=DET=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-think2-MED

\textit{qʰoʔ kʰənaj tʰə-zəôt}

SEQ home PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive2

The son from the poor family thought, “That is right, that is right,” and went downriver
back home.

24. \textit{nəʔosəʃsi=naʔ? ő-pe ő-pəa}

next.day=DET 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-place

\textit{ʃətʰi təciʔ-vaɾ=ce kə-nɪkə fə-tsə=kə}

downriver.place river-side=LOC:INDF NMLZ:PURP-play go-1DU=DM

\textit{te-tsəʔ ɲəʔ-cə}

PFV:TR-say2 be-MED

The next day, he said to his father, “Let’s go downriver and play at the riverside!”
25. *qʰoʔ*  ó-pe=naʔ  

SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=DET IPFV:PST-be.old2

ó-mŋa=rvʔ  kək’vʔ  mə-nə-mti  ŋoʔ-cə

3SG:POSS-eye=PL  a.little  NEG-PFV-see2  be-MED

*qʰoʔ*  o-tʃu=pʰa  vde  te-tsəʔ-cə

SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=place  be.good  PFV:TR-say2-MED

His father was old, and his eyesight had become poor, and he said to his son, “Good!”

26. *qʰoʔ*  qʰɐʔ  tɐ  tʃu=nəʔ=kə  ó-pe  te-fkor-cə

SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back2-MED

*qʰoʔ*  təciʔ-ʔəwə  tʰe-tsom

SEQ river-bank  PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither2  be-MED

So the boy carried his father on back, and took him downriver to the riverside.

27. *qʰoʔ*  tʰe-tsom  tʃoⁿbəjʔ=ce=ta  nə-twldwət-nəŋo

SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither2  way=LOC:INDF=top  PFV:DOWN-slip2-MED

Somewhere on his way taking (his father) downriver, he slipped and fell down.

28. *qʰoʔ*  ó-pe=kə  v-tʃu  v-tʃu

SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=ERG 1SG:POSS:VOC-son 1SG:POSS:VOC-son

ma-ʁdu  jv  nə-tw-twldwət=nəʔ  qʰaʔmə

NEG-be.serious  DM  PFV:DOWN-2-slip2=SUB  no.wonder

And the father said, “My son! My son! It’s alright. No wonder you slipped.”

29. *ⁿdenəʔ*  qʷirtsez=kə  qʷʃpe  te-³dzə  o-ʒʔ=nəʔ?

for  deer=ERG  toad  IPFV-eat3  3SG:POSS-time=DET

*sətʃə*  tʰe-ŋə́msu  ŋoʔ=kə

earth  IPFV-be.fertile  be=INS
“At the time when deer eat toads, the earth is fertile (and soft) and one tends to slip and fall,” he said.

30. qʰoʔ twifu=nəʔ=kə ʃʰ-pe nəʔ tfʰə te-tó-tsə ʃʰə
SEQ boy=DET=ERG 1SG:POSS-father ANA what IPFV-2-say be
The boy said, “What are you saying, oh father,”

31. "denəʔ for? ʃʰ-nv-qrqy-aj=nəʔ
for yesterday AND-IPFV:PST-hunt2-1SG=SUB
qʰerqse ʃʰ-qʰru kə-rdəʔ ʃʰə nəʔ kə-më=cəʔ
deer 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDF
o-kʰoxpe=nəŋ qępə əntsətse
3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside toad continuously
ne=kə-nli=caʔ nv-ntfʰeʔ-aj nəʔ
IPFV=NMLZ:SBJ-come.out2=INDF PFV-kill2-1SG be
“for I just killed a deer when I went hunting yesterday that has only one antler and has toads coming continuously out of its belly,”

32. qʰoʔ nəʔ mw=kə-tʃʰozʔ=cəʔ nəʔ ntor nə-səsi-aj
SEQ ANA NEG=NMLZ-be.proper=INDF be DM PFV-think2-1SG
qʰoʔ jə-jalpe=pʰə nə-rwet-aj=nəʔ
SEQ 1PL:POSS-neighbor=place PFV-ask2-1SG=SUB
“and as I thought it was uncanny, and asked our neighbor,”

33. jə-jalpe=kə nwkəʔ mw=kə-tʃʰozʔ=cəʔ
1PL:POSS-neighbor=ERG that.near.you NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.proper=INDF
nv-ʃʰ-təntfʰeʔ=cəʔ=kə
PFV-2-kill2=INDF=INS
Part II. Texts

nē-pe v-ʃa-t'ə-tə-wēret
2SG:POSS-father AND-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-throw
qʰōnə pʰen əʔ te-tsə?
SEQ:EMPH be.effective be PFV:TR-say2

“and our neighbor said, ‘Since you killed that uncanny thing, throw your father into the river and it will be alright (lit: it will work).’”

34. qʰoʔ pəʃkʰo kə-wēret167 t'ə-te-na-tsom
SEQ now NMLZ-throw CONT:LTR-1→2-SPON-take.thither2 be DM
te-tsə? əʔ nə-ʃəʔ
PFV:TR-say2 be-MED

“And now I am taking you downriver for throwing into the river,” he said.

35. qʰoʔ əʔ=niʔ=kə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=DET=ERG
ma-ʁd ma-ʁd
NEG-be.serious NEG-be.serious

And the father said, “That’s alright, that’s alright!”

36. sʰore lə-o-sújwet-aŋ
first IMP:UPRIVER:INV-bring.back-1SG
qʰo? tʃʃəʔəʔ oʔoʔ lusjuy kə-rzəʔʔ=əʔ nə-pʰøt
SEQ way while twig NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=INDF IMP-chop
qʰonə oqʰuʔz nə-tʃe nə-kʰi-aŋ=kə te-tsaʔʔ-əʔ
SEQ:EMPH afterwards 2SG:POSS-account IPFV-give-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED

“Bring me back upriver first, and cut a long twig while we are on the way, and then I will explain to you,” he said.

167 Abbreviated from kə-wēret (o-)spe; lit. ‘material for throwing away’.
37. $qʰoʔ$ $tʉɾfu=nəʔ=kə$ ó-pe le-sṣeqjet-cə
SEQ boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.back2-MED
$qʰoʔ$ kʰənaŋ $nə$-smo-nədẓə-cə
SEQ home IPFV:PST-stay-3DU-MED
And so the boy took his father back upriver, and they stayed at home.

38. $qʰoʔ$ kə-siz=ce=z $tʉɾfu=nəʔ$ tə-rvoʔ=nəʔ?
SEQ one-morning=LOC:INDF=LOC boy=DET PFV-get.up2=SUB
təɾjpe $kə$-xteʔ=ceʔ $nə$-lət wejo-nənə
snow very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-release2 be.seen-MED
One morning, the boy woke up, and found that it had snowed heavily.

39. $qʰoʔ$ ópe=pʰa
SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=place
forme $təɾjpe$ $kə$-xteʔ $nə$-lət-cə te-tsə?-cə
last.night snow NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-release2-MED PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he said to his father, “It snowed heavily last night.”

40. $qʰoʔ$ $təɾpe=nəʔ=kə$ $təɾjpe$ $nə$-lət-cə ə-ŋoʔ?
SEQ father=DET=ERG snow PFV:TR-fall2-MED Q-be
ma-sdu=kə
NEG-be.serious=DM
The father said, “Has it snowed? Alright,”

41. jəɾŋiʔ $ləɾjuʔ$ $kə$-ɾceʔ $nə$-tə-pʰət=nəʔ?
the.other.day twig NMLZ:SBJ-be.long PFV-2-chop2=DET
o-kəʔ=təʔ=z textsṃntse tə-vra
3SG:POSS-head=body=LOC single.shoe IMP-tie
$qʰoʔ$ jəɾpe $nə$-kʰəx tôʔ=ta
SEQ neighbor 3PL:POSS-rooftop.platform=top
Part II. Texts

42. qʰoʔ tɛfju=naʔ=kə ő-pe=kə
SEQ boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father=ERG
tʃʰə te-tsəʔ=naʔ=ɾv=tə-soʔ-ca
what PFV:TR-say2=DET=PL PFV:TR-do2-MED
qʰoʔ jəlpe kʰexto=ta təmerzeʔ=ɾv? ne-tsəʔ-ca
SEQ neighbor rooftop.platform=top footprint=PL PFV:DOWN:TR-put2-MED
And the boy did what his father had told him and made a footprint on the neighbor’s rooftop platform.

43. qʰoʔ kə-timʔ tɛfju=naʔ?
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich boy=DET
’siz kʰexto twipe kə-nəzjiˈbu tə-lə-nəŋo
morning rooftop.platform snow NMLZ:PURP-sweep PFV:UP-come.out2-MED
The rich boy came up to the rooftop platform to sweep snow in the morning.

44. qʰoʔ kʰexto=ta tərʒeʔ kə-rdəʔ ɾ=denəʔ kə-mv=naʔ?
SEQ rooftop=top trace one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=DET
ne-mti-ca
PFV:TR-see2-MED
And he saw the single footprint on the rooftop platform.

45. qʰoʔ a kəʔ=ɾdəv ɾʃʃikə məv=kə-tʃʰozʔ-caʔ
SEQ EXCL this=TOP:EMPH very NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule-MED
təmentse o-raʔ=caʔ ne-mti-ɐŋ=kə
single.foot 3SG:POSS-trace=INDF PFV-see2-1SG=INS
And he thought, “Ah! This is most uncanny! This is certainly bad luck, for I saw a print of a single foot!”

46. qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu=z qʰənəʔ antsətse ne-numərtəʔ-ə

SEQ hereafter=LOC ANA always PFV:TR-be.apprehensive.about2-MED

qʰoʔ temə kə-ŋoʔ ke-nema o-ŋoŋ=ren

SEQ劳动 NMLZ-be.well INF-do.labor 3SG:POSS-desire=even

mə-naʔ-əʔ-ə-MED

NEG-PFV-come2-MED

And he stayed apprehensive about that footprint ever since, and did not even have the desire to do his labor well.

47. qʰoʔ kəməqʰuʔ=nəʔ nə-ŋuʔ-nə

SEQ afterwards=DET PFV-be.poor2-3PL

qʰoʔ na-rtʃəŋʔ tʰə-nə-gənə

SEQ 3PL:POSS-downfall PFV:OUT-come.out2-MED

They became poor afterwards, and their family fortune was totally ruined.

48. qʰəʔ kə-ŋuʔ=nəʔ=nəʔ ʒfɪkə tə-tim-ŋəŋə

ANA NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=TOP very PFV-be.rich2-MED

While the poor family became very rich.

49. qʰoʔ qʰəʔ=kaʔə jəlpe ʒədanə ku-pe=scʰənəʔ

SEQ ANA=like neighbor jealousy INF-do=and

ku-nemərtə mə-vdə=ta mə-tʃoz?

INF-be.apprehensive NEG-be.good=top NEG-be.the.rule

So, it is not good and not proper to be jealous of one’s neighbors, and be too suspicious.
Once upon a time, there was a chieftain. His three daughters were very lazy. The chieftain was worried. He thought, “These three daughters of mine, what should be done (with them)?”

One day, (he said) to his daughters,

“As I will go on a pilgrimage to Tibet,”
7.  nərəre?  v-qʰu  kv-nqʰope  re?  ɣo?
   2PL  1SL:POSS-back  INF-mind.the.house  be.necessary  be
   “you must mind the house after I am gone.”

8.  qʰoʔ  ɐ́-m  stʰoʔ  kə-xteʔ?=nə?
   SEQ  1SG:POSS-daughter  most  NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
   “My biggest daughter,”

9.  tʃəjpe=z  tajliʔ  ɣso-ri-pe  ma-tʰv-kv-tʃet=nə?
   animal.pen=LOC  manure  three-hundred-year  NEG-PFV:OUT-GP-take₂=DET
   INF-take  be.necessary  be
   “the manure in the animal pen that one has not removed for three hundred years must be
   removed.”

10. qʰoʔ  ɐ́-m  təlez?=nə?
    SEQ  1SG:POSS-daughter  medial=DET
    “My second eldest daughter,”

11. feto  téŋə  le-nlɔ  orjáŋz
    up.there  sun  IPFV-come.out  when
    jɔ-kʰe  te-kə-saujevʔ?  rervʔ?=nə?
    1PL:POSS-house  UP-NMLZ:SBJ-hide.from.view  mountain=DET
    v-tə-tə-lweʔ?  re?  ɣo?
    IRR-IMP:UP-2-dig³  be.necessary  be
    “the mountain up there that covers our house when the sun rises, you must go and raze
    it.”
12. *qʰoʔ* ə-m ə-m ə-m ə-m
   SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET
   “My youngest daughter,”

13. *fəki* jə-“dzem ə-“kə-n’bət=naʔ*
   down.there 1PL:POSS-bridge PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-collapse2=DET
   v-ə-tə-wə̱də rə? ŋə?
   IRR-IMP-2-repair3 be.necessary be
   “our bridge down there that has collapsed, you must go and repair it.”

14. *nə-pʰa* te-təʔ-cə
   3PL:POSS-place PFV:TR-say2-MED
   He said to them.

15. *qʰoʔ* nəkəsə ə-m ə-m ne-te-cə
   SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-daughter 3PL:POSS-work PFV:TR-assign2-MED
   And in that fashion, he assigned work to his daughters.

   SEQ father=DET Tibet NMLZ:PURP-go PFV:set.out2 be-MED
   And then the father set out for Tibet.

17. *qʰoʔ* ə-m ə-m ə-m ə-m ə-m ə-m
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-daughter three=DET=PL
   kʰənəʔ=z ʷge-snəmpʰjəmpʰjor-əə=scʰəə? ʷge-snəxthʰwáxtʰwi-əə
   home=LOC IPFV-beautify-3PL=and IPFV-be.in.heat-3PL
   ŋənsətəse kʰ-mə təmə ŋənbe me-ne-bəmə-əə ŋəʔ-cə
   constantly except chore at.all NEG-IPFV-do-3PL be-MED
   And the three daughters just flaunted their beauty and sexiness at home, and did not do
   any of the chores.
18. qʰoʔ na-kʰénay netsoʔ=cəʔ ge-toʔ əʔ-cə
   SEQ 3PL:POSS-home parrot=INDF IPFV-exist be-MED
   In their home, there was a parrot.

19. kə-syi=ce=nəʔ netsoʔ=kə qʰənəʔ=rvʔ nə-pʰə
   one-day=LOC:INDF=DET parrot=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place
   One day, the parrot (said) to them,

20. nərəvə tʰə jə-tə-nə-pe-nə əʔ=’nədəʔ
   2PL what PROS-2-SPON-do-2PL be=DM
   nagme ɔsə-le qʰoʔ nə-pe jə-nəyôt əʔ
   only three-month then 2PL:POSS-father PROS-arrive.back be
   pəzżez nə-mv kəmtʃa=ntʃon mə-nə-to-nəməʔ-nə əʔ
   still 2PL:POSS-chore a.little=even NEG-PFV-2-work2-3PL be
   te-tsəʔ-cə
   PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “What are you going to do? Your father will be arriving back in just three months, and
   you still haven’t done any of your chores yet.”

21. fanaʔ qʰənəʔ=rvʔ ne-syiʔ-nə mə əʔ-cə
   but ANA=PL PFV:TR-listen2-3PL not.be be-MED
   But they did not listen.

22. qʰə təme siʔəʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ=kə
   SEQ daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG
   leʔ jəlpe=z rəlpotfiu=cəʔ qʰeqʰu=z
   still neighbor=LOC chieftain’s.son=INDF back.of.house=LOC

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168 Here the function of the spontaneous prefix nə- is to make the sentence more vivid.
And the eldest daughter still kept seducing a neighboring chieftain’s son (crawl into her room) with a rope from the back of the house.  

23. *ka-rjaʔ=ce=z netso=kə*

one-night=LOC:INDEF=LOC parrot=ERG

*saqetsutṣu *n^dzə-tə^bre fə-ne-prêt-cə*

in.secret 3DU:POSS-rope AND-PFV:TR-break2-MED

One night, the parrot went and cut off their rope in secret.

24. *qʰoʔ rjelpotfu nu-unter-cə*

SEQ chieftain’s.son PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height2-MED

And the chieftain’s son fell down.

25. *qʰoʔ netso=kə jə-rjelpo ma-tsʰ-em*

SEQ parrot=ERG 1PL:POSS-chieftain NEG-CONT:LTR-be.present

o-qʰu=z ó-me tə-nsv-mərku ηοʔ=kə

3SG:POSS-back=LOC 3SG:POSS-daughter 2-CONT:HTR-steal be=INS

qʰoʔ nu-kʰɾəm kv-teʔ ηοʔ?

SEQ 2SG:POSS-punishment GP-put be

rjelpotfu ó-pʰə te-tsəʔ-cə

chieftain’s.son 3SG:POSS-place PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the parrot said to the chieftain’s son, “While our chieftain is not home, you are stealing his daughter behind his back. You must be punished.”

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169 This refers to a Rgyalrong custom for young men to climb walls of their lovers’ houses and enter their rooms at night to have stealth pre-marital sex.
26. qʰoʔ rjelpotu=na=t=kə náŋləskə tʂjan? ɲo?
SEQ chieftain’s son=DET=ERG naturally be.fair be
tʃʰə te-tó-tsə=naʔ ʃte? ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
what IPFV-2-say=DET be:EMPH be PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the chieftain’s son said, “Of course, fair enough! Whatever you say, so be it.”

27. qʰoʔ netso=kə məstə=kə
SEQ parrot=ERG alright=DM
təmə=cəʔ kε-nəmə toʔ ɲoʔ
chore=INDF NMLZ:SBJ:U-do exist be
And the parrot (said), “Alright. There is one task to be done.”

28. fsɔfis ő-ta=nəʔ?
 tomorrow 3SG:POSS-top=TOP
naʃərəʔ nə-tʃəʔ=scʰənaʔ ʃəʃərəʔ?
2PL 2PL:POSS-retainer=and 1PL
ja-tʃəʔ=ɾəʔ=kə ja-tʃajpe=z
1PL:POSS-retainer=PL=ERG 1PL:POSS-animal.pen=LOC
tajliʔ v-tʰə-tʰet-ʃet-nə
manure IRR-IMP:OUT-2-take.out-3PL
qʰoʔ mə-te-ndu-nə ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ NEG-1→2-tell.on-3PL be PFV:TR-say2-MED
“Tomorrow, let your retainers and ours clear out the manure in our animal pen, and I will
not tell on you.” it said.

29. qʰoʔ kə-sle jɐrmə tajliʔ kəmdıʔ kʰ-ʃet
SEQ one-month about manure all NMLZ-take.out
tʰe-sayjoy-nə-cə
PFV:TR-finish2-3PL-MED
And in about one month they finished taking out all the manure.
30. qʰoʔ netso kínay "ge-rqʰəqʰə" əntsʔátse
   SEQ parrot home IPFV-be.a.nuisance frequently
   And the parrot kept making a nuisance of itself in the house,

31. qʰoʔ rjélpo stʰoʔ o-kv-znéje ntsʰwrVu=naj
   SEQ chieftain most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish cloak=inside
t-e-oŋmpʰor qʰoʔ stʰoʔ o-kv-znéje rdʒʊrtə
   IPFV-wrap.oneself SEQ most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish boot
ó-naj tʰe¹⁷⁰-fə ɳoʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-go be-MED
   and (often) wraps itself in the chieftain’s most cherished cloak, and goes inside the
chieftain’s most cherished boots.

32. qʰoʔ tôme talezʔ=nəʔ=kə
   SEQ daughter medial=DET=ERG
netso=kə ó-pe o-rju?
   parrot=ERG 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-property
o-kv-znéje=nəʔ te-nəsojʔ "ge-mtesʔ=nəʔ?
   3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish=DET IPFV-mess.with IPFV-see3=SUB
əfikə te-rumúru ɳoʔ-cə
   very IPFV-be.angry be-MED
   When the second eldest daughter saw the parrot mess with her father’s cherished property,
she got very angry.

¹⁷⁰ The downriver orientation prefix is used to denote a slanting downward direction.
33. \(kə-təfe=z \ le? \ netso=na? \ nv-nefsəfsət\)
one-time=LOC again parrot=DET IPFV:PST-do.thus2:RDPL
\(tʃʰəχm=naŋ \ tə-əre=joa?\)
boot=inside PFV:IN-go2=SUB

Once, just when the parrot was acting this way again and went inside the boot,

34. \(tə́-mɛtəlezʔ=na?=kə \ lerler=kə\)
daughter medial=DET=ERG rolling.pin=INS
\(tʃʰəχm \ te-sə-əxəʔ?-ca\)
boot PFV:TR-CAUS-hit2-MED

the second eldest daughter hurled a rolling pin at the boot.

35. \(ʃənəʔ \ netso \ kɛ-əxəʔ \ ma-nv-cʰv?-ca=kə\)
but parrot INF-hit NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-MED=INS
\(ó-pe \ o-tʃʰəχm=na? \ pʰtʃəlaʔ \ ne-lêt-ca\)
3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-boot=DET smashing PFV:TR-do2-MED

But, missing the parrot, she smashed her father’s boot.

36. \(qʰoʔ \ netso \ tʃʰəχm=naŋ \ lɨ-nlɔ-cə\)
SEQ parrot boot=inside PFV-exit2-MED
\(qʰoʔ \ təmɛ \ təlezʔ \ ó-pʰa\)
SEQ daughter medial 3SG:POSS-place

The parrot got out of the boot, and said to the second eldest daughter,

37. \(neji? \ nə-pə \ st⁴oʔ \ o-kw-znəje\)
2SG 2SG:POSS-father most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish
\(nv-tə-y⁵du? \ ʃə=tə \ tə-poj \ ʃə=dsəʔ \ te-təʔ \ ʃə=ca\)
PFV-2-smash2 be=INS what 2-do3 be=DM PFV:TR-say2 be-MED

“Now that you smashed your father’s most cherished (object), what are you going to do about it,” it said.
38. qʰoʔ tôme=kə
SEQ daughter=ERG
mə-tə-kəʃu-əŋ  kʰətso te-tsəʔ  əʔ-ə
NEG-IMP-2→1-acuse-I SG please PFV:TR-say2 be-MED
The daughter said, “Don’t tell on me, please!”

39. qʰoʔ netso=kə mə-ʃu-əŋ ə
SEQ parrot=ERG NEG-1→2-acuse be
ʃə ʃə to ko ʔ reʔ ə
but up there this mountain=DET
ʃə-ə Tə-lweʔ  ʃu-ʃumdeʔ  reʔ  ə te-tsəʔ-cə
AND-IMP-dig3 INF-cause.to.be.level be.necessary be PFV:TR-say2-MED
The parrot said, “Alright, I will not tell on you. But this mountain up there, you must go there to dig and level it,” it said.

40. qʰoʔ tôme=nəʔ=kə nəŋləskə
SEQ daughter=DET=ERG of course
And the second eldest daughter said, “Of course!”

41. əəfsəʃə=kə leʔ təʃə=ɾəʔ te-tsə-cə
next.day=TOP again retainer=PL PFV:UP:TR-take.thither2-MED
qʰoʔ kə-leʔ  jurnə ne-ʃumde-nə-cə
SEQ one-month about PFV:TR-cause.to.be.level2-PL-MED
qʰoʔ ŋeʔ kə-səmtə ne-əəpeʔ-nə  əʔ-cə
SEQ sun NMLZ-be.visible PFV:TR-cause.to.become2-3PL be-MED
The next day, she again took the retainers uphill, and they leveled (the mountain) in about a month and made the sun visible.
42. qʰoʔ leʔ netso=nəʔ ʰge-rqʰeqʰə ʰntsʰtse ʰŋoʔ-cə
SEQ again parrot=DET IPFV-be.a.nuisance continuously be-MED
And again the parrot kept making itself a nuisance.

43. qʰoʔ tóme stʰoʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ
SEQ daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET
o-múru ʰʃfikə te-ʰguʔ ʰŋoʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-anger very IPFV:UP-rise be-MED
And the youngest daughter was very angry.

44. qʰoʔ kə-təfe=ce=nəʔ
SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
tóme stʰoʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ=kə netso
daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG parrot
te-nąxɔxəta-cə
PFV:TR-chase.abo=2-MED
Once, the youngest daughter chased the parrot about.

45. qʰoʔ netso=nəʔ rjulpo stʰoʔ o-kə-znijə
SEQ parrot=DET chieftain most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish
ʰʃser=kə kʰɛxpʰə ʰpʰi=z ne-ʰvre-cə
gold=INS grinder 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC PFV:DOWN-go2-MED
And the parrot went under the chieftain’s most cherished gold grinder.

46. qʰoʔ tfʰɛmuj stʰoʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ=kə kəxʃɔbrot ne-wre=ret
SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG pestle PFV:TR-throw2
And the youngest girl threw the pestle at it.
47. *fənə? netso kë-xsay ma-nv-cʰoʔ-cə=kə*
   but parrot INF-hit NEG-PFV-be.able2-MED=INS
   ɣser=kə kʰexpʰe=ṇəʔ ne-cʰov-ṇəʔo
gold=INS grinder=DET PFV:TR-smash2-MED
   But, as she missed the parrot, she smashed the gold grinder.

48. *qʰoʔ netso tə-nlɔʔ-cə*
   SEQ parrot PFV:UP-exit2-MED
   And the parrot came out up.

49. *qʰoʔ nü-pe stʰoʔ o-kv-znēje*
   SEQ 2SG:POSS-father most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish
   ɣser=kə kʰexpʰe nə-tə-cʰov noʔ=kə
gold=INS grinder PFV-2-smash2 be=INS
tʃʰə tə-poj noʔ =denəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
   what 2-do3 be for PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “What are you going to do, now that you smashed your father’s most cherished gold
grinder,” it asked.

50. *qʰoʔ tʃʰemtj stʰoʔ kə-xtsi=ṇəʔ=kə*
   SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG
   kʰetso mə-tə-kóʔ-jʰdzu-aŋ
   please NEG-IMP-2→1-accuse-1SG
   qʰonə məjɨʔ tʃʰə te-tə-tsəʔ=ṇəʔ jteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
   SEQ:EMPH 2SG what IPFV-2-say=DET be:EMPH PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “Please don’t tell on me, and I’ll do whatever you say,” the youngest daughter said.
51. \textit{qʰoʔ netso=kə ma-ʋdə=kə}
SEQ parrot=ERG NEG-be.serious=DM
\textit{fəti jə-"dzem fə-τə-wvvdə}
downriver.place 1PL:POSS-bridge AND-2-fix₃
\textit{qʰonə me-te-tə-syscall=kə te-tə-cə}
SEQ:EMPH NEG-IPFV-1→2-accuse=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
The parrot said, “Alright, go fix that bridge downriver, and then I will not tell on you,” it said.

52. \textit{qʰoʔ tʃʰɐ̃m stʰoʔ kə-xtʃi?=nə?=kə}
SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG
təʃɔʔ=ɐʔ tʰe-tsom
retainer=PL PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂
So the youngest daughter took her retainers downriver,

53. \textit{qʰoʔ "dzem kə-sle jərme ne-wvvdə?=nə}
SEQ bridge one-month about IPFV:PST:TR-fix₂-3PL
\textit{qʰoʔ tə-ntsʰə nə?-cə}
SEQ PFV-be.complete₂ be-MED
and spent about one month repairing the bridge, and then it was completed.

54. \textit{qʰoʔ nə-pe kʰənaŋ nə-ǝŋyôt}
SEQ 3PL:POSS-father home PFV:DOWN-arrive.back₂
Their father arrived back home.

55. \textit{qʰoʔ rerɛn? ne-svmdə-ǝnə tə-yə te-səmti}
SEQ mountain PFV:TR-cause.to.be.level₂-3PL sun PFV-be.visible₂
And they had leveled the mountain, and the sun became visible.
56. *tsʰjpe *tajliʔ *tʰe-tsʰet-nə*

animal.pen manure PFV:OUT:TR-take.out2-3PL

And the manure in the animal pen was removed.

57. *ʃə ki *ⁿdzem *te-wəvde-nə *wəjo *ŋoʔ-cə*

down.there bridge PFV:TR-fix2-3PL be.seen be-MED

And he found the bridge down there repaired.

58. *qʰoʔ *t̥epe=nə? *χʃikə *nə-χe-cə*

SEQ father=DET very PFV-be.happy2-MED

And the father was very happy.

59. *qʰoʔ *kəmaqʰúnə *netso=kə*

SEQ afterwards parrot=ERG

*rjélpo *kə-mdʒəɾl* tə-wre oqʰu*

chieftain NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV:UP-go2 after

*tfə *nv-kə-fsɔt=nəʔ=ɾəʔ? *kəmdiʔ *rjélpo=pʰa *te-tsəʔ-cə*

what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like2=DET=PL all chieftain=place PFV:TR-say2-MED

Afterwards, the parrot told the chieftain everything that happened after the chieftain had
gone on the pilgrimage.

60. *qʰoʔ *rjélpo=kə*

SEQ chieftain=ERG

*latʃe *nv-kə-ŋov=seʔənəʔ? *nə-kəʷ-brêt=nəʔ=ɾəʔ?

object PFV-NMLZ-smash2=and PFV-NMLZ-break2=DET=PL

*mə-nə-nejeʔ-cə*

NEG-PFV-begrudge2-MED

The chieftain said, “I do not begrudge the fact that objects got smashed and broken,”
61. oxte stʰoʔ kɐ-ʁze temə

in.the.main most NMLZ:SBJ-be.needed labor

na-tə-sə̈grə̈nəʔ-cə̈=kə̈ nu-vdeʔ-cə̈ te-tseʔ-cə̈

PFV-2-carry.through2-2PL-MED=INS IPFV:PST-be.good2-MED PFV:TR-say2-MED

“the main thing is that you managed to carry out the most desired labors. That was good.”
LOUSE AND FLEA

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. sŋontsʰe=z ser=seʰnəʔ mdzəldi=cəʔ nə-to²dzə əʔ-cə
   former.time=LOC louse=and flea=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-3DU be-MED
   Formerly, there were a certain louse and a certain flea.

2. qʰoʔ kɔt̚ərε⁵⁷⁷ "ge-rká⁵kʰe=dzə əʔ-cə
   SEQ together IPFV-live.under.the.same.roof-3DU be-MED
   They lived under the same roof.

3. qʰoʔ "dzə-təlɔr⁰⁰⁰im=ʁeʔ "ge-toʔ-cə
   SEQ 2DU:POSS-cream=PL IPFV-exist-MED
   They used to have cream.

4. kə-sŋi=cə=ƣəʔ ʃə-kw-nká⁰⁰⁰ju te-nəkroʒ²dzə-cə
   one-day=LOC:INDF=DET AND-GP-cut.firewood PFV:TR-discuss2-3DU-MED
   One day, they discussed about going out to cut firewood.

5. qʰoʔ fo cʰeʔ jə-kw-nəzγoʔt=ƣəʔ
   SEQ who earlier PFV-GP-arrive.back=DET
təlɔr⁰⁰⁰im ne-kʰi kə-ʃəʔ te-nəkroʒ²dzə-cə
   cream IPFV-GP-drink NMLZ-be.allowed PFV:TR-discuss²-2PL-MED
   They agreed that whoever returned home earlier should drink the cream.

6. qʰoʔ kə-nká⁰⁰⁰ju jə-feʔ²dzə-cə
   SEQ NMLZ:PURP-chop.firewood PFV-go²-3DU-MED
   And the two of them went to chop firewood.
7. qʰoʔ kʰ-ufpʰel ʰdʒ-ʃkʰor ne-ʃmʃʰu-ʃdʒ-cʰ ʰp
SEQ NMLZ-be.efficient 3DU:POSS-load PFV:TR-prepare²-3DU-MED
qʰoʔ kʰɛnʔ ʰkʰ-nʃfe tʰ-e-ʃdʒ-cʰ ʰp
SEQ home INF-go.back PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-begin²-3DU-MED
And they quickly made ready thier loads of firewood, and started to go back home.

8. qʰoʔ sɛr=nʔ ʰm-ʃhɔmʔ ʰjo?-cʰ
SEQ louse=DET NEG-be.fast be-MED
ʃə nʔo-fkʰer ʰdʃəm ʰbɛnbe m-ʃ-ʃbɛt-cʰ
but 3SG:POSS-load at.all NEG-PFV-collapse²-MED
The louse was not fast, but his load did not collapse at all.

9. ʃə nʔo-mʃdli kʰmtʃʰ ʰbʒəmʔ ʰjo?-cʰ
SEQ flea a.bit be.fast be-MED
The flea was a little faster.

10. ʃə nʔo kʰ-e-ʃldʒ te-ʃmʔdɛr=nʔ ʰp
but each-time IPFV:UP-leap=SUB
o-fkʰer kʰ-e-tʃfe ʰgɛ-ʃbɛt ʰjo?-cʰ ʰp
3SG:POSS-load each-time IPFV-collapse be-MED
But every time it leapt up, its load collapsed.

11. qʰoʔ sɛr ʃoʃtɛnʔ
SEQ louse than
ʃla kʰɛnʔ ʰkʰ-ʃmʃʰyot m-ʃ-ʃɛʔ-ɾ-cʰ ʰp
right.away home INF-cause.oneself.to.arrive NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able²-MED
So it was unable to make itself arrive home sooner than the louse.
12. \(q^\circ o\) \(k\omega m\omega q^\circ u\) \(k^\circ \text{n}a\text{naj}\) \(j\omega-zy\acute{o}=n\omega\)
SEQ afterwards home PFV-arrive\(_2\)=SUB

When it eventually arrived home,

13. \(s\text{e}r=k\omega\) \(\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textdegree}}dz\text{\textendash}t\text{\textendash}t\text{\textendash}l\text{\textendash}pim}\) \(n\text{-t}^\imath\) \(\text{w}n\text{yo}-c\omega\)
louse=ERG 2DU:POSS-cream PFV:TR-drink\(_2\) be.seen-MED

it found that the louse had already drunk up their cream.

14. \(q^\circ o\) \(m\text{d}z\text{\textendash}l\text{\textendash}l\text{\textendash}d\text{\textendash}i=n\omega\) \(\acute{o}-\text{y}u\) \(n\omega-\text{mt}\text{ser}=s\text{e}^\cdot n\omega\) \(n\omega-\text{mq}\text{\textendash}n\omega\)-c\omega
SEQ flea=DET 3SG:POSS-body PFV-be.hungry\(_2\)=and PFV-be.tired\(_2\)=MED

The flea felt hungry and tired.

15. \(q^\circ o\) \(o-m\text{\textendash}m\text{\textendash}r\text{u}\) \(k\text{v-n}\text{\textendash}f\text{\textendash}q\text{\textendash}v\) \(m\omega-n\omega-c\text{\textendash}n\omega\)-c\omega
SEQ 3SG:POSS-anger NMLZ-bear NEG-PFV-be.able\(_2\)=MED

And could not control his anger.

16. \(q^\circ o\) \(t\text{\textendash}n\text{fke}=n\text{\textendash}n\text{\textendash}y\) \(s\text{m}\text{\textendash}y\text{\textendash}d\text{\textendash}ot\) \(t^\circ e-t\text{\textendash}f\text{\textendash}t-c\omega\)
SEQ hearth=inside half.burnt.firewood.stick PFV:OUT:TR-take\(_2\)=MED

And took out a half-burnt firewood stick,

17. \(o\text{zor}\) \(s\text{e}r=p^\circ a\) \(n\text{\textendash}y\text{\textendash}j\omega\) \(k\omega-s\text{\textendash}v\text{\textendash}n\text{\textendash}koj\)
SEQ louse=to 2SG NMLZ-be.bullying
\(t\text{\textendash}s\text{\textendash}t\text{\textendash}l\text{\textendash}pim\) \(k\text{\textendash}\text{\textendash}m\text{\textendash}d\text{\textendash}i\) \(n\omega-t\text{\textendash}t\text{\textendash}v\text{\textendash}c\omega\) \(t\text{\textendash}e-t\text{\textendash}s\omega\)
1DU:POSS-cream all PFV-2-drink\(_2\)=MED PFV:TR-say\(_2\)

saying to the louse, “What a bully you are to drink all our cream!”
18. qʰoʔ sməydot ser o-riʔ-chəl
SEQ half-burnt.firewood.stick louse 3SG:POSS-chest-center
tʰe-setseʔ-cə
PFV:TR-thrust2-MED
And thrusted the firewood stick at the center of the louse’s chest,

19. qʰoʔ ne-əʔyaʔ mekətset ne-sefkeʔ-cə
SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.be.black2 not.only PFV:TR-burn2-MED
blackening as well as scalding it.

20. qʰoʔ ser=ntʰon tə-rəmuruʔ-cə
SEQ louse=also PFV-be.angry2-MED
And the louse got angry too,

21. qʰoʔ oʒorʔ kə-nk̚uju me-fu-təʔ orjάŋnəz
SEQ while PURP-chop.firewood NEG-go-1DU when
kə-vdəvde tə-na-kroz-tsə
NMLZ-good:RDPL PFV-discuss2-1DU
saying, “Before we had gone off to chop firewood, we were fully agreed,”

22. fo cʰeqʔ jə-kə-zyöt=nəʔ
who earlier PFV-GP-arrive=DET
təloɾpin ne-kə-tʰi kə-joyʔ tə-peʔ-tsə
cream IPFV-GP-drink NMLZ-be.allowed PFV-do2-1DU
fieʔ mu te-tsəʔ-cə
be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-say2-MED
“that the one who arrives first should drink the cream, didn’t we?”
23. ošor? mdzəldi te-naχtaχta-cə

while flea PFV:TR-chase2:RDPL-MED

All the while, it kept chasing the flea around.

24. qʰoʔ mdzəldi komʔ o-meerʔ tʰ-e-pʰi=ʃənəʔ

SEQ flea door 3SG:POSS-space.in.between PFV:OUT-escape2=SUB:EMPH

Just when the flea ran out between the door (and the door frame),

25. ser=kə komʔ fla tʰ-e-peʔ-cə

louse=ERG door quickly PFV:OUT:TR-close2-MED

qʰoʔ mdzəldi tʰ-e-o-sə-mcra-cə

SEQ flea PFV-INV-CAUS-crush2-MED

the louse quickly shut the door out (against the door frame), and the flea was squeezed flat.

26. qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tən?=kə mdzəldi kə-ufpeʃpe=ʃənəʔ

SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-cause=INS flea NMLZ-be.flat=and

ser o-riʔ=ta sməydot tʰ-e-kə-setseʔ?

louse 3SG:POSS-chest=top half-burnt.firewood PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-thrust2

o-rəʔ kə-na toʔ kʰ-tsə tʃʰozʔ?

3SG:POSS-trace NMLZ:SBJ-be.black exist GP-say be.the.rule

And this is why fleas are flat, and why on the chest of lice there remain black traces of being poked by a half-burnt firewood stick, it is said.
RABBIT, FOX, AND LEOPARD WENT HUNTING
rewwangcʰənə? qʰécʰwet kóxsənə? səνaʔqəɾɾjɨnə
Narrator: Athar

1. \( kə-\text{ṣyi}=cɛ=\text{na}? \)
   one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
   reway=qeⁿə? qʰécʰwet kóxs=ru? kə-qəɾɾjɨ? tə-\text{bre}-\text{na}=cə
   rabbit=and fox leopard=PL NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UP-go2-3PL-MED
   One day, the rabbit, the fox, and the leopard went uphill hunting.

2. \( qʰoʔ \text{tf}oʔ\text{ŋi}=z \text{vlr}gɛ \text{ne-}kə-\text{nəvl}mɪfɨt=\text{cə}? \)
   SEQ way=LOC monk IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-chant.sutra=INDF
   ne-tʰəɣ-nə-cə
   PFV:TR-meet2-3PL-MED
   On their way hunting, they ran into a monk who did sutra-chanting services.

3. \( qʰoʔ \text{v}ləɾɟe \text{o-}tɛlɛn \text{ne-nsəkʰi-}nə-cə \)
   SEQ monk 3SG:POSS-saddle.bag PFV:TR-snatch2-3PL-MED
   qʰoʔ nə-pʰi-nə
   SEQ PFV-escape2-3PL
   And they snatched the monk’s saddle bag from him and ran away.

4. \( kəɾʰbjo?=z \text{tɛlɛn} \text{te-raje-}nə-cə=\text{na}? \)
   person NMLZ:OBL-not.exist=LOC saddle.bag PFV:TR-untie2-3PL-MED=SUB
   ó-nay=ð tʂəɾwu ʰdɾʰəɾu ʰdzɔɾtə kə-tʰə=seⁿə?
   3SG:POSS-inside=LOC bell tambour riding.boot one-pair=and
   kʰəɾdze kə-min? tə-nlɔ-cə
   food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty PFV-be.revealed2-MED
   When they untied the saddle bag at a place where there was no one around, a bell, a tambour, a pair of riding boots, and some delicious food were revealed.
5. *qʰoʔ rewaj nu-rukriʔ-cə*
   SEQ rabbit PFV-do.distributing2-MED
   And the rabbit did the distributing (of the booty).

6. *qʰoʔ tɔʔrву=scʰənaʔ ʷdʰəru teʷdi-cə*
   SEQ bell=and tambour PFV:UP-take2-MED
   It took up the bell and the tambour,

7. *qʰoʔ qʰecʰwet ő-pʰa=z*
   SEQ fox 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
   *neji? nu-lŋaʔ=rv? ldeny-nə-cə=kə*
   2SG 2SG:POSS-child=PL exist.in.quantity-3PL-MED=INS
   *kəkoʔ nu-lŋaʔ na-ə-təzən v-niʔ-ŋə=kə*
   this 2SG:POSS-child 3PL:POSS-toy IRR-IMP-be=DM
   *tə-na̰-də te-tsəʔ-cə*
   IMP-SPON-take3 PFV:TR-say2-MED
   and said to the fox, “Since you have many children, let these be their toys, take them!”

8. *qʰoʔ qʰecʰwet tə-χe=kə jv-nəʃɛʔ-cə*
   SEQ fox NMLZ-happy2=INS PFV-go.back2-MED
   And the fox happily went back home.

9. *leʔ rewaj=kə ʷdzərtə teʷdi-cə*
   again rabbit=ERG boot PFV:UP-take2-MED
   *qʰoʔ kaxse ő-pʰa=z te-tsəʔ-cə*
   SEQ leopard 3SG:POSS-place=LOC PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And the rabbit picked up the boots, and said to the leopard,
10.  neji?  kemnum  fa-ta-qerni?  re?-co=kə  
    2SG  often  AND-2-hunt  be.necessary-MED=INS  
    kəkoʔ  "dzaʔte  ka-xsets=nə?  neji?  tə-nə-nəde  
    this  boot  NMLZ:SBJ-be.warm=DET  2SG  IMP-SPON-take3  
    “Since you often have to go hunting, you take these warm boots!”

11.  qʰoʔ  kəxse=ntʃon  tə-χe=kə  ju-naʃeʔ-co  
    SEQ  leopard=also  NMLZ-happy2=INS  PFV-go.back2-MED  
    And the leopard also went back home happily.

12.  qʰoʔ=(scʰə)nəʔ  rewaŋ  knədze  kə-minʔ  na-kə-riʔ=nəʔ  
    SEQ=EMPH  rabbit  food  NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty  PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left2=DET  
    o-jo  ð-vre  ne-na-pəʔ-co  
    And the rabbit gladly made the tasty food that was left his own share.

13.  qʰoʔ  fla  te-swədzəʔdzeʔ  qʰoʔ  ju-nə-pʰi-co  
    SEQ  quickly  PFV:TR-eat.various.things2  SEQ  PFV-SPON-escape2-MED  
    It quickly ate all the food and ran away.

14.  qeckʰet  o-təɾwu=scʰonəʔ  "dənberu  te-ŋdi-co  
    fox  3SG:POSS-bell=and  tambour  PFV:TR-take2-MED  
    qʰoʔ  o-kʰinay  lə-uməre-cə  
    SEQ  3SG:POSS-home  PFV:UPRIVER-go.back2-MED  
    The fox took the bell and the tambour and went back home.
And it said to its children, “I have brought good toys today.”

When it took out the bell and the tambour and sounded them to his children,

when the fox puppies heard the strange (sounds) that they had not heard before,

they got so frightened that they all fled, and they never dared come back home again.
19. qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu o-lṇu=nəʔ na-ɣʰorʔ-nə
   all henchforth 3SG:POSS-child=PL PFV-be.separated2-3PL
qʰoʔ kʰ-diʃə ò-ja mə-jwʔ-cə
SEQ INF-look.for 3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come2-MED
And henceforth its children got separated from it and, searching, it could never find them.

20. qʰoʔ kʰə̓q=naʔ kʰ=taʔ "dʒəɾtə te-nə-geʔ-cə
SEQ NMLZ-leopard=DET NMLZ-be.true boot PFV:UP:TR-put.on2-MED
qʰoʔ fə-nv-qəɾʃə-nəʔ
SEQ AND-IPFV:PST-hunt2-MED=SUB
pra ò-ta tʰɐ-re=nəʔ
cliff 3SG:POSS-top PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2=SUB
And when the leopard really put on the riding boots and went hunting, and when it went
downriver over the cliff,

21. "dʒəɾtə=kə nə-o-saʊlʣə=ɾət-cə
boot=ERG PFV:DOWN-INV-cause.to.slip.and.fall2-MED
qʰoʔ nə-ʃəntə nə-set-cə
SEQ PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height2 PFV:DOWN-die2-MED
the boots made it slip, and it fell down and died.
Part II. Texts

WOLF AND SHEEP
spjan'kusebənə? qəyiʔə əxpe
Narrator: Athar

1. *spjan'ku-cə ən-to əŋoʔ-cə*
   wolf-MED IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
   There was a wolf.

2. *qʰoʔ kə-səji=ce=naʔ əŋoʔ-qəyəni-cə=naʔ*
   SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP AND-IPFV:PST-hunt2-MED=SUB
   *kə-mədzəŋ mə-ŋə-cʰuʔ-cə*
   INF-be.careful NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-MED
   *qʰoʔ toŋtoŋ ome kə-rna=cə=naŋ əŋoʔ-rdelʔ-cə*
   SEQ pit very NMLZ-be.deep=INDF=inside PFV:DOWN-fall.in2-MED
   One day, as it went out hunting, it was careless and fell into a very deep pit.

3. *qʰoʔ toŋtoŋ=nay rjəspe əŋ-smο*
   SEQ pit=inside quite.a.while IPFV:PST-stay
   And it stayed in the pit for quite a while.

4. *qʰoʔ kə-mtser kə-fpa=reʔ ə-ne-e əŋoʔ-cə*
   SEQ NMLZ-be.hungry NMLZ-be.thirsty=PL PFV:TR-begin2 be-MED
   And it began to get hungry and thirsty.

5. *qʰoʔ nəjermə toŋtoŋ o-kʰe te-mpʰəri=naʔ*
   SEQ about.that.time pit 3SG:POSS-opening IPFV:UP-look=SUB
   *qəyiʔ kə-rdəʔ=cəʔ toŋtoŋ o-kʰe=za əŋoʔ-teʔəʔ-əŋə*
   sheep one-CL=INDF pit 3SG:POSS-opening=LOC CONT-come2-MED
   Just about that time, as it was looking upward at the opening of the pit, (it saw) a sheep
   was coming by the opening of the pit.
6. qʰoʔ spjaŋku=kə qeq̈i?=pʰa
SEQ wolf=ERG sheep=place
kʰētʂo pʰiʃi to-o-réški-ʔə "denə?
please IMP:UP-pull-1SG for
tonjtoŋ=nəŋ n-w-redelʔ-anʔ əŋ ə te-tsəʔ-ca
pit=inside PFV:DOWN-fall.in2-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED
The wolf said to the sheep, “Please pull me up, for I have fallen into the pit.”

7. qʰoʔ qeq̈i?=nəʔ=kə
SEQ sheep=DET=ERG
m-w-tə-réški "denə? koyʔ-dze-ʔə fəʔ te-tsəʔ-ca
NEG-1→2-pull for 2→1-eat-1SG be:EMPH PFV:TR-say2-MED
The sheep said, “I will not pull you up, for you will eat me.”

8. qʰoʔ leʔ spjaŋku=kə qeq̈i?=pʰa
SEQ again wolf=ERG sheep=place
nub-me=cəʔ kʰomfəʔ n-w-stokeʔ "denə? m-w-reʔ
2SG:POSS-leg=INDF a.bit IMP:DOWN-hold.out3 except NEG-be.necessary
qʰoʔ tonjtoŋ=nəŋ kv-nlɔʔ? cʰə-ʔə əŋ?
SEQ pit=inside NMLZ-exit be.able-1SG be
And the wolf again (said) to the sheep, “Just stick a leg of yours down a bit, and I will be
able to come out of the pit.”

9. te-nlɔʔ-ʔə=nəʔ kʰomnbe m-w-tə-dze te-tsəʔ
IPFV:UP-exit-1SG=SUB at.all NEG-1→2-eat PFV:TR-say2
“And when I come out, I will by no means eat you,” it said.

10. qʰoʔ mne te-lêt əŋʔ-ca
SEQ oath PFV:TR-do2 be-MED
And it took an oath.
11.  qʰoʔ qəjiʔ=nəʔ=κə ne-nəʷgiʔ-cə
    SEQ sheep=DET=ERG PFV:TR-believe2-MED
    qʰoʔ ő-me  ne-stoki
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-leg PFV:DOWN:DOWN-stick.out2
qʰoʔ  spjaŋku  te-rʃe-cə
    SEQ wolf PFV:UP:TR-pull2-MED
    The sheep believed it, and stuck a leg down and pulled the wolf up.

12.  qʰoʔ  spjaŋku  tə-nlə  qʰoʔ  nə-səⁿdʒəskizʔ-cə
    SEQ wolf PFV:UP-exit2 SEQ PFV-stretch.oneself2-MED
    The wolf came out up and stretched itself.

13.  oʒorʔ josniʔ=rcənəʔ
    meanwhile today=TOP:EMPH
təmtserʔ  tsəpaʔ  ʃfikə  tʰə-to=kə
    hunger thirst very.much CONT:LTR-exist2=INS
tə-ʔəⁿdze  tfət-cə  te-tsəʔ
    IPFV-1→2-eat be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say2
    Meanwhile, it said, “Today, I have no choice but eat you, for I am so hungry and thirsty.”

14.  qʰoʔ qəjiʔ=kə mə-tə-kəyʷ-əⁿdze-aŋ  "denəʔ
    SEQ sheep=ERG NEG-IMP-2→1-eat-1SG for
    nejiʔ  mə-tə-ʔəⁿdze  mne  tə-tə-lət  ʔəʔ?
    2SG NEG-1→2-eat oath PFV-2-do be
    “Don’t eat me, for you have taken an oath ‘I will not eat you,’” the sheep said.

15.  məlen  kəyʷ-əⁿdze-aŋ  reʔ
    by.necessity 2→1-eat-1SG be.necessary
    qʰonə  əlɪkʰo  tə-tsəʔ
    SEQ:EMPH place.upriver go-1DU
“If you will have to eat me, let us go upriver and ask people if it is just for you to eat me or not,” it said.

“Very well, we may go and ask people,” the wolf said.

And they went and went upriver.

And they saw an old dzo grazing.

The two of them gave the old dzo an accounting of everything that had happened.

A dummy reduplicating morph accompanying ne-kə-fsət in this elaborate expression.
Part II. Texts

20. $qʰoʔ \text{ qņjiʔ=} kə \text{ jle \ mdzorgen=} pʰa$

SEQ sheep=ERG dzo old.dzo=place

$koʔ \text{ spjiŋku=} kə \text{ tə-o"dze-} aŋ$

this wolf=ERG IPFV-INV-eat-1SG

tʃəŋʔ? soʔ \text{ me-tʃəŋ} \text{ tʃ-} tʃə \text{ te-tʃəʔ-} cə$

be.just or NEG-be.just IMP-say PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the sheep said to the old dzo, “Please tell us if it is just or not for this wolf to eat me.”

21. $qʰo]\text{ \ mdzorgen=} kə$

SEQ old.dzo=ERG

tʃ-e-tʃə-\text{ } dze \text{ tʃəŋʔ? soʔ me-tʃəŋ?=} nəʔ \text{ mə-si-} aŋ$

IPFV-2:INV-eat be.just or NEG-be just=SUB NEG-know-1SG

And the old dzo (said), “I do not know if it is just for you to be eaten or not,”

22. $nə\text{denəʔ} \text{ v-} \text{dəx} po=\text{reʔ=} kə$

for 1SG:POSS-master=PL=ERG

noy-tʃəʔ-\text{ } aŋ \text{ noy-tʃəʔ-} aŋ$

IPFV:PST:INV-use.for.tilling2-1SG IPFV:PST:INV-use.for.tilling2-1SG

koʔ mepɛrtəv \text{ noy-tʃəʔ-} aŋ \text{ əŋ}$

till.now IPFV:PST:INV-till2-1SG be

“for my master have worked me and worked me at the plough until now;”

23. $qʰoʔ \text{ mə"dv} 172 \text{ nə-rəz-} aŋ$

SEQ TOP PFV-be.old2-1SG

qraʃsi kw-rəsli mə-nə-cʰəʔ-\text{ } aŋ \text{ əŋ}$

plough INF-pull NEG-PFV-be.able2-1SG be

“but I have become old now, and unable to pull the plough,”

\*172 An emphatic topic marker denoting change of state, i.e ‘but now...’.
24. \( qʰo? \) poʃkʰo təɾu-tser? le-o-koyʔ-aŋ
SEQ now pasture-inside PFV:UPRIVER-INV-put.out.of.pen.to.graze-1SG
“now, I have been put out of the pen to graze inside the pasture.”

25. \( qʰoʔ \) tʰé-tʰo-aŋ=ŋəʔ skem o-wemw-aŋ-ŋə ŋəʔ?
SEQ IPFV-be.fat=SUB beef.cattle INV-kill-1SG-3PL be
nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
ANA PFV:TR-say2-MED
“And when I fatten, I will be slaughtered for beef,” it said.

26. \( qʰoʔ \) spjaŋku=kə nəʔ fʃə t ko
SEQ wolf=ERG ANA be.like DM
te-te^ədze tʃəʔ-cə mənə tw^ədze ŋəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
IPFV-1→2-eat be.just-MED DM 1→2-eat be PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the wolf said, “You see, it is just to eat you! And I will eat you.”

27. fənaʔ qəjiʔ=kə kəmtʃə mə-tə-tə^nəmʔ?
butil sheep=ERG a.bit NEG-IMP-2-hurry
leʔ vlɪkʰo fə-rəɾrwt-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə
again upriver AND-do.asking-1DU PFV:TR-say2-MED
But the sheep said, “Not so soon please, let’s go upriver to ask more people.”

28. \( qʰoʔ \) leʔ ko-rəɾrwt le-nətsʰə^ədzə ŋəʔ-cə
SEQ again NMLZ:PURP-do.asking PFV:UPRIVER-set.out-3DU be-MED
And they set out upriver again to ask people.
29. **qʰoʔ felili=ce=naʔ?**  
SEQ far.upriver=INDF=DET  
ftsorgen=caʔ  
SEQ old.female.dzo=INDF  
-mf=caʔ  
SEQ old.female.dzo=INDF  
waŋ-ŋəʔo  
SEQ old.female.dzo=INDF  
CONT:LTR-graze2  
be.seen-MED  
At some place far upriver, they saw an old female dzo grazing.

30. **qʰoʔ leʔ qejiʔ=seʰənaʔ? spjanyku=niʔ=ka**  
SEQ again sheep=and wolf=DU=ERG  
tʰə nə-ɾuʔ  
SEQ old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
ktən  
SEQ sheep=ERG  
meʔ-ɾuʔ  
SEQ old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
e-teʔ-ɾuʔ-dzə  
SEQ old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
ȵəʔ-cə  
SEQ what  
PFV:TR-say2-3DU  
be-MED  
And again the sheep and wolf told it everything that had happened.

31. **qʰoʔ qejiʔ=ka ftsorgen ə-pʰə**  
SEQ sheep=ERG old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
IPFV:INV-eat-1SG be.just or NEG-be.just  
IMP-say PFV:TR-say2-MED  
And the sheep said to the old female dzo, “Tell us if it is just or not for me to be eaten.”

32. **fənaʔ ftsorgen=ka**  
but old.female.dzo=ERG  
v-vdaxpo=ɾuʔ  
SEQ old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
komtiʔ-ɾə  
SEQ old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
ne-o-ŋeʔoʔ-ɾaŋ  
SEQ old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
tenztəɾə  
SEQ old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
ŋəʔ  
SEQ 1SG:POSS-master=PL  
until.now IPFV:TR-INV-milk2-1SG continuously be  
But the old female dzo said, “My masters had continuously milked me,”

33. **qʰoʔ məɾdv ne-ɾgeʔ-aŋ**  
SEQ TOP PFV-be.old2-1SG  
ke-ruljaʔ  
SEQ INF-bear.child  
mə-ɾə-cəʔ-aŋ  
SEQ NEG-PFV-be.able2-1SG  
é-lo  
SEQ 1SG:POSS-milk  
ŋə-meʔ  
SEQ PFV-not.exist2
34. *qʰoʔ fsiʔ=nəʔ tʰé-tsʰo-ŋ=naʔ*

SEQ in.future=DET IPFV-be.fat-1SG=UB

*skem o-wemw-ŋ-nəʔ ŋoʔ*

beef.cattle INV-kill-1SG-3PL be

“And when I fatten in the future, they will kill me for beef,”

35. *qʰoʔ mnjiʔ te-toy-ŋ-dze tʃaŋʔ soʔ mɛ-tʃaŋʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ 2SG IPFV-2:INV-eat be.just or NEG-be.just=SUB

*ŋiʔ mé-siz-aŋ te-tsʰə-cə*

1SG NEG-know-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED

“So I don’t know whether it is just or not for you to be eaten,” it said.

36. *qʰoʔ spjaŋku=kə leʔ naʔ fsət ko*

SEQ wolf=ERG again ANA be.like DM

*te-tə-dze tʃaŋʔ-cə mʊnə*

IPFV-1→2-eat be.just-MED DM

*tə-dze ŋoʔ te-tsʰə-cə*

1→2-eat be PFV:TR-say2-MED

And again the wolf said, “You see, it is just to eat you! And I will eat you.”

37. *fənaʔ qəjiʔ=kə leʔ kəmtʃə ma-ʃə-tə-bəmʔ*

but sheep=ERG again a.bit NEG-IMP-2-hurry

*leʔ ko-təʃ=kə fə-rəɾwet-tsə te-tsʰə-cə*

again one-time=just AND-ask.people-1DU PFV:TR-say2-MED
But again the sheep said, “Not so soon please, let’s go upriver to ask people just one (more) time. If the answer is still ‘It is just,’ then you can eat me,” it said.

38. **qʰoʔ** spjaŋku=kə vde vde kə te-tsəʔ-cə

SEQ wolf=ERG be.good be.good DM PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the wolf said, “OK, OK.”

39. **leʔ** felili=ce lv-bere-^dzə-cə=nə?

again far.upriver=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-go2-3DU-MED=SUB

^dzə-kóri rewan=cə? tʰa-weʔ-cə

3DU:POSS-front rabbit=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-come2-MED

As they again went farther upriver, a rabbit came downriver ahead of them.

40. **qʰoʔ** qəji?=scʰənəʔ spjaŋku=nɨ?=kə

SEQ sheep=and wolf=DU=ERG

rewan=pʰa tʰə mw-kə-fsət=reʔ kəmdɨ? te-tsəʔ-^dzə-cə

raibit=place what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like2=PL all PFV:TR-say2-3DU-MED

And the sheep and the wolf told the rabbit everything that had happened.

41. **qʰoʔ** qəji?=kə

SEQ sheep=ERG


IPFV-INV-eat-1SG be.just or NEG-be.just=SUB

tə-təsə kʰʰəʔso te-tsəʔ-cə

IMP-say please PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the sheep said, “Please tell us whether it is just for me to be eaten.”
42. qʰoʔ rewaj=ka kómtʃa "dveñdjaŋ ne-lét-cə

SEQ rabbit=ERG a.bit thinking PFV:TR-do2-MED

And the rabbit thought about it for a while (and said),

43. qʰoʔ poʃkʰo ma-tə-tə-tənơmʔ=dzə jwút-jə

SEQ now NEG-IMP-2-hurry-2DU return-1PL
qʰoʔ tfʰə ne-kə-fsát-ədzə=naʔ?

SEQ what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like-2DU=SUB

"Now, do not hurry and let all of us go back, and let me observe carefully what happened between you two."

44. qʰoʔ noŋmenəʔ tʃaŋʔ soʔ ma-tʃaŋʔ?

SEQ only.then be.jsut or NEG-be.just
té-tʃaŋ=ka te-tʃaʔ-cə

IPFV:say-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED

"Then I will tell you whether it is just or not,” it said.

45. qʰoʔ rewaj qəjiʔ spjaŋku=reʔ?

SEQ rabbit sheep wolf=PL
spjaŋpu o-sw-rdelʔ=z tʰə-jwet-nə-cə

wolf 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-fall.in2=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-return2-3PL-MED

And the rabbit, the sheep, and the wolf returned downriver to where the wolf had fallen in (the pit).
46. qʰoʔ rewəŋ=kə
SEQ rabbit=ERG
ʃqʰɐʔ tʰə nɐ-tə-fət-ʃədzə əʔʔ=naʔ
just.now what IPFV:PST-2-do.thus2-2DU be=TOP
leʔ tə-fət-ʒə te-tsəʔ
again IMP-do.thus-2DU PFV:TR-say₂
“You two re-enact what happened between you just now,” the rabbit said.

47. qʰoʔ spjəŋku=nəʔ leʔ tɔŋtŋ=naŋ nɐ-nəmderʔ-cə
SEQ wolf=DET again pit=inside PFV:DOWN-jump₂-MED
And the wolf jumped again into the pit again.

48. qʰoʔ ʃqʰɐʔ koʔ tə-fət-əŋ nɐ-rdelʔ-əŋ əʔʔ
SEQ just.now this PFV-do.thus-1SG PFV:DOWN-fall.in₂-1SG be
qʰoʔ qəjiʔ=kə ə-ʃfi ne-stoki
SEQ sheep=ERG 3SG:POSS-thigh PFV:DOWN:TR-stick.out₂
qʰoʔ tə-o-reski-əŋ əʔʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ PFV:UP-INV-pull₂-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
“I did like this and fell in just now, and the sheep stuck a thigh downward and pulled me up,” it said.

49. qʰoʔ rewəŋ=kə nəŋo nəŋo₁⁷³
SEQ rabbit=ERG EXCL EXCL
And the rabbit said, “I see, I see.”

50. nəjiʔ nəkəʔ tɔŋtŋ=naŋ ne-tə-nə-smə
2SG that.near.you pit=inside IPFV-2-SPON-stay
“You just stay by yourself inside that pit,”

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₁⁷³ An exclamation uttered when one understands a situation.
51. qeqii?=naʔ  me-te-to-rőskɛ  qʰoʔ  tʰo-to-naʃfe
   sheep=DET  NEG-IPFV:UP-2-pull  SEQ  IPFV:DOWNRIVER-2-go.back
   “and the sheep just goes downriver back home and not pulls you up,”

52. tsjaŋʔ-te-tsəʔ-cə
   be.just-MED  PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “and it would be just,” it said.

53. qʰoʔ  qeqii?=naʔ  tə-χe=kə  jʊ-nafɛ?-cə
   SEQ  sheep=DET  NMLZ=be.joyful2=INS  PFV-go.back2-MED
   And the sheep joyfully went back home.

54. qʰoʔ  spjaŋku=nəʔ  leʔ  tʊŋtʊŋ=nəŋ  nv-smo
   SEQ  wolf=DET  again  pit=inside  IPFV:PST-stay
   And the wolf stayed inside the pit.

55. qʰoʔ  nəfəqʰu  o-kə-rőskį  ᵃdvnbe  nv-ʃeʔ-cə
   SEQ  thereafter  3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-pull  at.all  IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
   And afterwards there was no one at all to pull it out.
A WOMAN FROM GRATSE LIVING WITH A ONE-LEGGED DEMON

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. \(\text{sponts}\text{e}=\text{z} \quad \text{yretse} \quad \text{tôme}=\text{cə} \quad \text{nv-to} \quad \eta\text{ŋo}-\text{cə}\)
   former.time=LOC PN woman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
   \(\text{ŋoʔ} \quad \text{rkəŋlo} \quad \text{ne-nezde} \quad \eta\text{ŋo}-\text{cə}\)
   SEQ one.legged.demon PFV:TR-live.with2 be-MED

   Once there was a woman at Gratse, she lived with a one-legged demon.

2. \(\text{nəʔ} \quad \text{rkəŋlo}=\text{nəʔ} \quad \text{kə-rvytim} \quad \text{nv-ŋo-\text{cə}}\)
   ANA one.legged.demon=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.bringing.in.riches IPFV:PST-be2-MED
   That one-legged demon was the kind that makes one rich.\(^{174}\)

3. \(\text{ŋoʔ} \quad \text{tərəʔt\text{e}} \quad \text{mə-ŋə-\text{wət}} \quad \text{mv} \quad \eta\text{ŋo}-\text{cə}\)
   SEQ goods NEG-PFV:TR-bring2 not.exist be-MED

   And there were no goods that it would not bring back.

4. \(\text{fənəʔ} \quad \text{kə\text{meq}u}\)
   but afterwards
   \(\text{tôme}=\text{kə} \quad \text{rkəŋlo} \quad \text{kv-fqəʔ} \quad \text{ne-səsi} \quad \eta\text{ŋo}-\text{cə}\)
   woman=ERG one.legged.demon INF-ward.off PFV:TR-want2 be-MED
   \(\text{fənəʔ} \quad \text{me-ŋə-gə-chə} \quad \eta\text{ŋo}-\text{cə}\)
   but NEG-IPFV-be.able be-MED

   But afterwards, the woman wanted to ward off the one-legged demon, but was unable to do so.

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\(^{174}\) According to local folklore, there are two kinds of one-legged demons: a diligent kind that causes one to become rich, and a lazy kind that causes one to become poor.
5. qʰoʔ  tʃuʔ=z
   SEQ  PN=LOC
   vlɐmə  ƣɪkə  kə-ŋòl=coʔ?  ɲə-to  ɲoʔ-cə
   lama  very  NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF  IPFV:PST-exist2  be-MED
There was a very virtuous lama at Cus Village.

6. qʰoʔ  qʰɐʔ  tə̀mε=nəʔ  vlɐmə=pʰə  tə-ˌtə-ŋə
   SEQ  ANA  woman=DET  lama=place  PFV:UP-go2-MED
And the woman went (uphill) to the lama.

7. qʰoʔ  vlɐmə  o175 ḟʃbʃət  ne-peʔ?
   SEQ  lama  3SG:POSS-telling  PFV:TR-do2
And related her story for the lama.

8. qʰoʔ  rkaŋlo  kv-fqaʔ?  ne-səsiʔ-əŋ
   SEQ  one.legged.demon  INF-ward.off  PFV:TR-want2-1SG
qʰoʔ  tʃə  te-ʃa-əŋ=nəʔ  kv-fqaʔ?  cʰə-əŋ-cə
SEQ  what  IPFV-do3-1SG=SUB  INF-ward.off  be.able-1SG-MED
   te-ʂəʔ?  ɲoʔ-cə
   PFV:TR-say2  be-MED
She asked, “I want to ward off the one-legged demon. What am I to do to be able to ward it off?”

9. qʰoʔ  vlɐmə=kə
   SEQ  lama=ERG
And the lama (said),

175 Referring to the recipient, the lama.
10. \textit{rkaŋlo}=pʰa  \textit{təɾjuʔlatʃe}  \textit{mə-jə-tə-wət}  \textit{mv}
\begin{align*}
\text{one.legged.demon} &= \text{place}  \\
\text{goods} &= \text{NEG-PFV-2-bring}  \\
\text{not.exist} &= 
\end{align*}

\textit{qʰoʔ  rəkəɾrə}  \textit{nə-fə}  \textit{qʰoʔ}  \textit{pʰone-rɪmo}  \textit{ʃə-kə-rojʔ}
\begin{align*}
\text{SEQ} &= \text{India}  \\
\text{IMP:WEST-go} &= \text{SEQ}  \\
\text{broomcorn-drying.rack} &= \text{AND-IMP:EAST-fetch}  \\
\text{SEQ:EMPH} &= \text{PFV-2-cause.to.be.complete}  \\
\text{be} &= \text{IRR-IMP-2-say}
\end{align*}

\text{“Tell the one-legged demon, ‘There is nothing that you did not bring me. Go west to India and bring back a drying rack made of broomcorn, and you will make everything complete.’”}

11. \textit{qʰonə}  \textit{pʰone-rɪmo}=nə?
\begin{align*}
\text{SEQ:EMPH} &= \text{broomcorn-drying.rack}  \\
\text{DET} &= 
\end{align*}

\textit{ʃə  kə-roʔ}  \textit{mə-cʰə}  \textit{fəʔ?=kə}
\begin{align*}
\text{immediately} &= \text{INF-fetch}  \\
\text{NEG-be.able} &= \text{be:EMPH=INS}
\end{align*}

\text{“And as it cannot fetch the drying rack made of broomcorn right away,”}

12. \textit{mə-cʰə?=ntʃən}
\begin{align*}
\text{IPFV:PST-be.able}  \\= \text{even}
\end{align*}

\textit{kəfne-rjəʔ}  \textit{jvrmə}  \textit{ʃə-tsɔ}  \textit{reʔ?=kə}
\begin{align*}
\text{seven-night} &= \text{about}  \\
\text{AND-elapse} &= \text{be.necessary=INS}
\end{align*}

\text{“and since even if it can (fetch it), it is going to take about seven nights.”}

13. \textit{nəʔ}  \textit{o-pɛɾtʰə?=nəʔ}
\begin{align*}
\text{ANA} &= \text{3SG:POSS-space.in.between=TOP}  \\
\text{3SG:POSS-sutra} &= \text{IPFV-GP-do spell}  \\
\text{IPFV-GP-hold} &= 
\end{align*}

\text{“One chants sutras against it in the meantime, and hold (the demon) under the spell.”}
14. qʰoʔ kw-fqaʔ səcʰu fteʔ te-tsəʔ
SEQ INF-ward.off be.doable be:EMPH PFV:TR-say2
“And it will be feasible to ward it off,” he said.

15. qʰoʔ nəʊkəsə o-vlo te-tsɛt ɲoʔ-ɕə
SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out2 be-MED
And thus offered his idea (to her).

16. qʰoʔ tɔmɛ=ɲoʔ ɣɾtse ɲə-ʊəɾe
SEQ woman=DET PN PFV:DOWNHILL-go.back2
And the woman went back to Gratse.

17. qʰoʔ rkaŋlo=pʰa nəʔ=ɾəʔ te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-ɕə
SEQ one.legged.demon=place ANA=PL PFV:TR-say2 be-MED
And said the above to the one-legged demon.

18. qʰoʔ rkaŋlo rjukər=z
SEQ one.legged.demon India=LOC
pʰoɲɛɾɛmo ʃə-kaɾ-roʔ ɲə-ʊɾɛ ɲoʔ-ɕə
broomcorn.drying.rack AND-NMLZ:PURP-fetch PFV:WEST-go2 be-MED
And the one-legged demon went west to India to fetch a drying rack made of broomcorn.

19. qʰoʔ o-qʰu=ɲəʔ=z
SEQ 3SG:POSS-back=DET=LOC
vləme kosioməme tɔmɛ=pʰa ɲə-ʊɾɛ-ɲə
lama with.disciple woman=place PFV:DOWN-go2-3PL
After it was gone, the lama and his disciples went downhill to the woman.
20. \(q^o\) \(kə̱fə-ne-\text{rja}\? \quad \text{IPFV:PST-chant.sutra} \equiv \text{3PL}\)

\(q^o\) \(zɡʁə̱pe \quad \text{ne-}^{\text{d}i-\text{nə}} \quad \text{ŋo?-cə}\)

SEQ seven-night \(\text{IPFV:PST-chant.sutra} \equiv \text{3PL}\) \(\text{be-MED}\)

And they kept chanting sutras for seven nights and cast a spell.

21. \(q^o\) \(kə̱fə-ne-\text{rja}\? \quad \text{na-tso?}=tsə\) \(\text{ŋo?-cə}\)

SEQ seven-night \(\text{PFV:TR-hold} \equiv \text{3PL}\) \(\text{be-MED}\)

And almost seven nights passed.

22. \(\text{vləme}=kə \quad \text{o-krəpe} \quad \text{nə-pʰə}\)

lama=ERG \(\text{3SG:POSS-disciple} \equiv \text{3PL:POSS-place}\)

\(\text{ŋəbəlvə} \quad \text{uðə̱mbə} \quad \text{mə-nə-}^{\text{tə-mjə-}\text{nə}}\)

offering \(\text{at.all} \equiv \text{NEG-IMP-2-take} \equiv \text{2PL}\)

\(kə̱mə \quad \text{mr-vdə} \quad \text{ŋə}\? \quad \text{te-tso}\? \quad \text{ŋo?-cə}\)

otherwise \(\text{NEG-be.good} \equiv \text{be} \equiv \text{PFV:TR-say} \equiv \text{2} \equiv \text{be-MED}\)

The lama said to his disciples, “Do not take any offering (from the woman), or it will be inauspicious.”

23. \(q^o\) \(kə̱-rə̱χtə=rtə? \quad \text{ne-sə̱vjo}^{\text{y}-\text{nə}}\)

SEQ \(\text{INF-chant.sutra}=\text{PL} \equiv \text{PFV:TR-finish} \equiv \text{3PL}\)

\(q^o\) \(kv-nə̱ʃə \quad \text{tə-mdə} \quad \text{ŋo?-cə}\)

SEQ \(\text{INF-go.back} \equiv \text{PFV-be.time} \equiv \text{3PL} \equiv \text{be-MED}\)

And they finished chanting sutras, and it was time to go home.

24. \(q^o\) \(tə̱me=kə\)

SEQ \(\text{woman}=\text{ERG}\)

\(nə̱-³bəlvə \quad rŋəl \quad \text{rtsə̱mkə}=\text{naŋ} \quad \text{ne-rko?-cə}\)

3PL:POSS-offering \(\text{silver} \equiv \text{tsampa.pouch}=\text{inside} \equiv \text{PFV:TR-put.into} \equiv \text{MED}\)

And the woman put some silver into tsampa pouch as offering to them.
25. \(q^\circ o\) vl\(\_\)me \(n\_\)p\(\_\)a

SEQ lama 3PL:POSS-place
\(\^n\)b\(\_\)lve \(t\_\)-\(\_\)d\(\_\)-\(\_\)a te-ts\(\_\)\(\_\)-c\(\_\)

offering IMP-take-2PL PFV:TR-say2-MED

And said to the lama, “Please take the offering.”

26. \(f\_\)n\(\_\)o\(\_\) vl\(\_\)me=k\(\_\)a \(\^n\)b\(\_\)lve \(k\_\)-s\(\_\)-\(\_\)di ud\(\_\)nbe m\(\_\)-n\(\_\)-k\(\_\)út-c\(\_\)

but lama=ERG offering INF-CAUS-take at.all NEG-IPFV:PST-allow2-MED

But the lama refused to be given any offering at all.

27. \(q^\circ o\) t\(\_\)-m\(\_\)e=k\(\_\)

SEQ woman=ERG
\(k\_\)o\(\_\) vl\(\_\)me=r\(\_\)\(\_\) \(\^n\)b\(\_\)lve m\(\_\)-\(\_\)d\(\_\)=n\(\_\)a?

SEQ lama=PL offering NEG-take=SUB
\(q^\_\)n\(\_\)a \(\_\)_m \(m\_\)-p\(\_\)e=n\(\_\)a? \(f\_\)e? ne-s\(\_\)s\(\_\)e?

SEQ:EMPH 1SG:POSS NEG-be.effective=SUB be:EMPH PFV:TR-think2

And the woman thought, “If the lama (and his disciples) do not take offerings, then (the exorcism rituals) will surely not be effective work for me.”

28. \(q^\circ o\) s\(\_\)q\(\_\)q\(\_\)ts\(\_\)ts\(\_\) su t\(\_\)a\(\_\)\(\_\) q\(\_\)\(\_\) m\(\_\) rts\(\_\)m\(\_\)k\(\_\)=n\(\_\)

SEQ stealthily ANA silver tsampa.pouch=DET lama
\(n\_\)-\(\_\)b\(\_\)ri o-\(\_\)l\(\_\)v\(\_\)=\(\_\)z te-s\(\_\)m\(\_\)q\(\_\)a \(\_\)_\(\_\)\(\_\)\(\_\)-c\(\_\)

3PL:POSS-horse 3SG:POSS-mane=under=LOC PFV:TR-cause.to.hang2 be-MED

And she had someone hang the tsampa pouch containing the silver under the mane of the lama’s horse on the sly.
29. qʰoʔ vlæm=enʔ=kə me-ne-saɾtə-nə-cə
SEQ lama=PL=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-discover2-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ tʃuʔ ta-bnære-nə ɲoʔ-cə
SEQ PN PFV:UP-go.back2-3PL be-med
And the lama and others did not realize this, and they went back uphill to Cus.

30. tʃuʔ ja-kə-zyet fajnætəko kə-toʔ
PN PROS-GP-arrive PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist
lv-zyt-nə jvrmə=nəʔ
PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-3PL about=SUB
Just when they were about to reach a place called Sheynatako almost reaching Cus Village,

31. vlæm o-kɾape kə-rdəʔ=nəʔ
lama 3SG:POSS-disciple one-CL=DET
læmstəmæt ə-mə tə-nəm
suddenly 3SG:POSS-leg PFV-be.ill₂
one of the lama’s disciple’s feet suddenly began to hurt.

32. qʰoʔ kə-tʰə=ɾən mə-nə-kʰut ɲoʔ-cə
SEQ GP-lay.foot.on.ground=even NEG-PFV-be.feasible₂ be-MED
And could not even set them down on the ground.

33. qʰoʔ vlæm=kə o-kɾape=pʰə
SEQ lama=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple=place
nəkəʔ təmə=kə ʰəlve ne-kʰi=nəʔ
that.near.you woman=ERG offering PFV:TR-hand.to₂=DET

176 Name of a place on a footpath leading uphill to Cus Village.
And the lama asked his disciples, "Did one of you take the offering that the woman handed to us?"

But none of his disciples took the offering.

And the lama ordered them to check the body of the horse also.

Afterwards, they discovered that somebody had hung the tsampa pouch under the horse’s mane.

immediately that.near.you silver tsampa.pouch=DET
And the lama said, “Go right away and return the tsampa pouch of silver to the woman!”

38. *qʰoʔ o-krape=rev=ka*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=PL=ERG quickly  
*fa-tʰe-suɨjwt-ʊə-cə*  
AND-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-return2-3PL-MED  
And his disciples quickly went downriver and returned it.

39. *qʰoʔ noŋme=naʔ tfuʔ to-ŋware-na-ćə*  
SEQ only.then=TOP PN PFV:UP-go.back2-3PL-MED  
Only then did they go back uphill to Cus.

40. *o-krape ə-me to-ka-ŋmam=naʔ=rev na-ʒi-ćə*  
3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-leg PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hurt2=DET=PL PFV-recover2-MED  
And his disciple’s feet that were hurting recovered.

41. *qʰoʔ kafne-rjv? na-tsoʔ oqʰuqʰoʔ*  
SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse2 after  
*rkaylo=ka rjkvr=z pʰonɛrɛmo ke-szɨʔt*  
one.legged.demon=ERG PN=LOC broomcorn.drying.rack PFV:EAST:TR-make.arrive  
After seven nights passed, the one-legged demon brought the broomcorn drying rack from India.
42. \( qʰoʔ \) \( tséⁿbv \) \( óₚvr=z \)
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-surface=LOC
\( rémo \) \( vz-nŋe \) \( qʰoʔ \) \( yretse \) \( "ge-mpʰéri \) \( ŋoʔ-cə \)
drying.rack CONT:HTR-use.as.walking.stick SEQ PN IPFV-look be-MED
Leaning on the drying rack as a walking stick, it was looking from the slope of Mount Tsemba.\(^{177}\)

43. \( ŋənəʔ \) \( vlme=kə \) \( zgrəpe \) \( teⁿdi \)
but lama=ERG spell PFV:TR-hold₂
\( qʰoʔ \) \( oₚsv’y-fə? \) \( nəₚɛʔ \) \( ŋoʔ-cə \)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-go₂ PFV-not.exist₂ be-MED
But as the lama cast a spell, its access was gone.

44. \( qʰoʔ \) \( rkaŋlo=nəʔ \)
SEQ one.legged.demon=DET
\( tséⁿbv=νvr=z \) \( gɾওŋoŋo \) \( ne-vevo \)
Tsemba-surface=LOC IDPH\(^{178}\) IPFV-weep
And the one-legged demon was weeping\(^{179}\) bitterly on Mount Tsemba.

45. \( qʰoʔ \) \( yretse=z \) \( "ge-mpʰéri \) \( kəma \)
SEQ PN=LOC IPFV:DOWN-look except
\( oₚsv’y-fə? \) \( nəₚɛʔ \) \( ŋoʔ-cə \)
3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-go₂ IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ be-MED
And it could only look down on Gratse with no access to it.

\(^{177}\) Name of a high peak opposite of Gratse near Ya’erzu.

\(^{178}\) Describing the sound of loud, continuous weeping.

\(^{179}\) Notice the present imperfective verb form is used instead of the past imperfective for vividness.
Afterwards, it just had to leave like that and go to other places, it is said.
A WOMAN FROM COGTSE LIVING WITH A ONE-LEGGED DEMON


Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. sŋontsʰe=z tʃōytse sutfʰe=z
   former.time=LOC PN place=LOC
tōmε=cəʔ nʔ-to ŋoʔ-cə
   woman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
   Once there was a woman at Cogtse.

2. qʰoʔ rkanlo ne-ngzde ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ one.legged.demon PFV:TR-live.with₂ be-MED
   She lived with a one-legged demon.

3. ʃənəʔ ʒaʔ kə-lден nə-tsəʔ?
   but time NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity PFV-elapse₂
   qʰoʔ tōmε=nəʔ=kə
   SEQ woman=DET=ERG
   rkanlo ne-ŋv-dv ne-səsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
   one.legged.demon IPFV-INF-forsake IPFV-desire₃ be-MED
   After a long time, the woman wanted to get rid of the one-legged demon.

4. ʃənəʔ uŋnbe mə-ŋv-cʰəʔ-cəʔ
   but at.all NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
   But she could not do it at all.
5. qʰoʔ o-zdewε=nə?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-village=TOP
vlame ome kə-yôlε=cə?
rama very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
There was a very virtuous lama at her village.

6. qʰoʔ nəʔ ơ-pʰa ʃə-te-ʒu əʔ-ʃə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place AND-PFV-say:HON2 be-MED
And she went and told him about this.

7. qʰoʔ vlame=kə
SEQ lama=ERG
And the lama (said),

8. ma-ʁdu rkaŋl=ʃə
NEG-matter one.legged.demon=place
nεjiʔ mə-jv-tv-wot əʔ-nə?
2SG NEG-PFV-2-bring2 not.exist be
ʃə-ɲəʔ tə-tə-saytsʰəʔ əʔ-nə?
but white.conch=GEN kneading.trough=INDF IRR-IMP-2-bring
SEQ:EMPH PFV-2-cause.to.be.complete2 be IRR-IMP-2-say
“No problem. Tell (the one-legged demon), ‘There were nothing that you did not bring.
But go bring a kneading trough made of white conch, and you will make everything
complete.’”

9. qʰoʔ nəʔ o-ka-ɲŋorə?
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-seek go be:EMPH=INS
nəʔ o-pərtʰə zɣᵊpε "ge-kə-ŋdi
ANA 3SG:POSS-space.in.between spell IPFV-GP-hold
“And (the one-legged demon) will go and look for it. In the meantime, one chants sutras against it and holds it under spell, and destroys its access for coming back,”

10. $qʰónə$ $nəʔ$ $ʃteʔ=kə$ $te-tsəʔ-cə$
   SEQ:EMPH ANA be:EMPH=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “and that will do it,” he said.

11. $qʰoʔ$ $tómɛ=nəʔ$ $o-kʰέɲɛʔ$ $jv-nɛɾɛ-cə$
   EQ woman=DET 3SG:POSS-home PFV-go.back2-MED
   And the woman went back home.

12. $qʰoʔ$ $rkaŋlo=pʰa$
   SEQ one.legged.demon=place
   $vlɛme=kə$ $o-vlo$ $te-ʃfet=nəʔ=rəʔ$ $nəʔ$ $tə-fʃo-t-cə$
   lama=ERG 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out2=DET=PL ANA PFV-do.thus2-MED
   And she did what the lama had advised her to do to the one-legged demon.

13. $qʰoʔ$ $rkaŋlo$ $jv-ʃɛʔ$ $rʒmtʃʰo$ $pʰvɾəl$ $kə-vcə$
   SEQ one.legged.demon PFV-go2 sea other.bank PFV:EAST-go2
   $qʰoʔ$ $tɒŋʔ$ $cɛɾgo$ $ne-ɲɛɾo$ $ŋoʔ-cə$
   SEQ white.conch kneading.trough PFV:TR-seek2 be-MED
   And the one-legged demon left and went east to the other side of the sea to look for the kneading trough made of white conch.

14. $qʰoʔ$ $o-zɡɪqʰu$
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-place.behind.back
   $vlɛme=rəʔ=kə$ $tómɛ$ $o-kʰέɲɛʔ$ $zɡɾəpə$ $ne-ɾdi-nə$
   lama=PL=ERG woman 3SG:POSS-home spell PFV:TR-hold2-3PL
And after it was gone, the lama and others chanted sutras and cast a spell at the woman’s home.

When seven nights passed,

the one-legged demon was able to bring back the kneading trough made of white conch.

But when it got to somewhere on the Cogtse Hill,

its access back (to Cogtse) disappeared as a result of the spell-casting and sutra-chanting.

The one-legged demon got angry,
20. **qʰoʔ** toŋʔ cáⁿ go=n əʔ rerivʔ=ta ne-cʰov
   EQ white.conch kneading.trough=DET untain=top PFV:TR-smash₂

   **qʰoʔ** ó-ste tʰe-wrə́t ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-where.something.is PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw₂ be-MED

   and it smashed the kneading trough made of white conch and dumped it right where it was on the mountain.

21. **nəʔ** o-təⁿʔ=ko
   ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS

   For that reason,

22. **tfəkštse** yrēko=ta=nəʔ
   PN ridge=top=TOP

   **qepi=ko** cor=nəʔ toŋ ne-wv-cʰov=kəsə
   flint=INS pile.of.rocks white.conch PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-smash₂=like

   **paʃkʰo=ntʃʰ on ke-mtiʔ** toʔ kə-tsə tfəʔoz?
   now=also NMLZ:SBJ:U-see exist GP-say be.the.rule

   even now a pile of flints that look like a smashed white conch can be seen on the (Cogtse) ridge, it is said.
FIRST STORY OF OLD WOMAN’S SON AND RABBIT

rgɛnmutʃuseʰənəʔ rewaŋ
Narrator: Nyimathar

1. șpontʃe=z ʁgɛnmu kə̚ʔdzəʃəʃu=cəʔ
   former.time=LOC old.woman together.with.son=INDF
   IPFV:PST-exist2-3DU be-MED
   Once there lived an old woman and her son.

2. qʰoʔ "dzə-ʃte=cəʔ kə̚-dzəʔ nv-to-cəʔ
   SEQ 3DU:POSS-field=INDF one-piece IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   qʰoʔ ːnəʔ ō-나ʔ=ːnəʔ rəʔeʔ ne-ʃi-"dzə-cəʔ
   SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside=DET peas IPFV:PST:TR-plant2-3DU-MED
   They had a piece of farming land, and were growing peas inside it.

3. qʰoʔ "dzə-ʃte ʃčəl=ːnəʔ
   SEQ 3DU:POSS-field center=DET
   r⁶gu=cəʔ ːmə kə̚-xteʔ=cəʔ nv-to-cəʔ
   boulder=INDF very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   In the center of their field, there was a big boulder.

4. qʰoʔ rewaŋ=cəʔ kə-ɾdəʔ tajtʃe=nəŋ kə̚ɲənəm "ge-wi
   SEQ rabbit=INDF one-CL field=inside often IPFV:DOWN-come
   A certain rabbit would often come downhill inside their field.

5. qʰoʔ "dzə-ɾəʔ ɾe-to-"dzə
   SEQ 3DU:POSS-peas come.and-IPFV-eat3
   And come to eat their peas.
6. \( qʰoʔ \) te-vjaʔ \( jemrə \)
SEQ IPFV-be.full about
\( qʰoʔ \) rⁿgú=ta te-fé \( qʰoʔ \) te-nəne \( ŋoʔ-cə \)
EQ boulder=top PFV:UP-go3 SEQ IPFV-rest be-MED
And when it is about full, it would go up the top of the boulder and rest.

7. \( qʰoʔ \) rgemutfu=naʔ=kaə
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG
koʔ rewaŋ kə-sənukʰəj v-rəreʔ? te-⁶dzə
this rabbit NMLZ:SBJ-be.bullying 1SG:POSS-peas IPFV-eat₃
ô-ta te-vjaʔ \( qʰoʔ \) rⁿgú=ta o-kə-nəne=ruʔ wəjo
3SG:POSS-top IPFV-be.full SEQ boulder=top 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-rest=PL be.seen ne-səsī-cə
PFV:TR-think₂-MED
And the son of the old woman thought, “What a bully this rabbit is! On top of eating my peas, look, it comes and rest on the boulder when it is full.”

8. \( qʰoʔ \) kə-səni=ce=naʔ?
SEQ one-day=INDF=TOP
rgemutfu=kaə siz təmtʃuyʔ? zərnaʔ? rⁿgú=ta
old.woman’s.son=ERG dawn boulder=top
tʰɛnˈdʒuɣ mtsʰʰôt ne-səmer
resin be.much PFV:TR-smear₂
One day at dawn, the old woman’s son smeared a lot of resin on top of the boulder.

9. \( qʰoʔ \) káde=nəʔ? rewaŋ leʔ tajtʃə=naŋ
SEQ in.a.while=TOP rabbit again field=inside
rəreʔ kə-ⁿdze ne-weʔ-cə
peas NMLZ:PURP-eat PFV:DOWN-come₂-MED
In a while, the rabbit again came downhill into the field to eat the peas.
10. \(qʰoʔ\) \(tə-\text{ya}\) \(qʰoʔ\) \(le?\) \(tʰ_{\text{gu}}=ta\) \(kə-\text{nəne}\)
SEQ PFV-be.full2 SEQ again boulder=top NMLZ:PURP-rest
\(tə-\text{vre-cə}=nə\) \(tɛ̄dʒuṣy=kə\) rewaŋ
PFV:UP-go=MED=SUB resin=ERG rabbit
\(o-fqor\) ne-\(^{3}\)di-cə
3SG:POSS-buttocks PFV:TR-hold=MED

When it was full and went up to the top of the boulder to rest, the resin caught the rabbit’s buttocks.

11. \(qʰoʔ\) \(rməmutũ=naʔ=kə\)
SEQ old.woman’s.son=ERG
\(nəʔošéfšət\) rewaŋ \(ne-mye?\) \(nə-cʰə?\) \(ŋoʔ-cə\)
thus rabbit PFV:TR-catch IPFV:PST-be.able=SUB be-MED

In that way, the old woman’s son was able to catch the rabbit.

12. \(qʰoʔ\) rewaŋ \(kə-ntʃə\) \(tə-\text{rents}₄=naʔ\)
SEQ rabbit NMLZ:PURP-kill PFV-make.preparations=SUB

Just when he was about to kill the rabbit,

13. rewaŋ=kə
rabbit=ERG
\(kʰɛtso\) vášvəm \(mə-na-ko-ntʃ⁶/e-\text{ay}\)
please NEG-IMP-2→1-kill-1SG
\(nə-rəre?\) \(tʃ⁶\) \(tə-\text{dze?-ay}\) \(tʰ_{\text{emtfetrə kəmdei?}}\) te-\(rələ?\-ay\)
2SG:POSS-peas what PFV-eat=1SG all:EMPH IPFV-recompense-1SG

the rabbit said, “Please don’t kill me. I will recompense you for all the peas I have eaten,”
14. nəʔ mek̂̂̃ts⁹et
ANA not.only
o-ffjäxp  ka-ŋölv  te-pɔ-aŋ=kə  te-τsəʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-making.up  NMLZ-be.fine  IPFV-do3-1SG=DM  PFV:TR-say2-MED
“not only that, but I will make it up nicely to you,” it said.

15. qʰoʔ rgenmutfu=nəʔ=kə
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG
ŋoʔ fie?  kə  ne-səsi-cə
be be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-think2-MED
And the old woman’s son thought, “OK, this is it.”

16. qʰoʔ rewaj ne-lët-cə
SEQ rabbit PFV:TR-release2-MED
And he set the rabbit free.

17. qʰoʔ fənəʔ rgenmutfu=nəʔ=kə
SEQ but old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG
tajʃe  χcəl  r⁹gu  ka-to?=nəʔ  ke-wəme  ne-səšeʔ  ŋoʔ-cə
field center boulder NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET INF-remove IPFV-want3 be-MED
But the old woman’s son would want to remove the boulder located at the center of the field.

18. qʰoʔ ó-mo=pʰa
SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=place
n-foʃpeʔ  qêʃwi  xtʃi-xtʃ  χsəm?=cəʔ  τə-ŋoʃ
1SG:POSS-buckwheat.bread bread be.small-be.big three=INDF IMP-make3
te-τsəʔ-cə
PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he said to his mother, “Make me three pieces of big and small buckwheat bread.”
19. qʰoʔ̥ ˈopo=ko  o-qėjwi  ɤsəm  te-peʔ  ɤn=ko
SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG 3SG:POSS-bread three PFV:TR-make2 be-MED
And his mother made him three pieces of bread.

20. qʰoʔ̥ rgnmutʃu=nəʔ=ko  rʰ̥gű=tə  tə-əmdzųʔ=ko
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG boulder=top PFV:UP-sit2-MED
And the old woman’s son sat on top of the boulder.

21. qʰoʔ̥ ˈopo=pʰə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=place
v=fojpeʔ qėjwi  stʰoʔ  kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ
3SG:POSS-buckwheat.bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
lɛ-kʰɛ  te-ʃəʔ=ko
IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to3 PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he said to his mother, “Hand me my smallest piece of buckwheat bread.”

22. qʰoʔ̥ ˈopo=ko  le-kʰi=ko
SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to2-MED
And his mother handed it (to him).

23. qʰoʔ̥ rgnmutʃu=nəʔ=ko  te-ʁdʒeʔ  te-ʃəjʃəy  ɤn=ko
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG PFV:TR-eat2 PFV:TR-finish2 be-MED
And the old woman’s son ate it up.

24. qʰoʔ̥ o-xṣiʔ  kəmtʃə  ne-ʃət-cə=nəʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-fart a.bit PFV:TR-release2-MED=SUB
rʰ̥gu  tətʃerʔ  ne-xəyɾə  ɤn=ko
boulder crack PFV:TR-cause.to.go2 be-MED
And when he farted a little, causing a crack in the boulder.
25. *qʰoʔ *rgunakan-tsū=nəʔ=kə *ó-mo=pʰa
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-mother=place
*foy/ph qʰejwi jəte-kʰa-xteʔ=nəʔ?

buckwheat.bread more-NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
*lê-kʰe te-tnaʔ-cə

IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the old woman’s son said to his mother, “Hand me the bigger piece of buckwheat bread.”

26. *qʰoʔ *ó-mo=kə *le-kʰi-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to2-MED

And his mother handed it (to him).

27. *qʰoʔ *rgunakan-tsū=nəʔ=kə *qʰejwi te-pʰuʔ=cə
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG bread PFV:TR-eat2=SUB
*o-xsiʔ jəte-kʰa-xteʔ=cə? te-lɾʔt-cə


And when the old woman’s son ate up the bread, he let loose a bigger fart.

28. *qʰoʔ *r*gʰu rjëspe kʰa-xteʔ ne-pʰaʔ-cə
SEQ boulder quite NMLZ-be.big PFV:TR-split2-MED

And split quite a big crack in the boulder.

29. *qʰoʔ *leʔ *ó-mo=pʰa
SEQ again 3SG:POSS-mother=place
*qʰejvi stʰoʔ kʰa-xteʔ=nəʔ? lê-kʰe te-tnaʔ-cə

bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to PFV:TR-say2-MED

And he said to his mother, “Hand me the biggest piece of bread!”
30. \(q^\theta o\) \(\ddot{o}-m\o=k\) \(le-k^\theta -c\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to2-MED
And his mother handed it (to him).

31. \(q^\theta o\) \(rg\v nmutfu=n\o^-k\o\)
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG
\(q\v jwi\) \(st^\theta o\) \(k\o-xte?=n\o\) \(te^\theta dze\) \(ne-st^\o t\) \(\eta\o^-c\o\)
bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET PFV:TR-eat PFV:TR-eat.up be-MED
And the old woman’s son ate all of the biggest piece of bread.

32. \(q^\theta o\) \(o-xsi\) \(\chi\v k\o-xte\) \(t^\theta-e-l\v t-c\o=n\o\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-fart very NMLZ-be.big PFV:OUT:TR-release be-MED=SUB
And when he let loose a very big fart,

33. \(r^\o gu\) \(ome\) \(k\o-xte\) \(n\o-p^\o\) \(mak\v ts^\o\)
boulder very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-split not.only
\(n\o\) \(\ddot{\o}-n\o\) \(o-j\o\) \(nv-ra\) \(\eta\o^-c\o\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside 3SG:POSS-self PFV:DOWN-be.stuck be-MED
he not only split a very big crack in the boulder, but he sank and got stuck inside it.

34. \(q^\theta o\) \(r^\o gu\) \(kv-\v tor\) \(kv-wem\o\) \(m\o-nv-c^\v h^2-c\o\)
SEQ boulder INF-break.apart INF-remove NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able be-MED
He was unable to break the boulder apart and clear it away.

35. \(q^\theta o\) \(r^\o gu\) \(t\v \v tser\) \(n\o-k\o-\v re\) \(\ddot{\o}-n\o\)
SEQ boulder crack PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go 3SG:POSS-inside
\(\v nt\v t\v tse\) \(nv-s\o\) \(\eta\o^-c\o\)
continuously IPFV:PST-stay be-MED
And he stayed (stuck) inside the crack he got into.
36. *qʰoʔ  ó-ta  tʰe-kə-fe*
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go
   tʰe-kə-wi=raʔ?
   mtsʰôt  ηoʔ-cə
   IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL be.many be-MED
   And many people were coming and going over him.

37. *qʰoʔ  éto₁八十  tə-o-rejé-anq-fe-anj₁八十*
   SEQ PRON:UP:VOC IMP:UP-INV-pull-1SG-pull:RDPL-1SG
   ne-na-gre  ka-göle  nəna-pó-anq-pə-anj
   2SG:POSS-wages NMLZ-be.nice SPON:RDPL-do-1SG-do:RDPL-1SG
   ne-tsəʔ?  ηoʔ-cə
   IPFV:PST:TR-say2 be-MED
   And he kept saying, “You who is above me, pull me up, and I will pay you well.”

38. *fənaʔ  nə-qe  kə-me*
   but  3PL:POSS-free.time NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist
   γʰbi  ka-vsr-flkər  zəʃʰər  kə-vsr-ə-da
   drum NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-carry.on.back cymbal NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-hold
   əntsótsə  ηoʔ-cə
   continuously be-MED
   But they were all those who did not have time, busy carrying drums on their backs and holding cymbals,

39. *qʰoʔ  kv-réski  v-qe  mə  *denəʔ*
   SEQ INF-pull 1SG:POSS-free.time not.exist for
   v-vəʔ=raʔ?
   nə-γʰbi  fə-sîjwet-anj
   1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle=PL 3PL:POSS-drum AND-return-1SG

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¹八十 Pronominal use of an orientational adverbial, in the vocative case.

¹八十 This special reduplication pattern occurs only in song lyrics and not permitted in ordinary language.

¹八十 As above.
and they were all those who said, “I don’t have time for pulling, because I will go and return to my uncles their drums and their cymbals.”

40. \( q^{9}o \) ? \( kəmbq^{9}unəq \)

SEQ afterwards

\( o^{-}t\text{supoyru}q \) ? \( kə^{-}n\text{su}-f\text{kor}=cə \)

3SG:POSS-carrying.basket NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:TR-carry.on.back=INDF

\( ʁʒ\text{unu} \) \( me^{-}b\text{re}b\text{rēt}^{183}=cə \) \( lə-we? \) \( ŋo?-cə \)

young.man IDPH=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-come\(_2\) be-MED

Afterwards, a tall and stout young man came upriver carrying his basket on back.

41. \( q^{9}o \) ? \( nə?=kə \) \( tə^{-}o-\text{rfe} \) \( ŋo?-cə \)

SEQ ANA=ERG PFV-INV-pull\(_2\) be-MED

\( m\text{uktə}st\text{et} \) \( o^{-}t\text{supoyru}q?=nαŋ \) \( tə^{-}o-rkəq \)

not.only 3SG:POSS-carrying.basket=inside PFV:UP-INV-put.into\(_2\)

\( q^{9}o \) ? \( tə^{-}o-n\text{atsom} \) \( ŋo?-cə \)

SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.thither\(_2\) be-MED

And (the old woman’s son) was not only pulled up, but put into the latter’s carrying basket and carried downriver by him.

42. \( nəq ? k\text{zunu}=nəq ? \) \( t\text{jo} \) \( nə^{-}ŋo \) \( ŋo?-cə \)

SEQ young.man=DET demon IPFV:PST-be\(_2\) be-MED

This young man was a demon.

\(^{183}\) A derived ideophone from the root \( brēt \), describing a person being tall and strong.
43. \(qʰoʔ\) rewaŋ = kə rγəmumfə u o-rəɾək əɾə-rəlɛʔ
SEQ rabbit=ERG old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-peas NMLZ:PURP-recompense
nɛ-weʔ-cə = nəʔ
IPFV:PST-come2-MED=DET
When the rabbit came downhill to recompense the old woman’s son for his peas,

44. təjo=kə tʰə-o-ɾəntsəm ne-fsw-cə
Demon=ERG PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.thither2 PFV:TR-hear2-MED
it heard that he had been taken downriver by the demon.

45. qʰoʔ təjo kʰənəj mə-where smo əɾjəɾənəʔ?
SEQ demon home NEG-IPFV:PST-be.present2 when
təjoʔ kʰənəj tʰə-vrɛ-cə
demon home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-MED
It went downriver to the demon’s home at a time when the latter was not at home.

46. qʰoʔ rγəmumfə=niʔ=seʰənəʔ təjo o-kómtə=z
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DU=and demon 3SG:POSS-courtyard=LOC
kəxsə ke\(184\)-vɾəʔ=ɾədə əɾəʔ-cə
leopard PFV:CISLOC:TR-tether2-3DU be-MED
Together with the old woman’s son, the two of them tethered a leopard to the demon’s courtyard.

\(184\) The orientation prefix \(ke\)- denotes “tying the leash on the leopard around a long object (e.g. a pole, a tree)” at the courtyard.
And they made a snake stay inside (the demon’s) latch hole, and placed a pestle on the top of his ladder.

And the rabbit (said) to the old woman’s son,

“Take some coarse flour and an upper millstone, and go up the ceiling,”

“and when the demon says ‘Let it rain!’, rain down your piss!”

“And when he says ‘Let it sleet!’, scatter the coarse flour down!”
52. \(qʰoʔ\ tʰɔʔ nɛ-səwɛ \ tɛ-tsə=scʰənəʔ\)
   SEQ thunderbolt IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come3 PFV-say=SUB
   \(xpʰεstot v-ne-tə-wɛɾet\)
   upper.millstone IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-throw
   \(qʰoʔ tə̄^o=ɛɨntə=ɛəʔ\)
   SEQ demon IRR-IMP-2-kill3 PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “And when he says, ‘Let thunderbolts strike down!’, cast down the upper millstone and kill the demon,” it said.

53. \(qʰoʔ t̄ə̄^o=ɛɨntə=ɛəʔ\ o-kʰɨnə=ɛəʔ\)
   SEQ demon=DET 3SG:POSS-home PFV-come.back2-MED
   And the demon returned to his home.

54. \(qʰoʔ o-kómte^o kə̄xə \ tə̄-kv-rə=ɛɨntə=ɛə\)
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-courtyard leopard PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-tie2=DET=ERG
   \(tə̄-oy=ɛdze^o=ɛə\)
   PFV-INV-bite2-MED
   And he got bitten by the leopard tethered to his courtyard.

55. \(qʰoʔ tə̄jo=ɛə\)
   SEQ demon=ERG
   \(ɛldzə̄^y pə̄ldzə̄^y mə-wəru\)
   IDPH IDPH NEG-be.necessary

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185 This utterance (and what follows in 57, 59) mixes in words from Showu Rgyalrong to create a humorous effect. This storytelling strategy works since Tshobdun and Showu Rgyalrong speakers live in adjacent areas and thus have been in frequent contact and are familiar with each other’s language. The forms ɛldzə̄^y pə̄ldzə̄^y, and ɛldza pə̄ldza in (57), ɛzɡə̄^y pɛzɡə̄^y are ideophones based on the ideophone roots ldz^y, ldz, and zgr^y, all describing differing sensations of pain.

186 The form wəru here imitates the Showu verb wɔɾə̄ (where macron marks level tone) ‘be necessary’.
And the demon said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

And when he put his hand into the latch hole, the snake bit him.

And (the demon) said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

When he went up the stairs, he was thrown downstairs by (stepping on) the pestle.

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187 The form rəwayʔ here imitates the Showu primary continuous verb form rə-vi-ŋ ‘I am coming’.

188 The form rcérce here imitates the reduplicated Showu emphatic copula rcē.
59. qʰoʔ érzγə rəsγə rə-wərə?
SEQ IDPH IDPH NEG-be.necessary 
ⁿ-denə? v-¹-gre ko-nášmet rəwəŋ? rə+wərc
for 1SG:POSS-wages NMLZ-demand.payment I.am.coming be:EMPH
tə-tsəʔ-ə
PFV:TR-say2-MED
And (the demon) said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to
be paid back!”

60. qʰoʔ təyo mkʰərke=z tə-mpʰeri=nə?
SEQ demon ceiling=LOC IPFV:UP-look=SUB
rgəmŋəfu ne-mti əwə ŋoʔ-ə
old.woman’s.son PFV:TR-see2 be.seen be-MED
As the demon looked up, he saw and discovered the old woman’s son.

61. qʰoʔ təyo=kə rəmŋəfu=pə
SEQ demon=ERG old.woman’s.son=place
nəkənə təpə kə-pe tə-tə-vəre tə-tsəʔ-ə
where.you.are what NMLZ:PURP-do PFV:UP-2-go2 PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the demon said to the old woman’s son, “What did you go up there to do?”

62. qʰoʔ rəmŋəfu=nəʔ=kə
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG
təmu kə-səylət tə-wə-rəŋ tə-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-ə
rain NMLZ:PURP-cause.to.release PFV:UP-go2-1SG PFV:TR-say2 be-MED
And the old woman’s son said, “I have gone up to cause rain to come down.”
And the demon said, “Alright, (if you are so smart) then cause rain to come,” and then the old woman’s son let loose his urine.

And (the demon) said, “If you can do it, then cause sleet to come down!”

And (the demon) said, “Alright, if you can do it, cause thunderbolts to come down!”

And (the old woman’s son) threw down the upper millstone, and killed the demon.
And rabbit and the old woman’s son went back upriver, and lived together as a family, it is said.

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189 This is a formulaic expression uttered at the end of a story.
SECOND STORY OF OLD WOMAN’S SON AND RABBIT

rgенькмутфусё anvэ = рэвэ
Narrator: Nyimathar

1. spонсэ=t ргенькмутфу=са? нв-to нё?-сэ
former.time=LOC old.woman’s.son=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
Once there was an old woman’s son.

2. qʰoʔ = рэвэ=са? нв-to нё?-сэ
SEQ rabbit=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
And there was a rabbit.

3. qʰoʔ кэ-сэ=t нв-кэри=-дэ=са=но?
SEQ one-day=INDF IPFV:PST-hunt2-3DU-MED=SUB
нброн=са? нэ-нтэьё=-дэ нё?-сэ
wild.yak=INDF PFV-kill2-3DU be-MED
One day, while they were hunting, they killed a wild yak.

4. qʰoʔ "дэ-пвэ" o-vзэр
SEQ 3DU:POSS-campsite 3SG:POSS-side
"бронь о-фэ нэ-этэьё=-дэ нё?-сэ
wild.yak 3SG:POSS-meat IPFV:PST:TR-stack.up2-3DU be-MED
And they were stacking up the wild yak’s meat beside their campsite.

5. qʰoʔ кэнэтэьумэ тэ-мпйрэ=-дэ=но?
SEQ afterwards IPFV:look-3DU=SUB
иэнун кэвэри=тэ шээм=са? лв-веь-нэ нё?-сэ
youth hunter three=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-come2-3PL be-MED
Afterwards, as they were looking downriver, (they saw) three young hunters came upriver.
6. *qʰoʔ* rewaŋ rgenmutfu o-vlo te-tsət ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ rabbit=ERG old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out2 be-MED

And the rabbit offered an idea to the old woman’s son,

7. *káde=nəʔ*

in.a.while=TOP

v-mke tő-vra qʰoʔ kəqərniʔ=rəʔ nə-pʰə
3SG:POSS-neck IMP-tether SEQ hunter=PL 3PL:POSS-place

əjʔ v-kʰezeʔ rewaŋ=cəʔ toʔ=kə
1SG 1SG:POSS-dog rabbit=INDF exist=INS

sekóʔ=naŋ ne-kv-lət qʰoʔ χso-syg ne-tso jərmə
underbrush=inside IPFV-GP-release SEQ three-day IPFV-elapse about

kʰezeʔ=kə redaʔ mtsʰət ndʃə

dog=ERG game.animal be.many kill3

qʰoʔ fe newəwot ŋoʔ v-tə-tə-tsə
SEQ meat bring:RDPL be IRR-IMP-2-say

“In a while, you tell the hunters, ‘I have a rabbit as my dog. If one releases it into the underbrush, and in about three days, it will kill many animals and bring back meat from all over.’”

8. *qʰoʔ* kəqərniʔ=rəʔ=kə nw-kʰezeʔ tə-o-saxtu-jə tə-nə=kə
SEQ hunter=PL=ERG 2SG:POSS-dog IMP-INV-sell-1PL say-3PL=INS

“Since the hunters will then say, ‘Sell your dog to us!’”

9. v-tə-tə-səxte qʰoʔ nə-kər lətʃə
IRR-IMP-2-allow.to.buy3 SEQ 3PL:POSS-body thing

tʃə kə-toʔ mələj=nəʔ
what NMLZ:SBJ-exist all=DET
“Let them buy (me), and take away everything they have on them,” it said.

10. qʰoʔ kʰortʰa nə-tsoʔ=naʔ
SEQ a.bit PFV-ELAPSE=SUB
kʰoriʔ? ʔsəmʔ=naʔ=ɾəʔ rgenmutʃu=seʰʔnaʔ rewanj=niʔ ṭdzə-pʰə
hunter three=DET=PL old.woman’s.son=and rabbit=DU 3DU:POSS-place
 lv-zvőt-nə ɬŋʔ-cə
PFV:UPRIVER-ARRIVE=3PL be-MED

After a while, the three hunters got upriver to where the old woman’s son and the rabbit were.

11. qʰoʔ ne-nemʰφeriri=naʔ
SEQ IPFV-LOOK:RDPL=SUB
rgenmutʃu=naʔ preke vzəɾ tʰe-əmdzəʔ ɬŋʔ-cə
old.woman’s.son=DET campsite side CONT:LTR-SIT=2 be-MED
 o-vzəɾ=naʔ rewanj v-ra ɬŋʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-side=DET rabbit PASS-TETHER be-MED
qʰoʔ mejə o-vzəɾ=naʔ fe v-z’e de wejo ɬŋʔ-cə
SEQ further 3SG:POSS-side=DET meat PASS-STACK=3 be.seen be-MED

As they were looking, the old woman’s son was sitting beside the campsite, the rabbit was tethered by his side, and furthermore, meat was stacked beside him.

12. qʰoʔ kʰorʔiʔ ʔsəmʔ=naʔ=ɾəʔ=kə rgenmutʃu ŋ-pʰə
SEQ hunt three=DET=PL=ERG old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-place
 nəkəna tʰə tə-əsə-pe ɬŋʔ te-tsoʔ-nə-cə=naʔ
where.you.are what 2-CONT:HTR-DO be  PFV:TR-SAY=3PL-MED=SUB

When the three hunters said to the old woman’s son, “What are you doing over there?”
13. *rgenmutfū=naʔ=kə*

old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG

\(nj\text{?} v\text{-}k\text{"e}z\text{?}\text{ rewan } \chi\text{fika } kə\text{-}zro?=cə? \text{ to?=kə}\\)

1SG 1SG:POSS-dog rabbit very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine=INDF exist=INS

"ge-qerŋji?-anŋtə?\\)

IPFV-hunt-1SG be

And the old woman’s son (said), “Since I have a very nice rabbit as my dog, I have been hunting,”

14. *koʔ v\text{-}k\text{"e}z\text{?} sekō?=naj le-kə-l\text{it}\\)

this 1SG:POSS-dog underbrush=inside IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-release

\(q\text{\‘}ənə ne-kə-nəji \text{"}denə? kə-re? me\\)

SEQ:EMPH IPFV-GP-wait except NMLZ-be.necessary not.exist

\(χso-sŋi jermə ne-tso\\)

three-day about IPFV-elapse

\(q\text{\‘}o? \text{ redaʔ o-fe } mts\text{\‘}ət newəwot fiə?\\)

SEQ game.animal 3SG:POSS-meat be.much bring:RDPL be:EMPH
tε-tsoʔ-cao\text{\text{)}}

PFV:TR-say2-MED

“release this dog of mine, and one needs to do nothing else than wait. In about three days, it will bring back lots of game meat from all over,” he said.


SEQ hunt three=DET=PL=ERG

\(rgenmutfū o\text{-}k\text{"e}z\text{?} \text{ najermə kə\text{-}zro?}\\)

old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-dog so NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine

\(kə\text{-}to?=nə? \text{ χfika ne-nesme-na\‘}cə\\)

NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET very IPFV:TR-envy2-3PL-MED

And the three hunters envied very much that the old woman’s son had such a fine dog.
16. $qʰoʔ$  $rgənməمىتu=pʰə$  $nə-kʰeʔeʔ$
SEQ old.woman’s.son=place 2SG:POSS-dog
$te-ə-səʔtu-jə$  $te-tsəʔ-ŋə-cə$
IMP-INV-allow.to.buy-1PL PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
And they said to the old woman’s son, “Sell us your dog!”

17. $qʰoʔ$  $rgənməمىتu=nəʔ$  $χfəkə$  $ne-ŋə-źənje=ɾuʔ$
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG very IPFV-NMLZ-begrudge=PL
$te-nəʃəpəʔ-ʃə$
PFV:TR-pretend2-MED
And the old woman’s son pretended to begrudge it very much.

18. $qʰoʔ$  $qʰəʔ$  $rewaŋ=nəʔ$  $koʔɾŋiʔ$  $χsəmʔ=ɾuʔ$  $te-ʃətuʔ$  $ŋə-cə$
SEQ ANA rabbit=DET hunter three=PL PFV:TR-allow.to.buy2 be-MED
And then agreed to let the three hunters buy the rabbit.

19. $o-ʃʃə=ɾuʔ$  $koʔɾŋiʔ$  $χsəmʔ=ɾuʔ$  $nə-ʃətʃə$  $tfə$
3SG:POSS-return=TOP hunter three=PL 3PL:POSS-object what
$ʃə-ɾə$  $mənʃə=ɾuʔ$
NMLZ:SBJ-exist all=PL
$kəmədə$  $ne-ʃəkə$  $ŋə-cə$
all PFV:TR-cause.to.hand.over2 be-MED
In return, he made the three hunters hand over all their possessions.

20. $qʰoʔ$  $koʔɾŋiʔ=ɾuʔ$  $tə-ʃə=ɾə$
SEQ hunter=PL NMLZ:EXTENT-be.happy2=INS
$rewaŋ$  $te-ʃəməʃhə-ŋə-cə$  $qʰoʔ$  $ʃə-ɾə-ŋə-cə$
rabbit PFV:TR-lead.along2-3PL-MED SEQ PFV-go.back2-3PL-MED
And the hunters happily led the rabbit back.
One day, the three hunters led the rabbit along and released it into the underbrush.

And three days and three nights, they waited right there for it.

But nothing came back at all, and no meat was brought back at all.

They grew a little suspicious.

three-month about IPFV:TR-wait.for2-3PL-MED
Part II. Texts

fənəʔ rewaŋ ʊdənbə je-kə-weepə mətəŋəʔ-cə
but rabbit at.all PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come2 not.exist be-MED
But despite that, they still waited for about three months, yet the rabbit did not return at all.

26. qʰoʔ rənmutfu=nəʔ=ko tə-o-nəvlə-jə-cə=ko
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG PFV-INV-cheat2-1PL-MED=INS
ʃə-nəŋoroʔ-jə ŋəʔ te-naṭsətəʔ-nə-cə
AND-seek-1PL be PFV:TR-say2:RECP-3PL-MED
And they said to each other, “The old woman’s son fooled us, let’s go and look for him!”

27. qʰoʔ rənmutfu ko-ŋəŋoroʔ nə-naʃə-a-ŋə ŋəʔ-cə
SEQ old.woman’s.son NMLZ:PURP-seek PFV-depart2-3PL be-MED
And they set out to look for the old woman’s son.

28. qʰoʔ təʃə ome kə-xteʔ
SEQ field very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
o-vəzər=ce je-zyōt-nə-cə=naʔ
3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-arrive2-3PL-MED=SUB
And when they arrived at a place beside a very big field,

29. rənmutfu=nəʔ=ko təʃə=naŋ kʰezeʔ ʃənez vəya-tʃə
old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG field=inside dog two CONT:HTR-use.to.plough
ne-mti-nə ŋəʔ-cə
PFV:TR-see2-3PL be-MED
they saw the old woman’s son using two dogs to plough the field.
30. qʰoʔ kʰəγrəŋiʔ ʁsəm=nəʔ=rʔ=kə rʁəŋmutʃû=pʰa
SEQ hunter three=DET=PL=ERG old.woman’s.son=place
nɐjɐʔ kʰə-sənɪkʰəj jəsqiʔ tə-ko-nəvloʔ-jə-cə
2SG NMLZ:SBJ-be.excessively.unkind the.other.day PFV-2→1-cheat2-1PL-MED
jə-rjəʔ kəmdɨʔ nə-ko-səkʰi ŋoʔ
1PL:POSS-property all PFV-2→1-cause.to.hand.over2 be
nə-o-səjwet-jə *dənəʔ kədənbe mə-joyʔ ŋoʔ
IMP-INV-return-1PL or.else at.all NEG-be.allowed be
te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
“You are going too far! You cheated us and made us hand over all our belongings. By all means give all of it back to us,” the three hunters said to the old woman’s son.

31. qʰoʔ rʁəŋmutʃû=nəʔ=kə
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG
tə-wəɾɡiʔ-nə ʁʃɨkə tə-tʃjəʔ-nə ŋoʔ
2-be.right-2PL very 2-be.correct-2PL be
fənəʔ kəʔ təjʃə fe-kʰʰɔ=cə le-səyjoyʔ-aj
but this field INF-plough=INDF IPFV:UPRIVER-finish-1SG
qʰoʔ ʁənme v-kʰɛnaj ʃu-jə
SEQ only.then 1SG:POSS-home go-1PL
qʰoʔ ɾʃuɾdzəʔ pə-aj ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ compensation make3-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED
The old woman’s son said, “You are right! You are correct! But let me finish ploughing this field, and then let’s go to my house and I will recompense you.”

32. qʰoʔ te-nəɾtʃəŋpjet-nə=nəʔ
SEQ IPFV-observe-3PL=SUB
nəʔ kʰəızəʔ kə-ʃəwə=niʔ=kə nəkəʔ təjʃə tʃiʔi
ANA dog one=CL=DU=ERG that.near.you field so
They observed and (thought), “It is out of the question for that team of two dogs to finish ploughing so much field of yours!”

33. *rgemmutfu ó=pʰa ja̱re? ne-reiski-ja=ko te-tsê-nya-ko*

old.woman’s.son 3SG=place 1PL IPFV-pull-1PL=DM PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED

So they said to the old woman’s son, “Let us pull (the plough for you)!”

34. *qʰo? rgemmutfu=na=ko na-mke rtêŝsi*

SEQ old.woman’.son=DET=ERG 3PL:POSS-neck yoke

ne-ñsoj-k̂o

PFV:DOWN:TR-put.into2-MED

And the old woman’s son put their necks into the yoke,

35. *qʰo? ñemdẑo lêkjoy kə-rozže ne-qese=kə*

SEQ thorny.plant whip NMLZ:SBJ-be.long:RDPL PFV:TR-seek2-MED

qʰo? kaqerni? n̂-f̂qor rtstär te-lêt-k̂o

SEQ hunter 3PL:POSS-buttocks beating.with.rod PFV:TR-release2-MED

and he looked for a long whip of thistles and gave them a severe beating on their buttocks.


SEQ hunter=PL old.woman’s.son INF-get.back.at instead.of

teñ=ko ju-pʰi-na ne-re-kə

weep=INS PFV-escape2-3PL IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED

And the hunters, before they could get back at the old woman’s son, had to run away weeping.
37. **nākəsə kə-ŋən vlo ta-ka-tʃet=naʔ?**
   thus NMLZ:SBJ-be.vicious idea PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out2=DET
   rewaŋ ne-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə
   rabbit IPFV:PST-be2 be-MED
And it was the rabbit who came up with that vicious idea.

38. **qʰoʔ leʔ ryéspe zaʔ tʰu-bre=naʔ?**
   SEQ again quite.a.while time PFV-go2=SUB
   After quite some time went by,

39. **kəqənjiʔ=ruʔ=kə jəsəʔ ŋόnaʔ**
   hunter=PL=ERG the.other.day TOP:EMPH
   leʔ ta-oŋznəvloʔ-jə ŋoʔ=kə
   again PFV-cause.oneself.to.be.cheated2-1PL be=INS
   kətəla leʔ rgnmutʃu ʃə-neŋoroʔ-jə
   this.time again old.woman’s.son AND-seek-1PL
   qʰoʔ kə-ŋol=caʔ nəcot-jə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-na-cə
   SEQ NMLZ-be.nice=INDF get.back.at-1PL be PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
   the hunters said, “The other day, we got ourselves cheated again, so this time let us go
   and look for the old woman’s son and get back at him well.”

40. **qʰoʔ leʔ rgnmutʃu kə-neŋoroʔ na-ntsə-naʔ ŋoʔ-cə**
   SEQ again old.woman’s.son NMLZ:PURP-seek PFV-set.out2-3PL be-MED
   And again, they set out to seek out the old woman’s son.

41. **kəmbəqʰu=ce=naʔ rgnmutʃu ő-kʰe ku-zyot**
   afterwards=INDF=TOP old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-house INF-arrive
   ne-čʰəʔ-naʔ ŋoʔ-cə
   IPFV:PST-be.able2-3PL be-MED
   Sometime afterwards, they were able to get to the house of the old woman’s son.
And as they went up inside the house, they saw that the old woman’s son had gone to the ceiling, holding an awl.

And they said to the old woman’s son, “What are you doing going up there? The other day, you cheated us again. You went too far!”

“Today, you must clarify the matter with us,” they said.
46. ʃə nəʔ kʰə́ kʰoz ɐ-q kʰə́ mtʃʰa tʰ-v-me?
but here 1SG:POSS-free.time a.bit CONT:LTR-not.exist2
tənkmʃə o-ymórme kə-vra tə-ere-an
Heavenly.god 3SG-moustache NMLZ:PURP-tether PFV:UP-go2-1SG
“But I am being a little occupied here. I have gone up to attach a moustache to Heavenly God,”

47. qʰoʔ te-səyjoyʔ-an
SEQ IPFV-finish-1SG
mimimila nə-we-əŋ fieʔ-kə
right.away immediately DOWN-come-1SG be:EMPH-DM
nə-oy-nəji-an-nə te-isəʔ-ə
IMP-INV-wait.for-1SG-3PL PFV:TR-say2-MED
“as soon as I am done, I will be down right away. Please wait for me,” he said.

48. qʰoʔ qʰəʔ kəqeryiʔ=ʁʔ nə-ymórme "ge-me ίʔ-ə
SEQ ANA hunter=PL 3PL:POSS-moustache IPFV-not.exist be-MED
The hunters did not have moustaches.

49. qʰoʔ o-ymórme kə-toʔ=nə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-moustache NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET
χʃíkə "ge-nəsmet=ŋə tfʻozʔ ίʔ-ə
SEQ IPFV-envy-3PL be.the.rule be-MED
And they were always very envious of those who had moustaches.

50. qʰoʔ kəq eryiʔ=ʁʔ=kə rgenmutʃi=ʔə
SEQ hunter=PL=ERG old.woman’s.son=place
təymórme kə-vra tə-spoj=nə
moustache INF-tether 2-know.how=SUB
And the hunters said to the old woman’s son, “If you know how to tether (i.e. plant) moustaches, then you must plant moustaches for us also.”

And the old woman’s son said, “No problem!”

And he came down immediately from the ceiling, held up the awl, made small holes on their mouths, and attached moustaches to them.

And again the hunters, before they could get back at the old woman’s son, were driven away weeping.

A derived ideophone verb, from the root $tʂʰəv$, describing the sound of sth sharp entering a human body.
54. qʰoʔ nòkəsə vloŋən tə-kə-tʃet=naʔ
SEQ thus vicious.idea PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out2=DET
leʔ rewəŋ nə-ŋə ŋəʔ-ca
again rabbit IPFV:PST-be2 be-MED
And it was again the rabbit who provided such a vicious idea.

55. qʰoʔ kəɾqəɾɾiʔ=ʁəʔ=kə
SEQ hunter=PL=ERG
jaɾʁəʔ rgebnmutfu kə-nəcət=naʔ
1PL old.woman’s.son INF-get.back.at=TOP
maʔ-səəcʰəɾ-jə stəʔ-ca=kə
NEG-INV-cause.to.be.able-1PL be:EMPH-MED=INS
χsonəɾʒəɾʃʰəɾl ə-pʰa kə-sʰəɾʒu jə=ɾəʃə=ɾəʃu
PN 3SG:POSS-place NMLZ:PURP-accuse.people go-1PL=DM
te-matsatsaʔ=naʔ-ca
PFV:TR-say2:RECP-3PL-MED
And the hunters said to each other, “Since we got foiled getting back at the old woman’s son, let’s go and make accusation to the Yama.”

56. qʰoʔ rgebnmutfu te-ɾʒu-nə ŋəʔ-ca
SEQ old.woman’s.son PFV:TR-accuse2-3PL be-MED
And they sued the old woman’s son.

57. qʰoʔ leʔ rewəŋ=kə
SEQ again rabbit=ERG
rgebnmutfu o-vlo te-tʃet-ca
old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out2-MED
And again the rabbit offered the old woman’s son an idea.
58. *nu-*qʷbruʔ *χfikə* tʰ-ζrɛm*pʰ}jor

2SG:POSS-male.yak very IMP-cause.to.be.dressed.up

*qʰoʔ* *feʔi=z* tʰv-fv

SEQ downriver.place=LOC IMP:DOWNRIVER-go

“Dress up your male yak, and go downriver,”

59. *qʰoʔ* *χsonɔrże tfʰórəl* terkə *"de*

SEQ PN mule ride\textsubscript{3}

*qʰoʔ* *nu-wőri* wi *fiʔ=ŋə*

SEQ 2SG:POSS front come be:EMPH=INS

*nu-nweʃfeʔ-aj* qʰoʔ *nu-ŋə-qʰro*

IPFV:PST-be.at.fault\textsubscript{2}-1SG SEQ 2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet

*tʰv-weʔ-aj* *ŋoʔ* v-tə-tə-tsə*

PFV:DOWNRIVER-come\textsubscript{2}-1SG be IRR-IMP-2-say

“as Yama will come up in front of you riding a mule, say (to him) ‘I (admit that I) am at fault! I have come downriver to meet you!’”

60. *qʰoʔ* *nu-*qʷbruʔ=ŋəʔ* *χsonɔrže tfʰórəl* v-tə-tə-sə*"de*

SEQ 2SG:POSS-male.yak=DET PN IRR-IMP:UP-2-cause.to.ride\textsubscript{3}

*nejiʔ=ŋəʔ* o-terkə v-tə-tə-sə*"de*

2SG=TOP 3SG:POSS-mule IRR-IMP:UP-2-ride\textsubscript{3}

*qʰoʔ* v-le-tə-zmɛkoj

SEQ IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-cause.to.go.in.front\textsubscript{3}

“And make the Yama mount your male yak, and as for you, mount his mule. And let him go upriver in front of you.”

61. *feʔo* qışŋə

up.there mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces

*ka-toʔ=ŋəʔ* le-zyot=ŋəʔ

NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET IPFV:UPRIVER-arrive=SUB
62.  qi= kə  o-qwbru?  znascernag  ηο?=kə  te-tsə?-cə
1SG=ERG 3SG:POSS-male.yak startle-1SG be=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED

“And when you arrive upriver at where there is a mountain slope with mudflow traces, I
will startle his male yak,” it said.

63.  o-kɔrī=z  χsonərzetfɔrmel  turke  usu-di
3SG:POSS-front=LOC PN mule CONT:HTR-ride

o-kɔrī  le-wə?-cə
3SG:POSS-front  PFV:UPRIVER-come2-MED

before him, Yama came up in front toward upriver, riding a mule.

64.  qi= kə  rgeµutfu=nə?=kə  χsonərzetfɔrmel=pə
SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG PN=place

nv-nwetfe?-anag  ηο?
IPFV:PST-be.at.fault2-1SG be

nv-kə=qya  tən-we?-anag  ηο?  te-tsə?-cə
2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet PFV:DOWNRIVER-come2-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the old woman’s son said say to Yama, “I am at fault! I have come downriver to
meet you!”
65. *qʰoʔ o-quaBruʔ=naʔ*  
cherqBrətʰórməl te-sədɨ-cə  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-male.yak=DET PN PFV:TR-cause.to.ride2-MED  
ojiʔ=naʔ cherqBrətʰórməl o-tərke te-sədɨ-cə  
3SG=TOP PN 3SG:POSS-mule PFV:TR-ride2-MED  
*qʰoʔ le-zməkə-cə*  
SEQ PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause.to.go.in.front2-MED  
And he made Yama mount his male yak, and he himself mounted Yama’s mule; and he made Yama go in front.

66. *qʰoʔ qɨsŋa o-ta*  
SEQ mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces 3SG:POSS-top  
tʃoʔbŋʔ ne-ko-fə  kə-toʔ le-zyot-sədzə=naʔ  
And when the two of them arrived at where the road went through a mountain slope with mudflow traces,

67. *tʃoʔqʰu qepympʰə=nəʔ*  
road.side.of.mountain oak.copse=inside  
rewəŋ lnestamnət fəla tʰə-umnəʔ=naʔ  
rabbit suddenly quickly PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump2-MED=SUB  
and when the rabbit leapt suddenly downriver from inside an oak copse on the mountain side of the road,

68. *cherqBrətʰórməl o-quaBruʔ ne-sənpuʔa-cə*  
PN 3SG:POSS-male.yak PFV:TR-cause.to.startle.and.flee2-MED  
and caused Yama’s male yak to startle and flee,
69. qʰoʔ χsonórʐetʰɔɾȝel o-qʰɐvbruʔ=niʔ
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-male.yak=DU
qʰẹʂnʔa=ta  nv-entərʰ=dz踔
mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces=top PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height2-3DU
qʰoʔ koqʔvbruʔ=ruʔ=niʔ  nv-setʰ=dz踔  ɲoʔ-cə
SEQ together.with-male.yak PFV:DOWN-die2-3DU be-MED
Yama, together with the yak, fell down from the slope with mudflow traces and were killed both.

70. qʰoʔ ʈəmdántə
SEQ in.the.end
kʰaʔqʰəɾɲʔ  χsəmʔ=ɾ=aʔ  rgəṃmuɾfu  kʰv-nəɾcot
hunter three=PL old.woman’s.son INF-get.back.at
mə-ɾv-cʰəʔ-ɾ=ɾə  məkʰitsʰet  χsonórʐe  tʰɔɾȝel
NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-3PL not.only PN
ne-sqor-ɾə=ɾfʰon  rgəṃmuɾfu
PFV:TR-send.for2-3PL=also old.woman’s.son
kʰv-nəɾcot  mə-ɾv-cʰəʔ-ɾ=ɾə  ɲoʔ-cə
INF-seek.justice NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2-3PL be-MED
In the end, not only were the three hunters unable to get back at the old woman’s son, they were unable to do so even when they sought the help of Yama.
KHYERGOPU THE TRICKSTER FOODED A BALD HEADMAN

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. \(cʰərgópu=naʔ\) kəruʔ o-stf\(^e\)
   PN=DET Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-place
   kw-sənəvlo kə-rkaŋ o-ff\(^t\)
   INF-do.cheating NMLZ:SBJ-be.adept 3SG:POSS-fame
   kə-toʔ=cəʔ \(nv-ŋo-cə\)
   NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be\(^2\)-MED

Khyergopu was a man in the Rgyalrong land famed for his skills in cheating people.

2. \(qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=ce=naʔ\) yrəko=ta \(nv-nkeʔ-cə=naʔ\)
   SEQ one-day=INDF=DET ridge=top IPFV:PST-walk\(^2\)-MED=SUB
   \(fəki \) \(^n^e\)-mp\(^b\)̣\(éri=na\ə\)
   down.yonder IPFV:DOWN-look=SUB
   \(^n^g^o^k^l^v=ca\ə\) \(wəyo \) \(nv-ŋo\)
   bald.person=INDF be.seen IPFV:PST-be\(^2\)

One day, as he was walking on a mountain ridge, he looked downhill and saw a bald man.

3. \(qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə naʔ \) ò-p\(^ha\)
   SEQ PN=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place
   qəj \(fəki \) \(^n^g^ó^k^l^v\)
   EXCL down.yonder bald.person:VOC
   \(χ^su-sŋi \) \(nv-tso=z \) \(v-p^j\)je
   three-day NEG-elapse=LOC 1SG:POSS-excrement
   \(tv-səqírte \) \(te-tsaʔ-cə\)

1\(→2\)-cause.to.wear PFV:TR-say\(^2\)-MED

And Khyergopu called to that man, “Hey, you bald chap down there, before three days pass I will make you wear my excrement!”
4. qʰoʔ nʰonə setʰ-e=nəʔ  
SEQ bald.person=DET there place=DET  
təroʔ kə-timʔ=cəʔ  
headman NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF IPFV:PST-be2-MED  
The bald person was a rich headman of that region.

5. qʰoʔ nʰokəsə kʰ-oʔiʔasmeʔ=evʔ  
SEQ thus INF-cause.oneself.to.be.insulted NEG-experience3 be-MED  
qʰoʔ o-múɾu o-ʃet=kə  
seq 3SG:POSS-anger 3SG:POSS-extent=INS PROS-PFV-burst2-MED  
He had never got himself insulted like that, and he almost exploded with anger.

6. fənəʔ cʰergópu=naʔ  
but PN=DET up.there ridge=LOC CONT:LTR-be.present2 be:EMPH-MED  
qʰonə kʰ-ʃe=caʔ  
SEQ:EMPH NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED  
But Khyergopu was up there on the mountain ridge, and there was nothing he could do about it.

7. qʰoʔ čsə-nəʔiʔ  
SEQ three-day PFV-elapse2=DET PN=ERG pilgrim  
te-nəʃpəzʔ-caʔ  
PFV:TR-disguise2-MED  
qʰoʔ qʰenəʔ nʰoʔiʔ  
seq ANA bald.person 3SG:POSS-place  
fə-nə-nəɾmeʔ-caʔ  
AND-IPFV-spend.the.night2-MED  
After three days, Khyergopu disguised himself as a pilgrim, and went to spend the night at the bald person’s place.
Khyergopu said to the bald person, “Since you have no hair on your head, I will make your hair grow out.”

And the bald one said, “Ah, thank you very much, I am so grateful to you!”

And Khyergopu said to them, “You go and find me a pair of scissors, I will go up in the sky and ask for hair, and plant hair for you.”

And they went away to look for scissors.
12.  qʰoʔ  cʰərgópu=kə  ő-pʰəm=nəŋ  səqtsútsu
    SEQ  PN=ERG  3SG:POSS-bosom=inside  stealthily
    tərmu=ruʔ  kə-mtʃəʔ  ne-rkoʔ-ə

    hair=PL  one-pinch  PFV:TR-put.in2-MED

    And Khyergopu stealthily put a pinch of hair in his bosom.

13.  qʰoʔ  pertsəko  tə-ere-ə
    SEQ  roof.platform  PFV:UP-go2-MED
    qʰoʔ  tərmu  fo-ne-kə-səbi  te-nəʃpəʔ-ə
    SEQ  hair  AND-IPFV:PST-NMLZ-ask.for2  PFV:TR-pretend2-MED

    And he went upstairs to the roof platform, and pretended to be asking for hair.

14.  qʰoʔ  tərmu  ne-wót-ə
    SEQ  hair  PFV:DOWN:TR-bring2-MED
    qʰoʔ  təjʃpəruʔ  lu-ere-ə
    SEQ  inner.side.of.field  PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED

    He brought the hair downstairs, and then went up to the upper side of a field.\(^{191}\)

15.  qʰoʔ  poliʔ-ə=əʔ  te-ədi-ə
    SEQ  felt.hat=INDF  PFV:TR-take2-MED
    qʰoʔ  poliʔ=nəŋ  tərmu  ne-rko
    SEQ  felt.hat=inside  hair  PFV:TR:DOWN-put.in2
    o-pʰje  ne-lət-ə

    3SG:POSS-excrement  PFV:TR:DOWN-release2-MED

    And took a felt hat, put the hair in, and shitted in it.

16.  qʰoʔ  "goəlr=nəʔ  te-sərteʔ-ə
    SEQ  bald.person=DET  PFV:TR-cause.to.wear2-MED

    And he made the bald one wear (the hat).

\(^{191}\) The upper side of a hillside terrace field.
17. qʰoʔ cʰorgópu=kə
SEQ PN=ERG
kəkoʔ pəliʔ=nəʔ ɣso-sŋi ɣso-raʔ ɣmənə-te-myə
this felt.hat=DET three-day three-night IRR-NEG-IMP:DOWN-2-take3
qʰónə nə-kormə wi fiʔ te-tsəʔ=ca
SEQ:EMPH 2SG-hair.of.head come be:EMPH PFV:TR-say2-MED
“Don’t take this felt hat down until after three days and three nights, and your hair will surely come out,” Khyergopu said.

18. qʰoʔ ʰgoklu=kə qʰaŋəʔ pəliʔ=nəʔ
SEQ bald.person=ERG ANA felt.hat=DET
ɣso-sŋi ɣso-raʔ ne-qərteʔ=ca
three-day three-night IPFV:PST:TR-wear2-MED
And the bald one wore the felt hat for three days and three nights.

19. qʰoʔ ʰtfu ʰtsoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ ʰpʰa=z
SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
nəjiʔ ʰtfu ʰtsoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ tə-fkraʔ=kə
2SG 1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 2-be.intelligent=INS
ʰkoʔ tə-rtəʔ ʰfə tʰ-fsət-ca=kə te-tsəʔ=ca
1SG:POSS-head IMP-check what CONT:LTR-be.like2-MED=DM PFV:TR-say2-MED
And then he said to his eldest son, “My eldest son, since you are intelligent, check my head and see what it is like now.”

20. qʰoʔ ʰtfu ʰtsoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ=kə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG
ʰpʰe o-koʔ te-rtə=ca=nəʔ
3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-check2-MED=SUB
When his eldest son checked his father’s head, he said, “Father smells of excrement!”

And the bald one got angry, and (said) to his eldest son, “You speak nothing but foul language!”

And he said to his second son, “My second son, as you are intelligent, check my head and see what it is like.”

again 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.big=ERG PFV:TR-say2=like=DET
When his second son had checked his father’s head, he again said the same things as the eldest son had said.

24. 

$^{n}goblu=nə? $$ $mĩju $$ tə-ramuru?-cə$

bald.person=DET further PFV-be.angry2-MED

$qʰo? $$ ^{n}dzəpəni? $$ skəŋəm $$ kɨ-tsə $$ kəma^*denə?$

SEQ 2DU foul.language NMLZ-say besides

$kəma? $$ ^{n}dzə-kɨ-spe $$ mə $$ te-tsə?-cə$

other 3DU:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-be.able not.exist PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the bald one got more angry and said to them, “You two can do nothing except using foul language!”

25. 

$qʰo? $$ o-stfu $$ stʰoʔ $$ kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ $$ ò-pʰə=z$

SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.small=DET 3SG:POSS-place=LOC

$v-stfu $$ stʰoʔ $$ kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ $$ tə-rtə?=kə$

1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.small=DET 2-be.intelligent=INS

$v-koʔ $$ tə-rtə? $$ te-tsə?-cə$

1SG:POSS-head 2-check PFV:TR-say2-MED

And he said to his youngest son, “My youngest son, as you are intelligent, check my head.”

26. 

$qʰo? $$ kə-yoləle $$ te-rtə-cə=nəʔ$

SEQ NMLZ-be.good:RDPL PFV:TR-check2-MED=SUB

$ë-pe $$ v-je=niʔ $$ wə^*giʔ,*dzə-cə$

1SG:POSS-father 1SG:POSS-brother=DU be.right-3DU-MED
nə-koʔ  ə-ta  kətaʔ  təpʰje  wəŋə
2SG:POSS-head  3SG:POSS-top  really  excrement  be.seen

When he checked it thoroughly, (he said) “Father, my two brothers are right. There is really excrement on your head.”

27.  tʂʰucəmənənə
perhaps
jenşıʔ  qəj  v-pʰje  te-səqɨɾte
the.other.day  EXCL  1SG:POSS-excrement  1→2-cause.to.wear
tə-kə-təʔ?=nəʔ  nə-təʔ-təʔə  másoʔ-densəʔ  te-tsəʔ-əə
PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say2=DET  PFV-2-meet2  DM  PFV:TR-say2-MED
“Perhaps you ran into the man who said ‘Hey, I will make you wear my excrement.’”

28.  qʰoʔ  "gəutə=nəʔ  təpʰje  wən-səqɨɾte  ne-səɾtə-əə
SEQ  bald.person=DET  excrement  CONT:HTR-wear  PFV:TR-realize2-MED
And the bald one realized that he was wearing excrement.

29.  qʰoʔ  əhəhəʔ:
SEQ  EXCL
föɾdʒi  vəɾʃə=nəʔ=ka
the.day.before.yesterday  pilgrim=DET=ERG
tə-opəɾəqəʔ-aŋ-əə  jə  ne-səsɨ-əə
PFV-cause.oneself.to.be.cheated2-1SG-MED  DM  PFV:TR-think2-MED
And he thought, “Alas! I got myself tricked by that pilgrim the day before yesterday!”

30.  qʰoʔ  leʔ  o-miru=kə  ja-nəʔbaʔ-əə
SEQ  again  3SG:POSS-anger=INS  PROS=PFV-burst2-MED
And again he almost exploded with anger.
31. qʰoʔ  rwmdə  o-kə-χtaʔ  lv-ere-ca
SEQ  track  3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-chase  PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED
And he went upriver to track him down.

32. qʰoʔ  səli=ce  lv-zyʔt=naʔ
SEQ  upriver=INDF  PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2=SUB
rgonbe=caʔ?  wyo  ηoʔ-caʔ
monastery=INDF  be.seen  be-MED
When he arrived at a certain place upriver, he found a monastery there.

33. qʰoʔ  rgonbe  cəntʰaŋ  ó-pʰi=naʔ
SEQ  monastery  fresco  3SG:POSS-underside=DET
cʰorgópu  o-mdzorʔ?  ʃkótse  kə-təmdzor  ves-ʰə
PN  3SG:POSS-lap  stone  one-lapful  CONT:HTR-hold
qʰoʔ  ó-pʰom=z  rŋəlkor=rvʔ  kəmtʰaʔ  ne-nəfko
SEQ  3SG:POSS-bosom=LOC  silver.coin=PL  a.bit  IPFV-reveal
qʰoʔ  tʰv-smo  wyo-nəyo
SEQ  CONT:LTR-be.present2  be.seen-MED
And there Khyergopu was, under the fresco of the monastery holding a lapful of stones, and some silver coins were partially revealed in his bosom.

34. qʰoʔ  "goəl=naʔ=kə  cʰorgópu  ó-pʰa
SEQ  bald.person=DET=ERG  PN  3SG:POSS-place
cʰérğon  nuʔiʔ  kə-sənəvlo
old.chap  2SG  NMLZ:SBJ-cheat.people
"deʔ  kê-pʰi  ma-ne-ta-cʰv-cə  we  te-tsəʔ-cə
more  INF-escape  NEG-IPFV:PST-2-be.able-MED  DM  PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the bald one said to Khyergopu, “You old swindler! You can’t run away anymore, can you?”
35. qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə  nv-kʰe  nʰ-o-de

SEQ PN=ERG 2SG:POSS-mouth IMP-hold3

And Khyergopu said, “Hold your mouth!”

36. kʰokʰoz  cvntʰaŋ  kv-nʰemdzu  qʰri  kv-juʔ  tvne
here  fresco  INF-guard.over  pigeon  INF-guard.against  job
χʃikə  kə-vde=cəʔ  wəyo
very  NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=INDF be.seen

“I’ve found a very good job here guarding over the fresco against pigeons.”

37. koʔ  ne-kv-nʰemdzu  qʰoʔ  vlرغe=rvʔ  tʰe-kroʔ-nə=nəʔ
this  IPFV-GP-guard  SEQ  monk=PL  IPFV:OUT-come.off.class-3PL=SUB
rŋəlkər  kʰe-lvʔaʔ  koyʰ-biʔ-nəʔo  te-tsʔaʔ-cə
silver.coin  each-piece  GP:INV-give-MED  PFV:TR-say2-MED

“One watches over this, and when the monks come off from class, each of them will give one a silver coin,” he said.

38. qʰoʔ  *goulv=nəʔ=kə  cvntʰaŋ  ne-kv-nʰemdzu  tsaytsaʔnəʔ?
SEQ  bald.person=DET=ERG  fresco  IPFV-GP-guard  merely
vlرغe=rvʔ=kə  rŋəlkər  əntsəjə  kə-ləndən  koyʰ-biʔ-cə
monk=PL=ERG  silver  coin.so  NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity  GP:INV-give-MED
qʰoʔ  nəʔ  χʃikə  vde-cə  ne-səsi-cə
SEQ  ANA  very  be.good-MED  PFV:TR-think2-MED

And the bald one thought, “One merely stands guard and the monks give away so many silver coins! This is very good!”

39. qʰoʔ  *goulv=nəʔ=kə  cʰərgópu  ó-pʰa
SEQ  bald.person=DET=ERG  PN  3SG:POSS-place
fɔɾʰdʒi  tə-ko-nəvloʔ-ʔəŋ
day.before.yesterday  PFV-2→1-cheat2-1SG
And the bald one (said) to Khyergopu, “You cheated me the day before yesterday, and
made me wear your excrement,”

40. ʃənəʔnəkənəʔkw-nəmdzutəmə=nəʔuyiʔna-o-znəʔ=ʔəŋ
butthat.near.youINF-guardjob=DET1SGIMP-INV-yield-1SG
qʰόŋəpəjfeʔ=kə
SEQ:EMPHdo₃be:EMPH=DM
“but yield to me (the task of) guarding it, and (my grievances against you) are settled.”

41. mìju ʃ-ʰbri ʃ-tomde=ɾə?ʃv-na-tsəm?
butfurther1SG:POSS-horse1SG:POSS-gun=PLIMP-SPON-take.thither
qʰόŋəteŋx̂pjet⁹²=kəte-tsəʔ-cao
SEQso.be.it=DMPFV:TR-say₂-MED
“Furthermore, take away my horse and my gun, and so be it,” he said.

42. qʰοʔcʰəɾgópu=kəχʃɪkəna-ka-znəjeʔte-naʃpəʔ=ʔəŋ
SEQPN=ERGveryPFV-NMLZ-begrudge₂PFV:TR-pretend₂-MED
And Khyergopu pretended to begrudge it very much.

43. qʰοʔʷɤuʔv-pʰu=z
SEQbald.person3SG:POSS-place=LOC
fjeʔfjeʔjəsj̃iʔtə-tv-nəvloʔ=ʔəŋ=kə
be:EMPHbe:EMPHthe.other.dayPFV-1→2-cheat₂-MED=INS
qʰόŋəne-tv-znəjeʔtif̃tʷəνəʔte-tsəʔ-cao
SEQ:EMPHIPFV-1→2-yieldbe.necessaryDMPFV:TR-say₂-MED
And he said to the bald one, “Alright, alright, I cheated you the other day, so I just have
to yield (the task) to you.”

⁹² A frozen unanalyzable expression uttered when one is resigned to an undesirable situation.
44. \( qʰoʔ \) cʰorgópu=k \( ^n \)goulv \( ō^nbri=rw? \) te^di-cə
    SEQ PN=ERG bald.person 3SG:POSS-horse=PL PFV:TR:UP-mount2-MED
    o-tomde=rw? te-fkor-cə qʰoʔ je-nə-feʔ-cə
    3SG:POSS-gun=PL PFV:UP:TR-put.on.back2-MED SEQ PFV-SPON-go2-MED
    And Khyergopu mounted the bald one’s horse, carried the gun up on back, and left.

45. \( qʰoʔ \) ^goulv=nəʔ \( ^c \)vntʰaŋ kw-nêmduzc te-je ŋoʔ-cə
    SEQ bald.person=DEF fresco INF-guard PFV:TR-begin2 be-MED
    And the bald one began to guard the fresco.

46. \( qʰri \) kʰe-rdɔʔ le-wi\(^{193}\) \( ^c \)vntʰaŋ ó-ta
    pigeon each-CL IPFV:UPRIVER-come fresco 3SG:POSS-top
    ^ge-nəne=nəʔ \( ^f \)kótse kʰe-rdɔʔ te-wiɾeɾt ŋoʔ-cə
    IPFV:DOWN-alight=SUB stone each-CL IPFV:UP-throw be-MED
    Each time a pigeon came up to light on the fresco, he would throw a stone at it.

47. \( qʰoʔ \) vlurge=rw? tʰe-kroẓ-nə
    SEQ monk=PL PFV:OUT-come.off.class2-3PL
    o-pʰjiʔ tʰe-nə-cə=naʔ
    3SG:POSS-outside PFV:OUT-exit2-3PL-MED=SUB
    When the monks came off a (sutra chanting) session and came out,

48. \( qʰənəʔ \) ^goulv=nəʔ=kə \( ^c \)vntʰaŋ ó-ta
    ANA bald.person=DET=ERG fresco 3SG:POSS-top
    fkótse te-wiɾeɾt ne-mti-nə-cə məktʰet
    stone IPFV-throw PFV:TR-see2-3PL-MED not.only
    \( ^c \)vntʰaŋ ó-tə=rcənəʔ
    fresco 3SG:POSS-face=EMPH

\(^{193}\) The present imperfective creates an effect of vividness.
they saw that the bald one was throwing stones at the fresco, and moreover, he had made a big mess of the surface of the fresco.

The monks got very angry, and gave the bald one a severe beating.

Only then did the bald one realize that he once more got himself fooled by Khyergopu.

And he thought, “Damn!”

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194 An ideophone describing sth hard getting all kinds of dents and holes.
195 An adverbial describing severity of beatings, from Tibetan <rdung.yag>.
52. ʃənəʔ kʰɐ́nəʔ kʰɐ́ nəʔ-er nəʔ-er-cə
but NMLZ:SBJ:U-do IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
lastoŋ kʰɛnəŋ tʰɐ-er nəʔ-er-cə
empty-handed home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back2 IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED

But there was nothing he could do, and he just had to go back home empty-handed.
KHYERGOPU THE TRICKSTER TEACHES A CHIEFTAIN HOW TO TELL LIES  
cʰərgópu  
Narrator: Lemi

1. sʰontsʰe=ce=z rjúlpö=cəʔ *ge-toʔ əʔ ŋoʔ-cə  
former.time=INDF=LOC chieftain=INDF IPFV-exist be-MED  
Once there was a chieftain.

2. qʰoʔ rjúlpö=naʔ cʰərgópu=pʰa  
SEQ chieftain=DET PN=place  
tʃe kə-vzjaŋ *ge-səstʔ əʔ ŋoʔ-cə  
lying INF-learn IPFV-want3 be-MED  
The chieftain wanted to learn how to tell lies from Khyergopu.

3. qʰoʔ ka-sŋi=ce=naʔ rjúlpö=naʔ ta-runtsʰa-cə  
SEQ one-day=INDF=DET chieftain=DET PFV-make.preparations2-MED  
One day, the chieftain made preparations.

4. kɔxtʃen tʰge te-*geʔ-cə  
satin clothes PFV:TR-put.on2-MED  
o-ŋjoʔ=reʔ te-*di-cə ʰbri te-*di-cə  
3SG:POSS-servant=PL PFV:TR-take2-MED horse PFV:TR-ride2-MED  
qʰoʔ kʰepo=reʔ te-fkor-cə  
SEQ rifle=PL PFV:TR-carry.on.back2-MED  
qʰo cʰərgópu kə-qüse nə-ntsʰa əʔ ŋoʔ-cə  
SEQ PN NMLZ:PURP-seek PFV-set.out2 be-MED  
He put on his satin clothes, took his servants, mounted his horse, carried his rifle up on back, and set out to look for Khyergopu.
5. \( qʰoʔ \) tʃoʰbaj\( ? = cɛ \) \( vrtʃo = cə \) ne-\( mti - cə \)  
SEQ road=INDF pilgrim=INDF PFV:TR-see2-MED  
Somewhere on his way, he saw a pilgrim.

6. \( qʰoʔ \) vrtʃo=\( kə \) qʰ\( və ? = rə \) n\( ə - pʰa = nə \)  
SEQ pilgrim=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place=DET  
where 2-go-2PL be PFV:TR-say2-MED  
And the pilgrim said to these people, “Where are you going?”

7. \( qʰoʔ \) jə\( pə ũ \) cʰ\( ḍ ō pə = pʰa \)  
SEQ 1PL:EXCL PN=place  
tʃtʃe \( kə - vzjəŋ \) jə-\( ō - jə \) \( yo ? \) te-tsəʔ-\( nə - cə \)  
lying NMLZ:PURP-learn PROS-go-1PL be PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED  
They said, “We are going to learn the art of lying from Khyergopu.”

8. \( qʰoʔ \) vrtʃo=nə\( ? = kə \) a: cʰ\( ḍ ō pə = nə \) vəjɪ \( ə \) yo? te-tsəʔ-\( cə \)  
SEQ pilgrim=DET=ERG EXCL PN=DET 1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED  
The pilgrim said, “Ah, I am Khyergopu himself.”

9. \( qʰoʔ \) rjetpə=nə\( ? = kə \) jəŋ\( jɪ \) nyənə  
SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG today TOP  
\( e - və ō r i \) ne-\( sto - cə \)  
1SG:POSS-front IPFV-be.straight2-MED  
\( qʰoʔ \) tʃtʃe kə-\( pe = cə \) kəmtʃə n\( v - o - səm tsi - aŋ \) te-tsəʔ-\( cə \)  
SEQ lying INF-do=INDF some IMP-INV-teach-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED  
The chieftain said, “Today is my lucky day! Teach me something about lying.”
And Khyergopu said, “As for teaching, yes, I will teach you.”

“But I have not taken my book on lying with me. I will have to go and fetch it,” he said.

“I may go by foot, but it will be far. So I have to ride on your horse, don’t I?” he said.

The chieftain said, “Alright. Ride my horse!”

Khyergopu mounted the horse, pricked a needle repeatedly into the horse’s back, and made the horse leap about.
15.  བོད་་ཐ་ རོ་ འབད་ི་ན་ གཤི་ཝ་= བོ སྐྱིད་ ལྟ་ དེ་ ཡི་བསྡུམ་མཐོ་-དོ་-ནངས་ གཅོ་ཞིག་-ཧྭ་
while this 2SG:POSS-horse=DET be.shy.of.strangers-MED=INS

16.  བོད་་ཐ་ རོ་ལོ་དེ་ རྒྱ་ཟླ་= བོ སྐྱིད་ ལྟ་ དེ་ ཡི་བསྡུམ་མཐོ་= བོ སྐྱིད་ ལྟ་ དེ་ ཡི་བསྡུམ་མཐོ་
Meanwhile, he said, “Since your horse is shy of strangers, I will have to put on your
clothes and your hat, and put your rifle on my back.”

17.  བོད་་ཐ་ རོ་ཝ་ཞུ་ དི་ དི་ ཡི་ ཡི་བསྡུམ་མཐོ་= བོ སྐྱིད་ ལྟ་ དེ་ ཡི་བསྡུམ་མཐོ་= བོ སྐྱིད་ ལྟ་ དེ་ ཡི་བསྡུམ་མཐོ་
And Khyergopu waded (on horseback) across the river and came up at the other side of
the river.

196  Eastward or cislocative orientation is used here for the meaning ‘toward center of the river’.
18. qʰoʔ  cʰərgópu=kə
SEQ    PN=ERG
kv-seŋvlo=naʔ    naʔ    te-kv-so    šteʔ    te-tsəʔ-cə
GP-do.cheating=DET    ANA    IPFV-GP-do    be:EMPH    PFV:TR-say2-MED
And Khyergopu said, “Rip people off is just like this!”

19. qʰoʔ  rjêlpo    o-múru=rcəʔə?
SEQ    chieftain    3SG:POSS-anger=TOP:EMPH
cʰərgópu    v-na-set    o-mtʰu=cəʔ?
PN    IRR-PFV-die    3SG:POSS-curse=INDF
ʃə-ʰge-kv-səlt
reʔ-cəʔ    ne-səsi-cə
AND-IPFV-GP-cause.to.do    be.necessary-MED    PFV:TR-think2-MED
The chieftain got so angry and thought, “I must go and make someone put a curse of
death on Khyergopu.”

20. qʰoʔ  kə-sŋi=cəʔ=nəʔ    prakʰόŋ=pʰi
SEQ    one-day=INDF=DET    cliff.cave=under
tʰɐ-kə-rentsʰem=cəʔ    ne-mti    ŋoʔ-cəʔ
CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate2=DET    PFV:TR-see2    be-MED
One day, he saw someone who was meditating under a cliff cave.

21. təmdátsəʔə?    tʰə-kə-rentsʰem=naʔ?
in.truth    CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate2=DET
cʰərgópu    tʰə-ŋo    me-tʰe-na-səɾtə    ŋoʔ-cəʔ
PN    CONT:LTR-be2    NEG-CONT:LTR-SPON-realize2    be-MED
He was not aware that the meditating person was in fact Khyergopu himself.
22. \(qʰoʔ\) rjélpö=nəʔ=kə \(qʰənəʔ\) ő-pʰə
SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place
jesŋiʔ cʰərgópu tə-o-nəvloʔ-ən=kə
the.other.day PN PFV-INV-cheat2-1SG=INS
o-mtʰu=cəʔ \(kv-let\) vre-sənoz te-tsəʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-curse=INDF INF-release Q-be.able PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the chieftain said to that person, “Khyergopu cheated on me the other day. Could you place a curse on him?”

23. \(qʰoʔ\) \(qʰənəʔ\)=kə kəffit\(^{197}\) cʰ-vən te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ ANA=ERG EXCL be.able-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he replied, “No problem, I can do it.”

24. \(qʰoʔ\) fsəfsi tʰ-e-wi-əŋ kə
SEQ tomorrow IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-1SG DM
mtʰo-tkʰəŋ n-ə-to-sayxsiʔ-nə kʰeviʔ=nuʔ n-ə-to-tʰ-fkʰi-nə
qʰoʔ kvədze kə-mimʔ=qənəʔ v-ŋələŋkʰo v-to-tə-pe-nə
SEQ food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty=and 1SG:POSS-popped.grains IRR-IMP-2-make-2PL
qʰoʔ v-to-tə-sepepə-nə te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ IRR-IMP-2-do.RDPL-2PL PFV:TR-say2-MED
“No since I will come downriver to you tomorrow, clean up the chapel, spread down a woolen rug, make tasty food and popped grains for me! You do the above things,” he said.

25. \(qʰoʔ\) nəʔosəfsi=nəʔ tʰv-wreʔ \(ŋəʔ-cə\)
SEQ next.day=DET PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂ be-MED
And the next day, he went downriver.

\(^{197}\) An exclamation meaning ‘No problem!’.
26. qʰoʔ rjélpo=naʔ=řeʔ=kə tfə kə-reʔ
SEQ chieftain=DET=PL=ERG what NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary
Kamdí? tsʰonštʰon? ne-saʔsaʔ-naʔ¹⁹⁸ yəʔ-cə
all IDPH¹⁹⁹ PFV:TR-cause₂-3PL be-MED
And the chieftain and the others had properly prepared all that was needed.

27. qʰoʔ cʰorgópu=kə mfʰotkʰaŋ kʰevísí ó-ta tə-wmdzuʔ-cə
SEQ PN=ERG chapel rug 3SG:POSS-top PFV-sit₂-MED
And Khyergopu sat down on the rug in the chapel.

28. qʰoʔ rjélpo=řuʔ nə-pʰə tfə kə-kéntse=səʔaʔa
SEQ chieftain=PL 3PL:POSS-place tea one-bronze.teapot=and
tfʰaʔaʔi=kə tə-wot-nə te-tsəʔ-cə
parched.grains=DET IMP:UP-bring-2PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
And he said to the chieftain and others, “Bring me a pot of tea and parched grains!”

29. qʰoʔ nəʔ=řuʔ te-səʔtsom-nə-cə
SEQ ANA=PL PFV:UP-take₂:RDPL-3PL-MED
And they took all these things up(stairs) to him.

30. qʰoʔ cʰorgópu=kə tfʰaʔaʔi=kə kə-təkʰe te-ⁿdzə əzorʔ
SEQ PN=ERG parched.grains one-mouthful IPFV-eat₃ while
tfə kʰe-χov né-tʰə yəʔ-cə
tea each-mouthful IPFV-drink₃ be-MED

¹⁹⁸ The verb səʔ-tsə ‘cause to say’ is used idiomatically with ideophones denoting results; in this case tsʰonštʰon? səʔ-tsə ‘do sth properly, flawlessly’.
¹⁹⁹ An ideophone meaning ‘properly’.
And while eating each mouthful of parched grains, Khyergopu drank a mouthful of tea. (This, you know, was delicious!)

Meanwhile, he began to move his hands about saying, "If the curse does not befall this (Khyergopu), let it befall that (Khyergopu)!")

And the other were saying to each other, "Yeah!"

They thought, “The curse is about to fall on Khyergopu.”

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200 The sentence-final particle ko adds an explanatory comment on the preceding clause.

201 When casting curses, one usually writes down the victim’s name on a piece of paper or have a photo or other personal belonging of his and say o-mₘʰᵘ koʔ=ta v-nv-fᵢł ‘Let the curse befall him/her!’

202 Jussive use of the irrealis.

203 Pretending to be exercising his curse-casting magic.

204 An exclamation expressing approval at what is said.
34. qʰoʔ  nəʔomer=nəʔ  cʰərgópu=nəʔ=ko
SEQ  that.night=DET  PN=DET=ERG
ko-mer=ce=nəʔ  cʰərgópu=ko  nə-toŋraŋcaʔ
one-night=INDF=DET  PN=ERG  2PL:POSS-white.conch.name
ko-ṃarku  wi  nəʔ-ko
NMLZ:PURP-steal  come  be-MED
That night, Khyergopu (said), “One of these nights, Khyergopu is going to come and steal your famous white conch,”

35. tóme=reʔ?  kətəyre  v-ka-tə-rʷgu-nə
woman=PL  together  IRR-IMP-2-sleep-2PL
vlərge=reʔ?  kətəyre  v=ka-tə-rʷgu-nə
monk=PL  together  IRR=IMP-2-sleep-2PL
təsfu=reʔ?  kətəyre  v=ka-tə-rʷgu-nə
young.man=PL  together  IRR=IMP-2-sleep-2PL
“you women sleep together! You monks sleep together! You men sleep together!”

36. qʰoʔ  nə-toŋraŋcaʔ=nəʔ
SEQ  2PL:POSS-white.conch.name=DET
kʰəxpʰe  ó-pʰi  v-nv-tə-rko-nə
grinder  3SG:POSS-underside  IRR-IMP-2-put-2PL
“And put your famous white conch under the grinder,”

37. qʰoʔ  tfajpe=z  "hole?  v-nv-tə-svysojʔeʔ-nə
SEQ  cowpen=LOC  male.cattle  IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-harness-2PL
koʃtʰɔ=z  "bri  v-tʰv-tə-svysojʔeʔ-nə  te-tsəʔ
courtyard=LOC  horse  IRR-IMP-2-saddle-2PL  PVF:TR-say2
“and harness the male cattle in the cowpen, and the horse in the courtyard too,” he said.

205 Name of a valuable white conch meaning ‘one that sounds itself’.
38. \(\text{nə-vlo} \quad \text{te-tsət} \quad \text{ŋoʔ-cə}\)
   \(3\text{PL:POSS-idea} \quad \text{PFV:TR-take.out} \quad \text{be-MED}\)
   Thus he offered them an idea (to forestall Khyergopu).

39. \(\text{ʔaʔ mer=nə} \quad \text{cʰargópu} \quad \text{səqtsútsu} \quad \text{ta-rroʔ-cə}\)
   \(\text{SEQ} \quad \text{night=DET} \quad \text{PN} \quad \text{stealthily} \quad \text{PFV-get.up} \quad \text{MED}\)
   At night, Khyergopu stealthily got up,

40. \(\text{tʰome}=\text{re?} \quad \text{nə-korme} \quad \text{ne-sələgu}\)
   \(\text{woman=PL} \quad \text{3PL:POSS-hair.of.head} \quad \text{PFV:TR-connect}\)
\(\text{vlərge}=\text{re?} \quad \text{nə-uzn} \quad \text{ne-sələgu}\)
   \(\text{monk=PL} \quad \text{3PL:POSS-monk's.cloak} \quad \text{PFV:TR-connect}\)
\(\text{tətsə}=\text{re?} \quad \text{nə-pjeləʔ} \quad \text{ne-sələgu-cə}\)
   \(\text{lad=PL} \quad \text{3PL:POSS-plait} \quad \text{PFV:TR-connect}\quad \text{MED}\)
   he tied together the women’s hair, tied together the cloaks of the monks, and tied together the lads’ plaits,

41. \(\text{ʔaʔ} \quad \text{rjélpo} \quad \text{o-zđeʔ} \quad \text{o-kόʔ=ta=z}\)
   \(\text{SEQ} \quad \text{chieftain} \quad \text{3SG:POSS-spouse} \quad \text{3SG:POSS-head=top=LOC}\)
\(\text{mpʰəleʔ} \quad \text{ne-te-cə}\)
   \(\text{flax.fiber} \quad \text{PFV:DOWN:TR-put}\quad \text{MED}\)
   and he put flax fiber on the chieftain’s wife’s head.

42. \(\text{rjálpo} \quad \text{o-vot=naŋ} \quad \text{kəxʃəbrot} \quad \text{tʰe-rkoʔ-cə}\)
   \(\text{chieftain} \quad \text{3SG:POSS-sleeve=inside} \quad \text{pestle} \quad \text{PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-put}\quad \text{MED}\)
   And he put a pestle into the chieftain’s sleeve.
And he picked up the famous white conch under the grinder, put thorns in its place, and shitted on top of them.

And he cast beans about the inside of the house.

He reversed the saddles on the male cattle,

mounted the horse in the courtyard, and escaped.

When he got to the ridge up there, he sounded the famous white conch and yelled “Qeyhihi!”
48. \( q^\circ o? \ c^\circ c^\circ c \ c^\circ g^\circ g^\circ o^\circ p^\circ u=ν^\circ o? \ ν^\circ i? \ η^\circ o?-^\circ a^\circ γ \)
SEQ PN=DET 1SG be-1SG
töynraŋca? jv-ν^\circ o-\text{tsom}-^\circ a^\circ γ \ te-τs^\circ o^-c^\circ o
white.conch PFV-SPON-take.thither2-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED
“I am Khyergopu himself, and I have taken away the conch,” he yelled.

49. \( q^\circ o? \ k^\circ o^\circ m^\circ a?=ξ^\circ v?=ν^\circ o \ éhehe \ c^\circ c^\circ c^\circ c^\circ g^\circ g^\circ o^\circ p^\circ u \ jv-\text{we}?^-c^\circ o \)
SEQ other=PL=ERG EXCL\text{206} PN PFV-come2-MED
jv ne-\text{sasi}^\circ n^\circ o \ o_\text{3or?z} \ p^\circ Ө^\circ p^\circ Ө^\circ sisi^\text{207} \ kv-\text{rero}? \DM PFV:TR-think2-3PL while IDPH INF-get.up
te-τe^-n^\circ o \ η^\circ o?-c^\circ o \PFV:TR-begin2-3PL be-MED
The others thought, “Alas! Khyergopu has come,” as they began to get up in a flurry.

50. \( v^\circ l^\circ r^\circ g^\circ e^-r^\circ v?=\nu^\circ o^-\text{bez}\nu \ τ^\circ e^-\text{layu} \ η^\circ o?-c^\circ o \)
monk=PL 3PL:POSS-monk’s.cloak CONT:LTR:TR-be.connect2 be-MED
q^\circ o? \ ν^-\text{bez}\nu \ ν^\circ o^-\text{te}? \ te-\text{mats}^\circ \text{ats}^\circ ν^\circ o \ η^\circ o?-c^\circ o \ SEQ 1SG:POSS-cloak IMP-let.go3 IPFV-say:RECP-3PL be-MED
And the monk’s cloaks were all tied together, and they were all saying to one another, “Let go of my cloak!”

51. \( t^\circ o^\circ m^\circ e^-r^\circ v?=\nu^\circ o^-\text{kome}? \ τ^\circ e^-\text{layu} \ η^\circ o?-c^\circ o \)
woman=PL 3PL:POSS-hair.of.head CONT:LTR:TR-be.connected2 be-MED
q^\circ o? \ ν^-\text{kome}? \ ν^\circ o^-\text{te}? \ te-\text{mats}^\circ \text{ats}^\circ ν^\circ o \ η^\circ o?-c^\circ o \ SEQ 1SG:POSS-hair.of.head IMP-put3 IPFV-say:RECP-3PL be-MED
And the women’s hair were all tied together, and they were all saying to one another, “Let go of my hair!”

\text{206} An exclamation showing dismay.

\text{207} An ideophone meaning ‘in a flustered manner’.
52. qʰoʔ  tɔtfu=ruʔ  nə-pjeləʔ  tʰə-vəluʔ  nəʔ-ça
SEQ  lad=PL  3PL:POSS-plait  CONT:LTR:TR-be.connected2  be-MED
qʰoʔ  v-pjeləʔ  nə-təʔ  te-matsətsə-nə  nəʔ-ça
SEQ  1SG:POSS-plait  IMP-put  IPFV-say:RECP-3PL  be-MED
And the lads’ plaits were all tied together, and they were all saying to one another, “Let go of my plait!”

53. oʒorʔ  kv-mqeʔ  te-je-na-ça
meanwhile  INF-quarrel  PFV:TR-begin2-3PL-MED
Meanwhile, they began to quarrel with one another.

54. qʰoʔ  rjelponu=niʔ=ntfəon  pʰəpʰəsisəsi  tə-rəroʷ-ədzə
SEQ  chieftain.and.spouse=DU=also  IDPH  PFV-get.up2-3DU
The chieftain and his wife also got up in a flurry.

55. qʰoʔ  təzdeʔ=nəʔ  sμi  kv-vlu
SEQ  spouse=DET  fire  INF-build
φunəfu  kə-tsə  te-je  nəʔ-ça
EXCL  INF-say  PFV:TR-begin2  be-MED
And the wife began to build a fire, and saying, “Fu! Fu!” she began to blow on (the fire).

56. nəpənəʔ  sμi  tə-nət  ozorʔ
at.that.moment  fire  PFV-burn2  while
o-kəʔ=ta  mpʰəleʔ  te-μjeʔ  nəʔ-ça
3SG:POSS-head=top  flax.fiber  PFV:TR-catch2  be-MED
At the instant, the fire started into flame, and caught the flax fiber on her head.
57. $qʰoʔ$ rjélpo=ka tezdəʔ o-kóʔ=ta
SEQ chieftain=ERG spouse 3SG:POSS-head=top
mpʰəleʔ tʰ거나=dʒoʔ=nə?
flax.fiber CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-catch.fire2=DET
kó-fmev tə-rntsʰa ó-ja te-jəʔ=nə?
NMLZ:PURP-extinguish PFV-try 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR:UP-raise2=SUB
kaxʃə̂brot nə-enter tezdəʔ o-kóʔ
pestle PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height2 spouse 3SG:POSS-head
χcʰə̂v te-satsəʔ-cə
IDPH PFV:TR-cause2-MED
And when the chieftain raised his hand in an attempt to put out the flax fiber on his wife’s hair that had caught fire, the pestle fell with a thud on his wife’s head.

58. $qʰoʔ$ rjélpo ke-rəʔi xpʰ e ʻo-pʰi
SEQ chieftain INF-run grinder 3SG:POSS-underside
tonʔ? raŋcaʔ kə-rtəʔ kə-ure-cə
white.conch.Rangkya NMLZ:PURP-check PFV:EAST-go2-MED
And the chieftain ran to check out the Rangkya conch under the grinder.

59. $qʰoʔ$ xpʰ e ʻo-pʰi ʻo-ja ne-rkoʔ-cə=nə?
SEQ grinder 3SG:POSS-underside 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-put.in2-MED=SUB
təpʰje nə-mtʃozʔ-cə
excrement PFV-be.stained2-MED
qʰoʔ ʻoʃorʔ təmdzo tə-ntseʔ-cə
SEQ meanwhile thorn PFV-prick2-MED
When he put his hand down into the grinder, his hand got stained with excrement, and at the same time the thorns pricked it.
60. qʰoʔ nə-ŋəm=seʰənəʔ
SEQ PFV-hurt2=SUB
ó-ja o-kʰɛ=naŋ le-tsom-cə=nəʔ?
3SG:POSS-hand 3SG:POSS-mouth=inside PFV:IN:TR-take.thither2-MED=SUB
cʰərgópu o-ʰjə tə-o-ədzeʔ ɵoʔ-cə
PN 3SG:POSS-excrement PFV-INV-cause.to.eat2 be-MED
It (his hand) hurt, and as soon as he put his hand into his mouth, he was made to eat Khyergopu’s excrement.

61. o-toŋʔ nə-rla ɵoʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-conch PFV-be.lost2 be-MED
And his conch was missing.

62. qʰoʔ kəmaqʰunəʔ tʰ-e-nlə-nə ɵoʔ-cə
SEQ afterwards PFV:OUT-exit2-3PL be-MED
ʃə nəʔ rereʔ ó-tə tʰə-ʁldwêt-nə ɵoʔ-cə
but peas 3SG:POSS-top PFV-slip2-3PL be-MED
Afterwards they all got out, but slipped and fell on the peas.

63. qʰoʔ nəʔosəfət tʃəjpe=naŋ nu-ere-nə-cə
SEQ in.that.way cowpen=inside PFV.DOWN-go2-3PL-MED
And they went down thus (slipping and falling) into the ground-floor cowpen.

64. qʰoʔ məsəmtimti nəkəsə
SEQ blindly thus
ʷboleʔ kə-ɾdi te-je-nə ɵoʔ-cə
male.cattle INF-ride PFV:TR-begin2-3PL be-MED
And began to mount the cattle as if they had been blind.
And since Khyergopu turned out to have reversed the pommels and cantles of the saddles, they actually sat with their backs toward the heads of the cattle.

And they were moving backwards in complete disorder.

And while it was impossible to drive the cattle out of the cowpen, and they just behaved like that, Khyergopu had long since escaped.

And they could not win over him.
69. qʰoʔ rjélpo=naʔ χṣikə nu-remuruʔ-cə
SEQ chieftain=DET very IPFV:PST-be.angry2-MED
ʃə́=cə cʰorgópu o-χtirtsot po-ay reʔ
when=INDF PN 3SG:POSS-revenge do3-1SG be.necessary
"ge-sasèʔ ʒoʔ-cə
IPFV-think3 be-MED
And the chieftain was very angry, and he kept thinking, “I must take revenge on
Khyergopu one of these days!”

70. qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=ce=nəʔ
SEQ one-day=INDF=DET
rjulpo=nəʔ rgonbe ome kə-xteʔ
chieftain=DET monastery very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
o-vzər=ce nu-nkeʔ-cə=nəʔ
3SG:POSS-side=INDF IPFV:PST-walk2-MED=SUB
One day, when the chieftain was walking beside a very big monastery,

71. cʰorgópu ntsʰoχʃʰen o-kómmtʰɔ=z
PN assembly.hall 3SG:POSS-courtyard=LOC
χtevtʃi vse-nds ne-mti ʒoʔ-cə
folding.knife CONT:HTR-hold PFV:TR-see2 be-MED
he saw Khyergopu holding a folding knife in the courtyard of the assembly hall.

72. qʰoʔ cʰorgópu=pʰa lu-wre-cə
SEQ PN=place PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED
qʰoʔ nujiʔ kəsenəkʰɔ
SEQ 2SG bully
And he went up to Khyergopu and said, “You bully! You cheated me the other day, and ripped off my riches.”

And Khyergopu said, “That would be fair! Of course! I am sorry!”

“Today, as the monks in this monastery division have assigned me work to do, I must peel the soles off all their shoes,”

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208 WT <grwa.tshang>, a division inside a Tibetan monastery. Here the word refers collectively to all the monks in one such divisions.
76. *nəʔ  v-mə-nv-cʰə-aŋ=nəʔ  χʃíkə  me-ʰ-dəɣəʔ  nəʔ_

ANA IRR-NEG-PFV-be.able-1SG=SUB very NEG-be.proper be
“it would be very improper if I should be unable to finish the job,”

77. *koʔ  v-mv=nəʔ  ne-sājjoʔ-aŋ

this 1SG:POSS-task=DET IPFV-finish-1SG
qʰoʔ  nejiʔ  tʰə  te-tsə=nəʔ  fteʔ  kʰétə nəʔ-ʃə-gę-
SEQ 2SG what 2-say=SUB be:EMPH please PFV:TR-say2-MED
“let me finish this task of mine, and then (I will do) whatever you say, please!” he said.

78. qʰoʔ  rjūlpo=nəʔ  tʰə-ʃəm  fteʔ-cə=kə

SEQ chieftain=DET CONT:LTR-be.in.a.hurry2 be:EMPH-MED=INS
cʰərgópu=pʰa  ma-rdu  ma-rdu
PN=place NEG-be.serious NEG-be.serious
nejiʔ  nŋolen  tʰə qa-aŋ=kə
that.near.you sole 1SG IPFV:OUT-peel.off-1SG=DM
2SG 1SG:POSS-property AND-IMP-fetch PFV:TR-say2-MED
And as the chieftain was in hurry (to get his property back), he said to Khyergopu,
“Alright, alright, let me peel off those soles for you, you just go and fetch my property!”

79. qʰoʔ  cʰərgópu=kə  χtɛntsi  rjūlpo=pʰa  ne-kʰi-cə

SEQ PN=ERG folding.knife chieftain=place PFV:TR-hand.to2-MED
qʰoʔ  jv-fə  nəʔ-cə
SEQ PFV-go2 be-MED
And Khyergopu handed the folding knife to the chieftain and went away.
And the chieftain started to peel off the soles of the monks, and, in a short while, peeled all of them off.

And just then the monks in the assembly hall got off class, and (the chieftain) had caused them to have no shoes to wear in the courtyard.

And the monks gave the chieftain such a severe beating that he almost had to crawl back home.

And he kept on looking out for Khyergopu.
84. qʰoʔ  kʰ-sŋi=ce=naʔ
   SEQ  one-day=INDF=DET
leʔ  kʰgaldun\textsuperscript{209}  rgonbe  o-vzər=ce  nə-nkeʔ-ca=naʔ
again  PN  monastery  3SG:POSS-side=INDF  IPFV:PST-walk\textsubscript{2-MED}=SUB
\[cʰõrgópu=kə \quad \text{termö}=\text{be}^\text{210} \quad \text{esə-rq}\quad \text{ne-mti} \quad \text{ŋoʔ-ca} \]
PN=ERG  main.flagpole  CONT:HTR-embrace  PFV:TR-see\textsubscript{2}  be-MED

One day when he was walking by the side of the Gandan Monastery, he saw Khyergopu
again, holding onto the main flagpole.

85. qʰoʔ  rjîlpo=naʔ=kə  \[cʰõrgópu=pʰa \quad \text{nyiʔ} \quad \text{kʰənəik’o} \]
SEQ  chieftain=DET=ERG  PN=place  2SG  bully
\[\text{jesŋiʔ} \quad \text{v-rj}uʔ \quad \text{tə-kə-nəvloʔ-aj} \quad \text{mets’et} \]
the.other.day  1SG:POSS-property  PFV-2→1-cheat\textsubscript{2-1SG}  not.only
\[\text{vlerge}=\text{reʔ}=kə \quad \text{nə-kə-saw’duʔ-aj} \quad \text{ŋoʔ} \]
monk=PL=ERG  PFV-2→1-cause.to.beat\textsubscript{2-1SG}  be
\[\text{fosŋiʔ} \quad \text{ŋόŋa} \quad \text{udənbe} \quad \text{mə-tv-teʔ} \quad \text{te-tsəʔ-ca} \]
today  TOP  at.all  NEG-1→2-let.off  PFV:TR-say\textsubscript{2-MED}

And the chieftain said to Khyergopu, “You bully! You not only ripped off my property
the other day, you also caused me to be beaten up by the monks. Today, I will definitely
not let you off!”

86. qʰoʔ  \[cʰõrgópu=kə \quad \text{tə-tṣiŋʔ} \quad \text{ŋoʔ} \]
SEQ  PN=ERG  2-be.fair  be
\[\text{jesŋiʔ} \quad \text{ŋόŋa} \quad \text{fikə} \quad \text{ne-nəwetfeʔ-aj} \quad \text{ŋoʔ} \quad \text{kʰitə} \]
the.othe.day  TOP  very  IPFV:PST-be.at.fault\textsubscript{2-1SG}  be  sorry

And Khyergopu said, “That would be fair! It was indeed my fault the other day. I am
sorry!”

\textsuperscript{209} WT <dga.ladan>, one of the four big monasteries of Lhasa.

\textsuperscript{210} This refers to one of the two main flagpoles places in front of the monastery.
87. *fanə? jospə? vəɾɡe=reʔ=kə leʔ nə-o-sqor-ən=kə*
   but today monks=PL=ERG again PFV-INV-send.for2-1SG=INS
   *koʔ termoʃtʰe jə-ka-eldeʔ=nəʔ tʰv-o-sədi-ən yəʔ*
   this flagpole FUT-NMLZ:SBJ-fall=DET CONT:LTR-INV-cause.to.hold2-1SG be
   “But, today, the monks have sent for me again, and are making me hold this flagpole
   which is going to fall over,”

88. *qʰoʔ koʔ ne-teʔ-aŋ joʃʔ*
   SEQ:EMPH this IPFV:DOWN-put-1SG be.allowed
   *foonəʔ termoʃtʰe eldeʔ fiʃʔ-cə*
   but flagpole fall.over be:EMPH-MED
   *qʰoʔ me-nun ən yəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
   SEQ NEG-be.acceptable be PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “I may let go, but then the main flagpole will fall over, and that would be unacceptable,”
   he said.

89. *qʰoʔ rjilpo=nəʔ=kə nukəʔ termoʃtʰe eldeʔ*
   SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG that.over.there flagpole fall.over
   *oʃʃt me=kə*
   3SG:POSS-talk not.exist=DM
   *nəʃjʔ leʔ jə-kə-nəvlo-ən yəʔ=kə me-joʃʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
   2SG again PROS-2→1- cheat-1SG be=DM NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And the chieftain said, “There is no such thing as a flagpole like that one falling over!
   You are fooling me again. I won’t take that!”

90. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə me-sto=kə me-tə-nəvʰəge=nəʔ*
   SEQ PN=ERG neg-be.serious=DM NEG-2-believe=SUB
   *kə kə-wi*
   here IMP:EAST-come
And Khyergopu said, “Alright, if you don’t believe it, come over here and take a look at the tip of the flagpole up there!”

And when the chieftain went and took a look upward, sure enough, clouds were coming eastward toward the tip of the flagpole,

and it seems that the tip was going westward and was about to fall over.

And the chieftain thought, “What he said is right!”
“Alright, I will hold that for you. You go and find my property!” he said.

And Khyergopu went away.

And (the chieftain) himself kept holding onto the flagpole.

When looked again at the tip of the flagpole, it still seemed that it was falling over.

And he became flustered and made a racket yelling, “The flagstaff is going to fall over!”
99. \( qʰə? \) \( vl\text{n}ge=\text{rev} \) \( ntsʰ\text{otf̩en}=\text{nay} \) \( tʰv\text{n}l\text{ɜ}=\text{nə-cə} \)

SEQ monk=PL assembly.hall=inside PFV:OUT-exit2-3PL-MED

\( qʰə? \) \( nə\text{ɣə}v\text{ɣə}v\text{ʔ} \)

SEQ IDPH PFV-come2-3PL-MED

And the monks went out of the assembly hall, and came in a swarm.

100. \( nəkəʔ \) \( tərmōtʃe \) \( jə-\text{kə-velde} \) \( mə-\text{cə} \)

that.over.there flagpole FUT-NMLZ-fall.over not.exist-MED

\( mə-\text{kə} \) \( χ\text{tembrec} \) \( kə-\text{η}m \)

2SG:POSS-NMLZ-act.in.a.bullying.manner2=DET

\( mə-\text{ta-tə-tsa}=\text{kə} \) \( te-tsaʔ=\text{nə-cə} \)

NEG-IMP-2-say=DM PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED

“There is no such thing as that flagpoles there falling over! You are going too far! Don’t utter those inauspicious words,” they said.

101. \( qʰə? \) \( rj̚əlpo=\text{nə} \) \( le? \) \( t̚ə=\text{dat}=kə \) \( rtovja? \) \( tə-\text{oy-tʃet-cə} \)

ANA chieftain=DET again beating PFV-INV-do2-MED

\( qʰə? \) \( le? \) \( kə\text{-nætsxu} \) \( mə=\text{be} \) \( kə-nəf̩e \) \( mə-re-cə \)

SEQ again INF-crawl almost INF-go.back IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED

The chieftain was again given a severe beating, and he almost had to crawl his way back home.

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213 A ideophone for ‘in a swarm’.

214 A possessed nominalized structure involving the nominal prefix \( tə- \) and the past verb stem, literally ‘that bullying act of yours’.
102. *təmdânə cʰɔrgópu o-χirtso t kʰ-pe=scʰənəʔ*

in.the.end PN 3SG:POSS-revenge INF-do=and

*o-rjuʔ kʰ-znəŋbyə*

3SG:POSS-property INF-cause.to.recompense

*nə-ncʰəʔ nə-nləʔ²¹⁵ mə-cə*

IPFV:PST-be.able₂ IPFV:PST-be.able₂ not.exist-MED

And in the end, he was unable at all to revenge himself on Khyergopu, or make him recompense for his stolen property.

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²¹⁵ An elaborated variant of *nə-ɛʰəʔ* ‘was able’.
WHY KHYERGOPU THE TRICKSTER DID NOT COME TO OUR LAND

Cʰərgópu jaŋəva? ja-satʃʰe tʰe maŋəkwe? χpe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. Cʰeʔ=naʔ  Cʰərgópu  jaŋəva?  ja-satʃʰe=z
   Former.time=TOP  Khyergopu  1PL  1PL:Poss-place=LOC

   Ka-wi  ta-rentsʰa  ƞoʔ-cə
   Purp-come  PFV-make.ready2  be-MED

   Once upon a time, Khyergopu was about to come to our land.

2. Qʰoʔ  ja-satʃʰe  reʰgo=z=ce  ƞoʔ-zyʔt=naʔ
   Seq  1PL:Poss-land  hill=Loc=Indf  PFV-arrive2=Sub

   When he got to a place on the hill (overlooking) our land,

3. O-ʁóri=z  tôme  ne-kə-loyʔ?

   Sɛmbə  4kə-fkorʔ  vsv-fkor
   Twigs.and.sticks  one-loadful  CONT:LTR-carry.on.back

   Qʰoʔ  o-ʁóri  tʰu-weʔ  ƞoʔ-cə
   Seq  3SG:Poss-front  CONT:LTR-come2  be-MED

   In front of him a woman who had been herding was coming, carrying a full load of twigs and sticks on her back.

4. Qʰoʔ  Cʰərgópu=kə
   Seq  PN=ERG

   Koʔ  ne-kə-loyʔ?=naʔ  te-κu-nəɾʃeʔ  reʔ=ca
   This  IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd2  IPFV-GP-provoke  be.necessary-MED

   Ne-ʃəsi-ca
   PFV:TR-think2-MED

   And Khyergopu thought, “I have (lit. one has) to tease this herder.”
5. \(qʰoʔ\ nə-kə-lóɣʔ=pʰa\)
SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd2=place
\(nəʔ\ nə-fkor\ o-tə-xtə=nəʔ\ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ\)
that 2SG:POSS-load 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big2=DET PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB
And when he said, “What a big load that one of yours is!”

6. \(nə-kə-loɣʔ=kə\)
IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd2=ERG
\(nay\ xteʔ\ xteʔ\ “denəʔ?\)
of.course be.big be.big for
\(kə-sŋi\ v-ylevʔ\ tə-ŋo\ ŋoʔ\ te-tsəʔ-cə\)
one-day 1SG:POSS-workload CONT:LTR-be 2 be PFV:TR-say2-MED
The herder said, “Of course it is big; it’s one full day’s workload of mine.”

7. \(qʰoʔ\ le\ cʰərgópu-kə\ ŋaʔ\ nəʔ\ nə-fkor\)
SEQ again PN=ERG EXCL that 2SG:POSS-load
\(o-tə-xtə=nəʔ\ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ\)
3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big2=DET PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB
And when again Khyergopu said, “What a small load that one of yours is!”

8. \(nay\ xtfi\ xtfi\ “denəʔ?\)
of.course be.small:EMPH be.small:EMPH for
\(tə-xtə\ ŋeʔ\ te-tsəʔ-cə\)
1SG:POSS-task.done.while.doing.sth.else be:EMPH PFV:TR-say2-MED
(The herder) said, “Of course it is small, for it is just what I did while doing something else.”
And Khyergopu thought, “Hey! This herder is quite clever!”

“Let me provoke her again (to see) if she is really clever,” he thought.

And when he said (to the herder), “How big are those breasts of yours!”

The herder said, “Of course they are big; they are what the precious human body is fed with.”
13. \textit{qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə}  
\textit{SEQ PN=ERG}  
\textit{nəʔ \text{ nu-nəʔ} o-tə-xtʃi=nəʔ te-tsə?-cə=nə}  
\text{that 2SG:POSS-breast 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.small}_{2}=DET \text{ PFV:TR-say}_{2}=MED=SUB}  
\text{And when Khyergopu said, “How small are those breasts of yours!”}  

14. \textit{nəʔ kəloy?=nəʔ=kə}  
\text{that herder=DET=ERG}  
\text{naŋ xtʃi xtʃi “denə?” of-course be.small be.small for tənuʔ fəru=ta tə-kə-sceʔ fteʔ breast bone=top PFV-NMLZ-grow}_{2} be:EMPH}  
\textit{qʰoʔ “ge-xtʃi”}^{216} reʔ “denəʔ te-təʔ?-cə}  
\textit{SEQ IPFV-be.small be.necessary DM PFV:TR-say}_{2}=MED}  
\text{The herder said, “Of course they are small; they grew on bones, so they must be small!”}  

15. \textit{qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə ne-səsə?=nəʔ} \textit{SEQ PN=ERG PFV:TR-think}_{2}=SUB \textit{koʔ kəloy təme=ntʃonəʔ} \textit{this herder woman=even}  
\text{fəraʔ məkətsʰət o-kə ne-tsəʔə mpəɾ-cə=kə} \textit{be.clever not.only 3SG:POSS-mouth that.much be.eloquent-MED=INS}  
\text{And Khyergopu thought, “Even this woman herder is not only clever, but also so eloquent,”}  

^{216} \text{Here, one can also use the irrealis form } v-\text{nu-xtʃi}.  

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16. ko? nəjalkʰəm-pʰjə ne-ʃə-ay joyʔ
this region-direction IPFV:DOWN-go-1SG be.allowed
ʃə nəʔ kə-snəʔvlo=ko? mv-cʰə-ay-cə ne-səsi-cə
but INF-cheat.people=this NEG-be.able-1SG-MED PFV:TR-think2-MED
“I may go in the direction of this region, but I will not be able to cheat people,” he thought.

17. qʰoʔ kə-nəjwet qʰoʔ mə-na-veʔ kë-tsə tʃʰozʔ-cə
SEQ PFV:EAST-return2 SEQ NEG-PFV:WEST-come2 GP-say be.the.rule-MED
And he returned east, and never came west, it is said.

18. qʰoʔ kë-tsə v-nũ-ŋo=nəʔ
SEQ GP-say IRR-PFV-be=SUB
cʰærgópu=nəʔ kə-nwəsonem=cəʔ mə-ŋo-cə=kə
PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.prosperous=and NMLZ-be.prosperous IPFV:PST-be2-MED=INS
In fact, Khyergopu was blessed by fortune.

19. mə-nækʰəjʰi sntʃʰe=ɾəʔ kəmvaqʰuna
IPFV-stroll2 place=PL afterwards
ome kə-snom=səʔəʔ kə-timʔ ne-peʔ-ŋo
very NMLZ-be.prosperous=and NMLZ-be.prosperous PFV:TR-do2-3PL
kë-tsə tʃʰozʔ?
GP-say be.the.rule
And the areas that he walked through would be prosperous and rich, it is said.
**FIRST STORY ABOUT A PILGRIM’S WIT**

*luse k âm dzøl tsoʰ nhuʔz*

Narrator: ’Phrinlas

1. *luse k âm dzøl k âm f v=cəʔ*
   
   Lhasa NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage NMLZ:SBJ-go=INDF
   
   *u r t s o w e n v-t o ɲ o-cə*
   
   pilgrim IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
   
   There was a pilgrim who (often) went to Lhasa on pilgrimages.

2. *kə-sŋi=ce=nəʔ*
   
   one-day=INDF=DET
   
   *leʔ k âm dzøl k âm f v*
   
   again NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage NMLZ:PURP-go
   
   *lv-ntsʰa-cə*
   
   PFV:UPRIVER-set.out2-MED
   
   One day, he again set out upriver to go on a pilgrimage.

3. *qʰoʔ kə-sŋi tʊmqeq əzɔɾ n v-nkeʔ-cə*
   
   SEQ one-day hardship meanwhile IPFV:PST-walk2-MED
   
   He was trudging hard all day long.

4. *tərmókʰeq=nəʔ kv-nəɾme jə-mdə ɲ oʔ-cə*
   
   dusk=DET INF-rest.for.the.day PROS-be.time be-MED
   
   At dusk, it was going to be time to rest for the day,
5. qʰo le-mpʰiri=nəʔ 
   IPFV:UPRIVER-look=SUB NEG-NMLZ-be far=LOC
   prakʰonj=cəʔ 
   cliff.cave=INDF be.seen be-MED
   looking upriver, he found a cliff cave in a place not far away.

6. qʰoʔ prakʰonj ő-pʰi=z tə-nəarme-cə
   SEQ cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC PFV:UP-spend.the.night2-MED
   And he went uphill to sleep for the night under the cliff cave.

7. qʰoʔ smi te-vlu-cə
   SEQ fire PFV:TR-burn2-MED
   And he built a fire.

8. le-mpʰiri=nəʔ
   IPFV:IN-look=SUB
   prakʰonj ő-naŋ=z qɐʃpe=cəʔ tʰv-nlə-cə
   cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC toad=INDF PFV:OUT-exit2-MED
   Looking inside, he (saw that) a toad came out from the cliff cave.

9. qʰoʔ ʃiʃə sərv əʔoʔ-cə
   SEQ very be.amusing be-MED
   And it was very amusing.

10. qʰoʔ vrtʃəw=kə qɐʃpe ne-myəʔ-cə
    SEQ pilgrim=ERG toad PFV:TR-catch2-MED
    qʰoʔ o-rtsimkəy ő-naŋ tʰe-rkoʔ-cə
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-tsampa.pouch 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-put.in2-MED
    The friar caught the toad, and put it into his tsampa pouch.
11. qʰoʔ  nw-smo-cə
   SEQ   IPFV:PST-stay-MED
   And he stayed there.

12. détsv=naʔ  rcampi?=caʔ  kauna-χəsm  ju-weʔ-naə  ηoʔ-cao
   after.a.while=DET  rider=INDF  two-three  PFV-come2-3PL  be-MED
   qʰoʔ  vrtʃóww  nw-o-mti-cə
   SEQ  pilgrim  PFV-INV-see2-MED
   After a while, two or three riders came, and the pilgrim was spotted (by them).

13. qʰoʔ  o-vzər  ŋo-te-mdzuʔ-naə  ηoʔ-cao
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-side  AND-PFV-sit.down2-3PL  be-MED
   And they went to sit beside him.

14. qʰoʔ  vrtʃóww=kə  tə-svnvrtygpjêt=naʔ?
   SEQ  pilgrim=ERG  PFV-observe.people2=SUB
   mw-kə-fsət  wəjo  ηoʔ-cao
   NEG-NMLZ-be.like  be.seen  be-MED
   When the pilgrim did some observing, he realized that something was wrong.

15. qʰoʔ  éhehe?lé  josgiʔ  ηónaə
   SEQ  EXCL  today  TOP:EMPH
   rtfɔjpe  nw-təʔy-ʔəγ  ηoʔ-cao
   bandit  PFV-meet2-1SG  be-MED
   qʰoʔ  tʃʰə  te-kə-pe  reʔ=kə  ne-sasí-cao
   SEQ  what  IPFV-GP-do  be.necessary=DM  PFV:TR-think2-MED
   “Alas! I have run into bandits today. What should I do,” he thought.
16. \( kəməqʰùnə?\) \( o-vlo\) \( kə-vde=çə?\)  
then=DET 3SG:POSS-idea NMLZ-be.good=INDF  
\( o-sèm=nay\)  \( jv-\text{weʔ}-çə\)  
3SG:POSS-heart=inside PFV-come\(_2\)-MED  
Then, a good idea came to his mind,

17. \( qʰə?\) \( o-\text{rtsímkəy}\) \( o-kʰe\) \( kəmtʃə\) \( ne-çu-çə\)  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-tsampa.pouch 3SG:POSS-opening a.little PFV:TR-open\(_2\)-MED  
and he pulled open the opening of the tsampa pouch a little bit.

18. \( kədənə?\) \( \text{rtsímkəy}\) \( o-kʰe=z\) \( qaʃpe\) \( lv-nəf\text{koʔ}-çə\)  
after.a.while tsampa.pouch 3SG:POSS-opening=LOC toad PFV:OUT-peek\(_2\)-MED  
In a minute, the toad peeked out from the opening of the tsampa pouch.

19. \( qʰə?\) \( qaʃpe=Çə?\) \( ʰ-yw=z\)  
SEQ toad=DET 3SG:POSS-body=LOC  
\( \text{rtsemb}\text{w} ləŋloŋ^217\) \( nə-mtʃoʔ?\) \( əʔ-çə\)  
tsampa IDPH PFV-stain\(_2\) be-MED  
The body of the toad was stained white with tsampa.

20. \( qʰə?\) \( qaʃpe\) \( ʰ-ja\) \( o-rŋยกʔ=ta=z\) \( te-\text{tsom}?\)  
SEQ toad 3SG:POSS-hand 3SG:POSS-face=top=LOC PFV:UP:TR-take.thither\(_2\)  
\( ne-\text{rəpʃəŋjaʔ}\) \( əʔ-çə\)  
PFV:TR-wipe.about\(_2\) be-MED  
And the toad held its hands to its face and kept wiping it.

\(^{217}\) A derived ideophone from the root \( ləŋ\), describing the state of being completely covered in sth powdery.
21. ó-ja χʃikə nəntʃʰi ŋoʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-hand very be.nimble be-MED
   Its hands were very nimble.

22. qʰoʔ vtʃöw=nəʔ=kə qəʃpe o-koʔ tʰé-stʃʰ ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ pilgrim=DET=ERG toad 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:IN-push be-MED
   And the pilgrim was pushing the head of the toad inside (the pouch),

23. oʒorʔz kəmtʃʰa mέ-mda té-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
   meanwhile a.little NEG-be.time2 IPFV-say2 be-MED
   all the while saying, “It’s not the right time yet.”

24. kádenəʔ qəʃpe leʔ le-nləʔ
    in.a.moment toad again IPFV:OUT-exit
    After a while, the toad poked its head out again.

25. qʰoʔ leʔ nəʔ té-fsət ŋoʔ-cə
    SEQ again ANA IPFV-do.thus be-MED
    And it was doing the same thing again.

26. vtʃöw=kə leʔ nəʔ té-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
    pilgrim=ERG again ANA IPFV-say be-MED
    And the pilgrim was saying the same thing again.

27. qʰoʔ rtʃaxpɛ=reʔ=kə ne-ṃti-nə te-ṃsâtsə-nə ŋoʔ-cə
    SEQ bandit=PL=ERG PFV:TR-see2-3PL IPFV-say:RECP-3PL be-MED
    The bandits saw this, and were saying to each other,
28. \(kəko?\ vətʃəwə=nə?\ kə-nərtʃə?\ mə-pnən-cə\ \"denə?\)

This pilgrim=DET INF-provoke NEG-be.acceptable-MED for

\(kə-sesəyve=cnə?\ vəzi?-cə\)

NMLZ-be.frightening=INDF possess-MED

“One should not provoke this pilgrim, for he has something frightful!”

29. \(qʰo?\ fəa\ nə-pʰi-nə-cə\)

SEQ immediately PFV-escape2-3PL-MED

And they immediately fled.

30. \(təmdənə\ vətʃəwə\ o-vlo\ nə-vədə\ otənə\)

as.a.result pilgrim 3SG:POSS.idea IPFV:PST-be.good2 because

\(kə-nəsəkʰi\ mə-\overset{n}{\overset{\sim}{\overset{\sim}{\overset{\sim}{n}}}}\text{-}gru-cə\)

INF-rob NEG-IPFV:PST-manage2-MED

In the end, because the pilgrim’s strategy worked well, the bandits were unable to rob him.
SECOND STORY ABOUT A PILGRIM’S WIT

luse kamdzel tso'bej?z

Narrator: ’Phrinlas

1. luse ka-mdzal kə-fu=cə?
   PN NMLZ:PURP-go.on.pilgrimage pilgrim=INDF
   nw-to ηο?-cə

   There was a pilgrim who went on pilgrimages to Lhasa.

2. kə-sji=cə
   one-day=INDF
   nw-nke?-cə=nə?
   o-zgiq'u

   One day when he was walking, and looking back downriver, (he saw that) two or three
   mounted bandits came upriver.

3. qʰoʔ vrťöwe=kə
   SEQ pilgrim=ERG what
   tfʰo te-kv-pe re?=kə ne-saxə?-cə
   IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM IPFV-think3-MED

   The pilgrim thought, “What should I do?”

4. oʒorʔz χfiko lv-ojesŋaz? lv-mvko-cə
   while very PFV:UPRIVER-hurry2 PFV:UPRIVER-get.ahead2-MED
   qʰoʔ tfʰokæzər=cə?
   SEQ river.bank=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-MED

   Meanwhile, he hurried upriver, and got ahead of the bandits to the riverside.
5. qʰoʔ qʰeⁿhət ne-lwe
SEQ sand PFV:DOWN:TR-dig <pne-
ó-nay smi te-vlu tfė te-seleʔ-co
3SG:POSS-inside fire PFV:TR-build tea PFV:TR-boil-MED
He dug (a hole) in the sand, built a fire in it, and boiled tea.

6. qʰoʔ qʰeⁿhət=kə pəme o-vzévzər smi=reʔ?
SEQ sand=INS pot 3SG:POSS-surrounding fire=PL
kəmdi ne-šə-fkev-cə
all PFV:TR-CAUS-cover-MED
And with sand, he covered up the fire all around the pot.

7. ke-kv-mpʰəri=nə?
IPFV:CISLOC-GP-see=SUB
pəme ó-nay tfė tʰv-kə-vəl=ədenə?
teapot 3SG:POSS-inside tea CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-boil=except
mə-səmti ʃəʔ-cə
NEG-be.visible be-MED
If one looks at it, all that was visible was tea boiling inside the pot.

8. qʰoʔ tfʰoⁿhui o-vzər zəʔkoʔ fsə-te-neʔyoro
SEQ road 3SG:POSS-side bovine.skull AND-PFV:TR-look.for <pne-
And he went to look for a skull of a bovine by the side of the road.

9. qʰoʔ ó-kə rəʔl kə-toʔ=reʔ kəmdi zəʔkóʔ=ta
SEQ 3SG:POSS-body silver NMLZ:SBJ-exist=PL all bovine.skull=top
nəkəʔa ne-səntəv-cə
thus PFV:TR-let.go-MED
And he left all of the silver he had on him on top of the bovine skull just like that.
10. qʰoʔ o-sqʷraʔ=kə o-mé-ntse te-zrεskɨ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-belt=INS 3SG:POSS-leg-one.of.a.pair PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.pull₂
qʰoʔ ő-mtiʔ=z ke-xʃεʔ?
SEQ 3SG:POSS-waist=LOC PFV:CISLOC:TR-tie.up₂
o-pʰjiiʔ ő-sge=kə ne-soʔ-fkev-cə
3SG:POSS-outside 3SG:POSS-clothes=INS PFV:TR-CAUS-cover₂-MED
And he pulled up one of his legs with his belt, tied it around his waist, and covered it up with his clothes.

11. qʰoʔ nu-smu-cə
SEQ IPFV:PST-stay-MED
And he stayed there.

12. kádaemonʔ rtʃaype=ɾʔ jv-zyʃt-nə-cə
in.a.moment bandit=PL PFV-arrive₂-3PL-MED
In a moment, the bandits arrived.

13. qʰoʔ vrʃówv te-nəʃkọʃkọʔ?
SEQ pilgrim IPFV-leap.on.one.leg
And the pilgrim was leaping swiftly about on one leg,

14. oʃorʔʔ nəʃrerʔ nu-mquʔ-nə²¹⁸ nu-mquʔ-nə
meanwhile 2PL IPFV:PST-be.tired₂-2PL IPFV:PST-be.tired₂-2PL
tʃeʔ nə-ʈiʔ-nə tʃeʔ nə-ʈiʔ-nə tə-tʃə nəʔ-cə
tea IMP-drink-2PL tea IMP-drink-2PL IPFV-say-be-MED
at the same time he was saying, “You must be tired, you must be tired! Drink tea, drink tea!”

²¹⁸ This is a greeting involving a special usage of the verb kə-mquʔ ‘be tired’. Note that dual and plural suffixes are permitted, but not the second-person index tə-.
15. qʰoʔ rtfúpe=rnv=kə le-mpʰéri-nə
SEQ bandit=PL=ERG IPFV:UPRIVER-look-3PL
As the bandits were looking,

16. pemə ó-nəŋ tʃeʔ tʰənəblublu tʰə-leʔ nəʔ-cə
tead 3SG:POSS-inside tea CONT:LTR-bubble.away2 CONT:LTR-boil2 be-MED
fənaʔ pemə ó-pʰji=z
but teapot 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC
smi uðenbe tʰə-ko-lu me nəʔ-cə
fire at.all CONT:LTR-NMLZ-burn2 not.exist be-MED
(they saw that) tea was bubbling away to a boil, but there was no fire burning under the
tapot at all.

17. qʰoʔ miŋu ne-nempʰeriri-nə=nəʔ
SEQ further IPFV-look.around:RDPL-3PL=SUB
And when they looking around more,

18. zəʔ o-kó=ta rŋə ʔv-teʔ=nəʔ=rnv?
bovine.skull 3SG:POSS-head=top silver NMLZ:SBJ:U-put=DET=PL
qʰoʔ qʰvʔ wɅtʃiłʔə te-ko-nəʃkonəʃ=naʔ=rnv?
SEQ ANA pilgrim IPFV-NMLZ-leap.on.a.single.foot=DET=PL
ne-mti-nə-cə
PFV:TR-see2-3PL-MED
they saw the silver placed atop the bovine skull, and that pilgrim hopping about on one
leg.
19.  qʰoʔ rtfāspe=rwʔ=ko wa ɐmokətʃi²¹⁹
SEQ bandit=PL=ERG EXCL good.heavens
jaʃaʔ  josgiʔ  rkaŋlo
1PL today one.legged.demon PFV-meet₂-1PL-MED
te-ṃatsətsə-na  ṇoʔ-čə
PFV:TR-say₂:RDPL-3PL be-MED

And the bandits said to each other, “Oh, good heavens! We have run into a one-legged
demon today!”

20.  qʰoʔ  təverʔ  o-fṭ=ko
SEQ fear 3SG:POSS-extent=INS
ʰbru  fla  te-“di-na  qʰoʔ  jw-pʰi-na-čə
horse quickly PFV:TR-ride²-3PL SEQ PFV-escape²-3PL-MED

They were so frightened that they quickly mounted their horses and fled.

21.  qʰoʔ  təmdána  wtfəʊwə  o-vlo  κο-vde  o-tōnʔ=ko
SEQ in.the.end pilgrim 3SG:POSS-idea NMLZ-be.good 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
rtfāspe=rwʔ=ko wtfəʊwə  κe-nɔrtfāspe  mə-nv-cʰoʔ-ŋə-čə
bandit=PL=ERG pilgrim INF-rob NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able²-3PL-MED

In the end, thanks to the pilgrim’s good strategy, the bandits were not able to rob him.

²¹⁹ An exclamation of shock and dismay involving the word ḫmo ‘my mother’ and two nonsense syllables.
THE BALD CORPSE

Narrator: Don’grub

1. \( kə-syj=cɛ=nə? \)
   one-day=INDF=TOP
   \( kə-təp=ɛə? \) \( ə-nə \) \( kə-set \) \( nə-ə-ʃəə \)
   one-household=INDF 3SG:POSS-inside NMLZ-die PFV-occur2-MED
   One day, someone died in a certain household.

2. \( qʰoʔ nə-ka-set=nə? \) \( "goklv=cəʔ \) \( nə-ŋo \) \( ŋo?-cə \)
   SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-die2=DET bald.person=INDF IPFV:PST-be2 be-MED
   And the deceased was a bald person.

3. \( qʰoʔ \) \( təʃpov?=nə? \)
   SEQ corpse=DET
   \( \text{parts}^{220} \) \( \text{refkəʔ} \) \( \text{te-peʔ}=nə \)
   hey.loft shroud.wrapping.method PFV:TR-do2-3PL
   \( qʰoʔ \) \( ne-\text{te}-nə-ŋəo \)
   SEQ PFV:DOWN:TR-place2-3PL-MED
   And they wrapped up the corpse with white cloth, and placed it in the heyloft.

4. \( qʰoʔ \) \( vləmne ko-krəpəp=cəʔ \) \( vləmtʃlə \)
   SEQ lama together.with-disciple:RDPL=INDF religious.services
   \( nə-smʊ-dəzə \)
   IPFV:PST-stay-3DU
   And a certain lama and his disciple stayed to perform religious services.

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\(^{220}\) A method of wrapping up a corpse in a bent sitting position, using white cotton cloth and ropes.
5.  

\[ qʰoʔ \text{ mer=}nəʔ \text{ mtfʰətkʰəŋ=}nəŋ \text{ kə-na-rgu=}də-ŋəŋo \]

SEQ  

night =DET  

shrine=inside  

PFV-SPON-sleep2-3DU-MED  

And at night, the two of them went to sleep by themselves inside the shrine.

6.  

\[ qʰoʔ \text{ jon} \text{ və}=rəʔ \text{ nə-tʃi=}nəʔ \text{ kv-nəməme} \text{ əntsətse=}kə \]

SEQ  

host=PL  

3PL:POSS-ladder=DET  

INF-stroke  

repeatedly=INS  

nə-seʔ  

qʰoʔ  

švələv  

nə-əpeʔ-ŋəŋo  

PFV-be.smooth  

SEQ  

IDPH  

PFV-become2-MED  

The hosts (of the household) had stroked their ladder repeatedly, and it had become smooth.

7.  

\[ qʰoʔ \text{ mer} \]

SEQ  

night  

vləme  

o-krəpe=ŋəʔ  

nə-ver  

qʰoʔ  

ó-rjev  

lama  

3SG:POSS-disciple=DET  

PFV-be.afraid2  

SEQ  

3SG:POSS-sleep  

me-ŋəge-wi-ŋəŋo  

NEG-IPFV-come-MED  

And at night, the lama’s disciple got afraid, and could not fall asleep.

8.  

\[ qʰoʔ \text{ noʔomer=}nəʔ \text{ sléŋə=}rəʔ \text{ kəmtʃʰə} \text{ nu-to-cə} \]

SEQ  

that.night=DET  

moon=PL  

a.bit  

IPFV:PST-exist2-MED  

That night, there was a bit of moonlight.

9.  

\[ qʰoʔ \text{ vləme} \text{ ko-krəpəpe} \text{ "də-sərʰgu=}nəʔ \]

SEQ  

lama  

together.with-disciple  

3DU:POSS-sleeping.place=DET  

tərʃəʔ=ŋə  

tə-kv-səwəʔ=ŋəʔ  

interwoven.stake=INS  

PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-surround2=INDF

566
And the lama and his disciple’s sleeping place was surrounded by interwoven stakes as a makeshift for a plank partition.

And when the lama’s disciple was looking through the interstices of the stakes, it seemed as if something came out from the top edge of the ladder, with its head bald and smooth.

And the lama’s disciple immediately sat upright (lit. raised his upper body), and thought, “The corpse has come upstairs!”
And he said to his lama, “My lama, this one down there has come upstairs!”

When his lama said, “What has come up,” (he said), “Why, look! The corpse has come upstairs!”

His lama sat upright right away and looked, and it really seemed that the corpse had come upstairs.
    in.fact stake 3SG:POSS-interstice IPFV-look-3DU
    ozor? ne-mólmo-ⁿədzə=naʔ
    meanwhile IPFV-move-3DU=SUB

    feⁿdi sləŋŋə⁴⁴⁶⁹ tʰi o-kə? ʃənəʔ? né-pe
    place.to.the.west moonlight ladder 3SG:POSS-head IDPH IPFV-do

    qʰəʔ ne-kə-mólmo-cə né-fsət ʃoʔ-cə
    SEQ IPFV-NMLZ-move-MED IPFV-be.like be-MED

    The truth is, when the two of them were looking through the interstices of the stakes, and
    moving at the same time, the top of the ladder looked smooth under the moonlight and
    appeared to be moving.

17. qʰəʔ və̡me ko-krapəpe=nɨʔ=ka
    SEQ lama together.with-disciple:RDPL=DU=ERG

    təfəpov? tə-wɛʔ? ʃoʔ ne-səsiⁿdzə-cə
    corpse PFV:UP-come be PFV:TR-think²-3DU=MED

    And the lama and his disciple thought that the corpse had come upstairs.

18. qʰəʔ n⁴ⁿdzə-ncmp pəɾvū=naŋ rtsAMP
    SEQ 3DU:POSS-head.side flour.box=inside tsampa

    ke-rko=naʔ=reʔ? noʔosëfsəʔ tʰi
    NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET=PL thus ladder

    o-kəʔ=ta ne-wəɾʷətⁿdzə-cə
    3SG:POSS-head=top PFV:TR-throw²-3DU=MED

    And they threw the tsampa in the flour-box by the head side (of the sleeping place) at the
    top of the ladder just like that.
19. qʰoʔ noʔosáfi=nəʔ ne-mpʰəriⁿdzə=nəʔ
   SEQ next.day=DET PFV:TR-look₂-3DU=SUB
   tfʰimɡoʔ rtsempe tʰoŋʔtʰoŋʔ ne-sə-tdəⁿdzə
   top.edge.of.ladder tsampa IDPH²²¹ PFV:TR-CAUS-do₂-3DU
The next day, when they took a look, (they saw that) they had made the top edge of the ladder covered with the tsampa.

20. qʰoʔ ⁹⁵dánə təʃpovʔ ne-ma tfʰi
   SEQ in.fact corpse IPFV:PST-not.be₂ ladder
   o-koʔ ne-ʃte-nəŋo
3SG:POSS-head IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂-MED
The truth was, it wasn’t the corpse, it was just the top ends of the ladder.

21. qʰoʔ ²fikə tə-mŋo ne-tʃeⁿdzə ne-tʃəoz-cə
   SEQ very GP:POSS-face PFV:TR-lose₂-3DU IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
And the two of them lost a lot of face, it was said.

²²¹ An ideophone describing powdery objects scattered all over the place.
FIRST STORY OF AN OLD MONK FOOLED BY HIS DISCIPLE

Narrator: Stagthar

1. \(\text{spont}k\)e=z \(\text{vlrgn} \ k\text{osgr}\text{pru}=\text{c}\)a? "\(\text{ge-to}\)-?\(\text{dz}\)a \(\text{η}\)o?-\(\text{c}\)

former.time=LOC old.monk with.disciple=INDF IPFV-exist-DU be-MED

Once there lived an old monk and a disciple of his.

2. \(q^\text{o}\)a? \(\text{pa}=\text{c}\)a? "\(\text{ge-n}^\text{go}\)-?\(\text{dz}\)a \(\text{η}\)o?-\(\text{c}\)

SEQ pig=INDF IPFV-keep-DU be-MED

And they kept a pig.

3. \(k\)-\(s\text{ŋiʔ}=\text{c}\)ɛ=\(n\)a\(\text{pa}\) ne-nt\(ʃ\)e=\(ʔ\)

one-day=INDF=DET pig PFV:TR-kill2-DU

One day, they killed the pig.

4. \(q^\text{o}\)a? \(\text{vlrgn}=\text{k}\)a \(\text{o-\text{tg}\})\text{pru} \(\text{ó-p}^\text{h}a=z\)

SEQ old.monk=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-place=LOC

pa\(f\)e \(t\)\(s\)\(ŋ\)\(y\)\(r\)e=\(z\) \(t\)\(ə\)v-\(t\)som?

pork market=LOC IMP:DOWNRIVER-take.thither

\(q^\text{o}\)a? \(\text{v-nə-tə-ntsw}^\text{b}\) \(\text{te-\text{tsə}-}\text{c}\)ə

SEQ IRR-IMP-2-sell3 PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the old monk said to his disciple, “Take the pork to the marketplace and sell it.”

5. \(\text{tg}\)\(pru=\text{n}\)a?=\(k\)ə \(\text{ķ}^\text{fikə} \)pa\(f\)e \(k\)a-\(dze \)ne-s\(ɔsə?=\)\(n\)o?-\(c\)

disciple=DET=ERG very pork INF-eat PFV:TR-want2 be-MED

The disciple wanted to eat the pork very much.
6. ʃənəʔ ə-vələrəŋən=kə ə-fə-na-tə-ntswəʔ te-tsəʔ
but 3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG IRR-AND-IMP-2-sell3 PFV:TR-say2
But the old monk said, “Go and sell it!”

7. qʰonaʔ noʔofšəfși=naʔ pafe te-fkor-cə
SEQ:EMPH next.day=DET pork PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back2-MED
qʰoʔ tʃʰoŋrɐ=z tʰe-tsom-cə
SEQ market=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither2-MED
So the following day, he carried up the pork on his back, and took it downriver to the market.

8. qʰoʔ pa-ʃno-fe kə-náɨtu tə-toʔ-na əntsətse
SEQ pig-be.crazy-flesh NMLZ:SBJ-buy222 2:Q-exist-3PL repeatedly ne-ntsətsəʔ-cə
PFV:TR-say2:REDL-MED
And he repeatedly said, “Does anybody want to buy pork of a crazy pig?”223

9. ʃənəʔ ʃəłəskə*denəʔ pa-ʃno-fe kə-náɨtu=naʔ
but certainly pig-be.crazy-meat NMLZ:SBJ-buy=DET
mə ʃəʔ-cə
not.exist be-MED
But of course no one would buy pork of a crazy pig!

10. qʰoʔ le-sənjwet-cə
SEQ PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.back2-MED
And he took it back upriver.

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222 With the spontaneous prefix na-, this verb means ‘buy willingly’.

223 Literally ‘Are there buyers of crazy pig’s flesh?’
11. qʰoʔ o-vlərəŋən ő-pʰə=z
SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.monk 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
pafe=nəʔ ṭfʰə ṭəʔ=ⁿdenəʔ
pork=DET what be=for
'ndenbe kə-náŋtu mə-cə te-tsəʔ-cə
EMPH NMLZ:SBJ=buy not.exist-MED PFV:TR-say2-MED
And said to his old monk, “I don’t know why but no one wanted to buy the pork.”

12. o-vlərəŋən=kə pafe kə-náŋtu kə-mə
3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG pork NMLZ:SBJ-buy NMLZ-not.exist
mə-kə-ʧfozʔ224
NEG-NMLZ-be.the.rule
The old monk (said), “No one to buy the pork! How could that be?”

13. fsəfsi=nəʔ wjiʔ=ntfəon tʰe-wi-aŋ
tomorrow=DET 1SG=also IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-1SG
reʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə
be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say2-MED
“I must also come downriver (with you) tomorrow,” he said.

14. leʔ nəʔofsofsi=nəʔ tsʰonrə=z tʰe-ere-ⁿdzə
again next.day=DET market=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2-3DU
And they went downriver again the next day.

224 Exemplified here is an idiomatic, accented use of the nominalized verb kə-ʧfozʔ ‘be the rule’. A copula here would be ungrammatical.
15. qʰoʔ  uŋgépru=nəʔ=kə
SEQ  disciple=DET=ERG
forʔ pafe=nəʔ tə-nâṭtu-nə əntse ne-nuṭsâtsəʔ-cə
yesterday  pork=DET  IMP-buy-2PL repeatedly IPFV-say:REDL-MED
And the disciple kept saying, “Buy yesterday’s pork!”

16. fənəʔ  pafe kə-nâṭtu ne-meʔ  məkatsənt
but  pork  NMLZ-buy  IPFV:PST-not.exist2  not.only
kəmaʔ=rəʔ=kə  kə-senékʰoj
other=PL=ERG  NMLZ:SBJ-be.bullying
məkəʔ  pa-sjə-no-fe  kə-nâṭtu  mə=kə
there.at.your.location  pig-crazy-meat  NMLZ:SBJ-buy  not.exist=DM
tē-tsə=nə  oʒorʔ
IPFV-say-3PL  meanwhile
But, not only was there no one to buy the pork, but the others (i.e. the village folks) while saying, “Outrageous! Who wants to buy pork of a crazy pig!”

17. rkətu  te-ŋdi-nə-cə
stick  PFV:UP-take2-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ  kə-sê-ŋdu  te-je-nə-cə
SEQ  INF-GP-beat.up  PFV:TR-begin2-3PL-MED
Meanwhile, they picked up sticks, and began to beat up the two of them.

18. qʰoʔ  uŋgépru=kə  o-vlərgən  te-fkor-cə
SEQ  disciple=ERG  3SG:POSS-old.monk  PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back2-MED
And the disciple carried his master up onto his back.
19. qʰoʔ  v-vlərgən  mə-nə-tə-ʁʰuⁿ-du-nə
SEQ 1SG:POSS-old.monk  NEG-IMP-2-beat-up-2PL
v-vlərgən  mə-nə-tə-ʁʰuⁿ-du-nə  te-nəʔ-ʁⁿ
du-nə  te-nəʔ-ʁⁿ
du-nə  te-nəʔ-ʁⁿ
1SG:POSS-old.monk  NEG-IMP-2-beat-2PL  PFV:TR-say₂:RDPL
And kept saying, “Don’t beat my old monk! Don’t beat my old monk!”

20. oʒorʔz  o-vlərgən  ɲɛfʰəsɛfʰsi  ne-nəfʰəsɛfʰʔ-ʁⁿ-ɕə
while 3SG:POSS-old.monk  here.and.there  PFV:TR-present₂:RDPL-MED
All the while presenting his old monk here and there (to meet the blows).

21. qʰoʔ  vlərgən=ŋəʔ  r tôɾtɔv  tə-őy-ʃʰt-ɕə
SEQ old.monk=DET  beating.with.rod  PFV-INV-do₂-MED
And his old monk was given a good rod-beating.

22. qʰoʔ  tə-pʰi=kə²²⁵  le-nəɾe-ʁʰuⁿ-ʑə
SEQ  NMLZ-escape²=INS  PFV:UPRIVER:TR-go.back²:3DU
nəɾe-ɕə
IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
And they had to run away back upriver.

23. qʰoʔ  tʃoʰʔʒiʔ  o-ʁəɾ  prakʰoŋ  ɔ-پʰi=ʒ
SEQ way  3SG:POSS-side  cliff.cave  3SG:POSS-underside=LOC
nə-nəɾmeʔ-ʁʰuⁿ-ʑə-ɕə
IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-3DU-MED
And they rested for the night under a cliff cave along the way.

²²⁵ The verbal meaning ‘escape’ is here expressed as an adverbial comprising the nominal form tə-pʰi. Alternatively, the infinitive form kə-pʰi or even a finite form le-pʰi-ʁʰuⁿ-ʑə may be used a serial verb construction with the main verb le-nəɾe-ʁʰuⁿ-ʑə.
24. $qʰoʔ\ mer=nə\ kʰɛ-rɛ^gu\ tɔ-mdə=nəʔ$
   SEQ night=DET INF-sleep PFV-be.time2=SUB
   And when it was about time to go to bed,

25. $vlɛrgɤн=kə\ for?=z$
   old.monk=ERG yesterday=LOC
   $v-ɛɡɛprɤ=kə\ tə-o-nəvlo?=aŋ\ məkəsʰɤt$
   1SG:POSS-disciple=ERG PFV-INV-cheat2-1SG not.only
   $josŋiʔ\ nɛ-o-sasɛdɤ-aŋ=kə$
   today PFV-INV-cause.to.beat2-1SG=DM
   the old monk (thought), “My disciple not only cheated me yesterday but also caused me to be beaten up today,”

26. $jomerʔ\ џόνə$
   tonight TOP:EMPH
   $o-χtirtstot\ kə-vdɔvde=cəʔ\ te-pə-aŋ\ reʔ-cə$
   3SG:POSS-revenge NMLZ:SBJ-be.good:RDPL=INDF IPFV-do3-1SG be.necessary-MED
   ne-səsɛi-cə
   PFV:TR-think2-MED
   “tonight, I must take good revenge on him,” he thought.

27. $qʰoʔ\ o-ɛɡɛprɤ=nə\ tuɛmtʰe$
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET bottom.side.of.sleeping.place
   ne-sərɛ^guʔ-cə
   PFV:TR-cause.to.sleep2-MED
   And he made his disciple sleep at the bottom side.
28. \( \text{qʰoʔ  uŋépru=ko} \)
   \( \text{SEQ  disciple=ERG} \)
   \( o-vlœ\text{rgen  tʃo  ja-pøj  ŋonə?  ne-sərtə=co} \)
   \( 3\text{SG:POSS-old.monk  what  PROS-do3  TOP:EMPH  PFV:TR-discover2-MED} \)
   But the disciple discovered what his old monk was going to do.

29. \( \text{qʰoʔ  vlœ\text{rgen}=nə?  ʃfikə  o-ke-znēje  ʃserzge?=co} \)
   \( \text{SEQ  old.monk=DET  very  3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish  gold.saddle=INDF} \)
   \( \text{nə-to  ŋo?-co} \)
   \( \text{IPFV:PST-exist2  be-MED} \)
   And the old monk had a much cherished golden saddle.

30. \( \text{qʰoʔ  nəŋoʔ?=nə?  "dzə-vaɾ  ne-te-co} \)
   \( \text{SEQ  ANA=DET  3DU:POSS-side  PFV:TR-put2-MED} \)
   And he put that beside them.

31. \( \text{qʰoʔ  ʃör=ge=nə?  o-ugépru  səqtsútsu  tə-ɾro=co} \)
   \( \text{SEQ  midnight=DET  3SG:POSS-disciple  stealthily  PFV:get.up2-MED} \)
   \( \text{qʰoʔ  təmɪte=nə?  ʃserzge?  ne-te-co} \)
   \( \text{SEQ  bottom.side.of.sleeping.place=DET  gold.saddle  PFV:TR-put2-MED} \)
   And at midnight, the disciple stealthily got up, and put the gold saddle at the bottom side of their sleeping place.

32. \( \text{qʰoʔ  o-ji?=nə?  "dzə-pafe  tə-po?} \)
   \( \text{SEQ  3SG:POSS-self=DET  3DU:POSS-pork  PFV:TR-roast2} \)
   \( \text{qʰoʔ  ke-ɾdzə  te-je-co} \)
   \( \text{SEQ  INF-eat  PFV:TR-begin2-MED} \)
   And as for himself, he roasted their pork and began to eat it.
33. déts� jermw=nə? vlergen=ntəon tə-ste?-cə
   after.a.while about=DET master=also PFV-wake.up2-MED
After a while, the old monk also woke up.

34. qʰoʔ təqajsuʔ tʰe-lít
SEQ kicking PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-do₂
oʒorʔz koʔ tə-=dzə te-ʈsaʔ-cə
meanwhile this IMP-eat3 PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he gave (at the bottom side of the sleeping place) a kick, saying meanwhile, “Eat this!”

35. qʰoʔ təmdânə o-ʈserʒeʔ=nə?
SEQ in.fact 3SG:POSS-gold.saddle=DET
pra ó-pʰi=z qvrnəmʔ ne-to-cə
cliff 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC large.river IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-nəŋ=z tʰe-nə-wret-cə
SEQ ANN 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-SPON-throw2-MED
What really happened was he kicked the gold saddle down into a large river below the cliff.

36. qʰoʔ vʰ-kəprénu
SEQ 1SG:POSS-disciple
 tʰv-nə-wret-ay nəʔ ne-sasi-cə
PFV:DOWNRIVER-SPON-throw2-1SG be PFV:TR-think2-MED
And he thought, “I have kicked my disciple down river!”

37. qʰoʔ o-sem kə-vde leʔ kə-nəjevʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart NMLZ-be.good again PFV-fall.asleep2-MED
And he felt good and fell back to sleep again.
38. *nəʔofsəfsi tomtʃu? vlergen=na? to-reʔ*

next.day early.morning old.monk=DET PFV-get.up2

Early next morning, the old monk got up.

39. *qʰoʔ tʰe-mpʰəri=nəʔ*

SEQ IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB

When he was looking,

40. *o-ʁépru=kə paʃe vəʔ-dze*

3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG pork CONT:HTR-eat

o-ʃet=kə ja-səʔyt ŋoʔ-cə

3SG:POSS-extent=INS PROS-eat.up be-MED

(he saw that) his disciple was eating so much pork he had almost consumed it.

41. *qʰoʔ vlergen ɣfikə ȵə-ultimoʔerʔ-cə*

SEQ old.monk very PFV-be.surprised2-MED

And the old monk was very surprised.

42. *qʰoʔ ʔn-tʃə tə-ʁəʔ-pə ŋoʔ te-təʔ-cə*

SEQ EMPH-what 2-CONT:HTR-do be PFV:TR-say2-MED

“What on earth are you doing?” he said.

43. *o-ʁépru=naʔ=kə ʔnde ʃorme koʔ to-ʔdəʔ to-tə-təʔ*

3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG EXCL last.night this IMP-eat3 PFV-2-say2

qʰonə paʃe te-ʁəʔ-dze ŋoʔ-cə ȵə-sasi-əŋ

SEQ:EMPH pork IPFV-GP-eat be-MED PFV-think2-1SG

qʰoʔ vəʔ-dze-əŋ ŋoʔ

SEQ CONT:HTR-eat-1SG be

And the disciple (answered), “Oh, because last night you said, ‘Eat this!’ I thought it is OK to eat the pork, so I am eating it!”
44. \( o-vl_{\text{ergen}}=k\omega \quad ne-fsv-c=c=n\alpha \)
   3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG   PFV:TR-hear2-MED=SUB
\( o-m_{\text{uru}}=k\omega \quad j\alpha-n\alpha-\text{"ba\$}-c=c \)
   3SG:POSS-anger=INS     PROS-PFV-burst2-MED
When his old monk heard this, he almost exploded with rage.

45. \( f_{\text{o}}\alpha \quad o-k\dot{u}-ts=c=c \quad nv-me?-c=c \)
   but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say=INDF   IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
But he had nothing to say.

46. \( q^{\alpha}o \quad ke-n\dot{a}f \quad t\omega-md=na\alpha \)
   SEQ   INF-go.back   PFV-be.time2=SUB
\( vl_{\text{ergen}} \quad o-\text{\$erzge?} \quad m\alpha\alpha \quad \eta?,-c=c \)
old.monk 3SG:POSS-gold.saddle not.be.seen be-MED
When it was time to go back, the old monk found his gold saddle missing.

47. \( q^{\alpha}o \quad o-\text{\$g\$pru} \quad \dot{o-p}\alpha=z \)
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
\( \nu-\text{\$erzge?} \quad \text{\$f}\alpha \quad n\alpha-fs\dot{a}t \quad \eta? \quad te-ts\alpha?-c=c \)
1SG:POSS-gold.saddle what PFV-happen2 be PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he asked his disciple, “What happened to my gold saddle?”

48. \( q^{\alpha}o \quad o-\text{\$g\$pru}=k\omega \)
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG
\( \dot{\text{id}\$} \quad \text{\$orme} \quad n\epsilonji? \quad ts\alpha \quad \eta? \quad \text{\$den\$?} \)
EXCL last.night 2SG why be for
\( \text{\$aq\$su?} \quad \text{\$e-\$e-l\dot{e}t} \)
kicking PFV:DOWNRIVER-2-do2
His disciple said, “Last night, I didn’t know why but you gave it a kick and made it fall into the river.”

And the old monk grew even more angry.

But there was nothing he could do about it.

And so they went back home just like that.
SECOND STORY OF AN OLD MONK FOOLED BY HIS DISCIPLE

Narrator: Don’grub

1. \(kə-təpu=cə?\) \(kə-set\) \(kə-rδə\) \(nə-lə\) \(ŋoʔ-cə\)
   one-household=INDF NMLZ-die one-CL PFV-occur be-MED
   In a certain household, a person died.

2. \(qʰoʔ\) \(vləme\) \(ko-krapəpe=cə?\)
   SEQ lama together.with-disciple:RDPL=INDF
   \(vləmtʃot\) \(ʃə-ne-sqor-nə\) \(ŋoʔ-cə\)
   religious.services go.and-PFV:TR-send.for-3PL be-MED
   And they went and invited a lama and his disciple to come render religious services.

3. \(qʰoʔ\) \(vləme\) \(o-krapə=naʔ\)
   SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET
   \(mv-rəvloj\) \(kə-mv=cə?\) \(νv-ŋo-cə\)
   NEG-think.of.ways.to.do.something NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be2-MED
   The disciple was one who was full of ideas.

4. \(qʰo\) \(o-vləme=sehənə?\) \(νv-ŋəvləmtʃot-ŋdə-cə\)
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=and IPFV:PST-do.religious.services2-3DU-MED
   And he and his lama were performing religious services.

5. \(qʰoʔ\) \(tərmokʰe\) \(unə\) \(ku-skur\) \(tə-mda=naʔ\)
   SEQ dusk power INF-endow PFV-be.time2=SUB
   At dusk, when it was time to perform the consecration ceremony,\(^{226}\)

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\(^{226}\) WT <dbang.skur>, referring to a ritual at the end of sutra-chanting during which the host family gather to be sprinkled with holy water and blessed by the lama.
6. \(o-vlume=nə?\) \(tfə̱f̥səŋ\) \(je-ere-cao\)
3SG:POSS-lama=DET urine PFV-go2-MED
his lama went away to relieve himself.

7. \(qʰo?\) \(nə?\) \(o-pərtʰe=scʰənə?\)
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-interval=SUB
\(o-krəpe=nə=kə\) \(səqtsuṣtu\) \(təɾʰənth̥mne\)
3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG stealthily business.end.of.flail
\(fo-te-ɲə̱oro-cao\)
go.and-PFV:TR-seek2-MED
During that interval, the lama’s disciple stealthily went and sought a business end of flail.

8. \(qʰo?\) \(təɾʰənth̥mne\) \(ó-fəoz=nə?\)
SEQ business.end.of.flail 3SG:POSS-end=DET
\(təfpoʔ?\) \(ó-pʰi\) \(le-tʃəʔ-cao\)
corpse 3SG:POSS-underside PFV:TR-stick2-MED
And stuck the end of the business end of flail under the corpse.

9. \(qʰo?\) \(le?\) \(o-ntse\) \(ó-fəoz=nə?\)
SEQ again 3SG:POSS-other.part 3SG:POSS-end=DET
\(o-vlume\) \(o-vjətʰpʰi\) \(tʰe-kə-fə\) \(te-pe-cao\)
And made the tip of the other end of the flail go out under the lama’s cushion.

10. \(qʰo?\) \(təɾʰənth̥mne\) \(o-χcał\) \(ó-pʰi=nə?\)
SEQ business.end.of.flail 3SG:POSS-center 3SG:POSS-underside=DET
\(təɾem?\) \(tʰe-tʃəʔ-cao\)
plank PFV:TR-insert2-MED
And he inserted a plank under the middle part of the business end of flail.
11. $qʰoʔ \ pʰentsʰən \ te-kə-ntoŋtən? \ te-pe-cə$
   SEQ each other IPFV-NMLZ-work.like.a.lever PFV:TR-do2-MED
   And made the two (objects) work like a lever.

12. $qʰoʔ \ káde \ na-tsoʔ=nəʔ$
   SEQ a.while PFV-elapse2=SUB
   $o-vlume \ kə-weʔ-cə \ qʰoʔ \ ə-ste \ tə-ndzuʔ-cə=nəʔ$
   3SG:POSS-lama PFV:EAST-come2-MED SEQ 3SG:POSS-place PFV-sit2-MED=SUB
   In a while, when his lama came back and sat down at his seat,

13. $o-sém=pʰi=nəʔ$
   3SG:POSS-heart=under=TOP
   $təʃpovʔ \ mju^227 \ na-kə-peʔ=caʔ \ na-ʃɔt-sə$
   corpse IDPH PFV-NMLZ-do2=INDF PFV-be.like2-MED
   he felt that the corpse seemed to have twitched.

14. $qʰoʔ \ vlume=nəʔ=kə$
   SEQ lama=DET=ERG
   $tʰiʃʰiʃə^228 \ təʃpovʔ=nəʔ$
   EXCL corpse=DET
   $kə-mólmə \ te-je \ máʔsokə \ ne-səsə-cə$
   INF-move PFV:TR-begin2 DM PFV:TR-think2-MED
   And the lama thought, “Hey! Could it be that the corpse has started to move?”

15. $qʰoʔ \ rjéspe \ nə-ʔdonʔ$
   SEQ quite.a.while IPFV:PST-chant2
   And he chanted on for quite a while.

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227 An ideophone describing a twitching or shuddering motion.
228 An exclamation expressing great surprise.
16. $qʰoʔ$ $pʰowe=rv$ $nv$-$zyʔ=t=nəʔ$
   SEQ $phowa$ $^{229}$=PL PFV:DOWN-arrive$_2$=SUB
   $qʰoʔ$ $təfpovʔ$ $o-pʰowe$ $te$-$lɨʔt-cə$
   SEQ corpse 3SG:POSS-$phowa$ PFV:TR-do$_2$-MED

When (he chanted down the sutra text till) it was time for the $phowa$ ritual, he performed it on the corpse.

17. $qʰoʔ$ $pʰuz$ $te$-$tsəʔ=ʒənəʔ$
   SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say$_2$=SUB:EMPH
   $təfpovʔ$ $le$ $nə$-$kə$-$məlmə=cəʔ$ $nə$-$fsət-cə$
   corpse again PFV-NMLZ-move$_2$=INDF PFV-be.like$_2$-MED

Just when he said, “$Phus!$” (while blowing a breath of air on the head of the corpse), the corpse again seemed to move.

18. $təmdənə$ $o$-$krəpe=kə$
   in.reality 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG
   $tə$-$dəmmə$ $təŋ$-$təm?$ $tə$-$kə$-$səpe$ $te$-$pə$?
   business.end.of.flail lever PFV-NMLZ-cause.to.do$_2$ PFV:TR-do$_2$

The truth was that his disciple caused the business end of the flail to work like a lever.

19. $qʰoʔ$ $vləmə$ $o$-$jiʔ$ $ne$-$məlmə=scənəʔ$
   SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-self IPFV-move=SUB
   $təfpovʔ$ $ne$-$məlmə$ $fə$-$ʔ$-$nəŋə$
   corpse IPFV-move be:EMPH-MED

Whenever the lama was moving, the corpse was moving.

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$^{229}$ WT <'pho.ba>, a deathbed-rituals for assisting the transference of the spirit of the deceased into bardo (WT <bar.do>), the transitional state between death and rebirth, performed by lamas chanting a soul-delivering sutra called $smoləm$ and blowing a breath of air toward the top of the head of the deceased to help the soul to transmigrate.
20. ʃənəʔ o-vlme=kə nəʔ me-ne-saɾtə ɳoʔ-cao
but 3SG:POSS-lama=ERG ANA NEG-PFV:TR-discover2 be-MED
But his lama never realized this.

21. qʰoʔ vlme=nəʔ=kə təʃpovʔ jə-ɾuɾo ɳoʔ ne-səsi-cao
SEQ lama=DET=ERG corpse PROS-get.up be PFV:TR-think2-MED
And the lama thought, “The corpse is going to rise!”

22. qʰoʔ xwar230 tə-ɾdzor-cao
SEQ IDPH PFV-stand2-MED
qʰoʔ kə-ɾəjuyʔ tə-pʰi=kə nə-nlə=cao
SEQ INF-run NMLZ-escape2=INS PFV:DOWN-exit2-MED
And he quickly stood up and fled, runing downstairs.

23. təmdána o-slome=kə tə-o-nutsʰetsʰét ɳə-ʃte-nəŋə
in.truth 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG PFV-INV-play.prank.on2 IPFV:PST-be:EMPH2-MED
The truth was that he had been played a prank on by his disciple.

24. qʰoʔ tənŋə ɾʃiʃkə ne-tʃet kʰi-tsə ɳoʔ-cao
SEQ face very PFV:TR-lose2 GP-say be-MED
And he lost much face, it is said.

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230 An ideophone describing a thickly-clothed person suddenly standing up.
ANAMTSHERANG THE HUNTER

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *spontsʰe=z kəŋryiʔ=caʔ nə-to-ə*
   former.time=LOC hunter=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   Once there was a hunter.

2. *enęmtʰéricaḥ nə-rmi-c*
   PN IPFV:PST-be.named2-MED
   His name was Anamtsherang.

3. *qʰoʔ fa^ge-ŋryiʔ anštstse nəʔ-ə*
   SEQ AND-IPFV-hunt often be-MED
   He often went hunting.

4. *qʰoʔ kə-sni=ce=nəʔ*
   SEQ one-day=INDF=DET
   *nəxtʃɛn ome kə-sttɛʔ ó-nəŋ nə-ŋryi-c*
   forest.virgin very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:PST-hunt2-MED
   One day, he was hunting in a very big virgin forest.

5. *qʰoʔ tə-qumuʔ-cə*
   SEQ PFV-darken2-MED
   And it became dark.

6. *qʰoʔ nəxtʃɛn ó-nəŋ nə-nərmə-cə*
   SEQ virgin.forest 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night2-MED
   And he spent the night inside the virgin forest.

When he built a fire and was boiling tea,

8. \textit{káde jərmv=nə? fíku yréko ő-ta=cə after.a.while about=DET there.in.the.east ridge 3SG:POSS-top=LOC:INDF ne-kə-goz\textsubscript{e}=cə? to? yo?-cə IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-call\textsubscript{2}=INDF exist be-MED}

in a while, there was someone calling him from somewhere near the ridge in the east,

9. \textit{qi: wəmtsʰʰəɾəŋ te-tsə? yo?-cə EXCL PN PFV:TR-say\textsubscript{2} be-MED}

“Qi! Anamtsherang!” the man called.


And Anamtsherang thought, “Who can it be that calls my name in this wild virgin forest?”

11. \textit{otə kʰənəŋ ɛ-pe ɛ-mo=rə? EXCL\textsubscript{231} home 1SG:POSS-father 1SG:POSS-mother=PL mə-kə-vdvəvde to? vréʔ-yo\textsubscript{2} ne-səsə-cə NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well exist Q:EMPH-be PFV:TR-think\textsubscript{2}-MED}

“Ah, could there be something wrong with my father and my mother at home?” he thought.

\textsuperscript{231} An exclamation uttered when a possibility suddenly occurs to one.
12. \[qʰoʔ \ o-ji?=ntʃon \ qi:\ te-tsə?-cə\]
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also EXCL PFV:TR-say-MED
   And so he also yell back “Qi!”

13. \[qʰoʔ \ káde \ jərmə=naʔ\]
   SEQ after.a.while about=DET
   \[nuəmtʃéray \ o-rmiʔ \ te-kə-pe\]
   PN 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do
   \[qi:\ te-kó-tsə=naʔ\]
   EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=DET
   \[šʰoʔon qiː-te-tsəʔ-cə\]
   SEQ 3 SG:POSS-self=also EXCL PFV:TR-say2-MED
   A
   And so he also yell back “Qi!”
   \[əʔ-cə\]
   He
   \[te-kə-pe\]
   IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do
   \[Anamtsherang’s name \]
   Anamtsherang’s name
   \[nəʔ\]
   DET
   \[=ntʃon qiː-te-tsəʔ-cə\]
   SEQ 3 SG:POSS-self=also EXCL PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And so he also yell back “Qi!”
   \[A\]
   And
   \[and \]
   And
   \[so \]
   so
   \[he \]
   he
   \[also \]
   also
   \[yell \]
   yell
   \[back \]
   back
   \[“Qi!” \]
   “Qi!”
   \[”\]
   ”

14. \[dëtsə \ jərmə=naʔ \ o-tʰeco \ sekotser?=z\]
   in.a.while about=DET 3SG:POSS-downriver.place underbrush=LOC
   \[o-jiʔ \ kə-sci \ vnəmtʃə\]
   3SG:POSS-self NMLZ:SBJ-be.like identically
   \[nəʔ\]
   DET
   \[=ntʃon qiː-te-tsəʔ-cə\]
   SEQ 3 SG:POSS-self=also EXCL PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And so he also yell back “Qi!”
   \[A\]
   And
   \[so \]
   so
   \[he \]
   he
   \[also \]
   also
   \[yell \]
   yell
   \[back \]
   back
   \[“Qi!” \]
   “Qi!”
   \[”\]
   ”

In about a while, out of the clearing in the bushes at the downriver side came a man exactly resembling Anamtsherang, riding a horse, wearing a deer-skin coat, and carrying a gun on his back.
15. qʰoʔ tfələ uʌnbe mɐʔ-kə-ʦə
SEQ anything at.all NEG-INF-say
emɐmtʃəɾəŋ o-sqʰje-vəɾ ʃə-te-mdzuʔ-cə
PN 3SG:POSS-stone.makeshift.trivet-side AND-PFV-sit2-MED
Without saying a word, he just went over and sat down beside Anamtsherang’s stone trivet.

16. qʰoʔ emɐmtʃəɾəŋ o-kəməzeɾ ʃə-te-mdzu ɲoʔ-cə
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling a.bit IPFV-sit be-MED
Anamtsherang was feeling a bit creepy (lit. his hair stood on end).

17. qʰoʔ emɐmtʃəɾəŋ=kə kʊɾəʃʔ u te-tʃet-cə
SEQ PN=ERG tobacco.leaf PFV:TR-take out2-MED
And Anamtsherang took out some tobacco leaves,

18. qʰoʔ qʰənəʔ ə-pʰə tɛkʰu tə-skeʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place tobacco IMP-smoke3 PFV:TR-say3-MED
and said to him, “Smoke some tobacco!”

19. fənəʔ qʰənəʔ=kə nəʔiʔ mɐʔ-təkʰu mɐʔ-skiʔ-aŋ
but ANA=ERG 2SG 2SG:POSS-tobacco NEG-smoke-1SG
əʔiʔ v-tekʰu təʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
1SG 1SG:POSS-tobacco exist PFV:TR-say2-MED
But the creature said, “I do not smoke your tobacco, I have my own tobacco.”
20. qʰoʔ o-jiʔ o-tékʰu
SEQ 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-tobacco
te-nə-tʃet te-ski-cə=no
PFV:TR-SPON-take.out2 PFV:TR-smoke2=SUB
And as he took out his own tobacco and smoked,

21. təmántə o-tékʰu=naʔ
in.fact 3SG:POSS-tobacco=DET
rte-səʔ tə-kv-səɣremʔ əʔ=əʔ horse.dung PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-dry2 be be-MED
it turned out to be dried horse dung.

22. qʰoʔ kw-nepriʔ tə-mda=noʔ
SEQ INF-eat supper PFV-be.time2=SUB
When it was time to eat supper,

23. enemtsʰéraŋ=kə
PN=ERG
qʰeməʔ ṭi-pʰa rtsəmbe tə-ʰdzə te-tsəʔ-cə
ANA 3SG:POSS-place tsampa IMP-eat IMP PFV:TR-say2-MED
Anamtsherang said to that man, “Eat (some) tsampa!”

24. fənəʔ əʔiʔ ə-rtsembə te-nəʔ-dzekəŋ joyʔ
ut 1SG 1SG:POSS-tsampa PFV-SPON-eat-1SG be.allowed
te-tsəʔ-cə
PFV:TR-say2-MED
But he said, “I can eat my own tsampa.”
25. qʰoʔ o-jiʔ o-rtsambu te-nə°dzeʔ-cə
And he ate his own tsampa.

26. qʰoʔ təmdánə te-°dzeʔ rtsambu=nəʔ qvɾ̥tyze ŋoʔ ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ in.fact PFV:TR-eat2 tsampa=DET sawdust be be-MED
In fact what the tsampa that he ate was sawdust.

27. qʰoʔ enəmtsʰéraŋ=kə nəʔ tʰmtʃet ne-mti=nəʔ
SEQ PN=ERG ANA all PFV:TR-see2=SUB
When Anamtssherang saw all that,

28. kər̥bjoʔ kə-ma?=nəʔ ne-sərtə-cə
human NMLZ-not.be2=DET PFV:TR-realize2-MED
he realized that this was no human being.

29. qʰoʔ jomerʔ tə́ ɟ o nəʔ tʰəɣ-aŋ-cə ne-səsi
SEQ tonight demon PFV-meet2-1SG-MED PFV:TR-think2
And thought, “I have run into a demon tonight!”

30. oʒorʔ ʃɪkə ne-vər ŋoʔ-cə
meanwhile very IPFV-be.afraid be-MED
And he was very scared.

31. qʰoʔ fənəʔ te-kə-ləvət=nəʔ
SEQ but IPFV-GP²³²-fight:RDPL=SUB
kətaʔ ʃv-kə-o-sayəbə fteʔ kə ne-səsi-cə
certainly NEG-GP-INV-defeat be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-think2-MED
“But if we fight, I will certainly fail,” he thought.

²³² The generic person prefix kə- here refers to the speaker himself.
32. \( \text{ʃənəʔ} \quad \text{kw-}p\text{e}=\text{cə} \quad \text{nv-}m\text{e}=\text{cə} \quad q\text{ʰo} \)

but NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED SEQ

\( \text{nv-}\text{namama}=\text{cə} \)

IPFV:PST:act.normal2-MED

But he could not do anything, so he acted as if everything was normal.

33. \( q\text{ʰo} \quad \text{mer} \quad \text{kw-}r\text{ⁿ} \text{gu} \quad t\text{ə}-\text{mda}=\text{nə} \)

SEQ night INF-sleep PFV:be.time2=SUB

When it was time to go to bed at night,

34. \( \text{enemtsʰ} \text{érə}=\text{kə} \quad \text{qʰenə}=\text{cə} \quad \text{ó-pʰ} \text{a} \)

PN=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place

\( \text{nev} \text{i}=\text{nəfʰ=ə} \quad t\text{ə}-\text{r\text{ⁿ}gu} \quad t\text{e-}t\text{sə?}=\text{cə}=\text{nə} \)

2SG where 2-sleep PFV:TR-say2-MED=SUB

when Anamtsherang asked the creature, “Where do you want to sleep?”

35. \( q\text{ʰenə}=\text{kə} \quad \text{nev}=\text{i} \quad \text{tʰek-}v\text{zər} \quad r\text{ⁿ} \text{gu-} \text{aŋ} \quad t\text{e-}t\text{sə?=cə} \)

ANA=ERG 1SG fireplace-side sleep-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED

It said, “I will sleep beside the fireplace.”

36. \( \text{enemtsʰ} \text{érə}=\text{kə} \quad \text{nev}=\text{i} \quad \text{yó}\text{nə} \)

PN=ERG 1SG TOP:EMPH

\( \text{fi} \text{r\text{ʰ}di} \quad \text{tʰrgi} \quad \text{ó-pʰi}=\text{z} \)

there.to.the.west fir 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC

\( f\text{ə-ne-nə-r\text{ⁿ}gu-} \text{aŋ} \quad \text{yə} \quad t\text{e-}t\text{sə?=cə} \)

AND-IPFV-SPON-sleep-1SG be PFV:say2-MED

And Anamtsherang said, “As for me, I will sleep below that fir tree over there to the west.”
37. $qʰoʔ$ $kə-nə-r⁷gu̯-dzo-cə$  
**SEQ** **PFV-SPON-sleep2-3DU-MED**
And the two went to bed each one by himself.

38. $kəmtʃa$ $nə-tsoʔ-cə=nəʔ$  
a.little **PFV-elapse2-MED=SUB**
After some time,

39. $enemtsʰeraj$ $saqetsutsu$ $tə-rəroʔ-cə$  
**PN** stealthily **PFV-get.up2-MED**
Anamtsherang stealthily got up,

40. $qʰoʔ$ $kmvrə$ $ó-naj$ $tʰəxpe$ $te-selʔ-cə$  
**SEQ** aluminum.pot 3SG:POSS-inside noodle.soup **PFV:TR-boil2-MED**
and boiled some noodle soup in a small pot.

41. $qʰoʔ$ $kmvrə=nəʔ$ $o-mkom=z$ $ne-te-cə$  
**SEQ** small.pot=DET 3SG:POSS-head.side.of.bed=LOC **PFV:DOWN:TR-put2-MED**
And then he put the small pot down at the head side of his sleeping place.

42. $qʰoʔ$ $tə-koʔ$ $o-fpəz$ $te-pəʔ-nəŋo$  
**SEQ** **GP:POSS-head** 3SG:POSS-semblance **PFV:TR-do2-MED**
And made it look like his head.

43. $o-mt⁷e=z$ $o-xtse$ $ne-te-cə$  
3SG:POSS-foot.side.of.bed=LOC 3SG:POSS-shoe **PFV:TR-put2-MED**
And he put his shoes down at the foot side of his sleeping place,
44. qʰoʔ ō-me tʰe-kə-nlɔʔ o-fpəz-nəŋə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-foot IPFV-NMLZ-come.out 3SG:POSS-semblance-MED
and made it seem as if his feet were coming out.

45. qʰoʔ unemtsʰerą skesném-rjɛt tomde te-fkor-cə
SEQ PN pants-only gun PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back2-MED
And Anamtsherang, in his pants only, carried the gun onto his back,

46. qʰoʔ tərgi-koʔ tə-ve-cə
SEQ fir.tree-head PFV:UP-go2-MED
and climbed up to the top of the fir tree.

47. qʰoʔ skumbə le-reski-cə
SEQ hammer PFV:TR-pull2-MED
He pulled back the hammer (of the gun),

48. qʰoʔ tʃiki tʰv-kə-rəguʔ=nəʔ ne-nəmŋaʔ-cə
SEQ down.there CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep2=DET PFV:DOWN:TR-aim2-MED
and aimed down at the one who was sleeping below.

49. qʰoʔ fɔrʰəge nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ
SEQ midnight PFV-elapse2=SUB
When midnight passed,

50. qʰaŋə tɔ-ɾɛɾoʔ-cə qʰoʔ smipʰompe ne-te-cə
ANA PFV-get.up2-MED SEQ blazing.fire PFV:TR-put2-MED
it (the demon) got up, and made a blazing fire.

233 This is a verbless sentence. Cf. the equivalent expression:
Ō-me tʰe-kə-nlɔʔ=kəsə te-pe-nəŋə
3SG:POSS-leg IPFV:OUT-NMLZ-come.out=like PFV:TR-do2-MED
51. \text{qʰoʔ} o-\text{mtʰen=z} \text{corlu ne-tʃet-cə}
  SEQ 3SG:POSS-armpit=LOC cobble PFV:TR-take.out2-MED
And it took out a cobble from its armpit,

52. \text{qʰoʔ} \text{smi=nay ne-\text{wəret-cə}}
   SEQ fire=inside PFV:DOWN:TR-throw2-MED
and threw it down into the fire,

53. \text{qʰoʔ} \text{smi rjúspe ne-vlu-cə}
   SEQ fire quite.a.while PFV:TR-burn2-MED
and burned it in the fire for quite a while.

54. \text{qʰoʔ} \text{qʰənə=kə smi=nay corlu=nə? tʰe-tʃet-cə}
   SEQ ANA=ERG fire=inside cobble=DET PFV:OUT:TR-take.out2-MED
And then it took the cobble out from inside the fire,

55. \text{qʰoʔ} o-\text{jaʃpə=tə ne-ylə? əŋə-cə}
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-palm=top IPFV-rub2 be-MED
and was rubbing it in its palms.

56. \text{qʰoʔ} \text{naŋləškə corlu tʰə-wərənə əŋə-cə}
   SEQ of.course cobble CONT:LTR-red2 be-MED
Of course, the cobble was red-hot,
57. qʰoʔ  o-japé=naŋ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-palm=inside
smtsev  nə'jantʃantʃ₂ ne-nlɔʔ  nəʔ-cə
sparkle  IDPH  IPFV-come.out₂  be-MED
and bright sparkles were coming from its palms.

58. ʃəʔ o-tə-wrne
but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-be.red₂
me-rtaʔ  nəʔ  fsət  "denəʔ?
NEG-be.enough be be.like for
But, as though it was not red-hot enough,

59. leʔ  smi=naj  mëjɔ  t̥e-zwırne  nəʔ-cə
again fire=inside further PFV:TR-redden₂ be-MED
it threw it back into the fire and reddened it further.

60. káde  jurme  nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ?
in.a.while about PFV:elapse₂=SUB
smi=naj  corlu  ʃla  te-tʃet-cə
fire=inside cobble quickly PFV:TR-take.out₂-MED
After a while, it quickly took the cobble out of the fire,

61. qʰoʔ  eqamtsèray  o-sw-r⁶gu-mkom
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-sleep₂-head.side.of.bed
sm̃eru  kw-teʔ  o-ə-tə-wnəʔ?
small pot  NMLZ:SBJ:U-put₂  3SG:POSS-top-DET:EMPH

234 An ideophone describing bright sparkles jumping out continuously.
and hurled it straight at the small pot that got placed at the head side of Anamtsherang’s sleeping place (and landed) with a dull sound.

62. \textit{tʰəxpe=rcənə?} \ ηətʰə fəəʃə \ na-ntfəwa \ ηəʔ-cə
noodle soup=TOP:EMPH everywhere PFV-burst2 be-MED
And the noodle soup burst out all over the place.

63. \textit{qʰə?} \ qʰənə?=kə
SEQ ANA=ERG
\textit{enemtʰəraŋ} \ ó-rnə \ na-ntfəwa \ ηəʔ ne-səsi-cə
PN 3SG:POSS-brains PFV-burst2 be PFV:TR-think2-MED
It thought, “That must be Anamtsherang’s brains bursting out.”

64. \textit{qʰə?} \ tərə \ χəfca? \ ne-lət-cə=naʔ?
SEQ resounding.laughter PFV:TR-release2-MED=SUB
And as it burst out into resounding laughter,

65. \textit{enemtʰəraŋ=kə tɔɾgi o-koʔ=z} \ tomde \ te-lət-cə
PN=ERG fir.tree 3SG:POSS-head=LOC gun PFV:TR-release2-MED
Anamtsherang fired his gun on the fir tree,

66. \textit{qʰənə?=rcənəʔ}
ANA=TOP:EMPH
\textit{te-zraγʃəɾba} \ kə-qfoʔ=rcənəʔ \ ne-səʃʃəɾəm-cə
PFV:TR-cause.to.scream2 one-ravine=TOP:EMPH PFV:TR-cause.to.resound2-MED
and made it utter screams and caused the whole ravine to resound with its screams.

\textsuperscript{235} An ideophone describing the dull sound of rocks or fists hitting human heads.
67. $q^\theta\omega$ $qβiκ$ $wεdʒi^{236}$ $\etaο^?-c\omega$

SEQ very be.cold be-MED

It was very cold,

68. $fανα^\omega$ $vεnεmτς^\epsilonrεν$ $tιυτ$ $kε-vn\lambda?=nt^\epsilonon$ $m\omega-nυ-noz$

but PN down INF-come.out=still NEG-IPFV:PST-dare2

but Anamtsherang did not dare come down yet.

69. $m\omega-lw-fsi$ $mpεrτ^\epsilonv$ $t\omegaρgi=ta$ $nυ-smo-c\omega$

NEG-PFV-dawn2 until fir.tree=top IPFV:PST-stay-MED

And he stayed on the tree until it dawned.

70. $q^\theta\omega$ $lw-fsi$ $nουmε$ $o-sekο?=ta$ $nυ-nl\lambda-c\omega$

SEQ PFV-dawn2 only.then 3SG:POSS-tree=top PFV:DOWN-come.out2-MED

And did not come down from his tree until it had dawned.

71. $q^\theta\omega$ $fβ-κο-mpεrι-c\omega=nα^\omega$

SEQ AND-PFV:EAST-look2-MED=SUB

And when he went over to take a look eastward,

72. $q^\thetamεnα^\omega$ $ο-stε=nα^\omega$

ANA 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=DET

$κοjκo$ $ο-fpοv?=c\omega$ $kόma^*dεnε^\omega$

red-billed.chough 3SG:POSS-corpse=INDF except

$k\epsilonnbe$ $t\epsilonuλ$ $k\omega-to?$ $nυ-mε?-c\omega$

at.all anything NMLZ:SBJ-exist IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED

there was nothing at the place of that creature except the corpse of a red-billed chough.

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236 Here the non-past verb form creates a vivid effect.
EXORCIST
χtfopotéwe
Narrator: Stagthar

1. ʿọŋtsʰe=z  χtfopotéwe
   former.time=LOC  exorcist
   ʃikə  kə-rkəŋ=çaʔ  "ge-toʔ-çaʔ
   very  NMLZ:SBJ-be.capable=INDF  IPFV-exist-MED

   Once upon a time, there was a very capable exorcist.

2. ʔəʔ  o-ŋɛpʰɾəɣ-çaʔ=ɾaʔ  kə-rdəʔ  "ge-toʔ-çaʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=PL  one-CL  IPFV-exist-MED

   He had a disciple.

3. ʔəʔ  χtfopotéwe=ɾaʔ  te-qʰnəʔ
   SEQ  exorcist=DET  IPFV-darken
   ʔəʔ  ne-neʃəqə  ɾəʔ-çaʔ
   SEQ  IPFV-go:RDPL  be-MED

   The exorcist would go to various places when it got dark.

4. ʔəʔ  mə-ɾə-fsi  məpʰɾtʰə
   SEQ  NEG-PFV-get.light2  not.until
   me-ne-neʃvəwi  ɾəʔ-çaʔ
   NEG-IPFV-come:RDPL  be-MED

   And he did not come back until daylight.

5. ˈtəmdánə  ʔəʔ  χtfopotéwe=nəʔ  mer  ne-neʃəqə
   in.fact  ANA  exorcist=DET  night  IPFV-go:RDPL
   ʔəʔ  o-ɾəspu  pjɛʃtəɲ  ne-teʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-body  bird.burial  IPFV-place3
In fact, the exorcist went out to various places at night and sacrificed his body in bird-burial fashion to feed the ghosts.

And the exorcist’s disciple thought, “Why does my master keeps going out at night?”

One night, he followed his master,

and discovered that his master was laying out his own body as if in a bird-burial to feed the ghosts.

As he was looking,
10. o-ʁgergən o-kʰoχpe=rə? ne-pʰə?
   3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=PL  PFV:TR-split2
   his master cut open his abdominal cavity,

11. qʰoʔ təjo=ʁə?=kə o-naŋʃaŋʃu=ʁə?
    SEQ ghost=PL=ERG 3SG:POSS-innards=PL
    kw-ʰdzə te-je-nə-cə=nə?
    INF-eat PFV:TR-begin=3PL-MED=SUB
    and as the ghosts began to eat his innards,

12. ugēprəy ʁʃika ne-naʃfi-cə
    disciple very PFV:TR-feel.concerned.for2-MED
    the disciple felt greatly concerned for his master.

13. qʰoʔ təjo=ʁə? kw-ʃmeipʰi ne-ʃəsi-cə
    SEQ ghost=PL INF-cause.to.escape:RDPL PFV:TR-desire2-MED
    He intended to make the ghosts go away,

14. qʰoʔ ʃkötə ne-wəret-cə=nə?
    SEQ rock PFV:TR-throw=3PL-MED=SUB
    and when he threw a rock,

15. ʃkötə=nə? o-ʁgergən o-kʰoχpə=nəʃ
    rock=DET 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside
    ne-ʃre-cə
    PFV:DOWN-go2-MED
    the rock fell into his master’s abdominal cavity.
16. qʰoʔ \(\text{t} \text{á} \text{y} \text{o} \text{=} \text{r} \text{e} \text{?} \text{ } nə\text{-pʰi-nə-cə} \)
SEQ ghost=PL PFV-escape2-3PL-MED
And the ghosts all ran away.

17. \text{o-kʰergən} \(\text{tə-steʔ-cə} \)
3SG:POSS-master PFV-wake2-MED
And his master woke up.

18. \text{o-kʰoxpe} \(\text{o-ləpu=raʔ} \)
3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity 3SG:POSS-body=PL
\text{cʰeʔ} \(\text{nəjətə} \text{ } nə\text{-kə-fsət=nə} \text{ } nə\text{-fsət-cə} \)
former original.state IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like2=DET PFV-be.like2-MED
And his abdominal cavity went back to its original state.

19. qʰoʔ \(\text{kətəye} \text{ } kʰənəʔ \text{ } kə\text{-unəre-dza-cə} \)
SEQ together home PFV:EAST-go.back2-3DU-MED
And they went east back home together.

20. \text{fənəʔ} \(\text{o-kʰergən} \text{ } o-kʰoxpə=naŋ} \)
but 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside
\text{fəkətə} \(\text{tə-ни} \text{ } ə{\text{o}}\text{-cə} \)
rock PFV-exist2 be-MED
But the rock got inside his master’s abdominal cavity.

21. qʰoʔ \(\text{xəfətpəwe=nəʔ=kə } \text{o-kʰęprə=phə} \)
SEQ exorcist=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple=place
\text{jomerʔ } \text{oʃto } mə\text{-tə-tə-so } ə{\text{o}}
tonight well NEG-PFV-2-do2 be
And the exorcist said to his disciple, “Tonight, you did not do things right,”
22. \(v\cdot k^{\prime}o\chi p\cdot e=n\eta\)  
\(f\cdot k^{\prime}ot\cdot s\)  
\(t\cdot o\cdot k\)  
\(n\eta?\cdot c\)  
1SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside rock PFV-exsit\textsubscript{2} be-MED

“and the rock got inside my abdominal cavity.”

23. \(\kappa\cdot s\)\(\alpha\cdot s\)\(o\cdot?\)=\(n\alpha\)\
INF-come.back.to.life=TOP
\(\kappa\cdot s\)\(\alpha\cdot s\)\(o\cdot?\)  
\(k\cdot o\cdot l\cdot v\)  
\(m\nu\cdot c\cdot a\cdot n\)  
\(n\eta\)\
INF-come.back.to.life properly NEG-be.able-1SG be

“As for coming back to life, I cannot properly come back to life.”

24. \(q\cdot o\cdot?\)  
\(f\cdot a\cdot m\cdot e\)  
\(t\cdot a\)  
SEQ tomorrow.night 3SG:POSS-top
\(n\eta?\)  
\(v\cdot l\cdot a\cdot s\)\(p\)\(u\)  
\(l\cdot e\)\(?)\(?\)\(j\)\(f\)\(t\)\(a\)\(j\)  
\(s\cdot o\cdot t\cdot ?\cdot a\)\(n\)  
\(n\eta?\)  
1SG 3SG:POSS-body again bird.burial AND-place\textsubscript{3}-1SG be

“Tomorrow night, I will go again to sacrifice my body in a bird-burial fashion.”

25. \(f\cdot o\cdot m\cdot e\)  
\(t\cdot f\)\(o\)  
\(n\nu\cdot k\cdot a\cdot f\cdot s\)\(\acute{o}\cdot t\)=\(n\alpha\)\
\(s\cdot o\cdot f\)\(\acute{a}\cdot t\)=\(a\)\(n\)\(n\)\(o\cdot?)\(n\eta\)\
last.night what IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like\textsubscript{2}=DET AND-do.thus-1SG be

“I will go and do exactly like what happened last night.”

26. \(q\cdot o\cdot?\)  
\(n\eta?\)  
\(u\cdot d\cdot n\)\(b\)\(e\)  
\(v\cdot m\cdot a\cdot n\cdot a\cdot t\cdot o\cdot v\)\(r\)  
SEQ 2SG at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-fear

“Do not be afraid at all.”

27. \(q\cdot o\cdot?\)  
\(v\cdot k^{\prime}o\chi p\cdot e=r\)\(n\)\(n\)\(?\)\(n\eta\)\
\(n\nu\cdot g\cdot f\cdot k\cdot e\cdot a\)\(n\)\(j\)\(r\)\(a\)\(n\)\(j\)\(d\)\(j\)\(a\)\(n\)\(\eta\)\(\eta\)\\  
SEQ 1SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=PL IPFV-spread.out\textsubscript{3}-1SG when:EMPH

“And the moment when I spread out (the innards in) my abdominal cavity,”
28. ᱨ鲐-gəʔ  v-ŋə-tə-wi
   INF-run  IRR-IMP-2-come
   “come running,”

29. qʰoʔ  v-kʰɔχpé=naŋ
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside
   fkótse  tə-ko-wni=nəʔ  flə  v-tə-ŋəʔ-ʃə
   rock  PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist2=DET quickly  IRR-IMP:UP-2-take.out
   “and quickly remove the rock that got stuck in my belly.”

30. nəʔ  te-tsəʔ-cə
   ANA  PFV:TR-say2-MED
   He said thus.

31. qʰoʔ  nəʔofəmer=nəʔ
   SEQ  the.following.night=DET
   kəɡéprə=y=kə  o-ŋərəɣən  tʃə  te-tsəʔ=naʔ?=sq?
   disciple=ERG  3SG:POSS-master what  PFV:TR-say2=DET=PL
   tə-fəsʔt-cə
   PFV-do.thus-MED
   And on the following night, the disciple did what his master had told him to do,

32. qʰoʔ  o-kʰɔχpé=naŋ
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside
   fkótse  kə-ʃəfə
   rock  INF-take.out
   nə-v-c⁹ʔ?=sq?
   IPFV:PST-be.able2-MED
   and managed to remove the rock inside his belly.
33. qʰoʔ o-ŋgergen=naʔ
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-master=DET
   noŋme kəŋóle ta-səso-cə qʰoʔ mə-na-set
   only.then properly PFV-reviveMED SEQ NEG-PFV-dieMED
   And only then did the master completely revive and did not die.

34. kʰ-tə  na-tʃoʔ-cə
   GP-say  IPFV:PST-be.the.ruleMED
   This is what people say happened.
SEKHAMALOSMAN

sekʰɐmələsman

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. \(r\text{gen}m\text{u} \ kw\text{d}z\text{am}m\text{e}=c\text{a}? \ n\text{v}-\text{to}^{\text{a}}d\text{z}ə \ η\text{o}\text{-}c\text{a}\)
old woman parent.and.daughter=INDF IPFV:PST-exist\text{2DU} be-MED

Once there lived an old woman with her daughter.

2. \(q\text{ho}'\text{a}? \ r\text{gen}m\text{u} \ ó\text{-}m\text{e}=n\text{a}?\)
SEQ old woman 3SG:POSS-daughter=DET
sekʰɐmələsman \ nv\text{-}rm\text{i} \ η\text{o}\text{-}c\text{a}
PN IPFV:PST-be.named\text{2} be-MED

The old woman’s daughter was named “Sekhamalosman.”

3. \(q\text{ho}'\text{a}? \ χʃikə \ nv\text{-}mp\text{b}jor? \ η\text{o}\text{-}c\text{a}\)
SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.beautiful\text{2} be-MED

And she was very beautiful.

4. \(q\text{ho}'\text{a}? \ o\text{-}kə\text{-}sirə\text{bi} \ χʃikə \ nv\text{-}lden? \ η\text{o}\text{-}c\text{a}\)
SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-ask.for very IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity\text{2} be-MED

And there were many who asked to marry her.

5. \(q\text{ho}'\text{a}? \ t\text{yo}=k\text{a}=nt\text{b}ə\text{on}\)
SEQ demon=ERG=also
rgen\text{nu}=ni? \ n\text{z}ə-k\text{ôm}t\text{b}ə=z \ fə\text{-}te\text{-}göz\text{ge}
old woman=DU 3DU:POSS-courtyard=LOC AND IPFV:UP-call

And the demon would also go to the old woman and her daughter’s courtyard and call them.
6. qʰoʔ nɔʔ-me kʰ-e-sʰi bi əntsʰi-te *gɛ-tʒə ηoʔ-cə
   SEQ 2PL:POSS-daughter GP-ask.for continuously IPFV-say be-MED
   And it kept saying, “Give your daughter (to me)!"

7. qʰoʔ rgebnmu=nəʔ=kə tʰo=pʰə
   SEQ old.woman=DET=ERG demon=place
   ñ-me o-rmi? kʰ-tʒə nu-to-cʰə?
   1SG:POSS-daughter 3SG:POSS-name INF-say IPFV:PST-2-be.able2
   qʰo=na nʰ-rev o-spe tʰo-bi? ηoʔ?
   SEQ:EMPH 2SG:POSS-wife 3SG:POSS-material 1→2-give be
   nəʔ te-tʃə-cə
   ANA PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And the old woman said to the demon, “If you can call my daughter’s name, then I will
give her to you as your wife.”

8. qʰoʔ mer te-qʰen=τəʔ
   SEQ night IPFV-darken=SUB
   rgebn=τəʔ ñ-me o-rmi?
   old.woman=ERG 3SG:POSS-daughter 3SG:POSS-name
   tʰen be me-te-poj ηoʔ-cə
   at.all NEG-IPFV-do3 be-MED
   And when it got dark at night, the old woman would refrain completely from saying out
her daughter’s name,

9. *denəʔ tʰo=kə fʰə? kʰ-sʰasʔ=kə
   for demon=ERG hear3 INF-think=INS
   thinking that the demon might hear it.
10. qʰoʔ kə-ŋaʔ=ce
   SEQ one-night=INDF
   qʰɛcʰwet=ceʔ²³⁷ rɡənmu "dza-ŋ’uʔ=pʰi  nə-səniʔ  ηoʔ-ceə
   fox=INDF old.woman 3DU:POSS-window=under IPFV:PST-listen₂ be-MED
   One night, a fox was eavesdropping under the old woman and daughter’s window.

11. fɔnəʔ rɡənmu=ka
   but old.woman=ERG
   ó-mé rmiʔ xənbe me-te-poj ηoʔ-ceə
   3SG:POSS-daughter name at.all NEG-IPFV-do₃ be-MED
   But the old woman was not saying her daughter’s name at all.

12. qʰoʔ nəʔosəsət lb-fsi-ceə
   SEQ thus PFV-dawn₂-MED
   And it was just like this until it dawned.

13. qʰoʔ le-fsiʔ qʰónə
   SEQ IPFV-dawn SEQ:EMPH
tájo ne-neʃəfe ʃieʔ ηoʔ-ceə
demon IPFV-go.away be:EMPH be-MED
   And when it dawns, demons as a rule will go away.

14. fɔnəʔ qʰɛcʰwet=naʔ nəʔosəsət kəmtʃə  nə-smə-cə
   but fox=DET thus a.bit IPFV:PST-stay-MED
   But the fox stayed (eavesdropping) in that manner for a little while.

²³⁷ According to folk belief, the fox is an accomplice to demons.
15. $qʰoʔ$ kúde ne-səɲi=nəʔ
   SEQ in.a.while IPFV-listen=SUB
   rgenmu=kə ő-me=pʰa  tʰ=goz=ge
   old.woman=ERG 3SG:POSS-daughter=place CONT:LTR-call₂
   ē-me sekʰmekosman tə-rvro Ṝdenə ḥv-fsi  yo?
1SG:POSS-daughter PN IMP-get.up for PFV-dawn₂ be
tə-tsəʔ=ca
   PFV:TR-say₂-MED
And, in a while, when it was listening, (it heard that) the old woman was calling (her
daughter), saying, “Get up, my daughter Sekhamalosman, for it has dawned.”

16. $qʰoʔ$ qʰecʰwet=kə rgenmùme  tʃʰə  kə-rmiʔ=nəʔ?
   SEQ fox=ERG old.woman’s.daughter what NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=DET
   ne-səʧaʔ=ca
   PFV:TR-memorize₂-MED
And the fox memorized what the old woman’s daughter was named,

17. $qʰoʔ$ səŋ-rəɣʔ jv-ʃɨʔ=ca
   SEQ CVB-run PFV-go₂-MED
   $qʰoʔ$ təjo  fa-ne-səʃʃãt=ca
   SEQ demon AND-PFV:TR-inform₂-MED
and went away running and informed the demon.

18. $qʰoʔ$ nəʔomer=nəʔ?
   SEQ that.night=DET
   təjo rgenmu=nɨʔ ʰdzʰ-pʰa  ḥv-ʋɾe-cə
   demon old.woman=DU 3DU:POSS-place PFV:UPSTRTEAM-go₂-MED
That night, the demon went upriver to the old woman and her daughter and was able to say her name.

19. qʰoʔ rgɛnmu kwʰdzəmbəme niʔ?
SEQ old.woman together.with.daughter=DU
χʃíkə "dzə-sni əzɔdəy əʔ-cə
very 3DU:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful2 be-MED
And the old woman and her daughter felt very sad.

20. fənə? tsʰyɾtə=ta kw-smo ə-w-cə
but agreement=top GP-stay IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED
But one must abide by the agreement.

21. qʰonə nəʔosèfsət sekʰəmelosmən=nəʔ?
SEQ:EMPH thus PN=DET
təjo ə-nebi ə-w-re əʔ-cə
demon PFV:TR-give2 IPFV:PST-be.necessary2 be-MED
So (the old woman) had to give Sekhamalosman to the demon.

22. qʰoʔ sekʰəmelosmən=nəʔ χʃíkə ə-w-vəʔ?
SEQ PN=DET very IPFV:PST-weep2
qʰoʔ o-ʒəʔ ə-ən-wəre əʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart NEG-IPFV:PST-go2 be-MED
fənəʔ ə-ən-p⁹ənʔ-cə
but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.effective be-MED
Sekhamalosman wept bitterly and was very unwilling, but it was useless.
23. qʰoʔ tə́ o-kːw kːv-ntsʰa tə-mdə nəʔ-cə
SEQ demon 3SG:POSSS-companion INF-set.out PFV-be.time2 be-MED
And the time came for her to set out with the demon.

24. qʰoʔ rɡɛnmu=nɨʔ "ndzʰ-ʰ bri ʰʃiːkə kə-ʒroʔ?
SEQ old.woman=DU 3DU:POSS-horse very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine
canʃortə kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nw-to nəʔ-cə
PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
The old woman and her daughter had a very fine horse named Kyangshirta.

25. qʰoʔ sekʰɐmAlosmən kómtʰə nə-nlə=nəʔ "ndʒriʔ tə-wɾcʰ evlevʔ?
SEQ PN courtyard PFV:DOWN-exit2=SUB horse PFV-talk2
When Sekhamalosman went out to the courtyard, the horse talked (in human language).

26. qʰoʔ sekʰɐmAlosmən ó-pʰə kə-ɾdu me
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious not.exist
fsiʔ=nəʔ nw-zdəɣ ʰʃiːkə ne-tʰəɣʔ=cəʔ toʔ=kə
future=TOP 2SG:POSS-hardship very IPFV-meet=INDF exist=INS
And said to Sekhamalosman, “It is alright! In the future, you will run into great hardships,”

27. nəʔorjáŋnəʔ ɤɾiʔ v-tə-kov-tʂənʔ-aŋ qʰoʔ əʒorʔ
at.that.time 1SG IRR-IMP-2→1-think.of-1SG SEQ meanwhile
canʃortəmcʰən v-tə-tʂ-tʃə
PN IRR-IMP-2-say
“at that moment, think of me and in the mean while call (my name) ‘Kyangshirta Mkhyen!’”
28. qʰoʔ  ejiʔ  fla  nτzyɔyoτ-ɐŋ  fteʔ=kə
   SEQ  1SG immediately  arrive:RDPL-1SG  be:EMPH=DM
qʰoʔ  tv-ntsɔmtsomʔ  fteʔ  te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ  1→2-take.thither:RDPL  be:EMPH  PFV:TR-say2-MED
   “And I will surely arrive (out of nowhere) immediately, and take you away,” it said.

29. qʰoʔ  sekʰɐm əlosm ən=kən əʔ=cə
   SEQ  PN=ERG  ANA=PL  PFV:TR-memorize2-MED
   And Sekhamalosman memorized all that.

30. qʰoʔ  təjo=scʰənʔ  tʰ-ntsʰaⁿdzə  ɣoʔ-cə
   SEQ  demon=and  PFV:DOWNRIVER-depart2-3DU  be-MED
   And she departed downriver with the demon.

31. qʰoʔ  təjo=kə  sekʰemalosmen=nəʔ
   SEQ  demon=ERG  PN=DET
pra ʃorɲə  kə-təʔ=cəʔ  ʃer  ta-oy-tsəm
steep.cliff  NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF  3SG:POSS-body  PFV-INV-take.thither2
   And Sekhamalosman was taken uphill by the demon onto a steep cliff.

32. qʰonə  təjo=kə  prazgo  ffi238  te-tsəʔ-cə
   SEQ:EMPH  demon=ERG  rock-door  open  PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And the demon said, “Rock door, open!”

33. qʰoʔ  pra  komʔ  te-əju-ə
   SEQ  rock  door  PFV-open2-MED
   And the rock door opened up.

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34. qʰoʔ  ó-nəŋ  lv-øy-tsom
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-inside  PFV:IN-INV-take.thither₂
   And (she) was taken inside.

35. qʰoʔ  prazgo  zbɔ²³⁹  te-tsəʔ-ço
   SEQ  rock-door  IDPH  PFV:TR-say₂-MED
   And (the demon) said, “Rock door, close!”

36. qʰónə  pra  komʔ  tʰe-peʔ  ɲəʔ-ço
   SEQ  rock  door  PFV:TR-close₂  be-MED
   And the rock door closed.

37. qʰoʔ  nəʔ  kə-raʔ?=nəʔ
   SEQ  ANA  one-night=DET
   təjo=scʰənɔʔ  ɲv-rmeʔ=ʣə  ɲəʔ-ço
demon=and  IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-3DU  be-MED
   That night, she spent the night with the demon.

38. qʰoʔ  lv-fsi=scʰɔnəʔ
   SEQ  PFV:dawn₂=SUB
   təjo=kə  sekʰəmləmson=pʰə  nəʔjɨʔ  josjɨʔ  nə-nqʰope  jə
   emon=ERG  PN=place  2SG  today  IMP-keep.house  DM
   ɲjɨʔ  opʰjiʔ=cʰo  fə-te-nəŋkwəʔjɨʔ-aŋ=kə  te-tsəʔ-ço
   1SG  outside=LOC:INDF  AND-walk.around=DM  PFV:TR-say₂-MED
   When day broke, the demon said to Sekhamalosman, “You keep house today, and I will take a stroll outside!”

²³⁹ The syllable zbɔ appears to be an onomatopoeic word mimicking the sound of a door closing.
39. **qʰoʔ tájo=ko sekʰɐmlosmən**

SEQ  

demon=ERG  

PN  

o-zde?=nə?  
lili=cə?  
ne-səsəmo?  
yo?-cə

3SG:POSS-companion=DET  
cat=INDF  
PFV:TR-cause.to.stay  
be-MED

And the demon made a cat stay to keep Sekhamalosman company.

40. **qʰoʔ o-mkom=nə?=z ləntʃaʔpɛpə=koʔ**

SEQ  

3SG:POSS-top.side.of.bed=DET=LOC  
hand.squeezed.coarse.tsampa.dough=INDF

ne-te  

PFV:TR-put2  
be-MED

And placed a hand-squeezed lump of coarse tsampa dough by the top side of her bed.

41. **qʰoʔ təjəʃɛʔ əʔ**

SEQ  

demon  

PFV-go2  
be-MED

And the demon went away.

42. **qʰoʔ səsu tə-mdə jvrmə=nə?**

SEQ  

lunch  

PFV-be.time2  
about=SUB

sekʰɐmlosmən  
πə-mpəri=nə?

PN  

IPFV-look=SUB

ləli=kə  

ləntʃaʔ  
kə-tôkə

cat=ERG  
hand.squeezed.coarse-tsampa.dough  
one-mouthful

te-nədəʔ  

PFV:TR-eat2  
be-MED

Around lunchtime, as Sekhamalosman was looking, she saw that the cat ate up the lump of coarse tsampa dough in one mouthful,
43. ʃə nəʔlɐntʃaʔ=kə lili te-ødzeʔ  yəʔ-øə
but hand-squeezed.coarse-tsampa.dough=ERG cat PFV:TR-eat2 be-MED
qʰoʔ ηνοŋne  nə-ømønəʔ  yəʔ-øə
SEQ both PFV-not.be.seen2 be-MED
but the lump of coarse tsampa dough ate the cat up, and both disappeared.

44. qʰoʔ səkʰemølošmen=øə  ũfikə  nə-verʔ  yəʔ-øə
SEQ PN=DET very PFV-be.afraid2 be-MED
And Sekhamalosman was very much afraid.

45. qʰoʔ nəʔosif=øə nə-smo nə-re-øə
SEQ thus IPFV:PST-stay IPFV:PST-be.necessary2-MED
And she had to stay there just like that.

46. leʔ nəʔof=øsfiʔ=nəʔ
again next.day=TOP
leʔ təjo=kə səkʰemølošmen  o-øzər=nəʔ
again demon=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-side=DET
rgəli=cəʔ  ne-səsømo?
heifer=INDF PFV:TR-cause.to.stay
And the next day, the demon again made a heifer stay beside Sekhamalosman.

47. qʰoʔ o-mkom=øəʔ=z  təyriʔ=cəʔ  ne-te  yəʔ-øə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-front=DET=LOC hay=INDF PFV:TR-put2 be-MED
And placed some hay in front of it.

48. qʰoʔ o-jıʔ=nəʔ  leʔ  op⁹jiʔ  jë̄-ʃɛʔ  yəʔ-øə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=DET again outside PFV-go2 be-MED
And it went out again.
At around lunchtime, as Sekhamalosman was looking, she saw that the heifer ate up the hay in one mouthful,

but the hay ate the heifer up, and both disappeared.

And again Sekhamalosman was very much afraid.

And she thought, “What am I to do about this?”

meanwhile back.of-door=LOC key very PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.smoothed.out2=INDF
At the same time, she saw that there was a key that had been smoothed out (from use) behind the door.

54. qʰo? naʔ ne-myεʔ-cə
SEQ ANA PFV:DOWN:TR-take2-MED
She took it down,

55. qʰo? o-lüco zgolə? nv-kv-setseʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside.place room PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-lock2-MED
nv-to ŋoʔ-cə
IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED
and there was a room which was locked further indoors from her.

56. qʰo? naʔ ke-cu te-tsʰit ŋoʔ-cə=nəʔ fla tə²ju-cə
SEQ ANA INF-open PFV:TR-try2 be-MED=SUB immediately PFV-open2-MED
As she tried to open it, (the door) immediately opened.

57. qʰo? le-mpʰéri=nəʔ
SEQ IPFV-look=SUB
rgunmu jə-kə-set
old.woman PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-die
qʰo? na-zgɛʔ=tə twpəʔʔ? nv-kv-setseʔ=kəsə
SEQ 3PL:POSS-back=top bamboo.straw PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-stick2=like
antsʰtse ŋoʔ-cə
all be-MED
As she was looking, she saw a lot of dying old women, each with a bamboo straw stuck into her backs.
58. qʰoʔ sekʰəmlo⁵⁸m ő-pʰa
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place
nɛjiʔ kʰoʔ=z tʰa⁵⁶v jv-tv-weʔ ŋoʔ ⁿdɛnəʔ
2SG here=LOC why PFV-2-come₂ be DM
And they (said) to Sekhamalosman, “Why have you come here?”

59. cʰeʔ=z jayɛɾuʔ nɛjiʔ ʃox=ɾun
former.time=LOC 1PL 2SG than=even
nɛ-mpʰjorʔ-jə nɛ-netselejʔ-jə
IPFV:PST-be.beautiful₁-1PL IPFV:PST-be.good-looking₁-1PL
“At one time, we were even more beautiful and good-looking than you are.”

60. fanaʔ jɔ-fwe tʰe-we
but 1PL:POSS-age PFV-come₂
qʰonə kə-nɛjitsʰu nə-meʔ-jə
SEQ:EMPH NMLZ:SBJ-be.serviceable₂ PFV-not.exist₂⁻1PL
“But we have become old and useless.”

61. qʰoʔ koʔ nə-o-xso-jə ŋoʔ
SEQ this PFV-INV-do₂⁻1PL be
“And we have been made to be like this.”

62. qʰonə nɛjiʔ pafkʰo⁻ɾəm tə-rɛntsʰu
SEQ:EMPH 2SG now-EMPH IMP-set.out
“But as many more keys are placed behind the door, take them.”
64. qʰoʔ ʃə mʔ zgolɔʔ=scʰəkə? kéju zgolɔʔ o-səcuʔ?
SEQ iron room=and wood room 3SG:POSS-key
raŋraŋ udenbe v-mə-nə-tə-sekofcəʔ?
separately at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-exchange3
“Do not mix up the keys to iron rooms with those to wooden rooms.”

65. qʰoʔ ó-naŋ v-ʌv-tə-fe te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
“Just go inside!” they said.

66. qʰoʔ sekʰəməlosmən=kə
SEQ PN=ERG
kéju səcuʔ=scʰəkə? fəmʔ səcuʔ te-ʌdi-cə
wood key=and iron key PFV:TR-take2-MED
qʰoʔ səcuʔ udenbe me-ne-sekofcə-cə
SEQ key at.all NEG-PFV:TR-exchange2-MED
Sekhamalosman picked up the wood keys and the iron keys, and she kept them completely separate.

67. qʰoʔ zgolɔʔ=nəŋ leʔ zgolɔʔ=kəsə ʌ-naŋ ʌv-ʌre-cə
SEQ room=inside again room=like 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-go2-MED
And she went into rooms inside rooms,

68. qʰoʔ stʰoʔ zgolɔʔ ʌ-pʰuyʔ?
SEQ most room 3SG:POSS-innermost.end
kə-toʔ=cəʔ le-zyōt-cəʔ=nəʔ?
NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF PFV:IN-arrive2-MED=SUB
when she reached an innermost room, she found a lama who was practicing reclusive meditation.

69. vla=kə
SEQ lama=ERG
kʰɔkʰɔz kv-zyot nə-tə-cʰʔə=nəʔ vde-cə
here INF-arrive IPFV:PST-2-be.able=SUB be.good-MED
And the lama said, “It is good that you were able to get to here.”

70. vla=kə
SEQ lama=ERG
sekʰɐməlosmən rjəntʃə piri mtsʰɔt tə-o-sqərweʔ-cə
PN jewelry be.many PFV-INV-put.around.neck-MED
And the lama put a lot of jewelry on Sekhamalosman’s neck,

71. rənmúⁿ’dʒi tə-o-ʒ’geʔ-cə
SEQ old.woman-skin PFV-INV-cause.to.wear-MED
and dressed her with an old woman’s skin.

72. vla=kə
SEQ lama=ERG
fəʔi qəʔ=nəŋ tʰə-tə-fu=nəʔ
place.donriver ravine=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-2-go=SUB
nə-wɔrɪ qʰə təjo=nəʔ kəsnez-tʃəʃ jɛrmə wi=kə
2SG:POSS-front ANA demon=DET a.couple-time about come=INS
And the lama said, “When you go downriver inside the ravine over there, the demon will appear in front of you a couple of times. Don’t be afraid at all.”

73. qʰoʔ tezgrazelgre "ge-fsʔ=scʰənə?
SEQ all.kinds.of.sounds IPFV-hear=SUB
tájo=kə naʔ tf³ə o-zgre yoʔ té-tsə=scʰənə?
demon=ERG ANA what 3SG:POSS-sound be IPFV-say=SUB
“When it hears all kinds of noises (coming from your body) and asks what the sounds are,”

74. ejʔ nəŋtʰemkʰoj-aj əfètekə v-ʃiɾu tε-rpəɾpoʔ?
1SG be.thin-1SG so.much 1SG:POSS-bone IPFV-bump:RECP
qʰoʔ nəʔ o-zgre fteʔ v-tə-tə-tə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-sound be:EMPH IRR-IMP-2-say
“tell him, ‘I am so thin that my bones rattle against each other, that is what the sound is,’”

75. qʰoʔ nəʔoséfət v-tʰv-tə-fv
SEQ thus IRR-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-go
fəɾʰiʔi=z=nəʔ rylpo=cəʔ toʔ=kə
downriver.place:FAR.DIST=LOC=DET chieftain=INDF exist=INS
nəʔ nə-múru=z v-na-tə-smə
ANA 3PL:POSS-place.for.drawing.water=LOC IRR-IMP-2-stay
“go downriver like that, and as there is a chieftain yonder downriver, (go and) stay at the place where they draw water.”

76. qʰoʔ tə-o-nepóɾo fteʔ=kə
SEQ 2-INV-take.in be:EMPH-DM
“And you will be taken in.”
77.  nəʔ  te-tsəʔ-cə
   ANA   PFV:TR-say2-MED
   He said the above.

78.  qʰoʔ  sekʰənamosmen=naʔ  qfɨʔ=nay  tʰu-wre  ηoʔ-cə
   SEQ   PN=DET   ravine=inside   PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2   be-MED
   And Sekhamalosman went downriver in the ravine.

79.  qʰoʔ  rɨwpaspe  tʰu-wre=naʔ
   SEQ   quite.a.while:EMPH   PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2=SUB
   o-kóɾi  tɨɾo  lb-weʔ  ηoʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-front   demon   PFV:UPRIVER-come2   be-MED
   After she had gone downriver for quite a while, the demon came upriver toward her.

80.  qʰoʔ  xʃikə  ne-ver  ηoʔ-cə
   SEQ   very   IPFV-be.afraid   be-MED
   And she was very much afraid.

81.  qʰoʔ  nə-wəmυmuʔ?=scʰənaʔ  rguñmú-dzɨ=nay
   SEQ   PFV-tremble2=and   old.woman-skin=inside
   o-piru=ɾvʔ  te-rpəɾpəʔ?
   3SG:POSS-coral=PL   IPFV-collide2:RECP
   qʰoʔ  ne-wəɾqʰəɾqʰəɾʔ2⁴⁰  ηoʔ-cə
   SEQ   IPFV-IDPH   be-MED
   She trembled, and the corals knocked against each other inside the old woman’s skin, and
   made clanking sounds.

2⁴⁰ Derived verbal ideophone describing sounds of small rounded objects.
82. $qʰoʔ \ táj=kə$
SEQ demon=ERG
$nəʔ \ tfʰ \ o-zgre \ ηoʔ \ te-tsʔ-cə=nəʔ\$
ANA what 3SG:POSS-sound be PFV:TR-say2-MED=SUB
And when the demon asked, “What is that sound?”

83. $sekʰeməsəm=kə \ vjiʔ \ rəŋnu \ v-ɨəm \ ẓəkə \ kʰoj$
PN=ERG 1SG old.woman 1SG:poss-body very be.thin
$qʰoʔ \ ə=ʃər \ te-rpəɾpoʔ$
SEQ 1SG:POSS-bone IPFV-bump:RECP
$qʰoʔ \ nəʔ \ o-zgre \ fteʔ \ te-tsʔ-cə$
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-sound be:EMPH PFV:TR-say2-MED
Sekhamalosman said, “I am an old woman, and very thin. And my bones rattle together.
That is what the sound is about.”

84. $qʰoʔ \ táj=kə \ sekʰeməsəm \ kə-ηoʔ?=nəʔ \ me-ne-sərtə-cə$
SEQ demon=ERG PN NMLZ:SBJ-be=SUB NEG-PFV:TR-discover2-MED
And so the demon did not discover that (the old woman) was Sekhamalosman.

85. $qʰoʔ \ leʔ \ nəʔozəʃət \ tʰ-əɾə \ ηoʔ-cə$
SEQ again thus PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2 be-MED
And again in this way she went on downriver.

86. $qʰoʔ \ ɾjilpo \ o-sv-smo=nəʔ?=z \ ʒə-zyot$
SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.present2=SUB=LOC PROS-arrive
$Jerə \ leʔ \ o-ʊəɾi=nəʔ \ táj \ ə=ɾəʔ-cə$
about again 3SG:POSS-front=DET demon PFV:UPRIVER-come2-MED
And as she was about to get to where the chieftain was, the demon again came upriver toward her.
And she did exactly the same as with the (demon) who had come toward her before.

And again, the demon failed to discover Sekhamalosman.

Sekhamalosman arrived down river at the water-drawing place of the chieftain’s and stayed there.

And she would shed her old woman’s skin and wash herself.

And was seen by the chieftain’s servants.

And the chieftain’s servants (said) to the chieftain,
93. \(\text{\textit{v}}\text{dik}^\text{o} \quad \text{m}^\text{û}ru\) \(k\text{o-to?=n} \text{o}\)?

\text{location.to.the.west} \quad \text{place.for.drawing.water} \quad \text{NMLZ-exist=SUB}

\text{rgenmu=c}\text{ aç}\text{o}? \quad \text{je-we?}

\text{old.woman=INDF} \quad \text{PFV-come?}

\text{q}^\text{o}\text{?} \quad \text{o-rgenmu\text{e}d}^\text{zi=n} \text{o?} \quad \text{n}^\text{e-ntfu}\text{t} \quad \text{k}^\text{a-k}^\text{ût}=\text{c}^\text{ aç}\text{o?}

\text{SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.woman.skin=DET} \quad \text{IPFV-take.off} \quad \text{NMLZ:SBJ-be.feasible=INDF}

\text{q}^\text{o}\text{?} \quad \text{xfik}^\text{æ} \quad \text{k}^\text{a}-\text{mp}\text{b}^\text{jor}=\text{c}^\text{ aç}\text{o?} \quad \text{yo?-c}\text{ ò} \quad \text{te-ts}^\text{æ?}-\text{na-c}\text{ aç}\text{o}

\text{SEQ very} \quad \text{NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF} \quad \text{be-MED} \quad \text{PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED}

“An old woman, who is able to take off her old woman’s skin and who is very beautiful, has come to the place for drawing water west from here,” they said.

94. \(\text{q}^\text{o}\text{?} \quad \text{rj}^\text{êlpo=k}^\text{ aç}\text{o}\)

\text{SEQ} \quad \text{chieftain=ERG}

\text{mv-w}^\text{edu} \quad \text{k}^\text{a} \quad \text{k}^\text{b}^\text{koz} \quad \text{v-ju-tw-wot=n} \text{o?}

\text{NEG-be.serious} \quad \text{DM} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{IRR-IMP-2-bring-2PL}

\text{q}^\text{o}\text{?} \quad \text{no}^\text{æ} \quad \text{f}^\text{te}\text{?} \quad \text{k}^\text{a} \quad \text{te-ts}^\text{æ?-c}^\text{o}

\text{SEQ:EMPH ANA be:EMPH DM} \quad \text{PFV:TR-say2-MED}

And the chieftain said, “That’s alright. Just bring her to me!”

95. \(\text{q}^\text{o}\text{?} \quad \text{sek}^\text{æ}^\text{nmel}^\text{osmn}=\text{n}^\text{o?} \quad \text{rj}^\text{êlpo=k}^\text{ aç}\text{o} \quad \text{t}^\text{o}-\text{o-n}^\text{epo}^\text{ro?} \quad \text{mek}^\text{åts}^\text{et}

\text{SEQ PN=TOP} \quad \text{chieftain=ERG} \quad \text{PFV-INV-take.in2} \quad \text{not.only}

\text{o-rgenmu\text{e}d}^\text{zi=rv?} \quad \text{ne-te}

\text{3SG:POSS-old.woman.skin=PL} \quad \text{PFV:TR-get.rid.of2}

\text{q}^\text{o}\text{?} \quad \text{xfik}^\text{æ} \quad \text{ge-mp}^\text{b}^\text{jor} \quad \text{yo?-c}^\text{o}

\text{SEQ very} \quad \text{IPFV-be.beautiful} \quad \text{be-MED}

So Sekhamalosman was taken in by the chieftain, and she cast away her old woman’s skin and was very beautiful.
96. qʰoʔ kəmqʰˈunaʔ?
SEQ afterwards
rjūlp o-vdamuʔ  tə-ŋpeʔ  ηoʔ-cao
chieftain 3SG:POSS-queen PFV-become2 be-MED
And afterwards, she became the chieftain’s queen.

97. qʰoʔ kəmqʰˈunaʔ  mə-na-nərkiʔ  ηoʔ-cao
SEQ afterwards NEG-PFV-be.strong2 be-MED
And afterwards, she became pregnant.

98. fnəʔ qʰoʔ rjūlp reŋgo=z
but SEQ chieftain hill=LOC
kə-naqdti  tə-wre  ηoʔ-cao
But the chieftain happened to have gone up the hills to celebrate Flower-Viewing Festival.

99. qʰoʔ oqʰuz sekʰməlosmen=nəʔ  ne-qʰoʔ  ηoʔ-cao
SEQ afterwards PN=TOP PFV:TR-deliver2 be-MED
And afterwards, Sekhamalosman gave birth (to a baby).

100. qʰoʔ telŋaʔ=nəʔ?
SEQ child=DET
o-qʰoʔstot  tonʔ  kə-ŋoʔ
3SG:POSS-upper.body white.conch NMLZ:SBJ-be
o-qʰoʔsmət  χser  kə-ŋoʔ
3SG:POSS-lower.body gold NMLZ:SBJ-be
raytʃen=caʔ  jv-wôt  ηoʔ-cao
person.with.supernatural.powers=INDF PFV-bring2 be-MED
As for the (baby) child, she gave birth to one with supernatural powers, with an upper body of white conch and lower body of gold.
101. \(qʰoʔ\) sekʰɐ m ɐ losm ɐ n=k ə jəɣ e ne-ret
SEQ PN=ERG letter PFV:TR-write₂
And Sekhamosalosman wrote him a letter.

102. \(qʰoʔ\) nə-kə-æqʰoʔ\[^{241}\]
SEQ PFV-NMLZ-recover₂
\(qʰoʔ\) təljaʔ tə=kəsə kə-ŋoʔ=reʔ kəmdiiʔ ne-ret
SEQ child what=like NMLZ:SBJ-be=PL all PFV:TR-write₂
She wrote all about her delivery and what the child was like and what not.

103. \(qʰoʔ\) fla n-nə-nəwi te-tsəʔ ŋəʔ-cə
SEQ immediately IRR-IMP:DOWN-come.back PFV:TR-say be-MED
“Come back downhill right away,” she wrote.

104. \(qʰoʔ\) kjəʔ=kə jəye rəlpə=pʰə te-tsəm ŋəʔ-cə
SEQ servant=ERG letter chieftain=place PFV:UP:TR-take.thither₂ be-MED
And the servants took the letter uphill to the chieftain.

105. \(fənəʔ\) rəlpə=pʰə mə-je-zyət fəgte
but chieftain=place NEG-PFV-arrive₂ before
\(cʰeʔ\) təyo=nəʔ kjəʔ=kə ne-təy ŋəʔ-cə
before demon=DET servant=ERG PFV:TR-meet₂ be-MED
But before the servant had got to the chieftain, he ran into the same demon (as before).

\[^{241}\] Original meaning ‘recover’, here used as an euphemistic replacement for \(rəljaʔ\) ‘deliver (a baby)’.
Part II. Texts

106. \(q^\circ o?\) \(t^\circ yo = \circ k\)
SEQ demon=ERG
\(n^\circ ji?\) \(\eta^\circ t\circ f^\circ a\) \(j^\circ a-t^\circ \circ \circ ^\circ a\) \(\eta^\circ o?\) \(te-ts\circ ^\circ a=\circ n^\circ a?\)
2SG where PROS-2-go be PFV:TR-say2-MED=SUB
When the demon asked him, “Where are you going?”242

107. \(u^\circ ji?=\circ k\) \(v^\circ damu\) \(ne-q^\circ o?=\circ k\)
servant=ERG queen PFV:TR-deliver2=INS
\(o-j^\circ o^\circ y^\circ e\) \(rj^\circ ul^\circ po=p^\circ a\)
3SG:POSS-letter chieftain=place
\(j^\circ a-ts^\circ om^\circ ?-a\circ j\) \(\eta^\circ o?\) \(te-ts^\circ a?-c^\circ a\)
PROS-take.thither-1SG be PFV:TR-say-MED
“As the queen has delivered (a child), I am taking her letter to the chieftain,” said the servant.

108. \(q^\circ o?\) \(t^\circ yo = \circ k\) \(\eta^\circ e\) \(j^\circ ay^\circ e\) \(n^\circ ji?\) \(t^\circ o-\circ z^n\circ e^\circ m^\circ e-\circ a^\circ j\)
SEQ demon=ERG EXCL letter 1SG IMP-INV-show3-1SG
\(te-ts^\circ a?\) \(\eta^\circ o?-c^\circ a\)
PFV:TR-say2 be-MED
And the demon said, “Come, let me look at the letter!”

109. \(q^\circ o?\) \(t^\circ yo = \circ k\) \(j^\circ ay^\circ e\) \(\circ n^\circ a^\circ n\)
SEQ demon=ERG letter 3SG:POSS-inside
\(q^\circ o?stot\) '\(p^\circ a\) \(k^\circ o-\circ \eta^\circ o?\) \(q^\circ o?sm^\circ et\) \(k^\circ e^\circ z^\circ e?\) \(k^\circ o-\circ \eta^\circ o?\)
upper.body pig NMLZ:SBJ-be lower.body dog NMLZ:SBJ-be
\(j^\circ v-\circ w^\circ o^\circ t^\circ a^\circ j\) \(\eta^\circ o?\) \(q^\circ o?\) \(t^\circ f^\circ a\) \(ne-\circ k^\circ v-\circ sos^\circ o?\)
PFV-bring2-1SG be SEQ what IPFV-GP-do

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242 Lit. ‘Where are you about to go?’
And the demon changed the letter to read, “I gave birth to one with the upper body of a pig and the lower body of a dog. What am I to do?”

110. \( qʰoʔ \) \( rjélpo=kə \) \( jaye \) \( õ-ja \) \( jɛ-wɛʔ ? \)

SEQ chieftain=ERG letter 3SG:POSS-hand PFV-arrive_2

\( qʰoʔ \) \( wiʔ \) \( cʰeʔ \) \( wi-ay \) \( fteʔ=kə \)

SEQ 1SG early come-1SG be:EMPH=INS

\( póʒe \) \( tɛ\(l\)ʔa? \) \( tɬɛl\) \( kʰ-nes\(s\)oʔ_243 \) \( mɛ-reʔ ? \)

still child anything GP-do NEG-be:necessary

\( kʰ-ʦə \) sekʰɐməlo\(s\)mən \( o-ʒəye \) \( ne-ret \) \( ŋoʔ-cə \)

INF-say PN 3SG:POSS-letter PFV:TR-write_2 be-MED

The chieftain, having received the letter, wrote a letter to Sekhamalosman saying, “Since I will come (back) ahead of time, there is no need yet to do anything to the child.”

111. \( ŋoʔ \) \( qʰoʔ \) \( tʃoʁbɛjʔ=z \) \( leʔ \) \( tʃoʔ=kə \)

but SEQ way=LOC again demon=ERG

sekʰɐməlo\(s\)mən \( o-ʒəye=nə=ŋəʔ \)

PN 3SG:POSS-letter=inside=DET

sekʰɐməlo\(s\)mən \( kəlŋəlŋ\)ʔa?=nʔi? \( v-nə-ʃpjuʔ=nəʔ \)

PN together.with.child=DU IRR-PFV-banish=SUB

\( kʰ-ʦə \) \( ne-ʒəɾʔ \) \( ŋoʔ-cə \)

CVB-say PFV:TR-change_2 be-MED

But on the way, the demon again changed the letter to Sekhamalosman, saying that Sekhamalosman was to be banished together with the child.

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243 The ambulative form here expresses the meaning ‘dispose of the child in various ways’.
112. *qʰoʔ sekhαlomαs=mn=*

SEQ PN=TOP

*kw-וק=mn-w-tso? o-h= te-fkor*

INF-banish NEG-PFV-have.time.for POSS-child PFV:TR-carry.on.back

*qʰoʔ rjɛl=ϕo=ϕa t=ϕi t=ϕre ς=*

SEQ chieftain=place PFV:UP-escape POSS-go POSS-carry on back PFV:TR-carry.on.back

And Sekhamalosman, before she was banished, had carried the child onto her back and fled uphill to the chieftain.

113. *ʃə n=*=z le? t=t=mn=*

but way=LOC again demon=DET PFV:TR-meet POSS-exist POSS-exist POSS-PST-exist

But again she ran across the demon on the way.

114. *qʰoʔ t=t=mn=*

SEQ demon=ERG

*neji? kw-n=ϕoro=ϕa o-tesk=tork=*

2SG INF-seek=INS PN POSS-circle:EMPH POSS-circle POSS-circle

*f=ϕm? t=axt=ϕe=ϕa \=ϕm? t=ϕne=mi=ϕon t=ϕe-sayϕ=*

iron shoe=and iron walking.stick=even PFV-wear.out POSS-exist POSS-exist POSS-exist

And the demon said, “In order to look for you, I was circling and circling the entire Southern Continent, and so much time has elapsed that I have worn out iron shoes and iron walking sticks.”

115. *qʰoʔ o=h=nt=*

SEQ POSS-child POSS-child POSS-exist POSS-exist POSS-exist POSS-exist

And her child was snatched from her, and (the demon) ate it up.
116. \( q^\theta \) sekʰemlosman=kə
SEQ PN=ERG
fla 'n bri canʃərtv=naə te-təən-cə
immediately horse PN=DET PFV:TR-think.of2-MED
qʰoʔ \( n^\theta \) bri canʃərtv mcʰen te-tsə?-cə=naə
SEQ horse PN PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB
fla canʃərtv jv-zyöt
immediately PN PFV-arrive2

Sekhamalosman thought of the horse Kyangshirta right away, and when she called “Kyangshirta Mkhyen!”, Kyangshirta came immediately.

117. \( q^\theta \) canʃərtv te-di \( q^\theta \) nə-o-fpʰi \( \eta^ο?\)-cə
SEQ PN PFV-hold2 SEQ PFV-INV-assist.to.flee2 be-MED
And she mounted Kyangshita and it helped her escape.

118. \( q^\theta \) tāyo=kə
SEQ demon=ERG
le? sekʰemlosman kv-nənqʰu mə-nə-cʰv? \( \eta^ο?\)-cə
again PN INF-follow NEG-PFV-be.able2 be-MED
And again the demon failed to follow Sekhamalosman.

119. \( q^\theta \) canʃərtv=kə sekʰemlosman
SEQ PN=ERG PN
setʔe ɣiʔə kə-vde=ce jv-o-suzyöt \( \eta^ο?\)-cə
place very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=INDF PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.arrive2 be-MED
And Kyangshita took Sekhamalosman to a very good place.

120. \( q^\theta \) canʃərtv=kə sekʰemlosman=pʰa
SEQ PN=ERG PN=place
And Kyangshita said to Sekhamalosman,
121. ɐɟ i ʔ nə-o-n<sub>t</sub>f<sub>e</sub>-aŋ  qʰo? nə-ɒ=j<sub>dʒ</sub>ə-t-ay

1SG IMP-INV-kill-1SG SEQ IMP-INV-flay-1SG

“Kill me and flay me.”

122. qʰoʔ v-ʃe tʃʰəmu=kəsci=cəʔ=ntf<sub>ʔ</sub>on

SEQ 1SG:POSS-flesh thimble=like=INDF=even

s<sub>ʃ</sub>ʔ<sub>e</sub>=ta mə-nv-tə-ʃəyʃə

ground=top NEG-IMP:DOWN-2-cause.to.go

“Don’t let even a small thimble-like piece of my flesh drop to the ground,”

123. qʰoʔ ʃ-ədʒi=kə ʃe v-ʃ-ə-mpʰə

SEQ 1SG:POSS-skin=INS flesh IRR-IMP-2-wrap

qʰoʔ nəʔ ʃ-ə=nəʔ  v-koʔ

SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET 1SG:POSS-head

v-ŋ-ʃə-ʃəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə

IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-place<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“wrap up my flesh with my skin, and put my head on top of it,” it said.

124. qʰoʔ sekʰɐ məlosmən=nəʔ ʃʃikə nə-rəkʰroŋkʰroʔ-cə

SEQ PN=TOP very PFV-be.sad<sub>2</sub>-MED

Sekhamalosman was very sad.

125. qʰoʔ nʃiʔ tsíŋə mv-təʔə nə-tʃənʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ

SEQ 2SG so.much 2SG:POSS-benevolence NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET

kə-ntʃ<sub>e</sub> mv-tʃ<sub>c</sub>ə ʃəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə

INF-kill NEG-1→2-be.able be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

She said, “You were so benevolent to me, I cannot kill you!”
126. \( qʰoʔ \) canʃərtv=kə

SEQ  PN=ERG

mə-ʁdu nejiʔ vjiʔ ke-ntʃe mw-koʔ-ʃv-aŋ

NEG-be.serious 2SG 1SG INF-kill NEG-2→1-be.able-1SG

qaŋə vjiʔ ɒjvntʃe-aŋ fteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə

SEQ:EMPH 1SG kill.oneself-1SG be:EMPH PFV:TR-say-2-MED

And Kyangshirta said, “Alright, since you cannot (make yourself) kill me, I will kill myself.”

127. \( qʰoʔ \) ə-ɒjvntʃeʔ əŋoʔ-cə

SEQ  PFV-kill.oneself2 be-MED

And it killed itself.

128. \( qʰoʔ \) sekʰɐməlo_longitude=koʰ "brei ne-jdʒat-cə

SEQ  PN=ERG horse PFV:TR-flay2-MED

qʰoʔ oʃe=rəʔ təʔdʒi=kə te-sə-mpəʔ əŋoʔ-cə

SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL skin=INS PFV:TR-CAUS-wrap be-MED

qʰoʔ naʔ ə-ta=naʔ "brekoʔ=roʔ ne-te-cə

SEQ  ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET horse.head=PL PFV:TR:DOWN-put2-MED

And Sekhamalosman flayed the horse, wrapped up its flesh with its skin, and put its head on top of this.

129. \( qʰoʔ \) naʔ-ŋet

SEQ  PFV-be.sleepy2

qʰoʔ ə-vzəʔ=naʔ=z kəmtʃə kə-naʃevʔ əŋoʔ-cə

SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET=LOC a.bit PFV-fall.asleep2 be-MED

She felt sleepy, and fell asleep for a while besides it.
And gradually the flesh wrapped in the horse skin changed into a very big monastery full
of monks.

And she herself was transported there and she was very happy.

And she lived there by the side of the monastery.

And the chieftain discovered all about his queen Sekhamalosman’s delivery of the child
and what had happened to the child.

He felt very sad and very angry.
135. \( q^h_0 \text{n} \) \( kəm\text{mq}^h\text{un}_n \) 

SEQ afterwards
\( o_{-}\text{rpel}=sc^h\text{un}_n \) \( o_{-nk}^h\text{om}=re^? \) \( ne_{-svvd}=ve^? \)
3SG:POSS-palace=and 3SG:POSS-masses=PL PFV:TR-give.up2:DISTRIB
\( q^h_0 \) \( nə_{-}\text{nt}^h\text{om}_n \) \( \eta\text{?-c}_ə \)
SEQ PFV-be.wandering2 be-MED

Afterwards, he forsook his palace and his masses and became a wanderer.

136. \( q^h_0 \text{n} \) \( kəm\text{mq}^h\text{un}_n \) 

SEQ afterwards
\( q^h_0 \) \( r\text{gonbe} \) \( o_{-}\text{vzar}=nə \) \( jv_{-}\text{zvot}=c=\text{na}_ə \)
ANA monastery 3SG:POSS-side=DET PFV-arrive2-MED=SUB
\( o_{-}\text{vdamu} \) \( sek^h\text{melosmen}_n \) \( ne_{-mti} \) \( \eta\text{?-c}_ə \)
3SG:POSS-queen PN PFV:TR-see2 be-MED

Afterwards, when he got to the side of that monastery, and saw his queen Sekhamalosman.

137. \( q^h_0 \text{n} \) \( no_{-}\text{mne}=nə \) \( kə\text{k}_ə \) \( kv_{-}\text{pe} \) \( nv_{-}\text{c}_ə^h=\text{dz}_ə \)

SEQ only.then=TOP family INF-do IPFV:PST-be.able2-3DU
\( q^h_0 \) \( nv_{-}\text{sc}ət=\text{dz}_ə \)
SEQ IPFV:PST-be.happy2-3DU

Only then, they were able to be reunited as a family and they were happy.

138. \( q^h_0 \text{n} \) \( na_{-}\text{q}_əu=nə \) 

SEQ from.then.on=TOP
\( təj=nt\text{on} \) \( kv_{-}\text{wi} \) \( mə_{-nv}=c^h\text{e}_ə \) \( \eta\text{?-c}_ə \)
demon=also INF-come NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2 be-MED

And from then on, the demon was unable to come (and bother them).
In olden days, there was a lama of ours by the name of Rgyalbabzang.

That lama was very extraordinary, for he had foresight.

His father was named Scasli.

So people were calling the lama “Scasli’s son”.

244 Name of a religious leader from Dzamthang County, who spread Jonang Buddhism to the present Stodpa region.
His father was a defrocked monk,

and would perform religious services and bring back home the food offerings that he would receive.

And his son would say (to his father), “Do not bring back home the offerings, for it is improper and against the rule to do so.”

But his father would not listen.

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245 A defrocked monk has left the clergy and hence is not allowed to perform full religious services. He can still chant certain sutras for the people, such as the Mgonbo.

246 Food (tsampa, chunks of meat, butter, etc.) offered to monks who make house calls to perform certain religious services. It is not considered appropriate for a defrocked monk to receive this, much less bring it home to share with the family.
10. qʰoʔ kə-ʧe=ce=naʔ
SEQ one-time=INDF=TOP
ó-pe ne-raxtu?=naʔ o-kərv
3SG:POSS-father IPFV:PST-chant.sutra2=SUB 3SG:POSS-company
tʰə-re ŋəʔ-cə
PFV:downriver-go2 be-MED
Once, when his father went downriver to perform sutra-chanting services, he went with him.

11. qʰoʔ kw-raxtu ne-səyjoy qʰo? λv-nəweʔ=nədʒə
SEQ INF-chant.sutra PFV:TR-finish2 SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-come.back2-2SG
They finished chanting sutras and went back home upriver.

12. tʃʰoⁿbəjeʔ=z *dzəⁿbəlve te-rəjeⁿdzə
road=LOC 3DU:POSS-offering PFV:TR-untie2-3DU
qʰoʔ kaⁿdzərve tə-rentsəⁿdzə ŋəʔ-cə
SEQ NMLZ:PURP-eat.outdoors PFV-make.ready2-3DU be-MED
On the road, they untied their food offering and were about to eat it.

13. qʰoʔ *dzəⁿbəlve=naʔ rtsımkə=y=naŋ te-tʃetⁿdzə=naʔ
SEQ 3DU:POSS-offering=DET tsampa.bag=inside PFV:TR-take.out2-3DU=SUB
qəpəʔ qəʃə pe tə-nlu ŋəʔ-cə
snake toad PFV:UP-exit2 be-MED
As they took out their offering from the tsampa bag, snakes and toads came up out of it.

14. qʰoʔ o-tʃu=naʔ?=kə nəʔ fsət kə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=DET=ERG ANA be.thus DM
nəkənəʔ *bəlve stəŋ belətan ne-kə-myə=naʔ?
that.near.you offering without.good.reason IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-receive=DET
And the son said, “What did I tell you? That offering which is received without good reason is so improper that it ends up like this,” he said.

15. *qʰoʔ le? ka-taʃe=ce=nə?
   SEQ again one-time=INDF=TOP
   On another occasion,

16. *pələpu=ra? re=go=z ð-ta=ce=nə?
Pala²⁴⁷ people=PL hill=LOC 3SG:POSS-top=INDF=DET
   ko-nəvədiṭi te-ʊ-ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
   NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Vditi.festival PFV:UP-go2-3PL be-MED
   people of Pala Village²⁴⁸ went somewhere up the hills to celebrate the Vditi Festival.

17. *qʰoʔ cʰemdrə? te-tsom-nə ηοʔ-cə
   SEQ barley.beer.in.a.jar PFV:TR-take.thither2-3PL be-MED
   They took with them barley beer in a jar,

18. *fənaʔ cʰemdrəʔ ne-jimət-nə-cə
   but bamboo.tube PFV:TR-forget2-3PL-MED
   but forgot (to bring) bamboo tubes.

19. *scəsli-tsə=naʔ?=ko
   Scasli-son=DET=ERG
   cʰemdrəʔ yəʔ fə-qəse-aŋ ηοʔ te-tsaʔ-cə
   bamboo.tube 1SG AND-look.for-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And the son of Scasli said, “I will go and look for bamboo tubes,”

²⁴⁸ A Showu-speaking village within the Zbu Township in ’Barkhams City.
20. **náŋləskə spəntsə? χcəl nu-smo-nə ʃteʔ-cə**  
   surely  meadow  center  IPFV:PST-be.present2-3PL  be:EMPH-MED  
   surely, as they were in the middle of a meadow,

21. **qʰənəʔ=z ʷjweʔ-roʔ  mákə**  
   ANA=LOC  bamboo-tube  let.alone  
   rtsəke  kə-rzeʔ=ntʃəon  mu  ʃəʔ-cə  
   grass  NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=even  exist:NEG  be-MED  
   there were not even long grasses, let alone bamboo tubes there.

22. **qʰoʔ  káde  na-tsoʔ=naʔ**  
   SEQ  a.while  PFV-elapse2=SUB  
   cʰəmdertoʔ  kələŋo-ʃf3-ɾbəye=caʔ  je-wót  ʃəʔ-cə  
   bamboo.tube  five-six-CL=INDF  PFV-bring2  be-MED  
   After a while, he brought back five or six bamboo tubes,

23. **qʰoʔ  zdewe=rvʔ=kə  χʃikə  nə-ənənts'ɛrʔ-na  ηəʔ-cə**  
   SEQ  people=PL=ERG  very  PFV-be.surprised2-3PL  be-MED  
   and the people were very surprised.

24. **qʰoʔ  nəfaqʰu**  
   SEQ  afterwards  
   seslətʃu=rvʔ  kə-tsə  ma-ə-noz-na  ηəʔ-cə  
   son.of.Scasli=PL  NMLZ-say  NEG-PFV-dare2-3PL  be-MED  
   Afterwards, they no longer dared to call him “Son of Scasli”.
25. qʰoʔ rgyalwenzang=nəʔ ɣʃɪkə mv-kə-náztʃəy nɐ-fie
SEQ PN=DET very NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.ordinary IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂
ŋoʔ-cə qʰoʔ vʒérismenrtsi²⁴⁹=scʰənəʔ kofsoʔ kʰərte ≠ne-ŋoʔ-dzə-cə
be-MED SEQ PN=and friend IPFV-be-3DU-MED

Rgyalbabzang was so extraordinary that he befriended the deity of Mount Bzhagbra Smanrtsi.

26. qʰoʔ kemnem ≠ne-rkʰvwdə?-ŋdə ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ often IPFV-chat2-3DU be-MED

And they often chatted with each other.

27. qʰoʔ kə-təfe=ce=nəʔ?
SEQ one-time=INDF=DET
rgyalwenzang=kə vʒérismenrtsi ō-pʰə
PN=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place
nəjʔ? nɐ-skut kɐ-fscʔ kɒma
2SG 2SG:POSS-voice GP-hear except
nɐ-kəʔ? kɐ-mτi? nɐ-cə²⁵⁰
2SG:POSS-body GP-see not:exist-MED

Once, Rgyalbabzang said to Bzhagbra Smanrtsi, “One (i.e. I) only hears your voice but does not see your body,”

28. qʰoʔ kə-təfe=ko?
SEQ one-time=this
nɐ-kəʔ? kɐ-mτi? nə-tʃuw reʔ te-tsaʔ-cə
2SG:POSS-body GP-see IMP-take.out be.necessary PFV:TR-say2-MED

“this time, you must reveal your visible body,” he said.

²⁴⁹ Name of one of the guardian deities of the Bzhagbra Mountains, also known as Bzhagbra.
²⁵⁰ The mediative evidential -cə here is used in a non-evidential sense to convey a complaint.
29. qʰoʔ vʒirí smanrtși=naʔ=kə
   SEQ PN=DET=ERG
   naʔ mʊ-puŋ "denəʔ tə-nəscə ŋoʔ te-təʔ-cə
   ANA NEG-be.acceptable for 2-be.scared be PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And Bzhagbra Smanrtsi said, “This is unacceptable, for you will be frightened.”

30. fənəʔ rjelwɛvzaj=kə mʊ-xdu te-təʔ-cə
   but PN=ERG NEG-be.serious PFV:TR-say2-MED
   But Rgyalbabzang said, “It’s alright.”

31. qʰoʔ rjelwɛvzaj nu~ədonʔ ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ PN IPFV:PST-chant2 be-MED
   And Rgyalbabzang chanted sutras,

32. qʰoʔ kədənəʔ mtsʰó=naŋ ne-wədórədər²⁵¹ ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ in.a.while lake=inside IPFV:out-exit2 be-MED
   in a while, there was a rumbling in the lake,

33. mtsʰó=naŋ "bɹəyləʔ tə-nlə
   lake=inside dragon PFV:out-exit2
   qʰoʔ mtsʰokʰe χso-təskor te-ro
   SEQ lake.bank three-time PFV:TR-circle2
   a dragon came up from inside the lake and circled the lake three times.

34. qʰoʔ rjelwɛvzaj o-tʰico=naʔ=z
   SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-downriver.side=DET=LOC
   o-koʔ le-te ŋoʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-head PFV:UPRIVER:TR-put2 be-MED
   And put its head up upriver not far from Rgyalbabzang.

²⁵¹ From ideophone root "dər, denoting a rumbling sound.
Rgyalbabzang took a look downriver and had such a scare, that he threw at it the grains (in his hand) and no sooner had it hit the dragon deity on the head, that it fell downward into the lake in a heap.

And Bzhagbra Smanrtsi became ill,

and Bzhagbra Smanrtsi said to Rgyalbabzang, “I am telling you that I cannot show my body and you do not listen, and see how you got me ill like this.”
38. qʰoʔ  rjęlwęwzəŋ=kə
SEQ  PN=ERG
o-χtu  mə-nə-zi  mępärtʰə  ne-peʔ  ənəʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-chant  NEG-PFV-recover  not.until  PFV:TR-do2  be-MED
And Rgyalbabzang chanted sutras for it until it got well.

39. qʰoʔ  vzəri  nə-zi=scʰənaʔ?
SEQ  PN  PFV-recover2=SUB
rjęlwęwzəŋ ó-rko  χser=kə  kʰreʔ  te-rkoʔ-nənəʔ
P3SG:POSS-reward  gold=GEN  chair  PFV:TR-give2=MED
As soon as Bzhagbra Smanrtsi got well, he rewarded Rgyalbabzang with a golden chair,

40. qʰoʔ  rjęlwęwzəŋ=kə  χser=kə  kʰreʔ?
SEQ  PN=ERG  gold=GEN  chair
o-krape  te-sazkor
3SG:POSS-disciple  PFV:TR-cause.to.carry.on.back2
and Rgyalbabzang had a disciple of his carry the golden chair up onto his back,

41. qʰoʔ  ne-tə-tsə̄mʔ=naʔ?
SEQ  IPFV:DOWN-2-take.thither=SUB
udənbe  v-mə-kə-tə-nqəqoro  te-tsəʔ  ənəʔ-cə
at.all  IRR-NEG-IMP-2-look.back  PFV:TR-say2  be-MED
and (said to him), “When you carry this away downhill, do not look back at all,” he warned.
42. qʰoʔ  o-kræpe=nə?=kə  te-fkor
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG PFV:TR-carry.on.back
   ne-bre  pelérgon=ta  nə-zyóʔ=ṣcʰənəʔ
   PFV:DOWN-go  PN=top PFV:WEST-arrive=SUB

   Just as his disciple carried it on back, went downhill, and arrived westward at Pala Monastery,

43. o-kræpe=kə  kəko?=nəʔ  tføʔ  yoʔ?  ne-səsi-cə
   3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG this=DET what be PFV:TR-think2-MED
cʰoʔ  kómtʃə  kə-nqʰoroʔ?  yoʔ-cə
   SEQ  a.bit PFV:EAST-turn.head2 be-MED

   the disciple thought, “What is this thing?” and turned his head a little bit (to look).

44. qʰoʔ  təmðänə
   SEQ  as.a.result
   o-zgé=ta  χserkʰre?=nəʔ  fkóʔte
   3SG:POSS-back=top gold.chair=DET stone
   kə-fkorʔ?  me-kə-sucʰə=kəsə  nə-ŋəʔ?  yoʔ-cə
   INF-carry.on.back NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.doable=like PFV-change2 be-MED

   As a result, the gold chair on his back changed into a rock impossible to carry on back,

45. qʰoʔ  ó-ste=z
   SEQ  3SG:POSS-where.something.is=LOC
   ne-səntev  ne-re  yoʔ-cə
   PFV:TR-lay.down  IPFV:PST-be.necessary be-MED

   and he had to lay it down on the spot.
As for the gold chair mentioned in the story, there is a rock looking exactly like a chair above Pala Monastery even today.
1. sşıntsʰe=z o-jiʔ  meste kɔ-nlɛse
   former.time=LOC 3SG:POSS-self alone NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa
ta-kɔ-øre=cəʔ nə-to ŋoʔ-cə
   PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go2=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2 be-MED

   Once upon a time, there was a man who was going alone on a pilgrimage to Lhasa.

2. qʰoʔ kə-sni=cə=nəʔ lʊ-ʊre lʊ-ʊre
   SEQ one-day=INDF=DET PFV:UPRIVER-go2 PFV:UPRIVER-go2
naʒtʃen ome kə-xteʔ=cəʔ=nəŋ lʊ-zɨʔt ŋoʔ-cə
   forest very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF=inside PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2 be-MED

   One day, he went and went upriver, and arrived at a very big forest.

3. qʰoʔ kə-sɔʔspet=ruʔ mə-nv-tsoʔ kʊ- quàʔu te-je ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ INF-go.through=PL NEG-PFV-have.time2 INF-darken PFV:TR-begin2 be-MED

   It had become dark before he had time to make it through (the forest).

4. qʰoʔ naxtʃen=nəŋ
   SEQ forest=inside
nəʔdɔʃsət tə-normeʔ nʊ-ʊre ŋoʔ-cə
   thus PFV-spend.the.night2 IPFV:PST-be.necessary2 be-MED

   And he had no choice but to spend the night in the forest just like that.

5. qʰoʔ smi=ruʔ te-vlu qʰoʔ tʃeʔ=ruʔ te-te-cə=nəʔ
   SEQ fire=PL PFV:TR-burn2 SEQ tea=PL PFV:TR-put2-MED=SUB

   Just when he built a fire and made tea,
6.  o-vzər sekotserʔ=nay
   3SG:POSS-side underbrush=inside
   ne-kə-wəxtʃəvəv=caʔ?
to?
   IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.make.rustling.sound252=INDF exist
   mtəʔtsət o-jiʔ o-p'jo kə-weʔ əʔ to
   not.only 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-direction NMLZ:SBJ-come2 be-MED
   something was making rustling noises in the underbrush beside him, and was coming in
   his direction.

7.  qʰoʔ dëtsə o-vzər kə-zyót=nəʔ?
   SEQ gradually 3SG:POSS-side PFV:CISLOC-arrive2=SUB
   And when it gradually got close to him,

8.  o-qʰoʃot ot o-rmv=reʔ tétom te-kə-rəgu
    3SG:POSS-upper.body 3SG:POSS-hair=PL upward IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep
    o-qʰosmət o-rmv=reʔ təjət
    3SG:POSS-lower.body 3SG:POSS-hair=PL downward
    əge-kə-rəgu=caʔ kəɾəbjoʔ jəte-kə-fət=kəsci
    IPFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep=INDF person COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like=like
    kə-zyót
    PFV:CISLOC-arrive2
    and a rather human-like (creature) arrived, the hair in its upper body pointing upwards
    and the hair of its lower body pointing downwards,

9.  qʰoʔ tʃəltə uɗenbe me-tə-tsə
    SEQ anything at.all NEG-IPFV-say
    qʰoʔ o-vzər tə-emdzuʔ əʔ to
    SEQ 3SG:POSS-side PFV-sit2 be-MED
    not saying a word, it sat down beside him.

252 From ideophone root χtʃəv, describing a rustling sound.
10. qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ kə-nləse=nəʔ təverʔ?
SEQ ANA NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET fear
o-ʃet=kə kv-мəλмо=secʰənəʔ o-ʂəʔ?
3SG:POSS-extent=INS INF-move=and 3SG:POSS-breath
kə-xteʔ=rən kə-tʃət mə-nə-noz ŋoʔ-ça
NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=even INF-take.out NEG-PFV-dare2 be-MED
And the pilgrim to Lhasa was so afraid that he dared not move or even draw a deep breath.

11. qʰoʔ nəʔosɛfə nə-smo-dzə ŋoʔ-ça
SEQ thus IPFV:PST-stay-3DU be-MED
And they just sat there like that.

12. qʰoʔ rjuspəspe nə-tsoʔ?
SEQ quite.a.long.while PFV-elapse2
qʰoʔ leʔ yrɛkə=ta=ce qi: te-kə-tsə=caʔ toʔ ŋoʔ-ça
SEQ again ridge=top=INDF EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=INDEF exist be-MED
After quite a long while, something else was calling “Qi!” somewhere on the mountain ridge.

13. qʰoʔ nəʔ qi: te-kə-tsə=nəʔ
SEQ ANA EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=DET
detsɔtsə detsɔtsə "dzə-vəɾ kə-nəɾəɾnəɾ te-je ŋoʔ-ça
gradually gradually 2DU:POSS-side INF-approach:RDPL PFV:TR-begin2 be-MED
And that which was calling “Qi!” gradually got closer and closer to the two of them.
Part II. Texts

14. qʰoʔ kádenʔ
SEQ in.a.while
ⁿdzə-vzə stamauzayʔ lə-nə əʔ r stamaʁzəɣʔ lə-ŋə-cə
2DU:POSS-side tiger.leopard PFV:UPRIVER-exit2 be-MED
And in a moment, a tiger-leopard came out from their side.

15. nəʔɬəʔ nəʔ kəɾ*bjoʔ=kaʔ=əʔ
at.that.monent human=like=DET
ʃla stamausəɣʔ=ta tʰə-nəmderʔ-cə
immediately tiger.leopard=top PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump2-MED
At that moment, the human-like creature immediately pounced on the tiger-leopard.

16. qʰoʔ rjīspe ne-nəʔɬeʔ-ⁿdzə
SEQ quite.a.while IPFV:PST-wrestle2-3DU
And they wrestled with each other for quite a while.

17. qʰoʔ kəməqʰúnəʔ kəɾ*bjoʔ=kaʔ=əʔ əʔ ne-cʰəʔ
SEQ afterwards human=like=DET IPFV:PST-win2
qʰoʔ stamausəɣʔ=əʔ ne-səʁpʰi nəʔ-cə
SEQ tiger-leopard=DET PFV:TR-cause.to.flee2 be-MED
Afterwards, the man-like creature was winning and forced the tiger-leopard to flee.

18. qʰoʔ kə-nluʔɕe=əʔ
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET
noŋme o-zgeʔ=ɾəʔ ə-ɾəgo
only.then 3SG:POSS-back=PL PFV-be.loose2
qʰoʔ o-sem ə-ɾəvəʔ nəʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.good2 be-MED
Only then did the pilgrim to Lhasa relax and feel relieved.

253 Legendary feline animal, a cross between a tiger and a leopard.
19. \( qʰoʔ \) \( kə-nləse=nəʔ=kə \)
   SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET=ERG
   koʔ \( kəɾⁿbjo?=kəsə=nəʔ \)
   this human-like=DET
   \( v-kə-^dze \) \( jv-\text{we}? \) \( nə-ma=kə \)
   1SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-eat PFV-come\(_2\) PFV-not.be\(_2\)=DM
   \( v-kə-srəŋ \) \( jv-\text{we}?-nəŋ \) \( \text{ne-səsi-cə} \)
   1SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-protect PFV-come\(_2\)=MED PFV:TR-think\(_2\)=MED
   And the pilgrim to Lhasa thought, “So this man-like creature comes in order to protect me, not to eat me!”

20. \( qʰoʔ \) \( kəɾⁿbjo?=kəsə \) \( ó-pʰə \)
   SEQ human=like 3SG:POSS-place
   \( tə-\text{mdzu} \) \( qʰoʔ \) \( nə-^dzɨt′i?=rə? \) \( te-tsə? \) \( əʔ-\text{cə} \)
   IMP-sit SEQ IMP-dine=PL PFV:TR-say\(_2\) be-MED
   And he said to the man-like creature, “Sit down and eat,” and what not,

21. \( fənəʔ \) \( qʰənəʔ \) \( nə-na-tsəi? \) \( so? \) \( me?=nəʔ \)
   but ANA IPFV:PST-SPON-understand\(_2\) whether or.not=SUB
   \( m̥-siz \) \"\( dənəʔ \) \( o-vzər=nəʔ \) \( nə-\text{mdzu}=cə \)
   NEG-know but 3SG:POSS-side=DET IPFV:PST-sit\(_2\)=MED
   and it is not known whether it understood him or not, but it sat beside him.

22. \( qʰoʔ \) \( jə-fsi \) \( jərmə=nəʔ \) \( nəmə \) \( jv-fə? \) \( əʔ-\text{cə} \)
   SEQ PROS-dawn about=TOP only.then PFV-go\(_2\) be-MED
   And until it was almost dawn, it did not go away.
Then day broke and the pilgrim got up and set out again on his way to Lhasa.

That was how it happened, it is said.
HOW A WILD MAN WAS CAPTURED

Narrator: ’Phrinlas

1. kong? umami?=ru?=kə mdzorge fījaṇtsol ke-pe
   communist red.army=PL=ERG PN liberation NMLZ-do
te-je orjāʔnəʔz
   PFV:TR-begin2 when
   At the time when the Communist Red Army were beginning to liberate Dzorge,

2. mdzorge lemu²⁵⁴ setφe=z kəqrnyi?=cə? ne-to-cə
   PN PN place=LOC hunter=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   there was a hunter at the Lhamu Ravine in Dzorge.

3. qʰoʔ fa-ʷge-qrnyi? entsōtse ənʔ-cə
   SEQ AND-IPFV-hunt often be-MED
   He went hunting often.

4. ʃənə? kə-qrnyi? je-nəʃφə oqʰu
   but PURP-hunt IPFV-leave after
tʃʰuxciʔ je-ke-nəwəwi=cə? too?
   something IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come:RDPL=INDF exist
   But after he left (his camp) for hunting, something frequented (his camp),

²⁵⁴ This refers to the famous Stagtshang Lhamo Monastery (lemu rgonbe དཔག་གོང་ཕབ) at Hungzhing Township (ʒəʁ dom) in Mdzod.dge County, one of the one hundred and eight monasteries buit by the legendary Kirti Reincarnate Buddha (gorda vlме).
5. qʰoʔ o-preke=z o-rovʔ o-kʷdze=reʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-campsite=LOC 3SG:POSS-cooked.meat 3SG:POSS-food=PL
kəmdɪʔ te-koⁿ-dze=cəʔ əŋtsátse toʔ-nəŋə
all PT-NMLZ:SBJ-eat2=INDF often exist-MED
and often ate up his meat and food at his campsite.

6. qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ kəqerniʔ=naʔ kə-sŋi=ce=naʔ
SEQ ANA hunter=DET one-day=INDF=DET
preke=z te-rovʔ=reʔ te-sqeqʔ-cə
campsite=LOC meat=PL PFV:TR-boil2-MED
One day, the hunter boiled meat and what not,

7. qʰoʔ tfʰkwwekə=reʔ tfʰwatʃwaʔ te-sətsəʔ-cə
SEQ camping.chore=PL nicely PFV:TR-do2-MED
and nicely did his camp chores.

8. qʰoʔ ó-mtʰe ldəwiʔ=reʔ ne-tfəʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-waist chopper=PL PFV:TR-stick2-MED
And he stuck his chopper and what not at his waist,

9. qʰoʔ ju-koʔ-teʔ te-naʃpəʔ-cə
SEQ PFV-NMLZ-go2 PFV:TR-pretend2-MED
qʰoʔ o-vzə=ce nə-oγənəsuʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-hide.oneself2-MED
and, pretending to leave, he hid himself someplace nearby.
10. \( qʰoʔ \ kómtʃʰa \ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ \ o-prækə=z \)
SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse2=SUB 3SG:POSS-campsite=LOC
\( mɲərgot=cəʔ \ je-weʔ-nəŋo \)
wild.man=INDF PFV-come2-MED

After a short while, a wild man came to his campsite.

11. \( qʰoʔ \ tərovʔ \ tə-kv-sqeʔ=raʔ \ te-tʃet-cə \)
SEQ cooked.meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil2=PL PFV:UP-take.out2-MED
\( qʰoʔ \ ozorʔ \ jəxpéter \ ne-lēt \ ɲoʔ-cə \)
SEQ meanwhile clapping PFV:TR-do2 be-MED

It took up the boiled meat, all the while clapping its hands.

12. \( qʰoʔ \ kə-dze \ te-jə-cə \)
SEQ INF-eat PFV:TR-begin2-MED

And it began to eat.

13. \( qʰoʔ \ kəqəryiʔ=kə \ mə-wu rejo^255 \ ne-səsi-cə \)
SEQ hunter=ERG NEG-matter EXCL PFV:TR-think2-MED

And the hunter thought, “Alright, let’s wait and see!”

14. \( qʰoʔ \ ləmu \ sətʃʰə=z \ umamiʔ \ nə-kə-smə=raʔ \)
SEQ PN place=LOC red.army IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-stay=PL
\( nə-pəʔa \ tʃə \ nə-kə-fsət \ ʃə-te-tsəʔ-cə \)

And he went to where the Red-Army soldiers were staying at Lhamu and told them what happened.

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255 An exclamation meaning “Let’s wait and see!”.
15. qʰoʔ umamiʔ=rvʔ=kə júłon=naŋ təwaʔ te-rkoʔ=naʔ-cə
SEQ red.army=PL=ERG urn=inside liquor PFV:TR-put.in2-3PL-MED
And the Red-Army soldiers put liquor into an urn,

16. qʰoʔ o-vzər fe tə-krv-sqʔ?=rvʔ mtsʰôt
SEQ 3SG:POSS-side meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil2=PL be.much ne-te-naʔ-cə
PFV:TR-put2-3PL-MED
and put much boiled meat beside it,

17. qʰoʔ qʰonə=z ke-kʰer-naʔ-cə
SEQ there=LOC PFV:CISLOC:TR-surround2-3PL-MED
and sat around there in a circle,

18. qʰoʔ təwaʔ ne-kə-tiʔ fe te-kə²dze=rvʔ
SEQ liquor IPFV-NMLZ-drink meat IPFV-NMLZ-eat=PL te-naʃpəʔ²-naʔ-cə
PFV:TR-pretend2-3PL-MED
and pretended to drink liquor and eat meat.

19. qʰoʔ koʃmʃə⁹ a na-tsoʔ=naʔ
SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse2=SUB
jv-feʔ-naʔ-cə o-vzər=ce na-nəŋətsu-naʔ-cə
PFV-go₂-3PL-MED 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-hide.oneself₂-3PL-MED
After a short while, they left to hide themselves somewhere nearby.

20. qʰoʔ kádenəʔ mnərgot=naʔ leʔ jv-weʔ ñoʔ-cə
SEQ in.a.while wild.man=DET again PFV-come₂ be-MED
Later, the wild man came again,
21. \( qʰοʔ \) jiyol=naŋ tewa? kʰ-tʰi ne-je-cə
SEQ urn=in liquor INF-drink PFV:TR-drink2-MED
oʒorʔ fe=rəʔ te-ʔdzeʔ-cə
meanwhile meat=PL PFV:TR-eat2-MED
and began to drink the liquor in the urn, and it ate the meat in the meantime.

22. \( qʰοʔ \) ʃəkə nə-χeʔ? nəʔ-cə
SEQ very PFV-be.happy2 be-MED
And it was very happy.

23. jənəʔ ʃəspe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ kv-ldeʔ? te-je-cə
but quite.a.while PFV-elicating2=SUB INF-be.drunk PFV-begin2-MED
But after quite a while, it began to get drunk.

24. \( qʰοʔ \) kəmaqʰunəʔ nə-lde o-fɛt=kə
SEQ afterwards PFV-be.drunk2 3SG:POSS-extent=INS
'pə=cəʔ nə-fət-cə
pig=INDF PFV-be.like2-MED
Afterwards, it became as drunk as a pig.

25. \( qʰοʔ \) ʃəməniʔ=ʁəʔ kʰ-wre-nə-cə
SEQ red.army=PL PFV:CISLOC-go2-3PL-MED
And the Red-Army soldiers went up from all sides,

26. \( qʰοʔ \) qʰɐʔ məɾgəʔ kə-səʔ ne-myəʔ-nə
SEQ ANA wild.man NMLZ-be.alive PFV:TR-catch2-3PL
and caught the wild man alive.
27. qʰoʔ \( rjen\)n\( =ce \) tʰe-tsom-nə

SEQ PN=INDEF PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither2-3PL

And they took it downriver to some place in China,

28. qʰoʔ təŋwújen=naŋ ke-rkoʔ-nə kū-tsəʔ nə-tʃʰoz-cə

SEQ zoo=inside PFV:TR-put.in2-3PL GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED

and put it into a zoo, it was said.
A MORAL LESSON FOR MEN

Narrator: 'Phrinlas

1.\*  sponentsʰe=zdóŋbo ome kə-xte?=cə? nə-to  nə?=cə
   former.time=LOC tree very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-exist be-MED
   Once there was a big tree.

2.\*  zdóŋbo stʰoʔ o-ko?=nə?=zdóŋbo kʰoŋrə ló-  nə?=zdóŋbo
   tree most 3SG:POSS-head=DET=LOC roc together.with.children IPFV-live-3PL be-MED
   At the very top of the tree lived a roc and her children.

3.\*  nə?=ó-pʰi=zdóŋbo kʰøŋrəl ó-nə?=zdóŋbo
   AN 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC hole.inside.tree 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC mouse=INDF IPFV-live be-MED
   Underneath them, inside a hollow of the tree, lived a mouse.

4.\*  zdóŋbo ó-pʰi=nə?
   tree 3SG:POSS-underside=DET kəŋbótfʰe=cə?  "ge-naʃjəv  nə?=cə
   elephant=INDF IPFV-rest.under.shade be-MED
   Under the tree, an elephant (often) sought shelter in its shade.
5. qʰoʔ fʃɐ rɟɐ lʃʰoŋtʃʰ en=rɐʔ nə-pʰje nɔʷ-ʁe这一刻
SEQ roc=PL 3PL:POSS-excrement 3PL:POSS-urine=DET
vʃu o-kómtʰo əntsə́tse ʰge-lɛt-nə ɲoʔ-ɔa
mouse 3SG:POSS-courtyard repeatedly IPFV-release-3PL be-MED
The roc and her children would repeatedly drop their excrement and urine down at the
mouse’s courtyard.

6. qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=ce=nəʔ vʃu=kə fʃɐ rɟɐ lʃʰoŋtʃʰ en ɔ-pʰa=z
SEQ one-day=INDF=DET mouse=ERG roc 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
a: ʰv-toʔ=ʁeʔ nə-pʰje nɔʷ-ʁe这一刻
EXCL 1SG:POSS-that.which.is.above=PL 2PL:POSS-excrement 2PL:POSS-urine=DET
kerqʰ=cə ʰv-ʃɔ-ɾo-tʃ-ɾɛt-nə
far.away.place=LOC IRR-AND-IMP-2-release-2PL
One day, the mouse said to the roc, “Hey, you guys up there! Go and drop your excrement
and your urine at a far away place!

7. ɲiʔ ʰv-kómtʰo əntsə́tse ʰge-ɾɔw-e-nə ɲoʔ
1SG 1SG:POSS-courtyard repeatedly IPFV:DOWN-2-cause.to.come-2PL be
nə(ŋə)? te-kɛ-ʃət ʍv-ʃʰozʔ=kə te-tʃəʔ-ɔa
ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus NEG-be.the.rule=DM IPFV:TR-say₂-MED
You keep dropping (your excrement) down on my courtyard, it is improper to do things
like that!” it said.

8. fʃɐ rɟɐ lʃʰoŋtʃʰ en=nəʔ o-ʃnəʔwe ɾʃɨkə mʈʰo ɲoʔ-ɔa
roc=DET 3SG:POSS-pride very be.high be-MED
qʰoʔ ɲʊɾʰəɾ ɾe me-ne-peʔ-ɔa
SEQ pay.attention NEG-PFV:TR-do₂-MED
The roc was very proud, and did not pay any attention.
9. qʰoʔ=ntʰon  na-pʰje  nɔ̃-rʰbe=nəʔ  "ge-lət  ɲoʔ-ɔ  
SEQ=still  3PL:POSS-excrement  3PL:POSS-urine=DET  IPFV-release  be-MED  
And kept dropping down their excrement and urine.

10. kəmaqʰuʔ=nəʔ  yu  klanbôfše  ó-pʰa  nv-bre-ɔ  
afterwards=DET  mouse  elephant  3SG:POSS-place  PFV:DOWN-go₂-MED  
After that, the mouse went down to the elephant (and said),

11. klanbôfše  nəjiʔ  jəwənʔ  redaʔ=ʁəʔ  jə-wəroʔ=kəsə  tə-ŋoʔ  
elephant  2SG  1PL-INCL  beast=PL  1PL-headman=like  2-be  
“Elephant, among us beasts you are like our headman.”

12. tə-səsəɣvr  tə-tʃət  tə-tʃənʔ  ɲoʔ-ɔ  
2-be.frightening  2-be.brave  2-be.just  be-MED  
“You are frightening, brave, and just.”

13. qʰoʔ  nəjiʔ=kə  ffrvrəlfʰoŋʃʰen=scʰənəʔ  nəjiʔ  
SEQ  2SG=ERG  roc=and  1SG  
tə-ʃəperʔ=ɔəʔ  tə-poj  kʰətʃəo  
1DU:EXCL:POSS-between=INDF  IMP-do₃  please  
“Please be the middleman between us the roc and myself.”

14. qʰoʔ  ffrvrəlfʰoŋʃʰen  tʃʰə  te-kə-ʃət  kəmdɨʔ  te-tsəʔ-ɔ  
SEQ  roc  what  IPFV-NMLZ-be.like  all  PFV:TR-say₂-MED  
And it told (the elephant) everything.
15. ʃənəʔ ʃələŋbótʃʰ e ʃə me-ne-nvrtəʔ ʃieʔ-cə
   but elephant again mouse NEG-IPFV-despise be:EMPH-MED
   qʰónə "dzə-perʔ=rʔ te-nə-peʔ mv-cə
   SEQ:EMPH 3DU:POSS-middleman=PL IPFV-SPON-do2 NEG:exist-MED
   But the elephant also looked down upon the mouse, and did not serve as their middleman at all.

16. qʰoʔ vju=kə nə=rvʔ mə-tə-neʃəšəʔ-dzə "denəʔ
   SEQ mouse=ERG ANA=PL NEG-IMP-do.thus-2DU or
   ʃə=ce=əʔ kə-ŋən=cəʔ po-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
   when=INDF=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF do-1SG PFV:TR-say2-MED
   And the mouse said, “Don’t you two act like that, or I will do something bad (to you) sometime.”

17. qʰoʔ fʃəɾvəʃtʰoŋtʰen=nəʔ
   SEQ roc=DET
   ʃə=ɾəʾdzem tə-nə-to ʃieʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-wing CONT:LTR-SPON-exist2 be:EMPH-MED
   qʰónə mnəⁿ⁹bur ne-nə-peʔ mv-cə
   SEQ:EMPH attention PFV:TR-SPON-do2 not.exist-MED
   Since the roc proudly owned such wings, she did not pay attention at all.

18. ʃələŋbótʃʰ e=nəʔ vju=nɨʔ
   elephant=DET mouse=DU
   xtʃxtv ome tə-v-cʰut⁹-dzə ʃieʔ-cə
   size very CONT:LTR-differ2-3DU be:EMPH-MED
   qʰónə? leʔ mnəⁿ⁹bur ne-nə-peʔ mv-cə
   SEQ:EMPH again attention PFV:TR-SPON-do2 not.exist-MED
   And since there was such a difference in size between the elephant and the mouse, it did not pay attention at all, either.
19. \( kə-\text{syi}=ce=na? \quad yu \quad o-múru \quad o-fet=kə \)
   one-day=INDF=DET mouse 3SG:POSS-anger 3SG:POSS-extent=INS
   \( kv-nəʃqə \quad mə-nə-cʰə?-cə \)
   INF-tolerate NEG-PFV-be.capable2-MED
   \( qʰ-o? \quad kənəʃqə\text{e} \quad o-fne=nə\quad lə-\text{vre}-cə \)
   SEQ elephant 3SG:POSS-nose=inside PFV:UPRIVER-go2-MED
   One day, the mouse was so angry it couldn’t stand it any more and went into the elephant’s nose.

20. \( kənəʃqə\text{e} \quad o-fne \quad χʃikə \quad nə-rəye?-cə \)
   elephant 3SG:POSS-nose very PFV-itch2-MED
   \( qʰ-o? \quad o-fne=kə \quad zdəŋbo \quad ke-sətovʔ? \)
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-nose=INS tree PFV:CISLOC:TR-strike.with.sweeping.motion2
   \( qʰ-o? \quad ne-səldəv-cə \)
   SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.fall2-MED
   The elephant’s trunk itched terribly, and it swung it against the tree and felled it.

21. \( qʰ-o? \quad kənəʃqə\text{e} \quad nə-o-rə\text{be}? \quad nə-set-cə \)
   SEQ elephant PFV-INV-press2 PFV-die2-MED
   And the elephant was crushed to death.

22. \( fʃərətʃʰəŋʃʰ\text{en} \quad kənə\text{̣yə}=rə?=ntʃʰon \quad kəmdɨʔ \quad nə-\text{vntər}-nə \)
   roc together.with.children=PL=also all PFV-fall.from.height2-3PL
   \( qʰ-o? \quad nə-set-nə-cə \)
   SEQ PFV:DOWN-die2-3PL-MED
   The roc and her children all fell down also and died.
23. qʰoʔ ṣyu ṣlaŋbótʃʰ o-fme=nay ne-smo fiʔiʔ-cə
SEQ mouse elephant 3SG:POSS-nose=inside IPFV:PST-stay be:EMPH-MED
qʰóna mə-na-ʔduʔiʔ-cə
SEQ:EMPH NEG-PFV-be.serious2-MED
And the mouse stayed inside the elephant’s nose, and so it was alright.

24. qʰoʔ tʰə-nlə-cə
SEQ PFV:OUT-exit2-MED
And it came out.

25. nəʔ o-ʃɔʃsi=nəʔ ʃəqəniʔ? χʃəm?=cəʔ je-weʔ-ə-na-cə
ANA 3SG:POSS-next.day=DET hunter three=INDF PFV-come2-3PL-MED
The following day, three hunters came.

26. qʰónə slaybótʃʰ o-fpoʔ?=seʰʔənaʔ fhur̓pəlʔəmfnən o-fpoʔ?
SEQ:EMPH elephant 3SG:POSS-corpse=and roc 3SG:POSS-corpse
ne-mti-na-cə=nəʔ qʰoʔ x̣iʔə nə-χe-nə
PFV:TR-see2-3PL-MED=SUB SEQ very PFV-be.glad2-3PL
And when they saw the corpses of the roc and the elephant, they were very glad.

27. qʰoʔ nónəʔ tə-smo-na-cə
SEQ there PFV-stay-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ tʃeʔ te-te-nə-cə
SEQ tea PFV:TR-make2-3PL-MED
And so they stayed there and made tea.
They agreed that one of them was to fetch water upriver, and the other two were to build a fire.

And the two fire-builders said to each other, “If we kill our comrade, we will be able to divide the property among us.”

And they put some elephant meat into the tsampa,

(this is because) if one eats elephant meat one would be killed, it is said.
And the one who went upriver to fetch water also thought, “If I kill my two comrades, all the property will belong to me.”

And he put some elephant flesh into the water.

And he went back upriver to his comrades.

And the one who had gone to fetch water did not drink the tea at all, for he knew what had been put inside it.

And he ate only the tsampa.
other=DU tsampa at.all NEG-PFV:TR-eat2-3DU-MED=SEQ
*na? ó-naj=z*  
*nu-ku-lêt=na?*
ANA 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in2=DET
tʰe-siz=-dza  
*ŋoʔ-cə*
CONT:LTR:TR-know2-3DU be-MED
And the other two did not eat the tsampa at all, for they knew what was put inside it.

38. *qʰoʔ tʃeʔ entsötse ne-tʰi=-dza-cə*
SEQ tea continuously PFV:TR-drink2-3DU-MED
And they kept drinking the tea.

39. *təmdána kəmdìʔ ne-set-na-cə*
as.a.result all PFV:DOWN-die2-3PL-MED
As a result, they all dropped dead.

SEQ afterwards crow=INDF PFV-come2-MED=SUB
*fe=rcənaʔ*  
*nu-veʔle*  
*ŋoʔ-cə*
meat=TOP:EMPH IPFV:PST-be.abundant2 be-MED
Afterwards when a crow came along, there was plenty of meat.

41. *fənaʔ kv=-dze ne-znëjə*  
but INF-eat IPFV-begrudge3 be-MED
But it begrudges eating it.

42. *qʰoʔ stʰre=nəʔ tfʰ=caʔ? te-kv=-dze reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*
SEQ first=TOP what=INDF IPFV-GP-eat be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think2-MED
And it thought, “What should I eat first?”
43. oṣorɔ? kɔmtʃ’a ne-kv-rìxʃet reʔ=reʔ?
meanwhile a.bit IPFV-GP-be.frugal be.necessary=PL
ne-sɔsi-cə əŋoʔ-cə
PFV:TR-think2-MED be-MED
Meanwhile it thought, “I must be frugal a little.”

44. kɔmaqʰunəʔ ke-mpʰɛɾi=naʔ?
afterwards IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB
qersteldiʔ t’v-kv-zroŋʔ əŋoʔ-cə
crossbow PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cock2 be.seen be-MED
Then, when it was looking, it found a cocked crossbow.

45. naʔ o-mdwɛkóʔ=ta=naʔ? tɛsv=ruʔ vmtʃoz əŋoʔ-cə
ANA 3SG:POSS-bolt.head=top=DET blood=PL be.stained be-MED
The tip of the bolt of that (crossbow) was stained with blood.

46. qʰoʔ stʰɔre nɔnaʔ fɔ-te-kv-lɗaʔ reʔ-cə ne-sɔsi-cə
SEQ first that AND-IPFV-GP-lick be.necesary-MED PFV:TR-think2-MED
It thought, “I must go and lick that up first.”

47. qʰoʔ fɔ-te-lɗa-cə=naʔ?
SEQ AND-PFV:TR-lick2-MED=SUB
qersteldiʔ ɬv-ntʰwerʔ-cə=naʔ? nə-o-ntʰeʔ-cə
crossbow PFV:UPRIVER-spring2-MED=SUB PFV-INV-kill-MED
When it went and licked it, and when the crossbow (bolt) sprung up, it was killed.

48. qʰoʔ vju=kə naʔ=ruʔ kɔmdıʔ ne-mti-cə
SEQ mouse=ERG ANA=PL all PFV:TR-see2-MED
The mouse saw it all.
49. qʰoʔ luju=cəʔ te-pe-cə
SEQ song=INDF PFV:TR-do2-MED
And it sang a song.

50. ɲɐɾɾpl kə-xteʔ tətsʰot ne-kə-mə kərʰbjoʔ=rə?
self.importance NMLZ:SBJ-be.big limit IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist person=PL
ffɨɾrultʃʰoŋtʃʰen=pʰa kə-mphirti-nə əʔ fsət ɲo?
roc=place IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be
You people whose self-importance knows no limit, take a look around the roc, that is your example.

51. χpənboʔ takvaŋ kə-toʔ ʃənə?
onficial power NMLZ:SBJ-exist but
zdewe nə-tnə? me-kə-pe kərʰbjoʔ=rə?
common.people 3PL:POSS-affairs NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-do person=PL
uləŋbótʃʰ e kə-mphirti-nə əʔ fsət ɲo?
elephant IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be
Those officials who have powers but do not serve the interests of the people, take a look around the elephant, that is your example.

52. kə-wəɾŋurhəm kərʰbjoʔ=rəʔ kəɾəɾniʔ χsəmʔ nə-pəʔ
NMLZ:SBJ-be.greedy person=PL hunter three 3PL:POSS-place
kə-mphirti-nə əʔ fsət ɲoʔ
IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be
Greedy people, take a look around the three hunters, that is your example.
53. *kə-fkren na-serəsənə kə-xteʔ=ɾeʔ*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.stingy 3PL:POSS-stinginess NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL

*qere ʃ-oʔ=ɾ  kə-mpʰer-ɾi-na nə? fsət  ʃoʔ*

crow 3SG:POSS-place=LOC IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be

People who are stingy and begrudging, take a look at the crow, that is your example.
BEROTSANA
*berotsana
Narrator: Chopo

1. pot setʰe=naʔ
   Tibet land=DET
   rjêlpo tseʰgoŋ.vdeftsən o-vləmtʃot
   king PN 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services
   "berotsane te-kê-tsə=cəʔ  nv-to-cə
   PN IPFV-GP-call=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   In Tibet, there was one who performed religious services for King Khrisrung Bdebtsan called Berotsana.256

2. tseʰgoŋ.vdeftsən o-zdeʔ=naʔ
   PN 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET
   ftsanmo mvrjêlmv te-kê-tsə=cəʔ  nv-to-cə
   queen PN IPFV-GP-call=INDF IPFV:PST-exist2-MED
   King Khrisrung Bdebtsan had a wife, called Queen Margyalma.

3. qʰoʔ  *berotsane *ge-nəvləmtʃot  yəʔ-cə
   SEQ PN IPFV-performing.religious.services be-MED
   And Berotsana performed religious services.

256 WT <bai.ro.tsana> (in Chinese 白若雜納 or 遍照光), one of the twenty-five main disciples of Padmasambhava, and one of the great translators of Buddhistic texts in Tibet.
4. qʰoʔ  fəsənmo  merjélμwa=ņəʔ?
SEQ  queen  PN=DET
o-vləmtʃof  kv-nvntsʰeʔ  te-je=cə
3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services  INF-love  PFV:TR-begin2-MED
And Queen Margyalma fell in love with her monk who performed religious services.

5. o-rŋeʔ  kə-mpʰeri=ņəʔ  ne-niétsə  jno?-cə
3SG:POSS-face  IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB  IPFV-be.handsome  be-MED
tə-tsə=ņəʔ  o-sém=pʰi  ne-kə-nwvagəgiʔ=ćəʔ?
IPFV-say=SUB  3SG:POSS-heart=under  IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.right=INDF
ně-fsət  jno?-cə
IPFV-be.like  be-MED
qʰoʔ  detsətsv  rtsetoŋʔ=ɾvʔ  kv-ʔoʔ  te-je  jno?-cə
SEQ  gradually  amorous.feeling=PL  INF-exist  PFV:TR-begin2  be-MED
Looking at his face, (Berotsana) seemed so handsome, and what he said sounded so true in her heart, and gradually amorous feelings began to form.

6. qʰoʔ  kə-sŋi=ce=ņəʔ?
SEQ  one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
fəsənmo  o-κυαɲ  "ge-xteʔ-cə=kə
queen  3SG:POSS-power  IPFV-be.big-MED=INS
qʰoʔ  rjélpo=ɕʰoŋəʔ  vlónbo=ɾvʔ?
SEQ  king=and  minister=PL
o-pʰjıʔ  jv-øre  te-znəkətətəγ-cə
3SG:POSS-outside  PFV-go2  PFV:TR-cause.to.occur.by.chance2-MED
One day, as she had a lot of power, she caused it (the religious services) to occur when the king and his ministers’ had gone out.
7. qʰoʔ kʰaxtʃipu tʰemtʃet=rɐʔ o-pʰʔjiʔ kʰ⁻nēpu jɐ-swyre-cə
SEQ child all=PL 3SG:POSS-outside NMLZ-play PFV-cause.to.go=2-MED
She made all the children go outside to play.

8. qʰoʔ o-jiʔ pʰovraŋ o-koʔ stʰoʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-self palace 3SG:POSS-head most
kʰ⁻sɛxqat=nəʔ=z o-vlumtʃot
NMLZ:SBJ-be.comfortable=DET=LOC 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services
ⁿberotsanə te-tsom-cə qʰoʔ ne-mgronʔ-cə
PN PFV:UP:TR-take.thither=2-MED SEQ PFV:TR-treat=2-MED
And took Berotsana to the most comfortable place on the top (floor) of her palace, and
treated him with food.

9. qʰoʔ ó-pʰʔa=nəʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-place=DET
nəjiʔ v-mpəndʰi=nəʔ ne-tə-nənɛtsɔʔte
2SG 1SG:POSS-eye.front=DET IPFV-2-be.handsome:RDPL
te-tə-tsə=nəʔ tʰemtʃet=rɐʔ ne-tə-nwŋgʰgiʔ fteʔ qʰónəʔ
IPFV-2-say=DET all=PL IPFV-2-be.right be:EMPH SEQ:EMPH
v-mŋitsʰe=kəʔ nəjiʔ=kəsə ne-tə-rŋe=nəʔ məŋ yoʔ
1SG:POSS-life=this 2SG:POSS-like IPFV-1→2-like=DET not.exist be
And said to him, “In front of my eyes, you look all the more handsome, and all of what
you say sounds all the more true. And in my whole life, I have not loved as I love you
now.”

10. qʰoʔ tsaŋniʔ kʰ⁻kʰe pe-tsə reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
SEQ 1DU one-family do-1DU be.necessary PFV:TR-say=2-MED
“And the two of us must make one family,” she said.
11. qʰoʔ ʰerotsʰənə o-sɛm=pʰi=nəʔ
SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET

qʰɔnəʔ əʔqʰó̂nəʔ kə-nį́ntsʰu me
SEQ:EMPH first palace door PURP-close PFV:DOWN-go

And Berotsana thought to himself, “I am a monk, so this is meaningless. Should I run away? What should I do?”

12. qʰoʔ ʰerotsʰənə=nəʔ
SEQ PN=DET

qʰɔnəʔ stʰore pʰovraŋ kom?-cəʔ fɔʔ-tʰepʰ-aŋ=kə
SEQ:EMPH first palace door-closing AND-IPFV-do3-1SG=DM

tə-təʔ-cə
PFV:TR-say2-MED

And Berotsana said, “Let me first go and shut the palace door.”

13. qʰoʔ fisənmo=nəʔ=kə ɲəʔ fəʔ=kə ne-səsɨ-cə
SEQ queen=DET=ERG be be:EMPH=DM PFV:TR-think2-MED

The queen thought, “Sure, alright.”

14. qʰoʔ ʰerotsʰənə komʔ kə-pe nu-ve
SEQ PN door PURP-close PFV:DOWN-go

qʰoʔ kə-pʰi nu-vešəςɨʔ-cə
SEQ INF-escape PFV-go.directly2-MED

And Berotsana went downstairs to close the door, and escaped directly.
15. qʰoʔ fisənmo=nəʔ=kə ne-nejiʔ entsotse
   SEQ  queen=DET=ERG PFV:TR-wait.for2 continuously
fənəʔ ta-ka-weʔ  me  yoʔ-cə
   but  PFV:UP-NMLZ-come2 not.exist be-MED
The queen waited and waited for him, but he never came back up.

16. qʰoʔ fo nv-mphri=nəʔ
   SEQ  AND-PFV:DOWN-look2=SUB
o-lŋaʔ=rv?  ke-newówi  ne-je-nə  yoʔ-cə
She took a look downstairs, and (saw that) her children had begun to come back.

17. qʰoʔ kəneqʰúnaʔ  rjilpo=scʰonəʔ  vlónbo=ntfəon
   SEQ  afterwards=DET king=and minister=also
ke-newówi  ne-je-nə  yoʔ-cə
   INF-come:RDPL PFV:TR-begin2-3PL be-MED
Afterwards, the king and the minister also began to come back.

18. qʰoʔ fisənmo=nəʔ=kə
   SEQ  queen=DET=ERG
è  nəʔ  mə-tə-ŋəɣ
   EXCL  ANA  NEG-PFV-be.right2
o-tsʰəɣ  mə-tə-weʔ  yoʔ  ne-səsi-cə
   3SG:POSS-manner NEG-PFV-come2 be PFV:TR-think2-MED
And the queen thought, “Oh no, this is awful. The plan has fallen through!”
And she tore down her earrings and hair, and wept vehemently in the palace.

And when the minister said (to the queen), “What is wrong with you?”

The queen said, “Berotsana tried to harass me, and caused me to become like this.”

And the minister said, “That monk performing religious services is a harasser! That one is no monk, he is a harasser! It is necessary to kill him!”
23. oʒorʔ kə-saqtaʔ to-rntfə-a-nə-cə
meanwhile NMLZ:PURP-do.chasing.of.people PFV-prepare2-3PL-MED
And, meanwhile, they made ready to give chase.

24. qʰoʔ rjélp=kə
SEQ king=ERG
nəkəʔ v-fisənmo nə-rgeʔ v-nə-ŋo=nənaŋ ne-keⁿbiʔ fteʔ?
ANA 1SG:POSS-queen PFV-like2 IRR-PFV-be=TOP IPFV-GP-give be:EMPH
But the king said, “If he has fallen in love with my wife, one (i.e. I) will simply give (her to him).”

25. v-vzər kv-səmo v-nə-kʰut=nəʔ
1SG:POSS-side INF-cause.to.stay IRR-PFV-allow.oneself=SUB
nəkətsəyi kə-mkʰezʔ=nəʔ v-fisənmo nəʔ-ay fteʔ?
so NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET 1SG:POSS-queen give-1SG be:EMPH
“If he is willing to stay at my side, I’ll give my wife to one who is so skilled.”

26. qʰoʔ nəkəʔ kv-χtaʔ mə-reʔ?
SEQ ANA GP-chase NEG-be.necessary
mə-re=nf³on vjʔ fə-χtaʔ-ay fteʔ?
IPFV:PST-be.necessary2=even 1SG AND-chase-1SG be:EMPH
“So it is unnecessary to chase him. Even if it is necessary to do so, let me chase him myself.”

27. qʰoʔ rjélp=kə nbru=rvʔ teⁿdi
SEQ king=ERG horse=PL PFV:TR-ride2
qʰoʔ nberotsənu te-nəŋhʔuʔ-cə
SEQ PN PFV:TR-follow2-MED
And the king mounted a horse and what not, and followed Berotsana.
28. \(qʰoʔ\) *berots\(\text{na}\) ome ku\(\text{\textasciitilde}=z=ce\) kə-zy\(\text{\textasciitilde}t\)
SEQ PN very location.to.the.east=LOC=LOC:INDF PFV:EAST-arrive\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\)
\(qʰoʔ\) nə-mtserʔ nəʔ-cə
SEQ PFV-be.hungry\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\) be-MED
Berotsana got to a very distant place in the east, and felt hungry.

29. \(qʰoʔ\) kəf\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\)=cəʔ o-köm\(\text{\textasciitilde}t\)=nəʔ fə-tə^goz\(\text{\textasciitilde}g\)e nəʔ-cə
SEQ blacksmith=INDF 3SG:POSS-courtyard=DET AND-PFV:UP-call\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\) be-MED
And he called up at the courtyard of a certain blacksmith.

30. \(qʰoʔ\) kəf\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\) ə-r\(\text{\textasciitilde}jɛv=naʔ
SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-wife=DET
O-koʔ ne-\(\text{\textasciitilde}x\)f\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\)ʔ məv\(\text{\textasciitilde}enkə\text{\textasciitilde}t\)at\(\text{\textasciitilde}o\)
3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-wash\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\) IPFV:PST-happen\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\)
And it so happened that the blacksmith’s wife was washing her hair.

31. \(qʰoʔ\) o-koʔ r\(\text{\textasciitilde}m\)nt\(\text{\textasciitilde}f\)e=rəʔ k\(\text{\textasciitilde}x\)p\(\text{\textasciitilde}t\)e=ta ne-te nəʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-head jewelry=PL hand.mill=top PFV:TR-place\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\) be-MED
And she placed her head jewelry on the hand mill.

32. \(qʰoʔ\) ə-n\(\text{\textasciitilde}n\)m\(\text{\textasciitilde}a=p\)a nəkəʔ te-kə^goz\(\text{\textasciitilde}g\)e
SEQ 3SG:POSS-husband=place ANA IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-call
fə-nən\(\text{\textasciitilde}m\)\(\text{\textasciitilde}w\)olen te-\(\text{\textasciitilde}t\)səʔ-cə
AND-respond PFV:TR-say\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\) MED
And she said to her husband, “Go and respond to the one who is calling up,”

33. \(qʰoʔ\) kəf\(\text{\textasciitilde}i\)=nəʔ fə-ne-nən\(\text{\textasciitilde}m\)\(\text{\textasciitilde}l\)\(\text{\textasciitilde}e\nSEQ blacksmith=DET AND-PFV:DOWN:TR-respond\(\text{\textasciitilde}2\) MED
and he went and responded to him.
34. 

\[ \text{"berots} \text{na} = \text{kə} \quad \text{na-m} \text{tser} \text{?-a} \text{n} = \text{kə} \]

\[ \text{PN} = \text{ERG} \quad \text{PFV} = \text{be.hungry}_2 \quad 1 \text{SG} = \text{INS} \]

\[ \text{rtsampa} \quad \text{kōmtʃə} \quad \text{kə-stə} \text{bi} \quad \text{te-tsə} \quad \text{ŋə?-cə} \]

\[ \text{tsampa} \quad \text{a.bit} \quad \text{GP} = \text{ask.for} \quad \text{PFV:TR} = \text{say}_2 \quad \text{be-MED} \]

And Berotsana said, “I am hungry, so I am asking for some tsampa.”

35. 

\[ \text{"qʰoʔ} \quad \text{kəfʃiʔ} \quad \text{o-zde} = \text{pʰa} \]

\[ \text{SEQ} \quad \text{blacksmith} \quad 3 \text{SG:POSS-spouse} = \text{place} \]

\[ \text{ek} ? \quad \text{kōmtʃə} = \text{nə} ? \quad \text{vlerge} \quad \text{jəte-kə-nətse} = \text{cə} ? \]

\[ \text{down.} \text{there} \quad \text{courtyard} = \text{DET} \quad \text{monk} \quad \text{COMP-NMLZ:SBJ} = \text{be.handsome} = \text{INDEF} \]

\[ \text{rtsəm} \text{pə} \quad \text{kōmtʃə} \quad \text{kə-stə} \text{bi} = \text{nə} ? \quad \text{tə-tsə} \]

\[ \text{tsampa} \quad \text{a.bit} \quad \text{GP} = \text{ask.for} = \text{DET} \quad \text{IPFV} = \text{say} \]

\[ \text{nə} ? \quad \text{te-tsə} = \text{cə} \]

\[ \text{ANA} \quad \text{PFV:TR} = \text{say}_2 = \text{MED} \]

The blacksmith said to his spouse, “Down there at the courtyard, a rather handsome monk is saying ‘Please give me some tsampa.’”

36. 

\[ \text{"qʰoʔ} \quad \text{kəfʃiʔ} \quad \text{ó}-\text{r} \text{jev} = \text{nə} ? = \text{kə} \]

\[ \text{SEQ} \quad \text{blacksmith} \quad 3 \text{SG:POSS-wife} = \text{DET} = \text{ERG} \]

\[ \text{naŋ} \quad \text{v-tə} \text{-wi} \quad \text{ne-} \text{kə} \text{-bəʃtʃi} \quad \text{fəte} ? \quad \text{te-tsə} = \text{cə} \]

\[ \text{EXCL} \quad \text{IRR-IMP:UP} = \text{come} \quad \text{IPFV:GP} = \text{feed} \quad \text{be:EMPH} \quad \text{PFV:TR} = \text{say}_2 = \text{MED} \]

The blacksmith’s wife said, “Alright, let him come up, and let us feed him!”

37. 

\[ \text{"qʰoʔ} \quad \text{kəfʃiʔ} \quad \text{kəzwe} = \text{nə} ? = \text{kə} \quad \text{vlerge} = \text{nə} ? \quad \text{vja} \text{tʃəvəʔ} ? \]

\[ \text{SEQ} \quad \text{blacksmith} \quad \text{couple} = \text{DU} = \text{ERG} \quad \text{monk} = \text{DET} \quad \text{to} \text{.one's.fill} \]

\[ \text{ne-} \text{kə} \text{-bəʃtʃi} \text{-ədzə} \quad \text{ŋə?-cə} \]

\[ \text{PFV:TR} = \text{feed}_2 = \text{DU} \quad \text{be-MED} \]

And the blacksmith and wife fed the monk to his fill.
38. qʰoʔ vlɐɾge=nəʔ te-nəʔ-tsə te-nəʔ-poj257 mn
SEQ monk=DET IPFV-SPON-say IPFV-SPON-do3 not.exist
qʰoʔ vəjətsəʔ nəʔ-dzətʰi-cə
SEQ to.one’s.fill PFV-dine2-MED

The monk ate to his fill without saying or doing anything.

39. qʰoʔ jə-w-re əʔ-cə
SEQ PFV-go2 be-MED
And then left.

40. qʰoʔ nə-ka-raʃtʰiʔ kəffiiʔ o-zdeʔ=nəʔ
SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-do.washing2 blacksmith 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET
o-rjev=ko nə-məyeʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-jewelry PFV-not.be.seen2-MED
And the blacksmith’s wife who was doing washing (of her hair) found her jewelry missing.

41. qʰoʔ kəffiiʔ ə-o-rjev=kə ə-o-nma=pʰə
SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-wife=ERG 3SG:POSS-husband=place
nəkəʔ nə-ədzəwe=nəʔ
ANA 2SG:POSS-guest=DET
vlɐɾge nə-ma=kə kəmərku nə-əʔo
monk PFV-not.be2=DM thief PFV-be2

And the blacksmith’s wife said to her husband, “That guest of yours, he is not a monk, he is a thief.”

257 Pronounced [téntsə] and [ténpoj].
42. \(pəʃkʰo=ṛṇom\)  \(fa-nv-ntʃʰ\)  \(reʔ\)  \(kʰma\)

now=EMPH AND-IMP-kill\(_3\) be.necessary except

\(mv-jo\̩ʔ\)  \(te-tsəʔ-cə\)

NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say\(_2\)-MED

“You go down and kill him right now, it must be done,” she said.

43. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(kəfʃiʔ=nəʔ=ka\)  \(mdaʁʒu\)  \(te-ⁿdi-cə\)

SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG crossbow PFV:TR-take\(_2\)-MED

\(qʰoʔ\)  \(vlɐɾge\)  \(ʃə-ke-ʃta\)  \(ŋoʔ-cə\)

SEQ monk AND-PFV:EAST:TR-chase\(_2\) be-MED

And the blacksmith took up his crossbow, and went east to chase the monk.

44. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(kəmegʃuŋoʔ\)  \(ke-麓v\)

SEQ afterwards PFV:EAST:TR-catch.up.with\(_2\)

And afterwards he caught up with him.

45. \(qʰoʔ\)  \(kʰ-tsə\)  \(kv-pe\)  \(kə-mv\)

SEQ INF-say INF-do NMLZ-not.exist

\(vlɐɾge=ta\)  \(mdaʁʒu\)  \(ke-liʔ\)  \(ŋoʔ-cə\)

monk=top arrow PFV:EAST:TR-release\(_2\) be-MED

\(qʰoʔ\)  \(mdaʁʒu=nəʔ\)  \(vlɐɾge\)  \(o-ʃəve\)  \(ne-fkor=nəʔ\)

SEQ arrow=DET monk 3SG:POSS-book IPFV:PST:TR-carry.on.back\(_2\)=DET

\(ό-ta\)  \(kə-ʃtseʔ\)  \(ŋoʔ-cə\)

3SG:POSS-top PFV:EAST-enter\(_2\) be-MED

And without saying or doing anything else, he shot a bolt at the monk. And the bolt went into the books the monk was carrying on back.
46. qʰoʔ vlerge=kə
SEQ monk=ERG
nəʔ nstyʔ tʃʰez nγiʔ nəʔ tə-oγ-soʔ-aŋ reʔ?
EXCL 2SG why 1SG ANA PFV-INV-do2-1SG be.necessary
ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
be PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the monk said, “Hey, why did you have to do that to me?”

47. qʰoʔ kaʃʃiʔ=naʔ=kə
SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG
ʃqʰɐʔ nəʔ kəmŋon na-tə-bəʃtʰi=nəʔ
just.now 2SG favor PFV-1→2-feed2=SUB
nγiʔ ʃ-rjev ʃ-ʃənfe tə-tə-mərkucə=ka
2SG 1SG:POSS-wife 3SG:POSS-jewelry PFV-2-steal2-MED=INS
josŋiʔ nγiʔ mələn tə-ntʃə reʔ? te-tsəʔ-cə
today 2SG by.necessity 1→2-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the blacksmith said, “We gave you a favor feeding you just now, and you stole my wife’s jewelry. So today I must kill you.”

48. qʰoʔ *berotsənə=ka
SEQ PN=ERG
nəʔ ma-tə-tə-tsə *denəʔ nəʔ kə-neʃsəʃət=caʔ maʔ-aŋ
ANA NEG-IMP-2-say for ANA NMLZ:SBJ-be.like:RDPL=INDF not.be-1SG
And Berotsana said, “Don’t say that, for I am no such person.”

49. nγiʔ nstyʔ nə-ʃχʔ? ʃɛrmə kə-nəɾτəʔ=caʔ?
1SG 2SG 2SG:POSS-property about NMLZ:SBJ-feel.contented=INDF
nə-nɛʔ=naʔ?
IRR-PFV-be=SUB
“If I were a man who is contented only by just your property,”
50. *sven*? *rjélp*o *ov-vmefs*ot ne-*ño-*ay
PN king 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services IPFV:PST-be2-1SG
“I used to be the monk performing religious services for the King of Samye.”

51. *meka*štʰet *fisømno* *mrjélm*v ó-*nma* te-*pø-*ay
not.only queen PN 3SG:POSS-husband IPFV-make3-1SG
qʰo? *rjélp*o *o-*rju? *tvmefs*et
SEQ king 2SG:POSS-property all
te-*nærju?-ay nv-kʰût
IPFV-possess-1SG IPFV:PST-be.feasible2
“And moreover I was able to become queen Margyalma’s husband and could have possessed all the king’s property.”

52. *nø?* tærju? *me-kv-rge* otânkø kə-*nlø*-ay yo?
ANA property NEG-GP-like because PFV:EAST-come.out2-1SG be
“I came out east, exactly because I do not like that property.”

53. *nv-zde?* o-*rvmefs*ê=nø?
2SG:POSS-spouse 3SG:POSS-jewelry=DET
kæxtûp=Rœ ne-*na*örø-nø=nø? *tvmcer?=cʰo
child=PL PFV:TR-play.with2-3PL=SUB interstice=LOC:INDF
*so? amnu=naŋ* *nv-*vre fte? kõma te-*tsæ?-cə
or pot=inside PFV:DOWN-go2 be:EMPH except PFV:TR-say2-MED
“Your wife’s jewelry must have fallen into some interstice or pot while the children were playing with it. And there are no other possibilities.”
54. *qʰoʔ*  
*men-sto=kə*  
*ne-smolem*  
*te-ʁdɛontvangst=an*  
SEQ NEG-matter=DM 2SG:POSS-prayer IPFV-pray-1SG  

55. *qʰoʔ*  
*ne-mərkuʔ=an*  
*v-ne-ʁo*  
*qʰonə*  
SEQ IPFV:PST-steal=1SG IRR-PFV-be SEQ:EMPH  

56. *qʰoʔ*  
*kefʃiʔ=kə*  
*o-mdawezu=raʔ*  
*"ge-nýmyne=nə?*  
SEQ blacksmith=ERG 3SG:POSS-crossbow=PL IPFV:DOWN-observe=SUB  

57. *qʰoʔ*  
*kefʃiʔ=nə?*  
*o-mdawezu=raʔ*  
*te-ʁdi*  
SEQ blacksmith=DET 3SG:POSS-crossbow=PL IPFV:UP:TR-take=2  

“No problem. Let me pray for you. If I had stolen (it), let your crossbow remain just like that; if I did not steal it, let your crossbow turn into gold,” he said.

He said a prayer, and the crossbow turned into gold.

And the blacksmith was observing his crossbow, and they are gold. And he was very happy.

And the blacksmith took up his crossbow, and went back west.
58. \(q^{o}o?\ tʃo^{b}hj\?\ o-\overset{\text{ort}}{wri}=nə?\ rjelpo=kə\)

SEQ road 3SG:POSS-front=DET king=ERG

ⁿberotsane kə-n̥nqʰu kə-wə? ne-tʰəy nəʔ-cə
PN NMLZ:PURP-follow PFV:EAST-come2 PFV:TR-meet2 be-MED

In front of his way, he met the king who had come east to follow Berotsana.

59. \(q^{o}o?\ rjelpo=kə kəffɨ=p^{b}a\)

SEQ king=ERG blacksmith=place

ómtsəj tə/w ne-tə-χə? nəʔ te-tsaʔ-cə=nəʔ?
so why IPFV-2-be.happy be PFV:TR-say2-MED=SUB

And the king said to the blacksmith, “Why are you so happy?”

60. \(â\ vkúkʰo=z \ vlvrge kə-kə-re=nə?=kə\)

EXCL east.place=LOC monk PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-go2=DET=ERG

ev-smolom te-UNDLE

1SG:POSS-prayer PFV:TR-pray2

qʰo? v-mda̱ʂu χ̱ser ne-pe?
SEQ 1SG:POSS-crossbow gold PFV:TR-do2

And (the blacksmith said,) “Ah, the monk who came east prayed for me at a place to the east, and turned my crossbow into gold.”

61. \(q^{o}o?\ tʃʰâtʰə \ nu-kə-fsʰt=rw? \ ne-saxfôt-cə\)

SEQ what:RDPL IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like2=PL PFV:TR-recount2-MED

And he recounted everything that happened.

62. \(q^{o}o?\ kʰínəŋ nə-nəzəyôt nəʔ-cə\)

SEQ home PFV:WEST-arrive.back2 be-MED

And he arrived back home.
And his wife said, “Ah, did you kill the monk? Actually, my jewelry had fallen into the pot.”

And the blacksmith said, “I wasn’t able to, as (the monk) said a prayer and my crossbow turned into gold.”

And the couple were very happy.
And they said to each other, “That monk just now is so special and kind!”

67. $qʰoʔ$ rjülpö *berotsen$e$ ka-kə-χta=nə$é$

SEQ king PN PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-chase2=DET
təciʔ ome kə-xteʔ=ce=z ke-leʰəv ηoʔ-cə

river very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=LOC:INDF=LOC PFV:TR-catch.up.with2 be-MED

And the king who chased Berotsana east caught up with him at a place near a very large river.

68. $ʃə$nəʔo-vl$ɐ$mtʃot=nə$é$ kə-neʰgo$é$

but 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services PFV-cross2

pʰeri kə-nlə ηoʔ-cə

other.side.of.river PFV:CISLOC-come.out2 be-MED

And the monk who performed religious services for him had already crossed the river and come out the other side of the river.

69. $qʰoʔ$ rjülpö kə-n$e$go$e$-cə

SEQ king PFV:CISLOC-shout2-MED

And the king shouted,

70. $nəji$ v-vlumfot $tə-ŋoʔ-cə=kə$

2SG 1SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services 2-be-MED=INS

nəjiʔ vjiʔ v-pʰə kv-smo nə-kjot ε-nə-wi qʰóna

2SG 1SG:POSS-place INF-stay 2SG:POSS-mind IRR-PFV-come SEQ:EMPH

vjiʔ e-fisənmo=nə$é$ nəjiʔ nə-pʰə te-pʰəl-aŋ joyʔ

1SG 1SG:POSS-queen=DET 2SG 2SG:POSS-place IPFV-offer-1SG be.allowed

“As you have become my monk who performs religious services, if you are willing to stay with me, I may offer to you my wife.”
71. qʰoʔ ʰberotsane=ĸo nekʔa v-ne-ta-sortʔ reʔ ʰdenaʔ
SEQ PN=ERG ANA IRR-PFV-2-realize be.necessary for
And Berotsana said, “You must realize something about that person (your wife),”

72. kʰorwe=naŋ tə-kə-səʔomʔ=naʔ tôme ɲoʔ
NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-take.thither=DET woman be
“for it is women who take one away from what is virtuous.”

73. kʰorwe=naŋ tə-kə-səʔomʔ=naʔ tôme ɲoʔ
life.of.endless.labor=inside GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.fall=DET woman be
“It is women who cause one to fall into a secular life of endless labor.”

74. tə-səʔ=ĸo ʰnonmontɔyɔʔsəm kʰ-səʔadzom=naʔ
GP:POSS-body=GEN three.poisons NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.be.equipped=DET
$tôme ɲoʔ$
woman be
“And it is women who cause one to be equipped with one’s body’s three poisons.”

75. qʰoʔ ɲejiʔ ne-n-fisənmo=scʰonəʔ ne-rjuʔ=ɾuʔ
SEQ 2SG 2SG:POSS-queen=and 2SG:POSS-property=PL
ɲu kʰ-re me
1SG:POSS NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary not.exist
“I have no need for your wife or your property.”

76. ɲejiʔ mɛ-jwet-aŋ ɲejiʔ=ntʃon nə-nə-jwet
1SG NEG-return-1SG 2SG=also IMP:WEST-SPON-return
“I will not go back, and you go back yourself.”
77. **kecʰo**

*təciʔ=naŋ ma-kə-tə-niŋgo *denə?

toward.center.of.river river=inside NEG-IMP-2-cross for
*tə-joy tə-seʔ ʔə te-tsəʔ=ca

2-drown 2-die be PFV:TR-say2-MED

“And do not cross the river or your will drown and die,” he said.

78. **qʰoʔ**

*rjölpo o=snɪ sv-zdɔzday**

SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart CVB-be.sad2:RDPL PFV:WEST-SPON-return2 be-MED

And the king sadly went back west.

79. **qʰoʔ**

*berotsne leʔ kə-tre=ca=naʔ prakʰoŋ=caʔ?

SEQ PN again PFV:EAST-go2-MED=SUB cliff.cave=INDF

ne-mti-ca

PFV:TR-see2-MED

And when Berotsana went on east, he saw a cliff cave.

80. **qʰoʔ**

*nəʔ ó-nay nə-ṛntʰem⁵=caʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:PST-meditate.in.seclusion2-MED

And he meditated in seclusion in it.

81. **qʰoʔ**

*nəʔ prakʰoŋ ϐʰi=nəʔ mtsʰo=caʔ toʔ ʔə=caʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-underside=DET lake=INDF exist be-MED

qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-nay=nəʔ klu nə-smo ʔə=caʔ

SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside=DET Naga IPFV:PST-live be-MED

Under the cavern there was a lake, and a Naga lived in it.
While Berotsana meditated in seclusion, he summoned the Naga to his presence.

And the Naga said, “You are meditating in the cavern, and I am dwelling in the lake. Why do you have to provoke me?”

“I have no need to provoke you, but just want to make friends with you.”

“Let’s make friends, and if we have any problems, we must help each other,” he said.
86. \( qʰoʔ \) \( g\text{lu}=kə \)
SEQ Naga=ERG
\( nʰ\text{kə}ə =nə? \) qʰ\text{\textasciitilde}nəʔ? uj\text{\textasciitilde}ʔ stʰoʔ b-ʒəʔ? kə-ʃə əʔ?
thus be SEQ:EMPH 1SG most 1SG:POSS-mind NMLZ-go be
And the Naga said, “If so, (this) is that which I am most contented with.”

87. \( qʰoʔ \) nəʔ jə iʔ tʃʰə mə-ŋə=dʒəʔ? toʔ-əʔ te-tsəʔ-əʔ
SEQ 2SG what NEG-NMLZ-be.right exist-DM PFV:TR-say2-MED
“What problems do you have?”

88. \( qʰoʔ \) "berotsənə=kaə
SEQ PN=ERG
uj\text{\textasciitilde}ʔ kəmaʔ mə-ka-poj mə
1SG other NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good3 not.exist
fənəʔ vədiʔ sənmiʔ fɪsənmo məɾjəlme=naʔ?
but place.west.from.here PN queen PN=DET
v-gre stʰoʔ kə-ʃəʔ əʔ?
1SG:POSS-enemy most NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad be
Berotsana sai d, “I don’t have other problems, but west from here at Samye, Queen Margyalma is my worst enemy.”

89. \( qʰoʔ \) nəʔ fə-ka=sən\textasciitilde}gɪʔ reʔ əʔ?
SEQ ANA AND-GP-cause.to.be.ill be.necessary be PFV:TR-say2-MED
“One must go and make her sick,” he said.

90. \( qʰoʔ \) g\text{lu}=kə
SEQ Naga=ERG
nəʔ təmə stʰoʔ kə-ŋə=bət nəʔə te-tsəʔ-əʔ
ANA task most NMLZ-be.easy be:MED PFV:TR-say2-MED
And Naga said, “That is the easiest task!”
91. qʰoʔ  mer=nəʔ  əlu=nəʔ  smŋiʔ  mɵŋjelmə=pʰa  nə-ere-cə
    SEQ  night=DET  Naga=DET  PN  PN=place  PFV:WEST-go2-MED
    qʰoʔ  o-kʰoŋpə=napə
    SEQ  3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside  PFV:DOWNRIVER-go2
    qʰoʔ  səmən.kàkʰi.tsəleʔ  tʰe-lît-cə  qʰoʔ
    SEQ  name.of.poison  PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-put2-MED  SEQ
    te-səŋŋəm  ᵇəʔ-oćə
    PFV:TR-cause.to.be.ill2  be-MED

And at night, the Naga went west to Margyalma of Samye, went inside her abdominal cavity, and released a poison, and made her ill.

92. qʰoʔ  nəʔosəʃi=nəʔ  fisənmo  mɵŋjelmə=nəʔ  ne-saypʰer²⁵⁸-cə
    SEQ  next.day=DET  queen  PN=DET  PFV:TR-cause.to.be.swollen2-MED

And the next day, it had caused Queen Margyalma to be swollen all over.

93. qʰoʔ  smɛ̃nbe  əntsətse  "ge-səpe=nəʔ  ᵇəʔ-oćə
    SEQ  doctor  continuously  IPFV-cause.to.do-3PL  be-MED
    ʃənəʔ  ədənbe  me̩-"ge-pʰen  ᵇəʔ-oćə
    but at.all  NEG-IPFV-be.effective  be-MED

They kept seeking medical advice, but to no avail at all.

94. qʰoʔ  fisənmo  kë-set=nəʔ  me-né-set
    SEQ  queen  INF-die=TOP  NEG-IPFV-die
    kw-ziʔ=nəʔ  me-ne-ziʔ  ᵇəʔ-oćə
    INF-recover=TOP  NEG-IPFV-recover  be-MED

Speaking of dying, the queen did not die; speaking of recovering, she could not recover.

²⁵⁸ From ideophone root kʰaʔ, describing the state of being globally swollen as if from edema.
95. qʰoʔ  násəʔə  zdəʔsəl  x⺡tu  ne-məŋʔ-əə
SEQ  thus  suffering.and.torment  endlessly  PFV:TR-go.through2-MED
And like that, she went through endless suffering and torment.

96. qʰoʔ  *berotsənə=kə
SEQ  PN=ERG
mpʰrumu  kə-roʔ=caʔ  te-kə-zɡəʔ?
diving  NMLZ:SBJ-perform=INDF  IPFV-GP-fullfill
re?=caʔ  ne-səsi=caʔ?
be.necessary-MED  PFV:TR-think2-MED
And Berotsana thought, “I must make (myself become) a diviner.”

97. qʰoʔ  səŋme  xpeɭənəmə=pʰə
SEQ  guardian.deity  PN=place
mpʰrumuʔ  ə=kə  kv-ʒəʔ  te-zu-caʔ
diving  NMLZ:SBJ-perform=INDF  INF-fulfill  PFV:TR-say2-MED
And he requested the Guardian Deity Dpaldanlamu to make him a diviner.

98. qʰoʔ  swəniʔ  stʃʰe=z  mpʰrumu  əntsətse  ne-ro-caʔ
SEQ  PN  place=LOC  divination  continuously  PFV:TR-perform2-MED
And he kept practicing divination in Samye land.

99. qʰoʔ  mpʰrumu  kv-roʔ=ruʔ  xʃikə  mtiʔ  əɡoʔ-əə
SEQ  divination  INF-divine=PL  very  be.accurate  be-MED
And his divination was very accurate.

100. qʰoʔ  rʃɨlpo=ruʔ=kə  mpʰrumuʔ  kə-roʔ  nə-o-sqor-caʔ
SEQ  king=PL=ERG  divination  NMLZ:SBJ-perform  PFV-INV-send.for2-MED
And he was sent for by the king and his men to perform divination.
And (the king) said (to him), “The queen is ill. We have tried all kinds of medicine and sutra-chanting, but found that there is no healing her at all.”

And Berotsana performed divination.

And he said to the king, “The queen placed an unjust slander on a certain monk.”

“And that malicious entrenched habit has made her sick. And there is no cure for her at all.”

WT <bag.changs> (cf. Sanscrit vāsanā), a technical term meaning a behavioural tendency or karmic imprint from past-life perceptions which influences the present behaviour of a person.
Actually, it seems that if Padmasambhava could treat her and chant sutras for her, she might be cured.

And they had no choice but to send for Padmasambhava, and the king sent for him.

And Padmasambhava said to the queen, “You once did an evil act, and all its entrenched habit caused you to be ill.”

The term sloxpon (WT <slob.dpon>) refers to petme’hjogni? Padmasambhava.
“So as for you, until you tell the truth about it, your illness will not heal,” he said.

And the queen could not be made to tell the truth at all.

And, as each day went by, her illness got worse.

And the queen’s family were weeping, as said to her, “That Padmasambhava is so kind and virtuous, please confess to him. It won’t matter,” they said.
Not until afterwards did she finally confess how she had wronged Berotsana.

And the king’s son mounted a horse and went east to meet Berotsana.

And he found Berotsana meditating in seclusion under the cliff cave.

And the horse lowers its head, and sheds tears, as it knows that the one who is meditating is Berotsana.
116. `qʰoʔ ŋəlpoṭu=ntə=ka ŋəji? melen ne-tə-wi re?
SEQ king’s son=DET=ERG 2SG by.necessaity IPFV:WEST-2-come be.necessary
ⁿdənəʔ ʷ-mo tʰʷ-nʷgi
for 1SG:POSS-mother CONT:LTR-be.ill2
qʰoʔ nʷ-ka-qʰro kʷ-veʔ-əŋ ŋəʔ te-tsəʔ-ə
SEQ 2SG:POSS-NMLZ-meet NMLZ-come1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the king’s son said, “You must come west, as my mother is ill, and I have come east
to meet you.”

117. `qʰoʔ *berotsana=kə we te-tsəʔ-ə
SEQ PN=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-say2-MED
And Berotsana said, “Alright!”

118. `qʰoʔ *dečʰə nə-veʔ-ə=naʔ
SEQ westward PFV:WEST-come2-MED=SUB
redaʔ ɣtiʼdzen tʰmʃet kə-šəlt nə-veʔ-na ŋəʔ-ə
herbivore carnivore all NMLZ-do.seeing.off PFV:WEST-come2-3PL be-MED
And when he came westward, all the herbivore and carnivore animals came west to see
him off.

119. `qʰoʔ njulpo o-vər ʃerme nə-zə̃ʃ=təʔ
SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-side about PFV:WEST-arrive2=SUB
njulpo ʃiʔə ʃe-ʃə̃te te-sceʔ ŋəʔ-ə
king very 3SG:POSS-guilt PFV-grow2 be-MED
When he almost got to the environs of the palace, the king grew very guilty.
120. qʰoʔ ne-səɛʔ=naʔ
SEQ IPFV-think3=SUB
fisəmmo pʰovraŋ=nəŋ ne-smə v鹭ge ʔəntsəji
queen palace=inside IPFV-live monk so
kəŋəl=naʔ prəkʰəŋ=nəŋ te-rntsʰemʔ ɲəʔ-cə
NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=DET cliff.cave=inside IPFV-meditate be-MED
And he thinks, “The queen lives in the palace, and the monk of such virtues meditates in a cliff cave.”

121. fənəʔ o-kə-lət nəsəɛ redaʔ kə-Iden ne-wi
but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-see.off thus animal NMLZ-be.many IPFV:WEST-come
“And so many animals are coming west like that to see him off.”

122. qʰoʔ mɪgu=kəsə=kə ʰberotsana ʔə-kər=naʔ tətpe
SEQ further=like=INS PN 3SG:POSS-body=DET faith
tə-sɛʔ ɲəʔ-cə
PFV-grow2 be-MED
And his faith in Berotsana has grown stronger.

123. qʰoʔ rjelпо=kə kʰormaŋ tʰmtʃət te-zduʔ
SEQ king=ERG populace all PFV:TR-gather2
qʰoʔ na-ʔôri=nəʔ
SEQ 3PL:POSS-front=DET
sloxpo ʰberotsana qʰoʔ rjelпо=ntʃən tə-vmdzʔ-ənə ɲəʔ-cə
PN PN SEQ king=also PFV-sit2-3PL be-MED
And the king gathered all the populace, and Padmasambhava, Berotsana, and also the king sat down in front of them.
And the queen made a clean breast of herself about everything that had happened.

At that time, there was no Buddhism, and no one believed that much in monks.

And only afterwards did the populace and kings began to know that monks were virtuous, and began to believe in them.

An ideophone describing the state of being clean.
And Berotsana demanded loads and loads of gold, silver, glass, jewels, miscellaneous bits of cloth, herbs, and grains from the king.

128. qʰoʔ rənpoṭʰʰ'e=nəʔ=ʁeʔ? pʰəntsə=nəŋ te-ʁkoʔ-cə
SEQ treasure=DET=PL basin=inside PFV:TR-put.in2-MED
qʰoʔ fisənmo o-ʁori ne-te
SEQ queen 3SG:POSS-front PFV:DOWN:TR-place2
qʰoʔ o-χtu ne-peʔ ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting PFV:TR-do2 be-MED
And he put the treasures inside a basin, and placed it in front of the queen, and chanted sutras for her.

129. qʰoʔ fisənmo le-ʁi-cə
SEQ queen PFV-vomit2-MED
qʰoʔ nət tʰəmtʃet=nəʔ pʰəntsə=nəŋ kəmdìʔ le-ʁəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ illness all=DET basin=inside all PFV:OUT-come.out2 be-MED
The queen vomited, and all the illness came out into the basin.

130. qʰoʔ *berotsənə=kə qʰuʔ təɾjəʔnombe tʰəmtʃet=nəʔ kəmdìʔ
SEQ PN=ERG ANA treasure all=DET all
mtsʰə=nəŋ fə-ne-zwerêt-cə
lake=inside AND-PFV:TR-cause.to.throw2-MED
And Berotsana had all the treasures thrown into the lake.
131. ⁴denə? əlu=kə ⁸berotsana o-təqor? te-pe?=nə?
for Naga=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-help PFV:TR-do2=SUB
qʰo? o-ji?=ntʃʰeə əlu o-gomtʰe poj re?=ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also Naga 3SG:POSS-help do3 be.necessary be-MED
Since the Naga helped Berotsana, Berotsana himself also had to offer help to the Naga.

132. qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tōn?=kə ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS be-MED
That was the reason.

133. qʰoʔ tsʰəsomn tsəndən.ʃəɾfʰu nəkəsə
SEQ fever.medicine sandalwood.medicine thus
tʰəmtʃet=rv? ne-ftʰi-nə-cə
all=PL PFV:TR-give.to.drink2-3PL-MED
And they made her drink fever medicine, sandalwood medicine, and all that.

134. qʰoʔ ⁴detsʔtsə fışənmo=nə? kʰŋo=rv? kv-ntətay te-je
SEQ gradually queen=DET complexion=PL INF-be.health:RDPL PFV:TR-begin2
qʰoʔ kʰmqʰu nəʔosíʃsət nə-ŋqʰoʔ ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ afterwards thus PFV-recover2 be-MED
And little by little the queen’s complexion kept getting healthier, and afterwards she recovered like that.

135. qʰoʔ ʃjəlpo kētsə me
SEQ king GP-say not.exist
⁴berotsana=scʰənə? fışənmo=rv? kəmdt
PN=and queen=PL all
And not to mention the king, Berotsana and the queen appeared on the outside to get along well.

136. fana? fisamo o-sèm=pʰi=nə? ⁴dr
but queen 3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET TOP

ⁿberotsana=kə v-tamgo ne-tfet=kə
PN=ERG 1SG:POSS-face PFV:TR-take.out²=INS

fayce ³yu kə-γən=cə? po-ay re?
sometime 3SG:POSS NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF do³-1SG be.necessary

But in her heart the queen thought, “Berotsana made me lose face. I must do something bad to him one day.”

137. nə? o-qʰɔ́χpe=nəy ⁴nte=ntə to=cə
ANA 3SG:POSS-heart=inside CONT:LTR-exist²:RDPL be:EMPH-MED

And the idea persisted in her heart.

138. qʰoʔ kemqʰũnə kʰrenkʰɾay? ⁴me kə-xte?=cə? tə-reʔo?
SEQ afterwards turmoil very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV-rise²

And afterwards, a very big turmoil arose.

139. qʰoʔ kemqɛ? nu-re ⁴nə-cə
SEQ fighting IPFV:PST-be.necessary² be-MED

fana? rjɛlpə mə-ne=cə? ⁴nə-cə
but king NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able² be-MED

And fighting was necessary, and the king lost.
140. qʰoʔ ʰberots’æn ɾje’kær ə-næ-re
SEQ  PN  India  PFV:WEST-go²
qʰoʔ ʰŋotʂ’æɣ’bjoŋχteɾ  te-kæ-tson=æ  ʃə-ne-vzjaŋʔ?  ʃə?-cæ
SEQ  PN  IPFV-GP-say  and-PFV:TR-study²  be-MED
And Berotsana went west to India, and went to study a sutra called Dngo-drug-’byong-gter.

141. ʰŋotʂ’æɣ’bjoŋχteɾ=æʔ  pæʃk’o  mgóńbo  kw’don  te-kæ-tson=cæʔ?
PN=TOP  now  PN  sutra  IPFV-GP-say=INDF
toʔ=æʔ  ʃə=æʔ  ʃə?-cæ
exist=INS  ANA=DET  be-MED
As for Dngo-drug-’byong-gter, there is now a sutra called Mgonbo, and that is it.

142. qʰoʔ  kw-vzjaŋ  ne-səɣjøj’sy
SEQ  INF-study  PFV:TR-finish²
qʰoʔ  kw-nɔwi  tɔ-mdæ  ʃə?-cæ
SEQ  INF-come.back  PFV-be.time²  be-MED
After he finished his studies, it was time to come back.

143. qʰoʔ  ɾje’kær  pən הפועל te  ome  kæ-ʃølte=cæʔ?  ʃə-to=æʔ
SEQ  India  pandita  very  NMLZ-be.capable=INDF  IPFV:PST-exist²=INS
And there was a very virtuous pandita in India.

144. mer=æʔ  o-jmiʔ?  kæ-ʰbev  ʃə?-cæ
night=DET  3SG:POSS-dream  PFV-fall²  be-MED
He had a dream at night.
He dreamed that all the doors of India open west toward the Tibetan realm, and the heart and the liver of the pandita himself were taken to the east by Berotsana.

The pandita thought, “That Berotsana is certainly going to take away something precious of ours.”

And the next day, he told (this) to the King of India.

And then, the king (and his men) prepared to capture Berotsana.
149. Berotsana practiced fast-foot magic, and instantly escaped east.

150. But he was chased (east), and arrived at a far place in the east. And there he was almost caught up with.

151. And he spent the night at an old woman’s house.

152. And the pursuers arrived, and asked the old woman questions.
But the old woman said, “Berotsana had already gone east three days ago, and you may not be able to catch up with him.”

In truth, she was hiding him in her home.

And the pursuers lost morale, and went back west.

Afterwards, they sent east to Tibet someone who was to spread rumors.

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263 A formulaic expression meaning ‘perhaps’.
And the way (the rumor) goes was, “That monk who studied in India, and who returned east the other day,”

And he spread rumors like that.  

264 An idiomatic expression meaning ‘go awfully wrong’.
161. o-mʊke noʔorjàŋʔnaʔ pot ʒəŋkʰɐ=əʔ
3SG:POSS-essense at.that.time Tibet realm=DET
ponboʔ ne-fie ʔanjiʔfsuluz=naʔ nw-mɛʔ
Bon.religion IPFV:PST-be:EMPH Buddhism=DET IPFV:PST-not.exist₂
qʰoʔ me-ne-rgeʔ-ŋa ˈŋoʔ-cə
SEQ NEG-PFV:TR-like₂-3PL be-MED
The truth is, at that time in Tibet it was the Bon religion (that held sway) and there was
no Buddhism, and people did not like it.

162. qʰoʔ na=rvʔ kəmdɪʔ tʰoʔ tə-tʰəɣ-cə
SEQ ANA=PL all chance PFV:TR-meet²-MED
And he (Berotsana) happened to come across all these.

163. qʰoʔ zdewe=scʰə ʔvló ámbo=r əʔ kəʔ ʃʰe reʔ te-tsəʔ-ŋa-cə
SEQ populace=and minister=PL PFV-protest₂-3PL be-MED
qʰoʔ nəkəʔ "berotsənə=naʔ kə-ntʃʰə reʔ te-tsəʔ-ŋa-cə
SEQ ANA PN=DET GP-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
And the populace and ministers protested (against him), and said, “One must kill that
Berotsana!”

164. qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə naʔ kə-ntʃʰə=tsɛʔə
SEQ king=ERG ANA INF-kill=to.the.extent
v-nə-ːma=kə te-tsəʔ ˈŋoʔ-cə
IRR-PFV-not.be=DM PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
And the king said, “Let’s not go so far as to kill him.”

165. ʃə zdewe=rvʔ mə-ːnv-kʰùt-ŋa-cə
but populace=PL NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂-3PL-MED
“But the populace would not allow this.”
And the king looked for a monk who looked completely like Berotsana.

And they put him inside a trunk and threw him into the river in the presence of the populace.

In fact, he had hidden Berotsana at a secluded place.

The king did not dare go to (see) Berotsana during daytime.

But at nighttime, he went to Berotsana and studied (with him).
171. qʰoʔ  kəmŋʔʷɨna  ftsənmo=kə
SEQ  afterwards  queen=ERG
koʔ  rjúlpə=ŋə  kemŋəm=coʔ  mer=ŋə?  jv-neʃʃə=kə
this  king=DET  often=INDF  night=DET  IPFV-go.away=INS
o-zdeʔ=coʔ?  toʔ?  máso  ne-səši-coʔ
3SG:POSS-companion=INDF  exist  DM  PFV:TR-think2-MED

Afterwards, the queen thought, “The king often go away at night. Could there be a lover
of his?”

172. qʰoʔ  ka-təʃe=ce=ŋə?  səqtsútsu  rjúlpə  te-nəŋqʰuʔ=coʔ=ŋə?
SEQ  one-time=LOC:INDEF=DET  in.secret  king  PFV:TR-follow2-MED=SUB
təmdáŋə  "berotsana=scəŋəʔ?  tə-smə-dzə  ne-mti  yoʔ=coʔ
in.truth  PN=and  CONT:LTR-be.at-3DU  PFV:TR-see2  be-MED

Once, she followed the king in secret and saw that he turned out to be with Berotsana.

173. qʰoʔ  ftsənmo=ŋəʔ?  oʔ-qɾə  nə-ntʃəʔ?
SEQ  queen=DET  3SG:POSS-luck  PFV-find2
qʰoʔ  χərtəʃot  ke-pe  tə-mda-coʔ  ne-səši-coʔ
SEQ  revenge  INF-do  PFV-be.time.for-MED  PFV:TR-think2-MED

And the queen was overjoyed and thought, “It is time to take revenge!”

174. qʰoʔ  noʔəsəʃsi=ŋəʔ?  zdewe  nɔʔ-pʰa  te-tsəʔ=coʔ
SEQ  next.day=DET  populace  3PL:POSS-place  PFV:TR-say2-MED
rjúlpə=kə  "berotsana  ne-ntʃəʔ?  maʔ-coʔ
king=ERG  PN  PFV:TR-kill2  not.be-MED
nəkəʔ  pəʃkəʔ  tə-tə  fteʔ=coʔ
ANA  now  CONT:LTR-exist2  be:EMPH-MED

And the next day, she told the populace, “The king did not kill Berotsana at all, and that
man is still there now.”
175. qʰoʔ le? zdewe=rνʔ=kə
SEQ again populace=PL=ERG

nəkəʔ vlurge kv-ntfºe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
ANA monk GP-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED

And again, the populace said, “One must kill that monk!”

176. qʰoʔ rjélpo=kə kv-ntfºe=nəʔ v-nə-ma=kə
SEQ king=ERG INF-kill=DET IRR-PFV-not.be=DM

ŋəłʔə svtfºe me-fsw-fswm=cc fo-ne-spjəʔ-əŋ
where place NEG-hear-think=LOC:INDF AND-IPFV-banish-1SG

ð-joy te-tsəʔ-cə
Q-be.allowed PFV:TR-say2-MED

The king said, “Let him not be killed. What about banishing him to some place no one has heard of or thought about?”

177. qʰoʔ vlónbo=scʰənaʔ te-nəkroz-nə=naʔ?
SEQ minister=and PFV:TR-discuss2-3PL=SUB

kv-spjəʔ ka-joyʔ=cəʔ te-peʔ-na-cə
INF-banish NMLZ-be.allowed=INDF PFV:TR-do2-3PL-MED

And (he) discussed this with the ministers and decided that he be banished.

178. qʰoʔ rjélpo=kə “berotsana te-zrɛntsʰa ηəʔ-cə
SEQ king=ERG PN PFV:TR-cause.to.make.preparations2 be-MED

And the king had preparations made for Berotsana.

179. qʰoʔ sv-spjəʔ o-svtfºe=nəʔ?
SEQ NMLZ:OBL-banish2 3SG:POSS-place=DET

təmdánaʔ rgyalmoτʰəwéron jəjoʔaʔ ja-ṣvtfºe=z nə-ŋə ηəʔ-cə
in.truth PN 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC IPFV:PST-be2 be-MED

And it turned out that the location of his banishment was Rgyalmotshabarong in our area.
180. qʰoʔ rjelmo\text{\textsuperscript{b}}vérøng svt\text{\textsuperscript{b}}e=ce=naʔ

SEQ PN place=LOC:INDF=DET
mdo\text{\textsuperscript{z}}e rjélpo te-k\text{\textsuperscript{u}}-tsə=oaʔ

PN king IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist\text{\textsuperscript{2}} be-med
And, somewhere at Rgyalmotshabarong, there was a king called King Mdozhe.

181. qʰoʔ \textsuperscript{*}berotsna=ko\text{\textsuperscript{a}} noʔ fa-te-χt\text{\textsuperscript{a}} y\text{\textsuperscript{a}}-cə

SEQ PN=ERG ANA AND-PFV:TR-appeal.to\text{\textsuperscript{2}} be-MED
And Berotsana went there to appeal to him.

182. qʰoʔ tf\text{\textsuperscript{a}} ne-ka-fs\text{\textsuperscript{a}}t=raʔ

SEQ what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like\text{\textsuperscript{2}}=PL
rjélpo o-ffus\text{\textsuperscript{a}}t ne-peʔ y\text{\textsuperscript{a}}-cə

king 3SG:POSS-recounting PFV:TR-do\text{\textsuperscript{2}} be-MED
And recounted for the king everything that had happened.

183. qʰoʔ rjélpo=ko\text{\textsuperscript{a}} nuʔiʔ naʔ=kəsci ta-teʔ?

SEQ king=ERG 2SG ANA=like 2-be:EMPH
qʰ\text{\textsuperscript{a}}nəʔ jəprə?=nt\text{\textsuperscript{b}}on nuʔiʔ kw-nep\text{\textsuperscript{b}}oro mi-noz-jə te-tsəʔ?

SEQ:EMPH 1PL=also 2SG INF-take.in NEG-dare-1PL PFV:TR-say\text{\textsuperscript{2}}
And the king (and others) said, “As you are like that,\textsuperscript{265} we dare not take you in either.”

184. qʰoʔ m\text{\textsuperscript{b}}st\text{\textsuperscript{a}}kə ẓaʔ k\text{\textsuperscript{e}}n\text{\textsuperscript{e}}szq\text{\textsuperscript{e}}nt\text{\textsuperscript{e}}-syi jpr\text{\textsuperscript{m}}=naʔ \textsuperscript{*}bə\text{\textsuperscript{a}}t=naŋ

SEQ no.matter time twenty.one-day about=DET insect.pit=inside
\textit{tv-sæsmo} ne-rem\text{\textsuperscript{d}}e=raʔ ne-meʔ qʰoʔ

1→2-cause.to.stay 2SG:POSS-pursuers=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist\text{\textsuperscript{2}} SEQ

\textsuperscript{265} Referring to Berotsana’s status as a person in exile.

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“No matter. I will make you stay into the insect pit for twenty-one days. If afterwards there are no pursuers of yours, and you do not die, then we will take you in.”

185. $q^{\text{o}}$ $^\text{b\text{\`a}t\text{o}n}=\text{na}^\text{\`a} \quad n\text{\`a}-\text{w\text{\`e}r\text{\`e}}=\text{na} \quad \eta \text{o}=\text{ca}$
   SEQ insect.pit=inside PFV-INV-throw2-3PL be-MED
   And they threw him into the pit.

186. $q^{\text{o}}$ unezsq\text{\`e}-\text{sy} $n\text{\`a}-\text{t\text{\`o}}=\text{na} \quad f\text{\`e}=\text{na}-\text{mp\text{\`e}ri}=\text{na}-\text{ca}=\text{na}$
   SEQ twenty.one-day PFV-elapse2=SUB AND PFV:INV-throw2-3PL-MED=SUB
   original.state formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like2=like=DET
   n\text{\`a}n\text{\`a} t\text{\`e}=\text{na}-\text{fs\text{\`a}t}=\text{ka}\text{\`a}=\text{na}
   identically CONT:LTR-be.like2 be.seen be-MED
   When they went to take a look down (the pit) after twenty-one days, they saw that he looked exactly like what he was before.

187. $q^{\text{o}}$ $n\text{\`e}=\text{sp\text{\`e}y}$ $\text{fe}=\text{ca}$
   SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ:U-banish2 be:EMPH-MED
   $q^{\text{\`o}}$ o-k\text{\`e}=\text{na}\text{\`e}\text{me}=\text{ra}$ $n\text{\`e}=\text{me}=\text{ca}$
   And as he was one who was being banished, and no one pursued him,

188. $q^{\text{\`o}}$ $^\text{\`{b\text{\`a}t\text{o}n}=\text{na}^\text{\`a} \quad t\text{\`a}=\text{oy}=\text{tf\`e}t$
   SEQ:EMPH insect.pit=inside PFV-INV-take.out2
   $q^{\text{\`o}}$ $\text{\`u}d\text{\`e}=\text{me}=\text{ra}$ $t\text{\`e}=\text{pe}=\text{na}$
   SEQ:EMPH formal.reception=PL PFV:TR-do2-3PL
   they took him up from inside the insect pit and gave him a formal reception.
189.  
\begin{align*} 
qʰoʔ & \text{ kʰaŋqʰúna} \ ryélpo \ o-kólo\ y \ tə-tpe? \ yəʔ-cə \\
\text{SEQ afterwards king 3SG:POSS-hoarse\ PFV-become2 be-MED} \\
\end{align*} 
Afterwards, he became a herder for the king.

190.  
\begin{align*} 
qʰoʔ & \text{ reəgo=z o-kɾə kʰoloy kʰɛʁʲipu=rə nə-χpe=rə} \ \text{ "ge-fʃeʃt} \\
\text{SEQ hill=LOC 3SG:POSS-with herder child=PL 3PL:POSS-story=PL \ IPFV-tell} \\
qʰoʔ & \text{ ozəʔ jəye=səʔənə tfəʔ nə-səsəmtsiʔ yəʔ-cə} \\
\text{SEQ meanwhile writing=and Dharma IPFV:PST-do.teaching2 be-MED} \\
\end{align*} 
And he told stories to the herder children who were with him on the hills, and meanwhile also taught people writing and the Dharma.

191.  
\begin{align*} 
qʰoʔ & \text{ kʰaŋqʰúna o-slome=rə kʰəndəldenden te-jə} \\
\text{SEQ afterwards 3SG:POSS-student=PL INF-be.many:RDPL PFV:TR-begin2} \\
qʰoʔ & \text{ nə-səsəmtsiʔ nə-səsəmtsiʔ əntsətəse yəʔ-cə} \\
\text{SEQ IPFV:PST-do.teaching2 IPFV:PST-do.teaching2 continuously be-MED} \\
\end{align*} 
And afterwards, and he began to have more and more students. And he continuously taught and taught.

192.  
\begin{align*} 
qʰoʔ & \text{ kʰaŋqʰúna prəpʰəɣʔ=naŋ nə-reɾθənʔ} \\
\text{seq afterwards cave=inide IPFV:PST-meditate.in.seclusion2} \\
ozəʔ & \text{ nə-səsəmtsiʔ yəʔ-cə} \\
\text{meanwhile IPFV:PST-do.teaching2 be-MED} \\
\end{align*} 
After that, he practiced reclusive meditation and, meanwhile, he kept teaching.

193.  
\begin{align*} 
qʰoʔ & \text{ o-kə-sten=nə} \\
\text{SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to=DET} \\
təwəʔ & \text{ kə-səqə rəməmu=cəʔ nə-to yəʔ-cə} \\
\text{booze NMLZ:SBJ-brew old.woman=INDF IPFV:PST-be2 be-MED} \\
\end{align*} 
As for the person who took care of him, there was an old woman who brew booze.
And he made a special effort to teach that (woman)’s son.

And the woman’s son was one who retained consciousness formed from past-life perceptions. And afterwards, he became very skilled.

Afterwards, Berotsana sent his student up to Lhasa.

When the student had stayed for a long time in Lhasa, the King of Tibet went to send for the great pandita Ndenemedra.
198. qʰoʔ tʃʰozʔ kʰ-esʃɨt=scʰənəʔ kʰ-ʃesəmtsi ə-f ʃɐt=nəʔ kə-ə-f
    SEQ dharma NMLZ:SBJ-recount=and NMLZ:SBJ-teaching be-MED
    And he was a recounter of the Dharma and a teacher of men.

199. fənəʔ pəntʃen=nəʔ kʰriʔ o-nəŋton kʰ-ŋoʔ
    but great.pandita=DET that.much 3SG:POSS-contents NMLZ:SBJ-be
    kʰ-ʃesəmtsi mə-tʰə-noz ə-f
    INF-do.teaching NEG-CONT:LTR-dare2 be-MED
    But the great pandita did not dare teach people its full content.

200. nəʔ tʃʰə nəʔ=ŋoʔ=ŋoʔ=ŋoʔ
    ANA why be=SUB
    noorjāŋ?nəʔ səŋʔiʔtʃʰəluʔ? nətʃəʔ? mə-nə-ter
    at.that.time Buddhism to.that.extent NEG-IPFV:PST-be.prosperous2
    Why is that? Buddhism was not that prosperous at that time.

201. qʰoʔ kʰ-ŋoʔ o-snòrgu kʰ-ʃɨt mə-sənoz ə-f ʃə
    SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be 3SG:POSS-core INF-recount NEG-dare be-MED
    ŋədenəʔ zdewe=rʔ= kə tʃʰə jə-kʰə-oγ-soʔ kʰ-ɔsəl
    for populace=PL=ERG what PROS-GP-INV-do NMLZ-be.clear
    mə ə-f
    not.exist be-MED
    So one did not dare recount its core (content), as it was not clear what the populace would
do to one.

202. qʰoʔ wɾtʃo ɔ-tə-kə-ɾəe=nəʔ pəntʃətə ʰge-ʃɨt-ŋə=nəʔ
    SEQ mendicant PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go=DET pandita IPFV-recount-3PL=SUB
    o-tʰəko tuʔe=rʔ té-ɾəde
    3SG:POSS-downriver.place walking.stick=PL IPFV-take3
And as the pandita was teaching (the Dharma), the mendicant who had gone uphill would go back and forth down there holding a walking stick.

203. qʰoʔ  o-kʰe=nay  tfʰuxciʔ=rvʔ  té-tsə  ḥoʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-mouth=inside something=PL IPFV-say be-MED
And he would say something in his mouth.

204. qʰoʔ  pentsôte  ne-nvxeʔ  ḥoʔ-cə
SEQ  pandita  PFV-laugh2 be-MED
And the pandita laughed.

205. qʰoʔ  rjîlpo=kə  nejiʔ  kʰo  ka-tə-nəwəweʔ?
SEQ  king=ERG  2SG here  PFV:EAST-2-come2:RDPL
josjiʔ=“denəʔ  ne-tə-nvxeʔ  mv
today=not.until  PFV-2-laugh2 not.exist
And the king said, “Since you came here, you never laughed until now.”

206. ərtʃo=kə  tfʰə  ne-rv  ne-səweʔ  ḥə
mendicant=ERG  why  2SG:POSS-laughing PFV:TR-cause.to.come2 be
qʰoʔ  tfʰə  té-tsə  ḥo  te-tsəʔ  ḥoʔ-cə
SEQ  what  IPFV-say be  PFV:TR-say2 be-MED
“Why did the mendicant make you laugh, and what is he saying?” he asked.

207. qʰoʔ  pentsôte=kə
SEQ  pandita=ERG
ərtʃo=kə  ě-pʰə  nejiʔ  mdzəzwu  *ge-tə-fʃiʃ  káma
mendicant=ERG  1SG:POSS-place  2SG result  IPFV-2-recount except
The pandita said, “The mendicant was saying, ‘You are just talking about the result, you’re not talking about the cause!’”

208. \(q^\circ o\)  \(rjelpo=rv?=ka\)
SEQ  king=PL=ERG
\(q^\circ o\)  \(vrtfo=na\)  \(bs-te-ne\-\text{no}r-o-na-ca\)
ANA  mendicant=DET  AND-PFV:TR-seek2-3PL-MED
\(q^\circ o\)  \(vrtfo=p^\text{ha}\)  \(neji\)  \(\text{nts}e\-ja\)  \(k\-m^\text{k}e\-z?=na\)
SEQ  mendicant=place  2SG  to.that.extent  NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET
\(ne\-u\text{gergen}\)  \(jo\)  \(nv-\text{no}\)  \(te\-\text{ts}e\-na-ca\)
2SG:POSS-teacher  who  IPFV:PST-be\_2  PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
The king and others went to seek out the mendicant and said to him, “You are so learned; who was your teacher?”

209. \(q^\circ o\)  \(vrtfo=ka\)
SEQ  mendicant=ERG
\(neji\)  \(u\-\text{gergen}=na\)  \(\text{berotsana}\)  \(\text{jo}\)  \(te\-\text{ts}e?\)  \(\text{jo}\-c\)
1SG  1SG:POSS-teacher=DET  PN  be  PFV:TR-say2  be-MED
And the mendicant said, “My teacher is Berotsana.”

210. \(q^\circ o\)  \(\text{masto}=ka\)  \(neji?\)  \(t^\text{ve}\-\text{ff}et=na\text{g}\)  \(te\-\text{ts}e\-na\)  \(\text{jo}\-c\)
SEQ  no.matter=DM  2SG  IMP-recount=DM  PFV:TR-say2-3PL  be-MED
And they said, “No matter! You teach (the Dharma)!”

211. \(q^\circ o\)  \(vrtfo=na?=ka\)  \(t^\text{ve}\-\text{ff}et-c\=na\)
SEQ  mendicant=DET=ERG  PFV:TR-recount2-MED=DET
\(rjek\text{er}\)  \(ka-ka\-\text{we}\)  \(\text{pen}t\text{s}a\-\text{te}\)  \(jen?=c\)
India  PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come\_2  pandita  be.high=INDEF  PFV:PST-not.be\_2=also
When the mendicant recounted (dharma), and if he did not excel over the pandita who had come from India, he did not perform less well either.

212. qʰoʔ zdwε=nʔ=ko "berotŝo=naʔ
SEQ populace=PL=ERG PN=DET ąntŝe=ko kʰo=-mkʰzʔ=caʔ nv-te=naʔ
to.that.extent NMLZ:SBJ-be:skilled=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH=DET ne-ka-znyʃyʃ=caʔ ne-ma-ca ne-səsi-na-ca
SEQ regret PFV-grow2 be-MED
And the populace thought, “Since Berotsana is such a learned one, we shouldn’t have made him leave.” And they regreted it.

213. qʰoʔ zdwε=nʔ=ko njelpo=pʰa
SEQ populace=PL=ERG king=place "berotŝo njelpo=pʰa
PN to.that.extent NMLZ:SBJ-be:skilled=DET AND-IPFV-GP-seek ąntŝe=ko kʰo=-mkʰzʔ=naʔ fa-te-ka-neʔoroʔ
IPFV-GP-cause.to.leave=INDF IPFV:PST-not.be-MED PFV:TR-say2-3PL-MED
And the populace said to the king, “One should go and seek out Berotsana, who is so learned,”

214. qʰoʔ njelpo=ka "berotŝo
SEQ king=ERG PN ą-ka-qʰro vlager ne-səweʔ ɣoʔ-caʔ
3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-meet monk PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.come2 be-MED and the king sent a monk down to meet Berotsana.
215. qʰoʔ *berotsane kw-fe tʰe-rgeʔ fieʔ-ca
SEQ PN INF-go CONT:LTR:TR-like2 be:EMPH-MED
qʰoʔ leʔ rkaŋmɟɔʔ te-zgrɔv-ca
SEQ again fast.foot.magic PFV:TR-fullfill2-MED
Berotsana did like to go, and he practiced fast-foot magic.

216. qʰoʔ kʰə́ kʰoz=scʰə nəʔ lɐ se pɐ́ rtʰɐ=nəʔ
SEQ here=and Lhasa up.to=DET
kafnez-sji te-peʔ nə-tʃoz-ca
seven-day PFV:TR-do2 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED
And covered (the distance) between here and Lhasa in seven days.

217. qʰoʔ lese tə-ere tʃo*bnjʔ=nəʔ=z
SEQ Lhasa PFV:UP-go2 road=DET=LOC
rgetpo ome nɐ-kə-rgez=cəʔ ò-pʰa
old.man very IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.old2=INDF 3SG:POSS-place
nə-nərmeʔ=n-dzə-nəŋo
IPFV:PST-spend.the.night2-3DU-MED
On their way to Lhasa, the two of them spent the night at an old man’s place who was very old.

218. qʰoʔ rgetpo=kə nʣə̀nịʔ nətʰə jə-tə-fəⁿdzə ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-ca
SEQ old.man=ERG 2DU where PROS-2-go-2DU be PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the old man asked, “Where are you going?”

267 Referring to the Rgyalrong country in western Sichuan.
Berotsana said, “We are going to Lhasa to study.”

And the old man said, “Ah, what will you study when you go to Lhasa? Rather, just go back down.”

“And in the Rgyalmotshabarong land, there is a very learned teacher by the name of Berotsana. If you go down and study with him, you may become learned men,” he said.
When Berotsana said, “I am none other than Berotsana himself,” the old man felt very happy, and got very emotional.

And he said, “I used to keep wishing that I might be able to visit and worship Berotsana Lama in my lifetime. My wish has been fulfilled today!” he said.

And Berotsana took out the leather band (binding his books), and encircled the old man with it (to bless him).
226. qʰoʔ nəjɨʔ tʰɛʔʃəfəʔlɛʔʃəfəʔ kə-ŋəsəŋɭjɨʔ kə-ɣə=ɛ=ʊʔ?
SEQ 2SG this.life INF-become.buddha NMLZ-be.able=INDEF
nəkəsə o-smoləm te-ʊɭvə nəʔ-ʊə
thus 3SG:POSS-prayer PFV:TR-pray2 be-MED
And prayed for him (saying), “May you become a Buddha in your lifetime!”

227. qʰoʔ kəməpəqɨnəʔ rətəpə nə-ŋəsəŋɭjɨʔ tʰəʔozʔ kɛ-ʈəɭə nəʔ-ʊə
SEQ afterwards old.man PFV-become.buddha2 be.the.rule GP-say be-MED
It is said that afterwards the old man became a Buddha.

228. qʰoʔ leʔə tə-ʈʂɨt
SEQ Lhasa PFV:UP-arrive2
And (Berotsana) arrived in Lhasa.

229. qʰoʔ rjɪlpo kɛ-ʈəɭə mə zdewə kɛ-ʈəɭə mə
SEQ king GP-say not.exist populace GP-say not.exist
kəmədɪʔ=kə ɡʃɪkə nə-o-sayʃɛz
all=ERG very PFV-INV-show.affection2
qʰoʔ nə-ʊ-naʔtɭpəʔ nəʔ-ʊə
SEQ IPFV:PST-INV-believe.in2 be-MED
And (Berotsana) arrived in Tibet, and not only the king but also the populace loved him very much, and believed in him.

230. qʰoʔ ⁿberotsənɛ=ntʃən ə-pəɭmə nə-ɡəvə nəʔ-ʊə
SEQ PN=also 3SG:POSS-parent IPFV:PST-be.old2 be-MED
fənəʔ kɛ-təʔ=ɾəʔ nə-cəʔ kɛ-ʈəɭə nəʔ-ʊə
but INF-meet=PL IPFV:PST-be.able2 GP-say be-MED
And also, Berotsana’s parents were old but he was still able to see them.
And as he was himself a translator, he started to translate the Dharma in the Tibetan area.

And it is said that Buddhism became more and more prosperous in Tibet each day.

Take it all round, Berotsana’s contributions to making Buddhism prosper in Tibet were great, it is said.
IV. PROCEDURAL TEXTS

HOW RGYALRONG HOUSES ARE BUILT

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. jaŋəɾu? jaŋʃʰe e=z kʰe kʰu-pe=naʔ
   1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC house GP-make=SUB
   stʰɔre ó-ste ne-kʰʰ-qʰe
   first 3SG:POSS-where.something.is IPFV-GP-seek
   In our land, when one builds a house, one first seeks its site.

2. qʰōʔ vləme maʔ denəʔ sntʃʰe kʰv-rtoʔ kʰ-spe
   SEQ lama or land INF-determine NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled
   fo-ne-kʰ-sqoʔ r qaʔ kʰḱe te-kʰ-sərtɔʔ
   AND-IPFV-GP-send.for SEQ foundation IPFV-GP-cause.to.determine
   One sends for a lama or someone skilled in geomancy and asks him to practice divination regarding the foundation.

3. qʰōʔ kʰḱe te kʰv-rtoʔ=kʰ
   SEQ foundation NMLZ:SBJ-determine=ERG
   kʰvkomʔ ḥətʃʰəz ó-pʰjoʔ ne-kʰ-ro kʰ-jɔjʔ=ɾuʔ
   house.door where 3SG:POSS-direction IPFV-NMLZ-face NMLZ-be.allowed=PL
   te-rvvojʔ ɲoʔ
   IPFV-plan be
   And the “foundation determiner” determines in which direction the main door of the house must face.
4.  

$qʰoʔ \quad pʰjɔvʒi \quad təvzər=nəʔ$

SEQ  four.direction  outer.edge=DET  

$sətʃ’e \quad kə-mnən \quad o-spe$

land  NMLZ:SBJ-suppress  3SG:POSS-material  

$səpəmʔ\quad "gə-kə-rko$

object.for.warding.off.evil  IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in  

And at the four outer edges of the house, (the foundation examiner) puts in evil-expelling objects to ward off (evils of) the land.

5.  

$qʰoʔ \quad kʰepʰɛʔ=rəʔ \quad o-χtu \quad kə-pe \quad reʔ \quad tʃʰozʔ \quad kə$

SEQ  some=PL  3SG:POSS-sutra  GP-do  be.necessary  be.the.rule  DM  

And one has to chant sutras for some of the (inauspicious) house foundations.

6.  

$nəʔ=ɾəʔ \quad ne-kt-əpe$

ANA=PL  IPFV-GP-cause.to.do  

One has all the above performed.

7.  

$qʰoʔ \quad kʰ \quad o-tʃʰəvətʰu$

SEQ  house  3SG:POSS-materials  

$fkötse \quad foŋʃə \quad cópʰe \quad rkəytə \quad tʃʰədzə \quad lusʔ? \quad te-kə-ṃniʔ$

rock  log  stone.slab  rafter  clay  and.so.on  IPFV-GP-prepare  

$qʰoʔ \quad te-kw-wərtəʔ$

SEQ  IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.sufficient  

And then one prepares a sufficient quantity of building materials: rocks, logs, stone slabs, rafters, clay, and so on.
8.  
  qʰoʔ  leʔ  skœme  kœ-rtœʔ=pʰa
  SEQ  again  auspicious.day  NMLZ:SBJ-determine=place
  skœme  fœ=ge-kœ-sayro
  auspicious.day  AND-IPFV-GP-cause.to.tell
  And again one goes to someone (skilled in) determining auspicious days, and asks him
to find an auspicious day.

9.  
  qʰoʔ  nœʔ-ó-ta=nœʔ=z  zʰdœj-qʰv  n=ge-kœ-lweʔ
  SEQ  ANA-3SG:POSS-top=DET=LOC  wall-foundation  IPFV:DOWN-GP-dig
  qʰoʔ  kʰe  kv-pe  te-kv-seje  ñoʔ
  SEQ  house  GP-make  IPFV-GP-begin  be
  On that day, one digs the wall foundation (of the house), and begins construction of the
house.

10.  
  qʰoʔ  ʃœŋvdoʔ  ka-nez=scʰnœʔ  zʰdœ  kœ-pe
  SEQ  wall  one-two=and  wall  NMLZ:SBJ-make
  sqeʔ  kœri  jœrmœ  oœʔ  fœ-kv-sqœʔ  reʔ  ñoʔ
  ten  more.than  about  separately  AND-GP-send.for  be.necessary  be
  And as for wall-making masons, one must send for ten-odd of them separately.

11.  
  nœʔ  ó-nay=nœʔ  rdoxœm  kœ-rdoʔ  te-kv-wêtfœt
  SEQ  3SG:POSS-inside=DET  head.mason  one-CL  IPFV-GP-elect
  And one choose among these masons a head-mason,

12.  
  qʰoʔ  rdoxœm  oxtënœʔ
  SEQ  head.mason  in.the.main
  zʰdœ  te-stœʔ  soʔ  meʔ
  wall  IPFV-be.straight  or  not
meanwhile wall NMLZ:SBJ-do 3SG:POSS-order NMLZ:SBJ-put be 
the head-mason is responsible for seeing whether the walls are made straight or not, and 
for supervising the wall-builders.

13. nəʔ  o-tənʔ=kə
ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
o-ŋre=ntən kə? kə-riz⁶⁴də  fɔxtənə?
3SG:POSS-wages=also other NMLZ:SBJ-build.walls than
kə-lden  ne-k̩-k̜i reʔ  ηo?
NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity IPFV-GP-give be.necessary be
For this reason, one also needs to pay higher wages to him than to the other wall-builders.

14. qʰoʔ  fkoʔtse=scʰənəʔ  təŋu  kə-nəzəʔ=nəʔ?
SEQ rock=and mud.plaster NMLZ:SBJ-transport=DET
As for the transporters of rocks and mud plaster,

15. jəlpe=scʰənəʔ  təynə=rvʔ  kə-qorʔ  we-nə  ftəʔ=kə
neighbor=and relative=PL NMLZ:PURP-help come-3PL be:EMPH=INS
nəʔ=kə  te-ku-zənəʔ?
ANA=ERG IPFV-GP-cause.to.transport
since neighbors and relatives will come to help, one asks them to transport (the materials).

16. qʰoʔ  sásu=scʰənəʔ  tərmok³³e=nəʔ?
SEQ lunch=and dusk=TOP
kə-qorʔ=rvʔ  melen  ne-k̩-bɔfʔi reʔ?
NMLZ:SBJ-help=PL by.necessity IPFV-GP-feed be.necessary
And at lunchtime and at dusk, one must feed the helpers.
17.  `rdovzo?=scʰə=ntʃoʔ kw-ʰoʃi re? məkôtestʰet
mason=and carpenter=DET=also GP-feed be.necessary not.only
nəⁿ-dzétʰi oŋ kə-min? te-ke-sepəpe nə?
3PL:POSS-food separately NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty IPFV-GP-do be
As for the masons and carpenters, not only does one have to feed them, but one must also prepare tasty food for them separately.268

18.  qʰoʔ kə-téxse te-zyot
SEQ one-CL IPFV:UP-reach
qʰoʔ kw-ríʃkev tē-nda orjáynə?
SEQ INF-put.cover.on IPFV-be.time when
When (the construction) reaches one storey and it is time for making the ceiling,

19.  kə-qor? múju kə-lden we-nə=kə
NMLZ:SBJ-help further NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity come₄-3PL=INS
qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=nəŋ kə-fkev ne-kv-səŋjoy?
SEQ one-day=inside INF-cover IPFV-GP-cause.to.finish
since even more helpers will come, one finishes making the ceiling within one day.

20.  qʰoʔ nəʔofsíʃsət anez-téxse ɣso-téxse=ntʃoʔ ne-kə-fkev nə?
SEQ thus two-CL three-CL=also IPFV-GP-cover be
And in this manner one also covers the tops of two or three storeys.

SEQ nowadays=TOP three-CL IPFV-GP-do
nə? ō-tə=nə? ʷɡolʰbri=caʔ t⁴e-kv-teʔ
ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET stone.slab.pitched.roof=INDF IPFV-GP-put

268 It is the local custom for the hosts to treat skilled workers among the house-builders to specially prepared meals, served in a room reserved for guests.
ŋoʔ tʃʰ ozʔ
be be.the.rule

Nowadays, people usually build three-storey houses with a pitched roof of stone slabs placed on top.

22. qʰoʔ v-ne-se/pelv=nəʔ?
SEQ IRR-PFV-be.speedy=SUB
kə-sle jërme kə²⁶⁹-səjyoʔ? fte? kə
one-month about GP:NVOL-finish be:EMPH DM
If things happen fast, one finishes the task in about one month.

23. te-joyʔ? qʰoʔ naʔoséisət kələğə-tʃo-sle jërme ne-kə-teʔ?
IPFV-end SEQ thus five-six-month about IPFV-GP-place
qʰoʔ te-fəșəm
SEQ IPFV-be.dry
And one leaves the finished house like that for about five-six months while the house (partially) dries.

24. qʰoʔ noŋme=nəʔ?
SEQ only.then=TOP
nəŋtʃət kə-rkə fəŋvəʔ? ne-kə-qərʔ?
interior.decoration NMLZ:SBJ-install carpenter IPFV-GP-send.for
qʰoʔ fəŋvəʔ? ne-kə-səpe
SEQ wood.work IPFV-GP-cause.to.do
And only then, one sends for the carpenters specializing in interior decoration and ask them to do the wood work.

²⁶⁹ The non-volitional generic person index kə- indicates lack of volitional control regarding the shortest time required to finish the task.
25. \textit{qʰoʔ nəʔ ne-joy? noyménəʔ te-kv-rmvlu?}

SEQ ANA IPFV-end only.then IPFV-GP-light.a.fire

And only when that is finished does one move in to live.\footnote{Literally ‘light a fire (in the hearth)’.}

26. \textit{qʰoʔ skärme kə-vde=ce o-sji=nəʔ}

SEQ auspicious.day NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=LOC:INDF 3SG:POSS-day=TOP

\textit{kʰanstón te-kv-pe ŋoʔ?}

house.warming.party IPFV-GP-do be

And, on a certain auspicious day, one holds a house-warming party.

27. \textit{kʰanstón kv-pe orjánhəʔ}

house.warming.party GP-do when

\textit{kə-wi ldɛn-nə fte?=kə}

NMLZ:SBJ-come exist.in.quantity-3PL be:EMPH=INS

And, since many people will come when one holds the house-warming party,


food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty=and booze by.necessity IPFV-GP-serve

\textit{qʰoʔ je-ku-wi=reʔ?}

SEQ IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL

\textit{serve-nə kʰrje?=reʔ? rtsot-nə}

perform.amusing.act-3PL banter=PL do-3PL

one must serve delicious food and booze, and those who come (to the party) will perform amusing acts and banter each other.


SEQ one-day booze drink-3PL be.the.rule be

And people will drink booze for the whole day.

\footnote{Literally ‘light a fire (in the hearth)’.}
30. qʰónə noŋméŋə?

SEQ only.then

kʰe kʰəŋə? tə-kʰə-jɔy=nə? fsət əʔ

house formally PFV-NMLZ-end2=SUB be.like be

And only then does the house (-building matter) come to a proper end.
FUNERAL CUSTOMS

Narrator: Stagthar

1. tsʰovdn jə-sutʰe=z kərʰboʔ jə-set orjáŋz
   PN 3PL:POSS-place=LOC person PROS-die when
   vlt̪r̪ge kaunéz-rdɔ fə-tʰe-kí-aɡə
   monk several-CL AND-IPFV:DOWNRIVER GP summon
   At our place Tshobdun, when a person is about to die, one goes and summons one or two monks.

2. qʰoʔ stʰore o-smolm ne-s¹don-nə
   SEQ first 3SG:POSS deliverance.sutra IPFV:chant-3PL
   First, they chant deliverance sutras for the dying person.

3. qʰoʔ nɛ-set
   SEQ IPFV die
   qʰoʔ nəʔ ñ-nəʔ vlt̪r̪ge kə-ŋólə kə-rdɔʔ
   SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS inside monk NMLZ:SBJ be.virtuous one-CL
   o-pʰoloŋ te-le-t-nəʔ²⁷¹ ηoʔ
   3SG:POSS phowa IPFV perform-3PL be
   And, after he dies, a high monk among the monks performs phowa for him.

4. pʰoloŋ kə-lət=nəʔ
   phowa.ritual INF perform=TOP
   me-ne-kè-set=nष⁰on vlt̪m̪ę=pʰə pʰoloŋ
   NEG IPFV-GP die=also lama=place phowa.ritual

²⁷¹ Honorific use of plural marking.
As for performing the *phowa* ritual, it is also customary to ask a lama to perform it before death.

5. \( kv\-\text{let} \) \( tf^\text{\=h\=k\=e\=k\=w\=o}=n\=\phi \)
   INF-perform \( \text{how} = \text{TOP} \)
   As to how it (*phowa*) is done,

6. \( st^\text{\=o\=\=r\=e}=z \) \( vl\text{\=r\=m\=e}=k\=\phi \) \( ra\text{\=j\=p}\=a? \) \( o-kv\=\text{\=d\=o\=n}=c\=\phi \) \( to? \)
   first=LOC \( \text{lama} = \text{ERG} \) special \( 3\text{SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U}=\text{chant}=\text{INDF} \) exist
   first, the lama has a special kind of sutra to chant.

7. \( q^\phi o? \) \( k\=\text{a\=s\=e\=t} \) \( o-fpov? \) \( o-k\=o\text{\=x\=c\=\=l} \) \( te-w\=\text{\=\=m\=o\=t} \)
   SEQ deceased \( 3\text{SG:POSS-corpse} \) \( 3\text{SG:POSS-crown} \) IPFV-blow
   Then, the lama blows on the crown of the deceased.

8. \( q^\phi o? \) \( o-k\=o\text{\=x\=c\=\=l}=z \)
   SEQ \( 3\text{SG:POSS-crown}=\text{LOC} \)
   \( te-rm\=k\=a\=t \) \( n\=e\=\text{\=\=b\=e\=t} \) \( \eta o? \) \( tf^\text{\=o\=\=z\=\=c\=\=o} \)
   hair one-CL IPFV-come.off be be.the.rule-MED
   It is said that this has the effect of making a tuft of hair come off his crown.

9. \( q^\phi o? \) \( o-vl\=n\=\phi? \) \( o-k\=o\text{\=x\=c\=\=l}=n\=\eta \) \( te-n\=l\=o? \)
   SEQ \( 3\text{SG:POSS-soul}=\text{DET} \) \( 3\text{SG:POSS-crown}=\text{inside} \) IPFV:UP-exit
   And his soul would come out from inside the crown,

10. \( q^\phi o? \) \( vd\text{\=e\=w\=\=t\=f\=\=m} \) \( kv-f\=r \) \( k\=\text{\=o\=k\=\=u\=t} \) \( p^\text{\=e\=n} \) \( \eta o?\=c\=\phi \)
    SEQ paradise GP-go NMLZ-be.feasible be.effective be-MED
    and it would be feasible for him to go to paradise.
11. \(qʰoʔ\) o-ŋøŋ? ne-mv oqʰùqʰoʔ

SEQ 3SG:POSS-breath IPFV-not.exist after

\(qʰoʔ\) v\text{b}rge=\text{re}ʔ=k\o

SEQ monk=PL=ERG

dášet o-ggewe k\v-\text{pe} te-jeʔ-n\o yoʔ
deceased 3SG:POSS-deliverance INF-do IPFV-begin-3PL be

And after he breathes his last, the monks begin to chant sutras for the deliverance of the dead.

12. \(qʰoʔ\) o-kʰ\text{man}=\text{re}ʔ=k\o

SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=PL=ERG

o-fpovʔ \(\chi\text{tsaŋme}\) te-k\v-\text{pe}
3SG:POSS-corpse cleaning IPFV-GP-do

And his family would cleanse his corpse,

13. \(qʰoʔ\) rezʔ k\o-y\text{ram}ʔ=k\o

SEQ cotton.cloth NMLZ:SBJ-be.white=INS

o-koʔ \(\text{ge-kë-syeʔ}\) o-me \(\text{ge-kë-tfut}\)

\(qʰoʔ\) te-k\v-\text{np}ʰ\o

SEQ IPFV-GP-wrap

and wrap it from his head to his feet with white cloth,

14. \(qʰoʔ\) n\o?\text{osëf}s\o\ tɛl\o?=\text{ta} ne-k\v-teʔ

SEQ thus bed=top IPFV-GP-put

and one lays the corpse down like that on the bed.
15. qerʦu v-ne-ŋo?=ŋə?
   winter IRR-PFV-be=SUB
   kafne-sn̂i kafne-rja? jirme ne-te?-ŋə tfʰoz?
   seven-day seven-night about IPFV-put-3PL be.the.rule
   If it is during winter, the corpse will be placed there for about seven days and seven
   nights.

16. fənə? fʃer? v-ne-ŋo?=ŋə?
   but summer IRR-PFV-be=SUB
   tʃfpoʔ? ʃso-sn̂i ʃso-rja? jirme ne-te?-ŋə tfʰoz?
   corpse three-day three-night about IPFV-put-3PL be.the.rule
   But if it is during summer, the corpse is placed there for about three days and three nights
   only.

17. tʃfpoʔ? ne-te?-ŋə kə-rjajʔ?
   corpse IPFV-put-3PL whole-time
   tʃfpoʔ? o-mkom o-kgewe əntsɔtse ne-pe-ŋə ŋoʔ?
   corpse 3SG:POSS-pillow 3SG:POSS-deliverance continuously IPFV-do-3PL be
   The whole time the corpse is laid there, and they keep chanting sutras for its deliverance
   at its pillow.

18. qʰo? nəʔorjajʔz kəsɛt o-kʰénaj=ʁu?=kə vlemɛ=pʰa
   SEQ then deceased 3SG-family=PL=ERG lama=place
   o-torse=skʰənə? fəji o-skɛrtə? ku-pe kə-ŋoʔ=ŋə?
   3SG:POSS-burial.ground=and when 3SG:POSS-funeral GP-do NMLZ-be=SUB
   skirme "ge-sɔrtə?-ŋə ŋoʔ?
   date IPFV-find.out-3PL be
   At that time, the family of the dead would ask the lama to determine the proper burial
   site and date for the funeral.
There are four methods of performing the funeral.

The first method is cremation.

The second method is bird-burial.

The third method is ground burial.

The fourth method is water burial.

As a rule, one uses the four methods above mainly depending on which one is appropriate.
   but person 3SG:POSS-self PROS-die when last.will IPFV:DOWN-put3
   ʃə ʷəʔ ʷəɾbjo-o-ʃə ʷəɾbjo-ʃə ʷəɾbjo
   3SG:POSS-top=DET DOWN-GP-execute be be.the.rule
   But if the person leaves a last will before he dies, one generally has to execute it.

26. *vʒənsra? ɔxténə?
   cremation in.the.main
   vlærge=rn? ne-ʃə=nə? vʒənsra? kv-let tfʰoz?
   monk=PL IPFV-pass.away-3PL=SUB cremation GP-perform be.the.rule
   As for cremation, one as a rule performs cremation mainly when lamas pass away.

27. *fana? vlærge kə-ma?=ntfʰon joɣ?*
   but monk NMLZ:SBJ-not.be=also be allowed
   But a lay person may also be allowed (to be cremated).

28. *qʰo? pjnʃtəj=nə?
   SEQ bird.burial=TOP
   sŋontʃə=z fonəŋəŋə ne-ke-te? nə-kfʰoz-cə
   former.time=LOC whoever IPFV-GP-do IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2-MED
   As for bird burial, it used to be performed on any deceased one.

29. *fənə? ṭoʒa? rgot nə-rkon?-cə*
   but nowadays vulture PFV-be.rare2-MED
   nə? o-tən?=kə pjnʃtəj=nə?
   ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS bird.burial=TOP
   tʰe-ke-te? nə-me?=tʃə? fte?
   IPFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-putPFV-not.exist2=a.bit be:EMPH
   But nowadays vultures have become rare; therefore, those who practice bird burial are almost non-existent.
30. fɔnə? sərtə v-nə-kw-tsəm?
    but PN IRR-PFV-GP-take.thither
qʰʊʔ pʃɪʧaŋ=nəʔ pɔzə to?
ANA bird.burial=DET still exist
But if one takes the corpse to Gserrta County, bird burial is still practiced (there).272

31. qʰʊʔ qərnəm?=nəŋ kv-nʰger?=nəʔ
    SEQ big.river=inside GP-cast=TOP
    oxtúʔə? kəxtʃəpu=rə? nɛ-set-nə=nəʔ
    in.the.main child=PL IPFV-die-3PL=SUB
təʔ?=nəŋ tʰe-kv-nʰger? ɪŋəʔ tʃʰozʔ
river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-cast be be.the.rule
As for river burial, it is mainly when small children die that one casts them into the river.

32. sʔɛɾtɔʔ kv-pe ɱw-kə-nɛxtʃəɣ vde-təɾem=nəʔ?
    funeral GP-do NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.same four-CL=DET
tʃʰə te-kv-səʔ kə-ŋəʔ=nəʔ o-mpʰroʔ "ge-kv-ʃʃət=nəʔ?
    what IPFV-GP-do NMLZ-be=TOP 3SG:POSS-sequence IPFV-GP-recount=SUB
If one recounts how one performs the four different ways of burial one by one,

33. vʒənsraʔ kv-let=nəʔ?
    cremation GP-perform=TOP
stʰəɾe=z sʰiztəmtʃɪuyʔ kʰepʰʰʔ=ɾəʔ tʃpʰoʔ=nəʔ te-mpʰɾəði-nəʔ
    first=LOC morning some=PL corpse=DET IPFV:UP-carry.together-3PL
as for performing cremation, first, some folks carry the corpse uphill together in the morning,

272 This refers to the sky burial site about one kilometer north of the famed Blarung Lngarig Buddhist Academy (in Chinese 喇榮寺五明佛學院) in Gserrta County, Dkar-mdzes Prefecture.
34. \( nə\text{ori}=nə? \ sətf̩e \ vʒɔnsra? \ o-\text{sw}-lɛt=z \)
   \( \text{other=DET place cremation 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-perform}_2=\text{LOC} \)
   \( ʒfa? \ nə-\text{kv-sayni}=nə? \ te-\text{kv-tsom}? \)
   \( \text{fir.plank PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-make.ready}_2=\text{DET IPFV:UP-GP-take.thither} \)
others carry previously prepared fir planks for cremation uphill to the cremation site,

35. \( qʰoʔ \ ^*\text{ge-kʰ-z^d}_e \)
   \( \text{SEQ IPFV-GP-stack} \)
   \( qʰoʔ \ tɛɲp?=nə? \ nə? \ ő-ta \ te-\text{kv-te}? \)
   \( \text{SEQ corpse=DET ANA 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:UP-GP-put}_3 \)
   \( qʰoʔ \ ʒfa? \ te-\text{kʰ-fnə} \)
   \( \text{SEQ fir.plank IPFV-GP-set.aflame} \)
   and lay the fir planks down to make a fuel stack, place the corpse on top of it, and set the fir planks aflame,

36. \( qʰoʔ \ tsʰúni \ ma^\text{denə}? \ tepi \ ^*\text{ge-kr-re^d}_e? \ ^*\text{ge-kr-lɛt} \)
   \( \text{SEQ vegetable.oil or butter IPFV:DOWN-GP-slice IPFV:DOWN-GP-put} \)
   and put vegetable oil on it, or else slices up butter and put on it,

37. \( qʰoʔ \ te-\text{kʰ-if}əv \ oʒor? \)
   \( \text{SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-burn while} \)
   \( nə? \ o-\text{vzər}=z \ \text{v lærg}=\text{re}? \ ^*\text{ge-^d}_\text{don-nə} \ ηo? \)
   \( \text{ANA 3SG:POSS-side=LOC monk=PL IPFV-chant.sutra-3P be} \)
   while one burns (the corpse), the monks keep chanting sutras by the side.
38. qʰoʔ kʰ-tfov te-joyʔ qʰoʔ o-γzwəye=nəʔ
SEQ INF-burn IPFV-finish SEQ 3SG:POSS-remains=DET
swtʃʰ=naŋ yomaʔ qʰɐlduɣ *ge-kv-sɔʔ-fkev ᵇoʔ ʧʰozʔ
earth=inside casually dirt IPFV:DOWN-GP-CAUS-cover be be.the.rule
One finishes the burning, and will just unceremoniously covers the remains on the ground with dirt.

39. kʰošet vleme kə-ŋòlv n-ŋé-ŋo=nəʔ
deceased lama NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous IRR-PFV-be=SUB
o-firuyze=nəʔ te-kv-nepоро qʰoʔ rəli te-kv-pe
3SG:POSS-ashes=DET IPFV-GP-collect SEQ pellet IPFV-GP-make
qʰoʔ kesʊkʰu o-coʔ te-kv-lɛt ʧʰozʔ
SEQ juniper.powder 3SG:POSS-addition IPFV-GP-put be.the.rule
If the deceased is an eminent lama, one collects his ashes to make into pellets and add sanctified juniper powder to them.

40. pjufialŋ kv-teʔ=nəʔ
bird.burial GP-do=TOP
kʰarʰbjoʔ né-set qʰuqʰoʔ yr̥ko=ta rgot
person IPFV-die after SEQ ridge=top vulture
o-sw-to=z melen nǐnəz
3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist2=LOC by.necessity there
kv-tsomʔ reʔ ŋoʔ
GP-take.thither be.necessary be
As for bird burial, after a person dies, one must take (the corpse) to the mountain ridge where there are vultures.
41. qʰoʔ tafpov? ka-rv憾dzeʔ ranpaʔ=kə
SEQ corpse NMZL:SBJ-cut special=ERG
pjeftaŋ o-sw-te=z tafpov? koʃrCaru ru "ge-rv憾dzeʔ
bird.burial 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-put2=LOC corpse bones.and.all IPFV-cut
qʰoʔ naʔosiʃsət spentʔʔ=ta ne-təʔ
SEQ thus grassland=top IPFV-place3
And a corpse-disposal specialist cuts the corpse up bones and all at the site for bird burial, and then leaves it thus on the grassland.

42. qʰoʔ kərvbjoʔ=rvʔ tafpov? o-vzər ne-kv-neʃəʃə
SEQ person=PL corpse 3SG:POSS-side IPFV-GP-leave
kə-ervaʔ=e=tnəʔ ne-kv-smə
NMLZ:SBJ-be.far.away=a.bit IPFV-GP-stay
And people leave the corpse and stay at a little distance.

43. qʰoʔ détsenəʔ rgot ne-neʃəʃə-ne-na
SEQ in.a.short.while vulture IPFV-come.from.various.places-3PL
qʰoʔ tafpov? vjaʃtsəʔ teʔdze-na
SEQ corpse to.one’s.fill IPFV-eat-3PL
And in a short while vultures will come from all over and gorge themselves on the corpse.

44. qʰoʔ leʔ ne-neʃəʃə-ne-na ηoʔ
SEQ again IPFV-leave-3PL be
And then they will leave.

45. qʰoʔ rgot=kə fəru ka-xteʔ
SEQ vulture=ERG bone NMLZ:SBJ:big
kv-rv憾dze o-mv-kv-cəv=nəʔ=rvʔ
The big bones and what not that the vultures cannot consume, one will bury them on the spot.

46. ñaŋ kw-wéret=nə? st'o? mw-epéŋqe yo?
big.river=inside GP-throw=TOP most NEG-be.troublesome be
Doing water burial is the least troublesome.

47. orjanz təpov?=nə? ñaŋ?
falun=DET corpse
o-vzər tʰe-kw-tsom?
3SG:POSS-bank IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-take.thither
At the time of the burial, one carries the corpse downriver to the bank of the big river.

48. təpov? ə-ʃər ʃkótsə te-kè-vra
corpse 3SG:POSS-body rock IPFV-GP-bind
qʰoʔ ñaŋ əʔ kəmdiʔ ñaŋ kw-negoʔ
SEQ big.river most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.deep2 IPFV:DOWN-GP-throw
yo? tf'oʔ?
be be.the.rule
One ties a rock to the corpse, and throws the corpse into the big river at its deepest.

49. qʰoʔ nəʔ kəmdiʔ ñaŋ kw-negoʔ
SEQ ANA all IPFV-end
Then it is all done.

50. qʰoʔ kóset o-kʰinay tʰe-kw-fe
SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-home IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-go
And then, one goes downriver to the house of the dead.
51. qʰoʔ kāset oyrɨruʔ=kə
SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-family=ERG
fə kə-mv tʰɔxpe te-stle-no
meat NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist porridge IPFV-boil-3PL
qʰoʔ skərtɔʔ kə-pe jv-kə-vweʔ=rəʔ ne-kv-mgon tʃozʔ
SEQ funeral NMLZ:PURP-do PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL IPFV-GP-treat be.the.rule
The family of the dead prepare porridge with no meat in it and feed those who come to
the funeral.

52. skərtɔʔ kə-pe jv-kə-vweʔ=rəʔ=kə
funeral NMLZ:PURP-do IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL=ERG
kāset o-kʰɛnay
decceased 3SG:POSS-home
fɔχkor mə’dənɔʔ rərezʔ tajpo=kasə ne-əbiʔ-nə tʃozʔ
money or cloth grains=like IPFV-give-3PL be.the.rule
People who visit the house of the dead will give gifts of money, cotton cloth, or grains
and what not.

53. ne-kv-əbiʔ orjāŋʔnəʔ
IPFV-GP-give when
koʔ kə-rtaʔ mə-cə ʃənəʔ nə-nɔmyə
this NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough not.exist-MED but IMP-accept
nəkəsə skutʃe kə-təsə mə-tʃozʔ
thus expression GP-say NEG-be.the.rule
When one presents (the gift) one does not say, “Please accept this gift although there isn’t
efficient,” or expressions of that kind.

54. nəʔ tʃə ʃəʔ=nəʔ
ANA why be=TOP
Why is that?
55. \( kə-rtə? \) \( mə \) \( te-kə-tsə=nə? \)
NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough not.exist IPFV-GP-say=SUB
If one says, “There isn’t enough,”

56. \( oqʰuz \) \( mju \) \( kə-set \) \( n-na-lə?=kəə \)
afterwards further NMLZ-die IRR-PFV-occur=like
χteʰbre \( tə-kə-tsə=nə? \) \( nə-ʃət \) \( ɨo?-cə \)
wish PFV-NMLZ-say2=SUB IPFV-be.like be-MED
it sounds as if one has expressed a wish for more deaths to occur afterwards.

57. \( qʰoʔ \) \( kə-set \) \( o-yrən?=rə?=kə \)
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-die 3SG:POSS-family=PL=ERG
\( skərtə? \) \( orjəʔnəʔ \)
funeral during
\( kəcʰiʔ \) \( rešət \) \( kəfəmtəʔ \) \( maʔ-dənəʔ \) \( ʃəkər \) \( kə-lə?=kəə \)
candy thread match or money one-CL=like
\( skərtə? \) \( jə-kə-ʁweʔ=rəʔ \) \( nə-pʰə \) \( tə-kə-kri \)
funeral PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come2=PL 3PL:POSS-place IPFV-GP-distribute
During the funeral, family members of the deceased distribute pieces of candy, thread, matches, or one-dollar banknotes to those who come to attend the funeral.

58. \( nəʔ \) \( tfəʔ \) \( ɨo?=nəʔ \)
ANO why be=TOP
Why is this?

59. \( məni \) \( se-seʰbi \) \( ɨo? \) \( tfəoz?-cə \)
mantra NMLZ:OBL-ask.for be be.the.rule-MED
These are means for begging others to chant mantras for the dead.
60. qʰoʔ skurts skomdi? "ge-yjeyjo
SEQ funeral all IPFV-finish
And the funeral is all done.

61. qʰoʔ kʰoset o-ʒargu kɔⁿ-di vļurge=caʔ kə-rdoʔ
SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-forty.nine.day.virgil NMZL:SBJ-hold monk=INDF one-CL
məlen nəʔ ɔ-kʰe ku-smo o-ʁgewe ku-pe
by.necessity ANA 3SG:POSS-home INF-stay 3SG:POSS-merit INF-do
reʔ ɛʔoʔ
be.necessary be
And there must be a monk who stays at the deceased person’s home to keep a forty-nine-day virgil and chant sutras for his merit.
HOW TO MAKE BOOZE

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. tsʰəvdən ǰə-sətfʰe=z təwa? kv-pe
   Tshobdun 1PL:POSS-place=LOC booze GP-make
   tfʰətekəsə? ɲόnəʔ "ge-ʃʃət-aŋ kə
top IPFV-recount-1SG DM
   how Let me describe how we brew booze in our country Tshobdun (Township).

2. stʰɔre=naʔ
   first=DET
   təfe qəj? máʔdenəʔ jòmə
   highland.barley wheat or maize
   te-kv-sqə ne-kv-wəsmi
   IPFV-GP-boil IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.cooked
   First of all, one boils (highland) barley or wheat or maize and makes it cooked,

3. qʰoʔ təci? tʰe-kv-fserʔ qʰoʔ te-kʰ-tʃʃət
   SEQ water IPFV:OUT-GP-drain SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-take.out
   then one drains out the water, and takes the grain out.

4. "bɾəsʰəm=naŋ kómtʰə ne-kʰ-fʰi ʃə(kv-wəspa
   flat.bamboo.container=inside a.bit IPFV-GP-spread.to.dry IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.dry
   Then one airs it a bit in a bamboo container, and then dries it.

5. qʰoʔ ənəʔ ɔʔ-tə=naʔ pʰwv? ne-kv-γduʔ=naʔ ʃə
   SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET yeast IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-smash2=DET IPFV-GP-sprinkle
   On top of it one sprinkles smashed yeast,
6. \(qʰoʔ\) tʃʰərzé?=naj te-kv-rko
   SEQ urn=inside IPFV:UP\(^{273}\)-GP-put.into.container
   and then puts it up into a beer-brewing urn.

7. \(qʰoʔ\) tʃʰərzé? ó-fkev kə-ŋóle ne-kv-nʒvle
   SEQ urn 3SG:POSS-cover NMLZ-be.good IPFV-GP-plaster.over
   And carefully plasters up the cover of the urn.

8. qèle mə-kə-nəʔ te-kv-pe
   wind NEG-NMLZ-exit IPFV-GP-make
   And makes air unable to come out.

9. \(qʰoʔ\) taxpó?=naj mà̃denə? som=naj te-kv-sər*=gu
   SEQ woolen.cloak=inside or barley.stalk=inside IPFV-GP-cause.to.sleep
   And one causes it to ferment (wrapped) inside woolen cloaks or barley stalks.

10. \(qʰoʔ\) nəosɪʃsət ne-kv-teʔ
    SEQ thus IPFV-GP-put
    And one leaves it like that.

11. \(qʰoʔ\) χso-ŋyi jermə ne-təo
    SEQ three-day about IPFV-elapse
    About three days afterwards,

12. \(qʰoʔ\) twa?-ldi ne-mməmʔ?
    SEQ booze-smell IPFV-emit.smell
    it gives off a scent of booze.

\(^{273}\) Upward orientation marking here refers to holding the grain up in order to put it into the urn.
Then basically it is done.

Then one opens the cover of the urn.

And one takes out some of the malt solids.

One must not remove too much of the malt solids,

as one needs to extract booze from the rest of them.

And one stir-fries and eats them. They are very tasty.

Then one again puts cold boiled water into the urn.
20. qʰoʔ ṭ-naŋ cʰemdro nʰge-kv-tsʰɐ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside bamboo.tube IPFV:DOWN-GP-stick
And sticks a bamboo-tube inside it.

21. cʰjɨjɨ ne-kʰ-τʰɨ kʰút njoʔ
beer IPFV-GP-drink be.feasible be
And then one can drink the barley beer from it.

22. qʰoʔ nəʔ kə-təŋu njoʔ
SEQ ANA one-CL be
And that is one way of (making booze).

23. qʰoʔ vraʔ kʰ-tʃêt reʔ qʰónə
SEQ liquor GP-take.out be.desired SEQ:EMPH
If one wants to brew liquor (distilled booze), then,

24. cʰjɨjɨ mə-ne-kʰ-τʰɨ
beer NEG-IPFV-GP-drink
one does not drink the beer,

25. qʰoʔ cʰjɨjɨ kʰoləwlm=nəʔ qvrɨ=nəʔ
SEQ beer together.with.malt.solid=DET copper.pot=inside
nʰge-kv-ʌt qvrɨ=ta tʰon nʰge-kv-teʔ
IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in copper.pot=top barrel IPFV:DOWN-GP-place
but puts the beer together with the malt solids into a copper pot, and places a barrel on its top,

26. tʰon=ta leʔ vrəŋum nʰge-kv-teʔ
barrel=top again liquor.wok IPFV:DOWN-GP-put
and then one places a liquor wok on top of the barrel,
27. qʰoʔ qʰjlobeʔ=ʁə  tʰjlov  ne-ʁe-ŋlɔ  kɔ-ʁhʊt  
SEQ  dough=INS  steam  IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:OBL-exit  NMLZ:SBJ-be.feasible  
kas_=ʁə?  prjaŋprjaŋʔ  ne-ʁe-ŋle  
hole=PL  IDPH  IPFV:GP-plaster  
and tightly plasters all the holes through which the steam may escape with dough.

28. qʰoʔ wraŋjemʔ=ʁəŋ  twjpmʔ  qʰʒe-ʁko  
SEQ  liquor.wok=inside  ice  IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in  
Then one puts ice into the liquor wok.

29. qʰoʔ noŋmeʔ=ʁə  
SEQ  only.then=DET  
qʰri=ʁi  smi  kʰ-vlu  le-ʁe-ʁe?  
copper.pot=under  fire  INF-light  IPFV:IN-GP-begin  
And then one begins to light a fire under the copper pot.

30. qʰoʔ kʰ mimetype  kʰ-xset  te-ʁeʔ=ʁə  
SEQ  a.bit  INF-warm  IPFV:UP-begin=SUB  
qʰoʔ wraʔ  ke-ŋlɔʔ  tʰ-e-ʁe?  fieʔ?  
SEQ  liquor  INF-exit  IPFV:OUT-begin=SUB  be: EMPH  
When it begins to warm up a bit, distilled liquor begins to come out.

31. qʰoʔ stʰore  tʰe-ʁe-ŋlɔʔ  wraʔ=ʁə?  ʁʰikə  mimʔ  ʁəʔ?  
SEQ  first  IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ-exit  liquor=DET  very  be.tasty  be  
The liquor that comes out first is very tasty.

274 An ideophone describing the state of being air-tight.

275 The “upriver” orientation marking here refers to the inserting action of firewood into the hearth to light the fire.
32. \( jə\text{ŋə}=kə \) \( nənə? \) \( tʃə'aŋ'ə\text{ŋo} \)\textsuperscript{276} \( tə-sə-ja \) \( nə? \)

1PL=ERG that first-brewed liquor IPFV-say-1PL be

And we call it “first-brewed liquor.”

33. \( fənə? \) \( nəozgəq'ə \) \( t'ə-kə-nlə? \) \( təwa?=nə? \)

but afterwards IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ-exit booze=DET

\( mə-ne-nəməməmə? \) \( nə? \)

NEG-IPFV-be.tasty:RDPL be

But the liquor that comes out afterwards becomes less and less tasty.

34. \( q'əo? \) \( təjpo \) \( kə-yne=kə \)

SEQ grain one-thirty.catty=INS

\( vəə? \) \( xəsəq'e-tərpe \) \( jərmər \) \( kə-tʃət \) \( k'ən \)

liquor thirty-catty about GP-take.out be.feasible

It is possible for one to extract about thirty catties of liquor out of thirty catties of grain.\textsuperscript{277}

35. \( kəko? \) \( təŋəra? \)

this liquor.brewed.in.barrels

\( sə\text{ŋənts}ə \) \( o-to-tʃət=nə? \)

former.time 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-take.out\textsuperscript{2}=DET

This old way of distilling liquor,

\textsuperscript{276} WT <chang.mgo>.

\textsuperscript{277} This high (almost one-to-one) grain-to-distilled liquor conversion rate is possible only with highland barley.
36. \( \text{jəɟərə} \) tsʰovdə 3SG.POSSESS-place=and \( \text{cməc}i? \) tʃocht 3SG.POSSESS-place=PL
1PL PN PN\( \text{nəkəsə kə-tʃət} \) to? jərmə fte?
thus NMLZ:SBJ-take.out exist about be:EMPH

brewers of liquor in that fashion are found only in our Tshobdun country and in Kyomkyo
and Cogtse areas.

37. \( \text{ⁿdenə? kəma? sətf}^{\text{e}}=\text{ru?} \) nəkəsə kə-tʃət rkon
except other place=PL thus NMLZ:SBJ-take.out be.rare

Except (these places), those who brew (liquor) in that fashion are rare in other areas.

38. \( \text{jəɟərə} \) jə-təwa? kə-tʰi o-tʃʰəye=nəʔ \( \text{knez-tərem} \) to?
1PL 1PL:POSSESS-booze INF-drink 3SG:POSSESS-manner=DET two-kind exist

We have two ways of drinking our liquor.

39. \( \text{kə-tərem}=\text{nəʔ} \) tʃʰanə dem tʰe-κə-peq qʰo\? ne-kə-tʰi
one-kind=DET butter.booze IPFV-VP-make SEQ IPFV-VP-drink

The first way is to make and drink butter booze.

40. \( \text{knez-tərem}=\text{nəʔ} \) tʃʰanə dem me-κə-peq o-sɨʃsət
two-kind=DET butter.booze NEG-GP-make 3SG:POSSESS-manner ne-kə-tʰi ŋo\?
IPFV-VP-drink be

The second way is to drink it plain, without making it into butter booze.

41. tʃʰanə dem κə-peq tʃʰəkešo?  kə-ŋo?=nəʔ
butter.booze GP-make how NMLZ-be=TOP

As to how one makes butter booze,
42. \(stʰɔre\) \(tupi\) \(má^dənə\) \(tərtse\) \(tʰe-ktv-rtʃwi\)?

first   butter or grease   IPFV-GP-melt

first, one melts butter or grease,

43. \(qʰoʔ\) \(nə\) \(ó-nə\) \(tw^gəm\) \(te-ktv-xəɾ\)

SEQ   ANA   3SG:POSS-inside egg   IPFV-GP-stir.fry

\(qʰoʔ\) \(ʃəlkəɾv\) \(ke-ktv-lut\)

SEQ   crystal.sugar   IPFV:CISLOC-GP-put.in

and fries some eggs and puts sugar into it,

44. \(qʰoʔ\) \(noŋme=nə\) \(vra\) \(ma^dənə\) \(cʰi̞ji\) \(ke-ktv-lut\)

SEQ   only.then=DET liquor or beer   IPFV:CISLOC-GP-put.in

and then one puts liquor or beer into it.

45. \(qʰoʔ\) \(tɛ-xtʃe\) \(qʰóno\) \(k̞-tʰi\) \(te-po\) \(ʃte\)

SEQ   IPFV:UP-be.warm   SEQ   GP-drink   IPFV-cause3 be:EMPH

And gradually it warms up, and then it is made ready to drink.

46. \(tʃʰaŋⁿ\) \(dəm\) \(tə-kə-xʃe\) \(ne-kə-tʰi=nə\) \(ʃʃikə\) \(vwaʃet\)

butter.booze   PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.warm2   IPFV-GP-drink=SUB   very   be.strong

When drinking warmed butter booze, it is very strong.

47. \(nangzo\)\(^{278}\) \(siz\) \(ne-kə-tʰi=nə\)

especially   morning   IPFV-GP-drink=SUB

\(mim?\) \(óta\) \(tə-laspu\) \(ʃʃikə\) \(mpʰrot\)

be.delicious   besides   GP:POSS-body   very   be.fitting

Especially if one drinks it in the morning, it is tasty and very good for one’s body.

\(^{278}\) From Amdo Tibetan <nang.sgos.su>.

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HOW WE MAKE DAIRY PRODUCTS

tepi zo? tfʰərv lusɔʔ kupe otsʰəɣə

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. jəɟəʔ kəru?=reʔ tėlo "gɛ-ʃut-jə
   1PL Rgyalrong=PL milk IPFV-take-1PL
   mimi qʰoʔ te-sɛle-jə
   immediately SEQ IPFV-boil-1PL
When we Rgyalrong people extract milk, we boil it right away.

2. qʰoʔ tə-kə-šen te-tə=nə?
   SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-boil₂ milk=SUB
   fǒlo=naŋ te-rko-jə ne-sqʰɾuʔ-jə
   container=inside IPFV-put.in-1PL IPFV-make.cool-1PL
And then we put the milk that has come to a boil into a container and cool it down.

3. qʰoʔ kə-ɾjaʔ juɾmə ne-teʔ-jə
   SEQ one-night about IPFV-put-1PL
And put it (there) for about one night.

4. qʰoʔ təlóʃəm kə-ja tséji ke-tejʔ nə?
   SEQ butterfat NMLZ:SBJ-thick rather IPFV-form be
And rather thick butterfat forms.

5. nəʔ təlóʃəm mdortsə nə-weʔ?=nəʔ
   ANA butterfat essense PFV-come₂=SUB
   tepi o-spe tʰə-ŋo
   butter 3SG:POSS-material CONT:LTR-be₂
Butterfat is, after all, what butter is made of.
6. \(qʰoʔ\) \(qʰuʔ\) \(tvlóʃam=naʔ\) \(tʰe-néʃam-jo\)  
SEQ ANA butterfat=SUB IPFV-skim-1PL  
And we skim off that butterfat,

7. \(qʰoʔ\) \(pʰəntʃaʔ=nəŋ\) \(o-jo\) \(te-ɾko-jo\)  
SEQ basin=inside 3SG:POSS-self:GEN IPFV-put-1PL  
and put it into a basin by itself.

8. \(qʰoʔ\) \(^{"}ge-ʃeʃtu-jo\) \(jo\)  
SEQ IPFV-accumulate-1PL be  
And we accumulate it.

9. \(qʰoʔ\) \(qʰuʔ\) \(nv-ke-ʃeʃtuʔ=nəʔ\)  
SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-accumulate2=SUB  
\(tvlóɾpm\) \(tʰe-ɾjo\) \(jo\)  
cream IPFV-say-1PL be  
And we call what has been accumulated “cream.”

10. \(qʰoʔ\) \(tvlóɾpm\) \(χsu-ʃi\) \(vde-ʃi\) \(ne-ɾso\) \(rjúɾpe\) \(te-to\)  
SEQ cream three-day four-day IPFV-elapse quite.a.lot IPFV-exist  
kʰ-ɾjʰdzu \(te-ɾtaʔ\) \(jeɾme\)  
INF-make.butter IPFV-be.enough about  
In about three to four days there is quite a lot of it, about enough for making butter.

11. \(qʰoʔ\) \(na-ɾjʰdzu-jo\)  
SEQ IPFV-make.butter-1PL  
And we make butter.
12. qʰoʔ tepi o-pə té-tʃet-jə
   SEQ butter 3SG:POSS-self:GEN IPFV:UP-take-1PL
   We extract butter by itself.

13. na-kə-riʔ télo=nəʔ takrəlo rmiʔ əʔ
   PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left2 milk=SUB buttermilk be.named be
   The milk that is left is called buttermilk.

14. qʰoʔ təkəlo leʔ te-sulc-jə qʰoʔ tə-rədi
   SEQ buttermilk again IPFV-boil-1PL SEQ IPFV-curdle
   We boil the buttermilk again and it curdles.

15. qʰoʔ tʰə-fistaʔ-jə
   SEQ IPFV:OUT-strain-1PL
   Then we strain it.

16. qʰoʔ qʰaʔ na-kə-riʔ o-lpeʔ=nəʔ
   SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left2 3SG:POSS-chunk=SUB
   nē-fkʰi-jə te-səyəm-jə
   IPFV-spread.in.the.sun-1PL IPFV-make.dry-1PL
   And we spread the chunk that remains in the sun to dry,

17. qʰonə tʰəɾəv ne-poj əʔ
   SEQ cheese IPFV-become3 be
   and then it become cheese.

18. qʰoʔ zoʔ ke-pe jə-kjətʔ te-wi
   SEQ yogurt INF-make 1PL:POSS-desire IPFV-come
   When we want to make yogurt,
19. qʰónə tělo nw-kw-tsêt ma-tə-ka-seleʔ=nəʔ?
   ō-nay ʒorme "ge-lêt-jə
   3SG:POSS-inside yogurt.starter IPFV-put-1PL
   we put yogurt starter into milk that has been extracted and not yet boiled,

20. qʰoʔ te-fŋiʔ-jə
   SEQ IPFV-stir-1PL
   and we stir it,

21. qʰoʔ noostìšsət kə-ʂjaʔ ʃorme ne-šɒntəv-jə
   SEQ in.this.way one-night about IPFV-lay.down-1PL
   and lay it down like that for about one night.

22. qʰónə ʒoʔ te-poj ȵoʔ?
   SEQ yogurt IPFV-become3 be
   And then it becomes yogurt.

23. ȵəʔ ʒoʔ=ȵəʔ
   ANA yogurt=DET
   stʰoʔ kə-mimʔ ərlonʒəʔ ɾmiʔ ȵoʔ?
   most NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty full.cream.yogurt be named be
   That yogurt is a most tasty kind called full-cream yogurt.

24. qʰoʔ maʔdenəʔ tělo
   SEQ or.else milk
   tʰv-kə-nəfəmʔ=nəʔ? ō-nay ʒorme "ge-lêt-jə
   Alternatively, we put a yogurt starter in skimmed milk.
25. qʰoʔ te-fŋiʔ-jo
   SEQ IPFV-stir-1PL
   And we stir it,

26. qʰoʔ noostːʃsət kə-rjaʔ jʊrmə ne-kw-teʔ
   SEQ in.that.way one-night about IPFV-GP-put
   and one leaves it there for one night,

27. qʰónə təʒoʔ te-poj fięʔ
   SEQ sour.yogurt IPFV-become3 be:EMPH
   and it becomes sour yogurt.

28. fənaʔ kərlonzoʔ jʊrmə mə-mimʔ
    but full.cream.yogurt as NEG-be.tasty
   But it is not as tasty as full-cream yogurt.
How to Kill Badgers in Our Country

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. \( \gamma e z=\text{n}a?' \ jə\text{rw}a?' \ jə-s\text{stf}e=z \ s\text{yont}s^e-r\text{rn}əm \)
badger=DET 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC earlier.times-since
^\text{ge-kə-to}'? \ m\text{nk}ots^\text{mt}
IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist not only
The badger\(^{279}\) has not only been around in our country since long ago,

2. \( \text{lotə?' } \ k\text{nt}o\text{pe } \ ne-kə-pe \)
crop damage IPFV:SBJ-NMLZ-do
\( o\text{me } \kə-s\text{b}q^u?'=cə?' \ \gamma o?' \ t\text{f}oz?' \)
very NMLZ:SBJ-be.annoying=INDF be be.the.rule
it does great damage to crops and is a very annoying pest.

3. \( \text{otv } \ t\text{f}ə?' \ k\text{nt}o\text{pe } \ ne-poj \ v-tə-kʰ-tsə=\text{n}ə?' \)
chiefly what damage IPFV-do3 IRR-PFV-GP-say=TOP
As for what major kinds of damage it causes,

4. \( \text{te-kw-reji } \ \text{orj\text{án}ə } \ \text{ma}d\text{enə?' } \ \text{stonke } \ \text{rtsep}ya \ \text{te-kw-pe} \)
IPFV-GP-do.sowing.of.seeds when or fall turn.over.soil IPFV-GP-do
\( q^bə?' \ t\text{ät}f^b\text{w}t^{280} \ r^b-e-kw-l\text{lt} \)
SEQ second.sowing IPFV-GP-release

\(^{279}\) The hog badger, \textit{Arctonyx collaris}.  

\(^{280}\) This refers to sowing seeds for turnip and buckwheat after the main yearly crop of highland barley is harvested in mid October.
Part II. Texts

tóki=r\text{u} \quad kómtf'a \quad te-wi \quad jürme

\text{turnip=PL} \quad \text{a.bit} \quad \text{IMPF:UP-come} \quad \text{about}

at the time to \text{sow} seeds, or in the fall when soil is turned, second \text{sowing of turnips} is
\text{done}, and \text{turnip seedlings} begin to break the earth,

5. \text{qʰoʔ} \quad \text{mer=z} \quad \text{taʃʃē=naj} \quad \text{n\text{g}-wi}

\text{SEQ} \quad \text{night=LOC} \quad \text{field=inside} \quad \text{IPFV:DOWN-come}

\text{qʰoʔ} \quad \text{təɾwi} \quad \text{tʰe-tʃe-ʃe=təɾnoʔ} \quad \text{tóki=r\text{u}ʔ}

\text{SEQ} \quad \text{seed} \quad \text{PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-release}_2=\text{and} \quad \text{turnip=PL}

\text{kómtf'a} \quad \text{tə-kə-weʔ}=nəʔ

\text{a.bit} \quad \text{PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-come}_2=\text{DET}

\text{sləslɔ} \quad \text{te-lbtn} \quad \text{ŋoʔ} \quad \text{təʔozʔ}

\text{a.mess} \quad \text{IPFV-do} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{be.the.rule}

it will come down to the fields and mess up the broadcast seeds and the turnip seedlings
\text{that have only emerged a bit from the earth}.

6. \text{qʰoʔ} \quad \text{kw-nɨf=e} \quad \nu-ni-ŋo=\text{nəʔ} \quad \text{χfikə \text{wpə}bet fteʔ}

\text{SEQ} \quad \text{GP-kill} \quad \text{IRR-PFV-be=DET} \quad \text{very be.easy be:EMPH}

\text{If one wants to kill it, it is very easy}.

7. \text{nəʔ} \quad \text{tfəwz} \quad \text{ŋoʔ}=\text{nəʔ}

\text{ANA} \quad \text{why} \quad \text{be=TOP}

As for why this is the case,

8. \text{yvəz} \quad \text{ó-mŋa} \quad \text{kə'dʒəʒyəʔ} \quad \text{mə-mteʔ}

\text{badger 3SG:POSS-eye} \quad \text{be.well} \quad \text{NEG-see}_3

(it is because) the badger cannot see well.
9. oxtənɔ? o-fne ʒiʃə ɣəʃiz ṇo?
   chiefly 3SG:POSS-nose very be.acute be
   But the main thing is that it has a keen nose,

10. qʰoʔ kəɾ⁴bjoʔ- idi ʰge-fst ə mimi
   SEQ human-scent IPFV-perceive₃ as.soon.as
   qʰoʔ fla ʰnepʰɔpʰi ɳoʔ
   SEQ immediately flee be
   and it will flee as soon as it picks up human scent.

11. qʰoʔ te-rəsloʔ o-fne sɛt⁴=naŋ
   SEQ IPFV-do.digging.with.snout 3SG:POSS-nose earth=inside
   ʰge-fʃəmʔ ərjíaŋʔə
   IPFV-immerse when
   But when it is digging, with its snout buried deep in the earth.

12. o-vzər ək-e-ʃdor=nt⁴on mv-kv-o-fst ə?
    3SG:POSS-side IPFV-GP-stand=even NEG-GP-INV-perceive NEG-GP-INV-see
    It will not smell or see one, even if one stands right above it.

13. qʰoʔ rəkətu o-fné=ta ʰge-ktət
    SEQ club 3SG:POSS-nose=top IPFV:DOWN-GP-do
    And then one strikes its nose with a club,

14. qʰonə o-kóɾnɔ te-zyʔ  qʰoʔ ʰkv-ʃəpʰi əv-cʰv
    SEQ:EMPH 3SG:POSS-brain IPFV-spin SEQ GP-run.away NEG-be.able
    and it is stunned and unable to escape.
15. \(q'hon\)a n\(a\)\(s\)e\(fs\)\(a\) n\(e\)-\(k\)\(-n\)\(a\)rk\(e\)tu \(\gamma\)\(o\)? t\(f\)oz?

SEQ:EMPH in.that.way IPFV-GP-beat.with.club be be.the.rule

And in that way, one beats it with a club.

16. \(ma\)\(ʔ\)\(n\)\(e\)\(n\)\(a\) n\(e\)-\(k\)\(-\)\(e\)\(z\)e\(ʔ\) k\(\epsilon\)\(p\)\(e\)\(=\)\(r\)\(o\)? te-\(r\)\(a\)\(\gamma\)\(\tau\)a

or dog some=PL IPFV-do.chasing

\(n\)\(e\)? \(k\)\(\omega\)\(m\)a m\(u\)-k\(\omega\)\(-\)\(d\)\(z\)\(a\)t to? t\(f\)oz\(=\)k\(\omega\)

ANA except NEG:IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-bark exist be.the.rule=INS

Alternatively, as there are certain dogs that just give chase without barking.

17. \(n\)\(\dot{k}\)\(\dot{a}\)\(s\)\(\omega\) n\(e\)-\(k\)\(-\)\(e\)\(z\)e\(ʔ\)=\(n\)\(e\)\(ʔ\) s\(l\)\(u\)\(m\)\(u\)j\(\gamma\)\(u\)=\(z\) te-k\(\dot{e}\)-\(\dot{a}\)\(\gamma\)i

thus dog=DET moonlight=LOC IPFV-GP-take

\(q\)\(\dot{o}\)? t\(\omega\)-\(\dot{j}\)\(i\)=\(k\)\(\omega\) r\(k\)\(e\)\(t\)u te-k\(\dot{e}\)-\(\dot{a}\)\(\gamma\)i

SEQ GP:POSS-self=ERG club IPFV-GP-take

\(q\)\(\dot{o}\)? \(t\)\(\dot{a}\)\(j\)\(f\)\(\dot{e}\)=\(n\)\(a\)\(j\) t\(\dot{k}\)\(-e\)-\(k\)\(-\)\(f\)\(e\) joy? *\(d\)\(e\)\(n\)\(a\)?

SEQ field=inside IMPF:DOWNRIVER-GP-go may for

\(y\)\(\dot{v}\)ez t\(u\)\(p\)\(r\)\(i\)q\(\i\)\(u\) j\(u\)\(r\)\(m\)\(u\) \(q\)\(\dot{o}\)? \(t\)\(\dot{a}\)\(j\)\(f\)\(\dot{e}\)=\(n\)\(a\)\(j\) k\(\dot{e}\)-\(w\)i s\(t\)\(u\)\(\nu\)j? \(f\)\(l\)e?

badger 8-9PM about SEQ field=inside INF-come begin[3] be:EMPH

One may take along such a dog on a moonlit night, and also a club for oneself, and go downriver into the fields, for the badger will begin to come into the fields at around 8 or 9 PM.

18. \(q\)\(\dot{o}\)? k\(\epsilon\)\(z\)e\(ʔ\)=\(k\)\(\omega\) te-k\(\dot{e}\)-\(z\)\(n\)\(a\)rzy\(\alpha\)\(\tau\)a?

SEQ dog=ERG IPFV-GP-cause.to.chase

And one sets the dog on the badger.

19. \(f\)\(o\)\(n\)\(a\)? k\(\omega\)-\(n\)\(d\)\(z\)\(a\)n\(\gamma\) re? *\(d\)\(e\)\(n\)\(a\)?

but GP-be.cautionous be.necessary for

But one must be cautious,
20. *kʰezeʔ=ko yvez o-zgiqʰu te-n³dzv=naʔ*
   dog=ERG badger 3SG:POSS-back IPFV-bite3=SUB
   *fla te-nqʰoro qʰoʔ se⁸nweje mªkʰtsʰet*
   immediately IPFV-turn.head SEQ fight.back.against.people not.only
   *kv-sʰdze v-nv-cʰe=naʔ* "ge-kv-ntfʰ=ntfʰon mv-tu? tfʰoz?*
   INF-bite.people IRR-PFV-be.able=SUB IPFV-GP-kill=even NEG-let.go3 be.the.rule
   for when the dog tries to bite the backside of the badger, the badger will turn immediately
   and fight back. Moreover, if it manages to give one a bite, it will not let go even after one
   has killed it.

21. *qʰoʔ kʰezeʔ=ko=ntfʰon naʔ sªrʦʔ fieʔ=ko*
   SEQ dog=ERG=also ANA recognize be:EMPH=INS
   Since dogs also knows that,

22. *yvez v-tʰ⁻nqʰoro=naʔ*
   badger IRR-PFV-turn.head=SUB
   *kʰezeʔ=ko yvez fla te=tu? fieʔ*
   dog=ERG badger immediately let.go3 be:EMPH
   if the badger turns its head, the dog immediately lets go of the badger.

23. *naʔ=raʔ te-nefsʰatʰ-dzɜ³ jɛrmɛ*
   ANA=PL IPFV-do.thus:RDPL-3DU about.the.time.when
   And about the time when the two animals are doing thus,

24. *qʰoʔ yvez ne-ke-nªɾkʰtu qʰoʔ "ge-kv-ntfʰ=ntfʰon mv-tu? tfʰoz?*
   SEQ badger IPFV-GP-beat.with.club SEQ IPFV-GP-kill be be.the.rule
   one clubs the badger and kills it.
25. qʰoʔ ɣvez o-fe=nəʔ əqʃə toʔ?
SEQ badger 3SG:POSS-meat=DET 3SG:POSS-odor exist
qʰoʔ kəⁿdze ʃə rkon
SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-eat be.rare
Badger meat has a stench, so few people eat it.

26. ʃə nəʔ kranʒi=ran pʰen ké-tsə tʃəozʔ?
but rheumatism=PL be.effective GP-say be.the.rule
But they say it is good for rheumatism and what not.

27. qʰoʔ əⁿdʒi "ge-kə-sjtu
SEQ 3SG:POSS-skin IPFV-GP-accumulate
qʰoʔ kəljo-tsə-lva jermu te-toʔ?
SEQ five-six-CL about IPFV-exist
qʰoʔ "ge-ka-tsəv qʰoʔ twyo ne-kə-pe ʃəozʔ?
SEQ IPFV-GP-rub SEQ cushion IPFV-GP-make be be.the.rule
And one gathers badger skins until there are about five or six of them, and then one rubs them and makes cushions from them.

28. qʰoʔ nəʔ yvə²dʒi twyo=nəʔ kəmtʃə wəsrəʔ?
SEQ ANA badger:skin cushion=DET a.bit be.coarse
This badger-skin cushion is a bit coarse,
29. .foo. ʃɪ.kə ʃə.xɛt ʃə.mɛktʃɪt kranʒi kə-toʔ=rə?
but very warm not.only rheumatism NMLZ:SBJ-exist=PL
ó-ta ne-ke-rəgu=nə?
3SGPOSS-top IPFV-GP-sleep=SUB
kranʒi pʰən tʃozʔ
rheumatism be.effective be.the.rule
but it is not only very warm, but also when people suffering from rheumatism sleep on it, it is said to be good for the disease.
V. OTHER TEXTS

PEAR STORY

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *stonke* *nv-wei*-cə
   
autumn PFV:DOWN-come2-MED
   
Autumn has come.

2. *qʰoʔ* *rgɛtpo* o-tʃʰətʃenpaʃiʔ=ɾeʔ *vwəʃkőʃket* ŋoʔ-cə
   
SEQ old.man 3SG:POSS-pear=PL be.abundant:EMPH be-MED
   
And the old man’s pears are in great abundance.

3. *qʰoʔ* *rgɛtpo* kəʃiʔ ʊnez ʃərmə te-ɾdi
   
SEQ old.man basket two about PFV:TR-take2
   
SEQ pear NMLZ:PURP-pick PFV:DOWN-go2 be-MED
   
And the old man took two baskets and went down to pick pears.

4. *qʰoʔ* *paʃiʔ=ɾeʔ* ʊnez-kəʃiʃi ʃərmə ʃə-te-seto
   
SEQ pear=PL two-basketful about PROS-PFV:TR-pick2
   
SEQ again pear.tree=top PFV:UP-go2 be-MED
   
He almost gathered two basketfuls, and went up the pear tree again (to pick more).
And under him, someone leading a goat came passing by,

and the goat wanted to eat the pears that were put in the baskets downriver very much.

But the owner of the goat led upriver, and they went away like that.

And the old man again picked pears and got about two full basketfuls of them.
Just as he went up the pear tree and kept picking pears and putting them into his lap,

10. *kaxtfipu tiarte ka-vse-a-di=cə? tʰv-we?*
    small child bicycle NMLZ: SBJ-CONT: HTR-ride = INDF PFV: DOWNRIVER-come2
    a small child riding a bicycle came downriver.

11. *qʰoʔscʰənaʔ? sekóʔ=ta te-mpʰerí=nəʔ*
    SEQ tree = top IPFV: UP-look = SUB
    old man 3 SG: POSS-mind = PL CONT: HTR-focus
    *qʰoʔ o-pafi? vesv-nə-pʰət ne-mti*
    SEQ 3 SG: POSS-pear CONT: HTR-SPON-pick PFV: TR-see2
    As he was looking up the tree, he saw that the old man was focused his attention on picking his pears.

12. *qʰoʔ kaxtfipu=kə*
    SEQ small child = ERG
    *pafiʔ=pʰi kaxfiʔ=naŋ pafiʔ ke-rko=nəʔ*
    pear tree = under basket = inside pear NMLZ: SBJ: U-put in = DET
    *te-ku-məɾku ne-əsəsi*
    IPFV-INF-steal PFV: TR-want2
    And the small child wanted to steal the pears that were placed in the backet under the pear tree.

13. *qʰoʔ stʰore te-nort:xpjét=nəʔ*
    SEQ first PFV: TR-observe2 = SUB
    At first, he observed.
14. rgetpo paʃi? kʰ-pʰət=ru? o-rəxpe nəv-ɕtʰtʰ wejo
old.man pear INF-pick=PL 3SG:POSS-mind CONT:HTR-focus be.seen
And the old man could be seen riveting his attention on picking the pears.

15. qʰoʔ o-paʃi? te-kʰ-ɾmarku kʰʊt-cə ne-səsi
SEQ 3SG:POSS-pear IPFV-GP-steal be.feasible-MED PFV:TR-think₂
And (the child) thought it could be done to steal his pears.

16. qʰoʔ o-paʃi? kə-ɕiʃi=nəʔ tfartə o-zgəqʰu te-te
SEQ 3SG:POSS-pear one-basketful=DET bicycle 3SG:POSS-back PFV:TR:UP-put₂
qʰoʔ tʰe-tsəm tʰe-səɾəɾəɾəɣ
SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.run₂
And he put a basketful of pears on the back of his bicycle and ran off with them.

17. qʰoʔ tʃoʰbeʔ? tʰe-ere
SEQ road PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂
qʰoʔ nəvɨskə fla ne-kʰ-fpʰi ne-səsi ŋoʔ-cə
SEQ naturally quickly IPFV-INF-make.off.with.sth.stolen PFV:TR-want₂ be:MED
And he went down the road, naturally wanting to make off quickly with (the stolen pears).

18. fanaʔ kʰ-ɾmarku=nəʔ mə-nəɾpʰəɾbiʔ ŋoʔ ʃteʔ *denəʔ
but INF-steal=TOP NEG-just be be:EMPH for
But, since it is sinful to steal,

19. tʃoʰbeʔ? fʃʊtse kʰ-te=cəʔ wejo qʰoʔ
road rock NMLZ:SBJ:U-put=INDF be.seen SEQ
nəʔ ʃə-tə o-tfartə tʰe-səɾpo
ANA 3SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-bicycle PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.bump.into₂
a rock placed on the road was seen, and he rammed his bicycle into it.
20. qʰoʔ kokoxixfiʔ  niv-ʃ'dẕuʔ
SEQ together.with.basket PFV:DOWN-fall₂
And he fell down, basket and all.

21. qʰoʔ o-χpəmʔ=ɾnʔ ne-nəɾpo niv-ʃ'gra
SEQ 3SG:POSS-knee=PL PFV:TR-bump₂ PFV:be.torn₂
qʰoʔ paʃiʔʃ'ətʃen tʰe-lvə
SEQ pear PFV:OUT:TR-pour₂
qʰoʔ ʃ̱tʃ'bəʃsɨsi niv-ʃ'adorʔ
SEQ everywhere PFV:DOWN-be.scattered₂
And he bumped and broke his knees, and the pears poured out and were scattered all over the place.

22. qʰoʔ nəʔ niv-fsát=ʃənəʔ
SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂=just.when
o-ɾörü= z kəxtʃipu=cəʔ  ʃsəmʔ  lv-ɾeʔ-ɾə
3SG:POSS-front=LOC small.child=INDF three PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL
Just when it was like that, ahead of him three small children came upriver.

23. qʰoʔ kəxfiʔ=naŋ paʃiʔ niv-ka-ʃ'adorʔ=ɾnʔ
SEQ basket=inside pear PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-be.scattered₂=PL
kə-nəɾdoʔ te-ɾorʔ-ɾə leʔ kəxfiʔ=naŋ te-ɾkoʔ-ɾə
INF-pick.up PFV:TR-help₂-3PL again basket=inside PFV:UP:TR-put.in₂-3PL
And they helped him pick up the pears scattered from the basket, and put them back into the basket.

24. qʰoʔ kəxtʃipu o-paʃiʔ=ɾəʔ leʔ tʰe-ɾətsəm
SEQ small.child 3SG:POSS-pear=DET again PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂
And the child again took the pears upriver.
25. qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ kʰәxtʃʰiʔu kʰәxʃʰәmʔ=nәʔ=ɾәʔ
   SEQ ANA small.child three=DET=PL
fqʰɐʔ paʃʔiʔ kʰәxʃʰiʔ=nәʔ te-rkoʔ=nә oʒorʔ
   just.now pear basket=inside PFV:TR-put.in-3PL meanwhile
nә-pʰәm=nә kʰә-rdɔʔ jumne ne-nә-rkoʔ=nә-cә
   3PL:POSS-bosom=inside one.or.two-CL about PFV:TR-SPON-put.in-3PL-MED
And, while putting the pears in the basket, the three small children put into their bosoms
a pear or two.

26. o-lәco kʰә-nke ɾә-nәre-nә
   3SG:POSS-upriver.place INF-walk PFV:UPRIVER-come.back2-3PL
oʒorʔ paʃʔiʔ ne-ⁿdzeʔ-nә
   meanwhile pear IPFV:PST-eat2-3PL
And they walked back upriver (from the basket), eating pears.

27. qʰoʔ paʃʔiʔtʰәʔʃen kʰә-ɾәsә-pʰәt
   SEQ pear NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-pick
o-ɾәzәr=nә? ɾә-zyöt-nә=nә?
   3SG:POSS-side=DET PFV:UPRIVER-arrive2-3PL=SUB
And as they got near the one who was picking pears,

28. rdәt foŋpʰәŋ=ta ɾɡәtpeq
   exactly fruit.tree=top old.man
paʃʔiʔ kʰә-ɾәzә-pʰәt=nә? nә-nłә
   pear NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-pick=DET PFV:DOWN-come.out2
just at that moment, the old man who was picking pears came down the tree.

29. qʰoʔ o-kʰәʃʔiʔ kʰә-rdәʔ=nәʔ mә-nә-ɾәsәʔʃɡʔ-cә
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-basket one-CL=DET NEG-PFV-be.complete2-MED
One of his baskets was missing.
30. qʰoʔ v-kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ fo=kə jv-tsəm nəʔ ne-səsi
SEQ 1SG:POSS-basket=DET who=ERG PFV:take.thither2 be PFV:TR-think2
And he thought, “Who carried away my basket?”

31. qʰoʔ əʒ orʔ tʰe-mpʰári=nəʔ
SEQ meanwhile IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB
kəxtʃipu=cəʔ ʰəsəʔ pəfiʔ ə-nəʔor-naʔ
small.child=INDF three pear CONT:HTR-eat.while.doing.something.else-3PL
lə-weʔ-nəʔ nəʔ-cə fənaʔ kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ məŋu
PFV:UPRIVER-come2-3PL be-MED but basket=DET not.be.seen
While he was looking downriver, (he saw that) there came three small children eating
pears, but no basket could be seen.

32. nəʔ tfə nəʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə
ANA what be=DM PFV:TR-think2-MED
“What is that about,” he wondered.

33. qʰoʔ o-tóχpe=nəʔ kəmtʃə tə-sceʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-suspicion=TOP a.bit PFV-grow2-MED
fənaʔ rdət kəxtʃipu nə-τə
but exactly small.child 3PL:POSS-top
kə-səŋya
INF-have.evidence.for.accusation IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
He grew a bit suspicious, but there was no exact proof to accuse the boys (of theft),

34. qʰoʔ kəxtʃipu=ɾəʔ=nəʔ=kə
SEQ small.child=PL=DET=ERG
məŋu əhər ne-nəʔ-pe-nə me
seriousness IPFV-SPON-do-3PL not.exist
and the boys, acting as if absolutely nothing was on their mind, just went upriver eating pears.

As for the old man, nothing at all could be done except staring at the backs of the boys.
THE NORTH WIND AND THE SUN

pjaŋpʰjɔʔ qélescʰənaʔ tēŋniʔ

Narrator: Bstanblo

1.  kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ
   one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
   One day,

2.  pjaŋpʰjɔʔ q=q əl ɛscʰə nəʔ təŋ=niʔ  nə-wecʰevlevʔⁿəʔdzə  nəʔ-cə
   north.wind=and sun=DU IPFV:PST-chat2-3DU be-MED
   the north wind and the sun were chatting.

3.  qʰoʔ  pjaŋpʰjɔʔ q=q=ki
   SEQ north.wind=ERG
   nəjiʔ  tēŋ  fōṭenaʔ  wjiʔ  rkaŋ  v-sesni  toʔ
   2SG sun than 1SG be.strong 1SG:POSS-ability exist
   te-tsəʔ  tyʔozʔ  nəʔ-cə
   PFV:TR-say be.the.rule be-MED
   The north wind said, “I am stronger and more able than you the sun.”

4.  fənaʔ  tēŋ=ki
   but sun=ERG
   nəjiʔ  pjaŋpʰjɔʔ q=q əl  fōṭenaʔ  wjiʔ  rkaŋ  v-sesni  toʔ
   2SG north.wind than 1SG be.strong 1SG:POSS-ability exist
   te-tsəʔ  nəʔ-cə
   PFV:TR-say2 be-ME
   But the sun replied, “I am stronger and more able than you the north wind.”
5. $qʰoʔ$ $fo$ $kə-cʰv$ $mə-kə-cʰv$

SEQ who NMLZ-be.able NEG-NMNLZ-be.able

$ne-ne'\text{da}t-n\text{dzə}$ $\text{ants} \text{štse}$ $ŋo?-cə$

PFV:TR-dispute.over-3DU continuously be-MED

So they kept on disputing who was able and who was not.

6. $fənə$ $f\text{la}$ $fq-n\eta Strait m\text{σ-n}x\text{sel}ŋoʔ-cə$

but immediately win-lose NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear be-MED

But it did not become immediately clear who won and who lost.

7. $qʰoʔ$ $qʰə=ni?=kə$

SEQ ANA=DU=ERG

$m\text{s}tō$ $\text{vlik}o=z$ $fə-r\text{uts}x\text{et-tsə}$

no.matter upriver.place=LOC AND-test-1DU

$qʰɔnə$ $\text{nø}m\text{me} xσl$ $fɪe?=kə$ $t\text{e-tsə?=d}z\text{ə}$ $ŋo?=cə$

SEQ: EMPH only.then be.clear be:EMPH-DM PFV:TR-say2-3DU be-MED

And the two of them said, “It doesn’t matter. Let us go upriver and have a competition and then things will be clear.”

8. $qʰoʔ$ $o\text{-}lēco$

SEQ 3SG:POSS-upriver.place PFV:UPRIVER-go2-3DU=SUB

As they went toward upriver,

9. $tfəb\text{új}=tə$ $t\text{or}cʰo$ $\text{o}mɛ$ $kə-ja$ $kə-ê\text{sv}-\text{ge}=cə$

road=top cloak very NMLZ-be.thick NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear=INDF

$tv\text{-}wɛʔ$ $ŋo?=cə$

CONT:LTR-come2 be-MED

on the road someone wearing a very thick sheepskin cloak was coming downriver.

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281 Cloak made of thick sheepskin.
And they said, “That one who is coming downriver wearing the thick sheepskin cloak, let’s (do what we can to) see who will be able to make him remove his cloak!”

First, the north wind tried to do it.

He blew a tremendous gale,

desiring to force him to remove his cloak.

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282 Here the word *kv-pe* is used in its causative sense.
14. ʃə nəʔ qal ə-te-səpɔj otsʰət
but wind IPFV-cause3 the.more
o-sqaraʔ nɛq ə ke-susəʔ kɔma
3SG:POSS-belt more IPFV-tighten only
But the more gale he blew, (the man) only tightened his belt the more.

15. o-reʰo ku-səṭʃet mə-ne-cʰəʔ əŋoʔ-cə
3SG:POSS-cloak INF-cause.to.remove NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able2 be-MED
And (the north wind) was unable to make him remove his cloak.

16. qʰoʔ tɛŋe=kə
SEQ sun=ERG
nejiʔ mə-tə-cʰə-cə mənə əŋiʔ te-rətsʰət-an kə te-təʔ-cə
2SG NEG-2-be.able-MED DM 1SG IPFV-try-1SG DM PFV:TR-say2-MED
And the sun said, “Now that you can’t do it, let me give it a try!”

17. qʰoʔ tɛŋe=kə tɔmu ome ne-səxjəm-cə
SEQ sun=ERG sky very PFV:TR-cause.to.be.sunny2-MED
qʰoʔ tsʰədəʔ ne-səpeʔ əŋoʔ-cə
SEQ heat PFV:TR-cause2 be-MED
And the sun made the sky sunny and hot.

18. təɾcʰo kə-əsə-n̥ge=nəʔ detsətsə ku-ntsʰədəʔ
cloak NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear=DET gradually INF-feel.hot
ne-je əŋoʔ-cə
PFV:TR-begin2 be-MED
And the man who wore the cloak gradually began to feel hot.
19. kəmaqʰunəʔ qʰoʔ nəoséfsot tsʰədəyʔ=ko
    afterwards SEQ thus heat=INS
    o-re̱qʰo ne-təfət ηoʔ-ko
    3SG:POSS-cloak PFV:TR-take.off₂ be-MED
   And eventually he took off his cloak owing to the heat.

20. qʰoʔ təʔ=ko nə? fsát ko
    SEQ sun=ERG ANA be.like DM
    ejíʔ té-tsə-ʔaʔ=ko? mə-kə-nə̱ɡi-ʔəj ko
    1SG IPFV-say-1SG=SUB NEG-2→1-believe-1SG DM
    te-tsəʔ tʃ⁰ozʔ ηoʔ-ko
    PFV:TR-say₂ be.the.rule be-MED
   And the sun said, “You see? When I say so (i.e. that I am more able), you just won’t believe me.”

21. qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tón?=ko tondaʔ=coʔ kə-neʔmə ə-nəʔ=ko
    SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS affair=INDEF GP-do IRR-PFV-be=SUB
   Therefore, suppose one is to do something,

22. tərkípe te-kə-pe zde te-kə-nə̱ɡi̱=ko?
    doing.by.force IPFV-GP-do others IPFV-GP-force=SUB
   and if one does it by obstinately forcing others to do it,

23. tondaʔ mə-“gəʔəʔ kú-tsə tʃ⁰ozʔ ηoʔ
    affair NEG-succeed GP-say be.the.rule be
   one will not succeed, it is said.

24. nəʔ fəx̌teʔəʔ tə-kʰɬe te-kə-wəmʔjor
    ANA than GP:POSS-mouth IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.beautiful
   Instead, if one talk (to people) nicely,
25.  zde  tørmø  ó-ør  tʰotʰʔøv?  kø-“Soqem  te-kt-ntf⁰i=naʔ
    others  man  3SG:POSS-surface  strategy  NMLZ-be.mellow  IPFV-GP-use=SUB
    and uses mellow approaches with others,

26.  tøme  kø-øvd  çgrøv?  kë-tsø  tʃʰøz?  yø?
    work  NMLZ-be.good  succeed  GP-say  be.the.rule  be
    one’s work will be successful, it is said.
A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

1. **tenγwa? keλut**

Narrator: Bstanblo and Tsheskyid

(Bstanblo)

1. ʦ-tʃə ʦə-wə-pe-nə nə?

1SG:POSS-mother what 2-CONT:HTR-do-2PL be

kwunεz-sŋi tenγwa? nə-ʔɛt-aŋ ʔəntsətse

several-day telephone IPFV:PST-do2-1SG continuously

fənə? me-nə-kʊt

but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible2

“Mother, what have you been doing? I have been trying to call you but have failed (to reach you).”

(Tsheskyid)

2. ʆədi qəcʰweriʔ kə-ʔəntədɛti

EXCL PN NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Flower.Viewing.Festival

le-nə-rə kəlɛŋof-so=gən le-ʔəsə-ʃə

PFV:UPRIVER-go2-1PL five-six-day=even PFV:UPRIVER-spend.time2-1PL

“Oh, (that is because) we went upriver to Kakhyoris Hamlet to celebrate the Flower-Viewing Festival, and we even gone (upriver) there for a couple of days.”

3. ʔεʔ=nə? reℓaw=ɛ və-nəʔə? jɛɾmə nə-nəɾmeʔ-aŋ

1SG=TOP PN=LOC four-night about IPFV:PST-spend.the.night2-1SG

“As for me, I stayed at the Retawe’s283 for four nights.”

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283 Name of the house occupied by the family into which Tsheskyid’s daughter Dbyangcan marries.
4.  *noʔ*  *noʔ*  *"denoʔ*  
ANA  be  for  
*tenʔwaʔ*  *maʔ*"denoʔ*  *me-"ge-kʰut*  
telephone  either  NEG-IPFV-be.feasible  
*maʔ*"denoʔ*  *o-kʰ-seγi*  *"ge-mə*  
or  3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-listen.to  IPFV-not.exist  
“So that’s why the phone either could not go through, or there was no one answering (lit. listening to) it.”

5.  *qʰoʔ*  *tfʰtfʰo*  *tʰ-nsn-pe=naʔ*  *mv-kʰ-nteʔvde*  
SEQ  what:RDPL  2-CONT:HTR-do=DET  NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well  
*tʰ-mɛʔ*  so  
CONT:LTR-not.exist2  Q  
“There isn’t anything unsmooth-going in all you do, is there?”

6.  *mv-kʰ-nteʔvde*  *tʰ-mɛʔ*  
NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well  CONT:LTR-not.exist2  
“There is nothing unwell.”

7.  *nɛ-je=naʔ*  *för*"dʒi*  *qʰoʔ*  
2SG:POSS-elder.sibling  =TOP  day.before.yesterday  SEQ  
*vlkʰo=z*  *qʰeḥət*  *təjisiʔ=z*  *wz-nɔzəv*  
upriver.place=LOC  sand  PN=LOC  CONT:HTR-transport  
*ʃɨku*  *təjisiʔ=z*  *kʰe*  *kʰ-pe=caʔ*  to?  *noʔ*  raŋ  
there.in.the.east  PN=LOC  house  NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF  exist  be  DM

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284 Referring to Bstanblo’s second eldest brother by the name of *swanʰdor*, master of the house at the Mendeci household where Tsheskyid lived at the time.
Your elder brother has been transporting sand from somewhere upriver to Teutses since the day before yesterday, I guess someone east in Teutses, I don’t know what his name is, is building a house. Even today, he (your brother) went there too.”

And Tshepopo has gone upriver to the vegetable garden and stays around there.”

“Your knees are not hurting, are they?”

“Flower Viewing Festival separately IPFV: PST-2-SPON-idle.about2-2PL Q

township.government=ERG money PFV: TR-take.out2

Referring to sway’dor.

Wife of sway’dor.
“So there is a place for making some money to the east? Have you been celebrating Flower-Viewing Festival separately, or has the Township Government taken out money to let you celebrate it?”

(Tsheskyid)

11. ₁é-me  mə-tʰɐ-bdu?

₁SG:POSS-leg  NEG-CONT:LTR-be.serious₂

jesŋiʔ  xiʃetke  orjánəʔ  kəmtʃʰa  nu-myəm

the.other.day  spring  when  a.bit  IPFV:PST-hurt₂

fənəʔ  kɐnnezŋi  səmv=raʔ  kʰəmtʃʰa  "ge-œdze-ŋə

but  these.days  medicine=PL  once.or.twice  IPFV-eat-1SG

qʰónə  me-œge-myəm?

SEQ:EMPH  NEG-IPFV-hurt

“My legs are OK. They were a little painful in the Spring, but I have been taking medicine occasionally these days and they don’t hurt.”

12.  vətʃi=nəʔ  raŋraŋ  nu-ən-pənev?-jə

Flower.Viewing.Festival=TOP  separately  IPFV:PST-SPON-idle.about₂-1PL

təti=kə=raʔ  nu-o-znənʔ?-jə  me

township.government=ERG=PL  IPFV:PST-INV-cause.to.idle.about₂-1PL  not.exist

“As for the Flower-Viewing Festival, we are celebrating it separately on our own, the Township Government has not organized us to celebrate it together.”
(Bstanblo)

13.  ṭwrezʔ tómu əz-zwvwde so
    this.year rain CONT:HTR-cause.to.be.abundant Q
lotoʔ ʧʔ ʧv-fsɔt
crops what CONT:LTR-be.like2

“Rainfall has been abundant this year, hasn’t it? How are the crops?”

14.  jasgiʔ ujiʔ ṃmérwi tɔ-χtuʔ-əŋ=ŋəʔ ə-vde-cə
    the.other.day 1SG maize.seeds PFV-buy2-1SG=DET Q-be.good-MED

“The maize seeds that I bought the other day, are they good?”

15.  qʰəʔ vdīti ne-joʔ
    SEQ Flower.Viewing.Festival PFV-end2
qʰənə qvcvʰeripu=ɾəʔ kə-npέjmo
    SEQ:EMPH Kakhyoris.people=PL NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulbs
lb-vre-nə so
    PFV:UPRIVER-go2-3PL Q

“And, after the Flower-Viewing Festival ended, did the Kakhyoris people go upriver to
dig for fritillary bulbs?”

(Tsheskyid)

16.  ḟorʰäzi vdīti orjáŋnə
    day.before.yesterday Flower.Viewing.Festival at.the.time
un-tərmɔkʰə tərmu ne-lət
two-evening hailstone PFV:TR-release2

“Two evenings during the Flower-Viewing Festival (that ended) the day before yesterday,
hailstones fell.”
17. qʰoʔ ɲə́ m a =scʰə nəʔ st ɔ =r əʔ te-xsəɣ
SEQ maize=and broad.beans=PL a.bit PFV:TR-hit₂
ɲə́ nəʔ o-lvəʔ =r əʔ te-sə ʃə nəʔ mɐ-ʁ du-teʃəɣ now again INF-grow PFV:UP-begin₂

“And (hailstones) hit the maize and broad beans a little. As for the maize, the leaves were torn, but it was not serious, they have now begun to grow back.”

18. ʃə nəʔ st ɔ o-pyəmojʔ =r əʔ o-mkə kəmtʃəɣ a bit
but broad.bean 3SG:POSS-feather²⁸⁷=PL 3SG:POSS-neck a.bit
te-xsəɣ =kə nəʔ sútʰə =ta kəmtʃəɣ ne-wəret
PFV:TR-hit₂ =INS ANA place=top a.bit PFV:DOWN:TR-throw₂
qʰoʔ nəʔ nəʔ u-vəʔ =tsəʔ ʃəʔ SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.serious₂ =a.bit be

“And as the (hailstones) hit the broad bean flowers around their stems, and strike them off to the ground, this was rather serious.”

19. stɔ =nəʔ o-pyəmojʔ =nəʔ ne-wəret
broad.bean=TOP 3SG:POSS-petal=TOP PFV:DOWN:TR-throw₂
qʰoʔ “deʔ o-kə-teʃəɣ me ʃəʔ SEQ:EMPH again 3SG:POSS-INF-grow not.exist be

“Broad beans, if hailstones strike off their flower petals, these won’t grow back again.”

20. qʰəʔ təʁezʔ ɲənəʔ
SEQ this.year TOP:EMPH
pejmoγ o-kəŋʔ lɔʔ te-kə-teʃə toʔ =kə
fritillary.bulb 3SG:POSS-price come.out IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say exist=INS

²⁸⁷ Referring to the five-petal flowers of the broad bean (Vicia faba).
"This year, as there are those who say that the prices for fritillary bulbs are good, the Kakhyoris folks are making preparations to go dig for fritillary bulbs."

"But, people say that the water pipes are to be changed, and they made a mess digging up the whole alleys (in Kakhyoris Hamlet) but the water pipes haven’t arrived at all.”

"I am still living (there in the east) in Taiwan, and I am all very well.”

"But, people say that the water pipes are to be changed, and they made a mess digging up the whole alleys (in Kakhyoris Hamlet) but the water pipes haven’t arrived at all.”

"I am still living (there in the east) in Taiwan, and I am all very well.”
Today is the twenty-fifth of the Chinese calendar. And I will come back west (to China) on the thirtieth, spend a few days in Chengdu, and then come back upriver (to Ma’erkang).”

“I just called Tshangtarji, and he is at Ma’erkang now.”

“So you are still in Taiwan! The (telephone) fees over there must be very high, aren’t they?”

“And when you come back, give me a call. And come back home if you have free time.”
Part II. Texts

(Bstanblo)

27. \textit{tenɡwa}ʔ \textit{ˈɔpʰu=ɾɐʔ} \textit{kʰmtʃʰ=ʃə́mtʃʰ=ʃə́teʔ} \textit{jə́}
   telephone 3SG:POSS-price=PL a.bit go be:EMPH DM
   \textit{ʃə́nəʔ} \textit{mʊ-ʃdu}
   but NEG-be.serious

   “Yeah, telephone charges are a little high, but it’s OK.”

28. \textit{ne-náwi-aŋ} \textit{qʰoʔ} \textit{ne-tʃəʔ-aŋ=ɾəʔ} \textit{náwi-aŋ}
   WEST-come.back-1SG SEQ IPFV:PST-have.free.time:1SG=SUB come.back
   \textit{ʃteʔ} \textit{qʰoʔ} \textit{nəʔ} \textit{ʃteʔ} \textit{jə́}
   be:EMPH SEQ ANA be:EMPH DM

   “When I am back and have free time, I will come back home. Alright, this is it.”

(Tsheskyid)

29. \textit{wə} \textit{qʰónə} \textit{v-tə-tə-stóɾbet} \textit{jə́}
   OK SEQ:EMPH IRR-IMP-2-take.care DM

   “Alright, then, take care!”
A CONVERSATION ABOUT DOHLES

Narrator: Bstanblo and Tsheskyid

(Bstanblo)
1. sŋonštʰe=z  koŋɟɐʔ  mə-lə-weʔ  orjánʔnaʔz
   former.time=LOC Chinese.Communists NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-come2 when
   qeperʔ  nʊ-wəʔdzeʔ  oʃʃə́ ɟə orjaŋʔnəʔz
   dhole IPFV:PST-tend.to.bite.people 2 3SG:POSS-recounting exist
   naʔ  ḋoʔorjánʔ  nʊ-ŋo
   ANA when IPFV:PST-be2
   “In the past, before the Chinese Communists came upriver, there were stories of dholes biting people. When did that happen?”

(Tsheskyid)
2. nəʔ  jɔʔdə  mjosqe-pe  kə-ri=cəʔ  nə-tsoʔ-ca
   ANA TOP fifty-year NMLZ:SBJ-be.extra=INDF PFV-elapse2-MED
   “It was more than fifty years ago now.”

3. qʰoʔ  nəʔorjánʔnaʔ
   SEQ at.that.time
   reⁿgo qeperʔ  nə-ŋoʔ  qʰoʔ  cəmiʔ  tʰə-weʔ
   hill dhole PFV-be.crazy2 SEQ riverside.farmland PFV:DOWNRIVER-come2
   “At that time, dholes from the hills became crazy (i.e. rabid) and came downhill to the riverside farmland.”

4. qʰoʔ  zoʔ  te⁻dzeʔ
   SEQ bovine PFV:TR-bite2
   pa=fə  te⁻dzeʔ  kʰezeʔ=fə  te⁻dzeʔ
   pig=also PFV:TR-bite2 dog=also PFV:TR-bite2
“They bit bovines, and also pigs, dogs, and humans; they bit whatever they saw.”

“They bit a man some place at Tarva and caused him to become crazy, and also someone at Chu Village and caused him to become crazy.”

“And some place downriver at Kamnyo Village, there was a powerful lama who was able to practice sucking (method) on bovine and people who became rabid.”
“And as a rule, no matter rabid people or rabid bovines, people took them to the lama to be treated by sucking.”

“As for the lama’s sucking (method), he would put water into a ceramic bowl, and chant sutras.”

“And then he would put a long knife on top of the bitten wound, and pretend to blow on it from the other end (of the knife), and he would spit spittle into a bowl containing water.”

“And in the bowl, what causes one to be rabid takes the form of something like blood.”
11. qʰoʔ noosísats=kə mtsʰ’ot ne-sayzi nə-ŋo
   SEQ thus=INS be.many PFV:TR-heal2 IPFV:PST-be2
   “In that manner, he healed many people.”

12. ṣaŋə? tə-kv-ⁿdzeʔ nə-kə-tsoʔ=nə?
   but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite2 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse2=DET
   qʰónəʔ kv-nəsmən mə-nə-čəʔ?
   SEQ:EMPH INF-treat NEG-PFV:PST-be.able2
   qʰoʔ o-kʷ-pe nə-meʔ kə-tsə tʃʰozʔ?
   SEQ 3SG:POSS-GP-do IPFV:PST-not.exist GP-say be.the.rule
   “But it is said that those who had been bitten for a considerable period of time could not
   be treated, and one could do nothing (to help them).”

13. qʰoʔ tʃuʔ təmec tə-kv-ⁿdzeʔ nə-kə-snoʔ=nə?
   SEQ PN woman PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy=DET
   ’siz tomũfuyʔ təciʔ kə-roʔ nə-øre-cə=nə?
   morning water NMLZ:PURP-fetch PFV:WEST-go2-MED=SUB
   oḥóri=z kʰezeʔ=kəsci kə-weʔ-cə
   3SG:POSS-front=LOC dog=like PFV:EAST-come2-MED
   təmduʔə qʷəperʔ nə-kə-snoʔ nə-ŋo-cə
   in.fact dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy IPFV:PST-be2-MED
   “As for the woman of Chu Village who got bitten and became rabid, she had gone west
   to fetch water one morning, and a dog-like animal came toward her. It turned out to be a
   rabid dhole.”

14. qʰoʔ nəʔ=kə nə-o-nepəl détə?
   SEQ ANA=ERG PFV-INV-tear.about2
   qʰoʔ kʰmtrʔa tə-o-y^n-dzeʔ ŋoʔ-cə
   SEQ a.bit PFV-INV-bite2 be-MED
“It attacked her fiercely and bit her a little bit, but it was not that serious.”

“But the dhole’s breath got to her, and she became rabid and died.”

“And also, the man called Tsrangskyab of Tarva in Qachweri Village went to his courtyard to put out cattle in the early morning.”

“and was bitten by a rabid dhole, and he became rabid and died.”

“Actually, it is abnormal for dhole of the hills to come down to the riverside.”
19. ʃənəʔnəʔtuzʔorjaŋ́nəreneⁿgoqeperʔcamiʔ
butthaterahilldholeriverside.farmland
tʰə-wɛʔqʰoʔmə-ne-tʃʔozηoʔne-tsəʔ-nə
PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂SEQNEG-IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂bePFV:TR-say₂-3PL
“And at that era dhole of the upper hills did come downriver to the riverside, and that
was abnormal, people said.”

20. nəʔnə̱t nə-tʃʰoz
ANAIPFV:PST-be.like₂IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
“What happened was like that.”
(Bstanblo)

21. ḋeperʔnə-ka-sŋoʔ=ka
te-kw oyⁿdze=nəʔ
dholePFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂=INSIPFV-GP-bite=SUB
zəʔtfə̱jərmene-tʃo
timewhataboutIPFV-elapse
qʰoʔkw-ʂən*ɡiʔkw-ʂənno te-(s)jaʔηoʔ
SEQINF-cause.to.be.illINF-cause.to.be.crazyIPFV-begin³be
“When (one) is bitten by a rabid dhole, how much time does it take before one begins to
be made sick and rabid?”
(Tsheskyid)

22. tə-kw oyⁿdzeqʰônəʔkə-slejərmemə-tʃo
IPFV-GP-biteSEQ:EMPHone-monthaboutNEG-elapse
qʰônəʔtə-kv-o-ʂən*ɡiʔηoʔ
SEQ:EMPHIPFV-GP-INV-cause.to.be.illbe
“One gets bitten, and in less than a month’s time one is made ill.”
23.  *jəɟə*  *jó-pa=nə*

1PL 1PL:POSS-pig=DET

`leʔ  qɵepʔ  nə-kə-s³oʔ=kə  te=ndzεʔ=kə`

also dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy\textsubscript{2}=ERG PFV:TR-bite\textsubscript{2}=INS

`jó-pa  nə-s³oʔ  ne-tʃʰoz`

1PL:POSS-pig PFV-be.crazy\textsubscript{2} IPFV:PST-be.the.rule\textsubscript{2}

“Our pig also became rabid from getting bitten by a rabid dhole.”

24.  *qʰoʔ  ȵoʔmaʔnəʔ  nə-kə-s³oʔ  kə-tsə=kə*

SEQ at.every.turn PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy\textsubscript{2} GP-say=INS

`pa  nəŋəqŋaʔ  sṭəŋbelempə  seqʰúzqʰuz`

pig IDPH\textsuperscript{288} without.good.reason backwards

`tʰ-e-jwet  məpʰdenəʔ  nantəŋtəŋaʔ  zʰdə=uer`

IPFV:DOWNRIVER-move.backwards or IDPH\textsuperscript{289} wall=face

`fo-le-rpoʔ  ne-tʃʰoz`

go.and-IPFV:UPRIVER-bump IPFV:PST-be.the.rule\textsubscript{2}

“And the pig would walk straightly backwards for no reason, or bump recklessly into the face of the wall.”

25.  *qʰoʔ  tsəŋʔ  nə-la=niʔ=kə*

SEQ 1DU 2SG:POSS-maternal.aunt=DU=ERG

`o-kʰerloŋ=kə  mə-kə-ŋəs³ox₄xə  o-tʃʰəvʔ=kə`

3SG:POSS-breath=INS NEG-NMLZ-cause.oneself.to.be.hit 3SG:POSS-purpose=INS

`lajə  ka-rzəʔ  tə=nd-tʂə  qʰoʔ  kʰ-neʃtʰlə=kəʔə=kə`

swish NMLZ:SBJ-be.long PFV-take\textsubscript{2}-1DU SEQ INF-push.along=like=INS

\textsuperscript{288} A derived verbal ideophone from the root `ȵəɣ`, describing a continuous, unimpeded motion.

\textsuperscript{289} A derived verbal ideophone from the root `ntəɣ`, describing an action in an obsessed, reckless manner.
“And your aunt and I, in order not to cause ourselves to be hit by its breath, took a long swish and pushed and shoved it upriver and penned it into a dilapidated house west of the house.”

“And when we went to take a look at it the next day, it had died.”

“We bound it with ropes and went downriver and threw it into the river, as flesh of rabid (animals) is not good to eat.”

“So when (an animal) starts to become rabid, there is no treating it and one cannot do anything but wait for it to die.”
29. \[qʰónə\? \ kvⁿ₃dzəŋ \ ome \ ṅge-re\? \ ṅdenə?\]

SEQ: EMPH INF-be.cautious very IPFV-be.necessary for
\[o-kʰerlon=kə \ v-tə-kó-ʃsəy\]
3SG: POSS-breath=INS IRR: PFV: INV-hit

“But one needs to be very cautious, since if its breath ever hits one, one as a rule will be made rabid.”

(Bstanblo)

30. \[qʰper?=nə? \ tʰvz \ cvmi? \ tʰv-nwi \ ɲo?\]
dhole=DET why riverside.farmland IPFV: DOWNRIVER-come be
\[reʰgo \ o-kʰdze \ nə-me? \ ɭə\]
hill 3SG: POSS-food PFV: not.exist2 DM

“Why is it that dholes came downriver to the riverside? Did their food run out on the upper hills?”

(Tsheskyid)

31. \[reʰgo \ o-kʰdze \ nə-me?=ɾv? \ ma?\]
hill 3SG: POSS-food PFV: not.exist2=PL not.be
\[fənə? \ qʰper? \ cvmi? \ tʰkə-wə?=nə?\]
but dhole riverside.farmland IPFV: DOWNRIVER-come2=DET
\[tʰən \ ɲo?\]
sign.of.bad.luck be
\[mə-ne-tʃoz \ ne-tsə?=nə\]
NEG-IPFV: PST-be.the.rule2 PFV: TR-say2-3PL

“It is not that their food on the hills ran out. Rather, it was a sign of bad luck for the dhole to come down to the riverside, it was abnormal, they said.”
32. *qe pep kʰar-=dza? xne z j̥er mə ne-ma=kə*

dhole one-CL two about IPFV:PST-not.be2=INS

*kʰe-kən*ɡɑ-sqeʔ=kašə kənʾγre tʰe-we-nə

each-nine-ten=like together IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2

“It wasn’t just a matter of one or two dholes, as each time nine or ten of them would come downriver together.”

(Bstanblo)

33. *nəʔ mu*-kʰo-tʃʰozʔ?
tʰen=nəʔ?

ANA NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule sign.of.bad.luck=TOP

*tfʰə nə-ŋo ne-tsəʔ-nə*

what IPFV:PST-be2 PFV:TR-say2-3PL

tuz? jaʰ-byəʔ? o-tʰən?=kə tsəvreqeʔ-ne-ŋo

era PROS-reverse 3SG:POSS-reason=INS Q-IPFV:PST-be2

“As for that abnormal sign of bad luck, what did people say it was? Was it a sign for the overturning of the era?”

(Tsheskyid)

34. *tuz? jaʰ-byəʔ? əŋo ne-tsəʔ-nə=ɾaʔ nə-tʃʰoz "dənəʔ?

era PROS-reverse be PFV:TR-say2-3PL=PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule2 for

*qe pep? ʃi kʰə nə-swədzeʔ*

dhole very IPFV:PST-tend.to.bite.people2

“People did say that it was a sign that the era was going to reverse, since the dhole were so prone to bite people.”

35. *ŋiʔ=ŋoʔ qe pep? ʃəntsəʔ me-*ge-səɾtəʔ-əŋ*

1SG=TOP dhole that.much NEG-IPFV-know-1SG

“As for me, I do not know dholes that much.”
“Once I was at Tatho, I took a glance at the opposite bank, and (saw) two dog-like (animals) squatting in front of a horse. They were in fact dholes.”

“As the old saying goes, a dhole would wait for a horse to drop its (lower) lip. How true it seems to be, as the (dholes) were sitting in front of the horse.”
“When I uttered a cry, they immediately went uphill into the center of the livestock that had been driven to the other bank of the river and they immediately caught a sheep.”

“And (our) neighbor Vdercet and I ran downriver (to where the sheep were) but just moments before (arriving), they had already killed the sheep.”

“And before and afterwards, they had killed two very fine cows, one female calf, and seven pigs of ours.”

“And they killed our neighbor’s cow and six male cattle behind the Mbraskyi Pass, and moreover also one of their sows.”
42. $qʰoʔ$ $qʰeqʰweɾiʔ$ $zézəɾ$ $suqɾiʔ$

SEQ PN envoirns secluded.place

$ka-ɾoʔ=ɾoʔ$ $zəzəɾ$ $mtsʰōt$ $te-ɾdzeʔ$ $nv-ŋo$  
NMLZ:-SBJ-exist=DET=PL livestock be.many PFV:TR-eat2 IPFV:PST-be$_2$

“And they ate many farm animals in secluded corners surrounding Qachweri Village.”

43. $qʰonəʔ$ $qʰeqɾeɾ$ $ka-ɾiɾdze$ $o-ɾəŋ=ɾoʔ$

SEQ:EMPH dhole NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to.bite.people 3SG:POSS-inside=DET

$ŋo-ka-ɾŋoʔ=ɾoʔ$ $nv-ɾo=ɾo$  
PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy$_2=INDEF$ IPFV:PST-exist$_2=INS$

$ŋo$ $te-ɾdze=ɾoʔ$  
ANA IPFV-bite$_3=SUB$

$zəʔ$ $kəɾʰbjoʔ$ $ne-səɾŋqo$ $nv-ŋo$

bovine human IPFV-cause.to.be.crazy$_3$ IPFV:PST-be$_2$

“Within dholes, which tend to bite people, there were some that were rabid. If they bite,  
then they cause bovines and people to become rabid.”

44. "$dəɾnəʔ$ $kəməʔ$ $mə-ɾo-ka-ɾŋoʔ$  
except other NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy$_2$ dhole=ERG

$zəʔ$ $te-ɾdze$ $o-ɾi=ɾoʔ$ $jəɾəɾʔ=ɾo$ $nv-ɾdzeʔ-ɾj$ $³ђeʔ$

bovine IPFV-bite$_3$ 3SG:POSS-be.left=PL 1PL=ERG IPFV:PST-eat$_2$-1PL be:EMPH

$ŋo$ $mə-ɾo-o-ɾŋqo$-gi-jə  
ANA NEG-PFV-INV-cause.to.be.ill$_2$-1PL

“The other dholes that did not become rabid, we would eat what was left of the bovines  
they eat, and that did not make us sick.”

45. $fəɾnəʔ$ $təɾdəɾnə$  
but actually

$ʕtʃeqʰdəɾnəʔ$ $o-ɾdəɾnɾi=ɾoʔ$ $te-kv-ɾdze$ $nv-vde$

carnivore 3SG:POSS-eaten.leftover=DET IPFV-GP-eat NEG-be.good
“But actually, they say it is not good to eat leftover carcasses eaten by carnivores.”

“Eating those makes one sick, and brings bad diseases, it is said.”
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